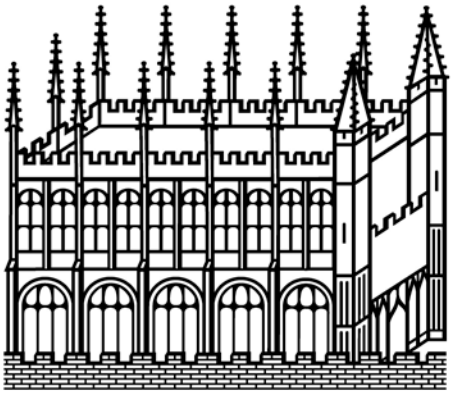

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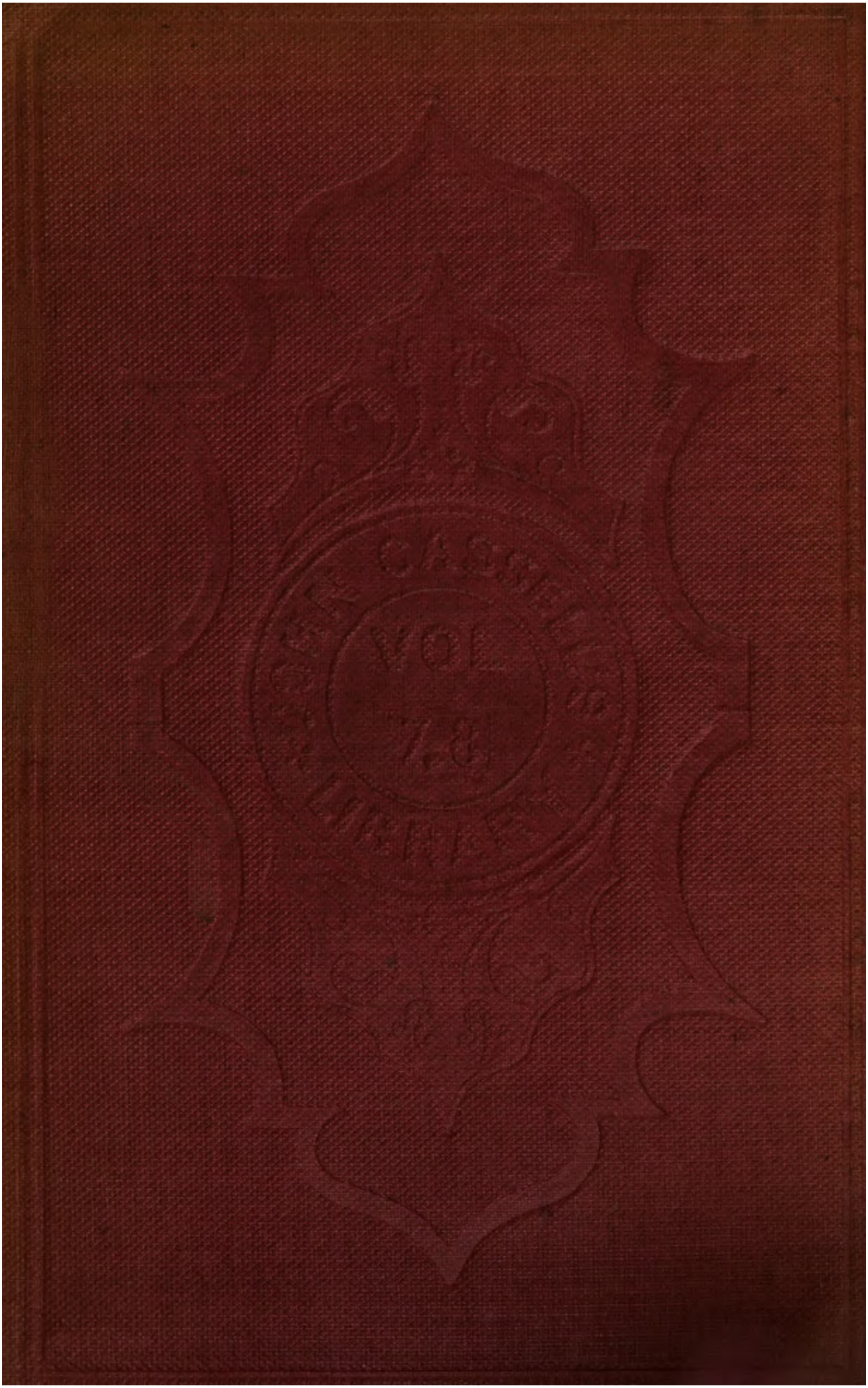
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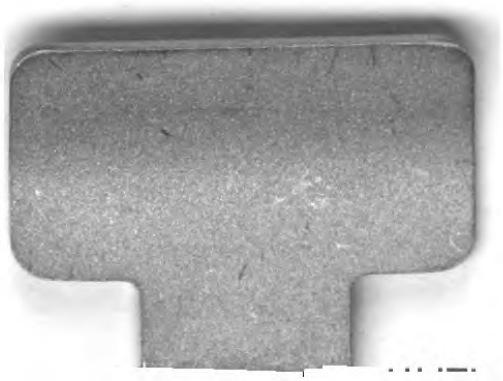

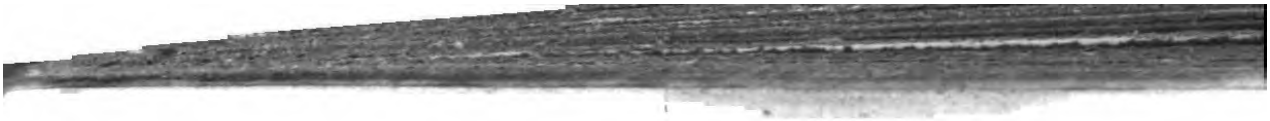

NEW AND POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

VOLUME THIRD.

NEW AND POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BY ROBERT FERGUSON, LL.D.

VOLUME THIRD.

III. IV

What are all our histories and other traditions of actions in former times but GOD manifesting himself that He hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon everything that He hath not planted.—CROMWELL.

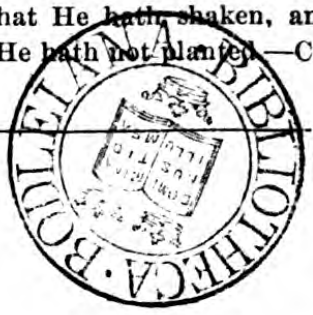

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TABLE OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS,

FROM JAMES I. TO CHARLES II.

Line.	Name.	Genealogy.	Began to reign in the year	Reigned years	Reign ended in the year
Stuart Line—4.	James I.	Son of Mary, Queen of Scots	1603	22	1625
	Charles I.	Son of James I.	1625	24	1649
Stuart Line interrupted. The Commonwealth period.	Oliver Cromwell		1649	9	1658
	Richard	Son of Oliver Cromwell	1658	7 mo.	1659
Restoration of the House of Stuart.	Charles II.	Son of Charles I.	1660	8	*1668

* The remainder of the reign of the Second Charles is carried forward to the next volume.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE TRANSFER OF THE CROWN TO THE HOUSE OF STUART.

If nobility belong to a name only, and is not to be found in the individual person and character of the man, then princes have as little ancestry as the meanest of the crowd. Titles are not virtues. "If the great have no other glory than that of their ancestors; if their titles are their only virtues; if we must recall past ages to find in them something that is worthy of our homage, then birth dishonours them even in the estimation of the world. Their name is opposed by us to their person; we read the histories that record the great deeds of their ancestors, and we demand of their unworthy successors the virtues which formerly conferred so much glory on their country. The weight of honour which they inherit is to them but a burthen that sinks them still lower to the ground. Yet how visible on every brow is the pride of their origin. They count the degrees of their grandeur by ages which are no more; by dignities which they no longer possess; by actions which they have not performed; by ancestors of whom a little indistinguishable dust is all that remains; by monuments which the passing injuries of season after season have effaced; and they think themselves superior to the rest of mankind, because they have more domestic ruins to mark the desolation of time, and can thus produce more proofs than other men of the vanity of all earthly things." They are the truly great and the truly illustrious whose virtues are the purest, whose purposes are the most generous, and whose life is devoted to the most beneficent ends. Nor can anything make up for the want of those great qualities in princes and rulers. It is by the possession and development of these that they take hold of the affections of the people; and it is only when they are strong in the affections of those whom they govern, that, like the goodly cedars of Lebanus, which were wont to strike their roots be-

tween the cliffs of those lofty mountains on which they grew, they can challenge the play and the force of every conflicting element.

The year in which the great queen died was one of the most important epochs in our national history. Not long before the parliament had fought its first great battles for the liberties of the people, in the overthrow of those monopolies which Elizabeth held as the chief jewel of her crown, the voice of the legislature was but the audible expression of the will of the nation; and by a timely concession to popular feeling, and the claims of justice, she saved both herself and her kingdom. Her death formed a crisis. Then was the moment, in the midst of the arrangements for her succession, to have defined and limited that prerogative, which had, during her reign, pressed so heavily on the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the people. Nothing was to be expected from Cecil and Nottingham, and the other selfish and servile courtiers of the day. The parliament was like a body which had been smitten with paralysis. Its very articulation was indistinct and imperfect; the people themselves seemed as if they had lost not only the spirit but even the tradition of English liberty. The opportunity was lost, and the crown passed from the House of Tudor to the family of Stuart, with almost unbroken tranquillity. Nor could the sceptre have fallen into weaker or more worthless hands. The panegyrics on James's wisdom and learning, his virtue and talents, may be estimated by the fact that the ingredients of his most princely performances were "quotations, puns, scripture, witticisms, superstition, oaths, vanity, prerogative, and pedantry." A man "who could neither think with sense, nor act with spirit," was called to sway the destinies of England, when England had fixed on her the eye and the admiration of Europe. Nor does it place his name and his character in any brighter light to be told that "we owe more to his weakness and meanness than to the wisdom and courage of much better sovereigns," because had he been "a valiant, active, and public ruler; had he put himself at the head of the protestants of Europe; had he found himself, after great achievements, at the head of fifty thousand troops—brave, well-disciplined, and devoutly attached to his person—the English parliament would soon have been nothing more than a name." In other words, because he lacked the life-sacrificing properties of the soldier, and the crushing influence of a tyrant, we are, therefore, to praise his weaknesses and his follies, when, by the force of intelligence, combined with the higher force of virtue, he might have perfected the freedom, the independence, and the glory of England.

SECTION 1.—ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND, AND CORONATION OF JAMES.

In the spirit of reluctance, and from the depth of a sullen and settled gloom, was Elizabeth induced to name her successor. The will of her father, which, authorized by act of parliament, had declared her illegitimate, had also set aside the Scottish line. But if Mary and Elizabeth "walked to the throne over an act of parliament, and their father's will," why should not James of Scotland, who was the

lineal descendant of the seventh Henry, his mother being Mary queen of Scots, who was daughter of James v. who was the son of the fourth James, which prince was married to Margaret, elder sister of Henry VIII. and daughter of the seventh Henry. Scarcely had Elizabeth breathed her last when the intelligence was conveyed to James; but he managed to conceal his feelings, till four days afterwards he received the official intimation, from the council of state, of his own proclamation. He immediately prepared to take his departure for England; and on his way thither dispensed his favours with lavish hand, and was received in London on the 7th of May, 1603, by the mayor, sheriffs, and citizens, with every demonstration of loyal attachment. While he brought with him great numbers of his Scottish courtiers, of whom some were added to the privy council, he retained almost all the ministers of Elizabeth in their offices, not excepting Cecil, who continued prime minister and chief counsellor; and confided the conduct of his political affairs, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Ambassadors from all the countries of Europe hastened to congratulate him on his accession, and to enter into new treaties and alliances. The celebrated Rosni came with the congratulations of Henry IV.; and after having renewed with him the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth, for the common defence of the United Provinces, he returned to France with the greatest possible contempt for the pedantries and the puerilities of James. Her majesty and the other members of the family having arrived at Windsor in the month of June, the coronation took place on the 17th of July, amid the wider ravages of a most deadly plague.

In England, James promised himself luxurious ease as well as profound homage. But his indiscriminate and promiscuous distribution of titles and of places, sowed the seeds of a dissension whose fruit was discontent and conspiracy. Cecil and Raleigh became deadly enemies; and to get rid of Raleigh it should seem that Cecil charged him with carrying on a secret correspondence with the king of Spain, and with an attempt to place upon the throne Arabella Stuart, who was of kin to Margaret in the same degree with his majesty, though a younger branch. With Raleigh were associated my lords Cobham and Gray, and others, in this conspiracy. How, or through what means, information of this plot reached the government, does not appear. On its being discovered, Raleigh was arraigned; and, by the low subserviency of the jury, he was brought in guilty of high treason. He was, however, released from the sentence of death, committed to the Tower, and detained there as a prisoner for more than twelve years. My lords Cobham and Gray were tried by their fellow-peers; and, when brought to the scaffold, to impress the nation with the idea of the great clemency of the sovereign, at the very moment that they were laying their heads upon the block to receive the fatal stroke, the sheriff appeared, announcing a reprieve from his majesty. "Cobham lived and died despised and utterly destitute, his estates having been forfeited. Gray—young, gallant, fiery, and ambitious—died at the end of ten years a prisoner in the Tower." Brooke, brother-in-law of Cobham, with the two catholic priests, Watson and Clarke, were executed with the usual and not-to-be-named barbarities.

SECTION II.—THE DOCTRINE OF DIVINE RIGHT.

The argument for the divine right of established power is about as correct in logic, or as consonant with common sense, as the right divine for the prevalence of any pestilential disease that decimates and desolates a country. It is a doctrine which may sit very well upon the lip of some fawning and flattering courtier, who would bow down and lick the dust of his prince's feet, but it shocks the judgment of every enlightened and well-constituted mind. To tell us that it is as much our duty to submit to the most ferocious tyrant, as to submit to the supreme benevolence of GOD, or rather, that to obey such a tyrant is obey the supreme Benevolence, is to reduce us to the lowest and most degrading condition of slavery. Power or authority may be of divine ordination, but the right divine of kings to govern wrong, is a doctrine for which it would be nothing short of blasphemy to claim the sanction and support of divine authority. It cannot be a right derived from GOD. Obedience to a power which is ever being exercised in the commission of crimes infinitely and for ever opposed to the principles of the divine government, would be treason to our country and rebellion against heaven. There is no right divine to make gods of conquerors or of kings, neither slaves of subjects. All power has its limits. Besides which, the public will, has as truly its right divine as any established authority in whomsoever that authority is made to reside. The rights of the governed, are as sacred as the claims of those who govern. In the words of a man who was one of the highest ornaments of our national senate :—" the speculative line of demarcation, where obedience ought to end, and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable. It is not a single act, or single event, which determines it. Governments must be abused and deranged, indeed, before it can be thought of; and the prospect of the future must be as bad as the experience of the past. When things are in that lamentable condition, the nature of the disease is to indicate the remedy to those whom nature has qualified to administer, in extremities, this critical, ambiguous, bitter potion to a distempered state. Times, and occasions, and provocations, will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable, from sensibility to oppression; the high-minded, from disdain and indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold, from the love of honourable danger in a generous cause;—but, with or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource of the thinking and the good."*

This doctrine of the divine right of kings assumed by Henry the eighth, was openly avowed by James without reserve. He believed all legal power to be centred in himself, and, jealous of his prerogative, he had in his own mind elaborated a system of government. In the very attitude of a suppliant at the door of parliament for renewed supplies he thus addressed the house :—" I conclude, then, the point

* Burke's Works, vol. v. p. 75.

touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that as to dispute what GOD *may* do is blasphemy; but what GOD *wills*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss!—so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they would not incur the curse of GOD. I will not be content that my power be disputed, but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to *my* laws!" Not only did he affect to occupy "a seat which GOD, by his birth, had in the fullness of time provided for him," but there were those who were mean enough and base enough to burn incense to this his divinity, by telling him that "as the supreme and all powerful King of heaven created man to govern his works, so did he depute terrestrial kings, in whom his image was, to govern man;"—more than this, that the utterance of a king were nothing less than "the voice of GOD in man—the good Spirit of GOD in the mouth of man." There were other men—men of purer spirit and of nobler daring, who feared not to question and to contravene this divine right of the sovereign, and to maintain the liberties of the people.

Hitherto the parliament had been of little weight in the balance of the constitution. Some of the present members knew what it was to encounter the vigour and vengeance of Elizabeth, but with the decrease of this vigour in the crown, the commons began to rise in courage and in power. It had been usual, if the parliament was to be prolonged beyond one session, for the chancellor, in the exercise of a discretionary authority, to issue new writs for supplying the places of those members who were incapable from their health of attending. As this gave not only the minister, but the prince himself, almost unlimited power of modelling and determining the character of the national assembly, it was conceived to be a dangerous prerogative. Yet so little value did the crown put on this authority, that the chancellor resigned it back to the commissioners. Nor did the commons overestimate their own privilege, for they proceeded no farther than to vote "that during the sitting of parliament there do not, at any time, any writ go out, for choosing or retaining any member, without the warrant of the house." In the reign of Elizabeth that assembly had declared—"that it was a most perilous precedent, where two knights of a county were duly elected, if any new writ should issue out for a second election, without order of the house itself; that the discussing and adjudging of this and such like differences belonged only to the house; and there should be no messages sent to the lord chancellor, not so much as to inquire what he had done in the matter, because it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the power and privilege of the house." This was a grand element in the parliamentary liberty of that age. But when James summoned the house, he issued a proclamation which strictly enjoined the people not to choose any outlaw for their representative; thus putting his proclamation on a footing with an express statute, and that too in the delicate question of an election. A serious collision followed. A member was returned for the county of Berks. The chancellor pronounced him an outlaw, and nominated another. The house reversed the acts of the chancellor

James interposed, and suggested a conference with the lords. The commons with manly firmness refused. A compromise was effected by setting aside both candidates, and the issuing of a new writ, but the house resolutely maintained its jurisdiction over the return of its members.

With the aid of military force, it was easy for the continental powers of Europe to establish and assert their unlimited authority. But the genius of freedom hovered over England. Happily, she had yet no standing army. She had begun to learn the power of letters. Education and intelligence had made some progress. A higher estimate was made of the manly virtues, than of military prowess. The love of freedom not only acquired new force, but so inspired the people as to make them impatient of every restraint that lay upon their perfect independence. If the king's hereditary and divine right was fatal to liberty, the rising spirit of the nation insisted on a limited constitution. Now it is worthy of remark, how the influence of the house of commons manifested itself, not only in defence of their own privileges, but also in their efforts to free trade from those restrictions which the imperious power of Elizabeth had imposed upon it. Though James had annulled the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted during the preceding reign, those exclusive companies still remained by which almost all foreign trade was kept in the hands of a few. These companies were so carried on, that all the commerce of England came to be centred in London, and consequently so affected all other parts of the kingdom, as to demand immediate inquiry and immediate change. A committee was appointed to examine into this greatest of grievances, at a time when the commerce of all the other nations of Europe was free and uncontrolled. Nor did they seek only to give liberty to the trading portion of the community; they at the same time endeavoured to free the landed property from the burden of wardships, the weight of which may be estimated by the fact, that the king, as guardian, without giving account, received the proceeds of these estates till the wards reached the full age of twenty-one, and that the income of the chancellor, from the same source, was put down at forty thousand pounds a year. The old grievance of purveyance was also taken into consideration; but the question of indemnity to his majesty involved so much difficulty, that both subjects were, for the time, abandoned. The object of the king was the obtaining of a supply; but the temper of the parliament was such, that instead of voting him a subsidy, they granted only the permanent revenue of tonnage and poundage.

In the session of 1607, his majesty recommended, at great length, a union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. By his accession to the English throne, he had put a happy end to those hostilities and wars which had hitherto disfigured the annals of both nations; he had reduced the whole island under one government, and he now hoped that there might be a complete union of laws and institutions. A commission was appointed to deliberate concerning the terms of union; and, though the king once and again renewed his efforts to secure this object, the house made no advance, nor was anything really done for the effecting of it till more than a century of

years had rolled away. On his own authority, he had assumed the title of king of Great Britain, and had quartered the arms of Scotland with those of England, on all the coins, flags, and ensigns. He had also engaged the judicial authorities to make a declaration that all those who, after the union of the crowns, should be born in either kingdom, should be naturalized in both. Still the parliament watched with the most vigilant spirit every movement likely to affect the national liberty. They prepared a petition to his majesty for the better enforcing of the laws relating to religion. The speaker barred its being read, under the impression that it infringed the royal prerogative. The commons affected to institute a search for precedents. Alarmed by this step, James withdrew his opposition, and the house gave up both their search and their petition. Parliament now appears not only as the guardian of the people's rights, but "as the great censor of the foreign relations of the government." The commons were supposed to be conversant only with the local interests of the places which they represented; but, to show that the higher matters of state and government were not without their province, they sent a message to the peers, desiring a conference with them, in order to prepare a joint address to his majesty on the subject of the Spanish depredations, of which the complaints had become frequent and loud among the English merchants. Their proposition was rejected; but so subdued was their lordships' tone that they promised "to make a favourable construction of their desire."

There was but little confidence, and less friendship, between the prince and his parliament. "Among the many causes of disgust and quarrel which were daily and unavoidably multiplied between them, the article of money is to be regarded as none of the least considerable. After the discovery of the West Indies, gold and silver became every day more plentiful in England, as well as in the rest of Europe; and the price of all commodities and provisions rose to a height beyond what had been known since the declension of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown rose not in proportion, the prince was insensibly reduced to poverty amidst the general riches of his subjects, and required additional funds in order to support the same magnificence and force which had been maintained by former monarchs." The commons were resolved to circumscribe his prerogative; and, notwithstanding all the representations of himself and his favourite ministers of the royal necessities, the house remained inexorable. All that he obtained did not amount to a hundred thousand pounds of the present currency. Never was prince more mortified—never more humbled in the eyes of the nation.

The war between Spain and the United Provinces having been concluded by a truce of twelve years, and a treaty having been drawn up for the settlement and reimbursement of the sums advanced to the states by Elizabeth, at the rate of sixty thousand pounds annually, James, amid his poverty and his waste, and with a baseness peculiar to himself, adopted means for the supply of his wants without preferring his application to parliament. To the Dutch he sold a licence to fish off the coasts of England and Scotland. On pretence of knighting his son, prince Henry, now fifteen years of age, he levied

a feudal aid of twenty shillings on each knight's fee, or twenty pounds a year in land, and submitted to the degradation of partly supporting him by a pension from the States-general. In virtue of his prerogative, he claimed the right to levy duties upon the import and the export of goods. He had recourse to forced loans upon privy seals and to a benevolence. Thirteen metropolitan merchants had lent him one hundred thousand pounds on the security of the customs, Monopolies became more numerous and more oppressive than ever. All persons with forty pounds a year in land were compelled to compound by a fine for not accepting knighthood. Crown and other lands were put up to sale. Titles were made purchasable on a graduated scale. Salisbury suggested to his royal master the device of creating a new hereditary order under the designation of baronets, the honour of which should be obtainable for one thousand pounds. But enough of such meanness. The commons passed a bill to declare all impositions without the consent of parliament illegal. It was rejected by the peers. It may be, that "the lords were weak and servile, rather than selfish and factious;" yet it cannot be denied that "their rejection of this bill, and the baseness with which they lent their shoulders to carry the king and the prerogative over the necks of the commons and the people, had a great and decisive share in bringing the second despot of the unhappy house of Stuart to the block."

SECTION III.—THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

If the love of peace was the ruling passion of James, he was a fearless disputant. If he shunned the field, he courted the arena. If he had none of the soul of the warrior, he had a double portion of the spirit of the polemic. The religious disputes between the church and the puritans, which had rather increased since the close of the preceding reign, induced him, on pretence of finding a ground of reconciliation for both parties, to call an assembly of divines for conference at Hampton-court. On his accession the puritans had approached his throne with an address of loyal and devoted attachment; and from his education and early habits, they could not but hope that his majesty would abate the rigour of the laws which had been previously enacted against them. But he had no sympathy with them or with their principles. "Strongly inclined to mirth and wine, and sports of all kinds," he turned away from their sterner virtue. He disliked the party, and he was resolved to keep them down. The puritan ministers "lived among and were of the people, and by contact and affinity, their assertion of spiritual independence as members of the church, would produce political independance and the sentiments of freedom in the community at large." No wonder, therefore, that he would have them conform, or he would harry them out of the land.

To promote his scheme of one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony, the conference was continued three

alternate days. Whitgift, the primate, with several prelates and dignitaries, appeared on behalf of the church; Reynolds and Sparks, doctors and professors of divinity at Oxford, with other men of like learning and eminence, stood on the side of the puritans. James sat as moderator. The use of the cope, the surplice, the cross at baptism, the ring in marriage, and bowing at the name of Jesus, were not the only points in dispute; but that the canonical scriptures only should be read; that the book of common prayer should be revised; that none but good and duly qualified men should be admitted to the ministry; that non-residence and pluralites should be abolished; and that other abuses should be corrected. In the course of the debate James became a vehement partisan. The puritans were treated with contempt and scurrility; and turning to the bishops, his majesty, touching his hat, said:—"My lords, if you were once out, and they in your place, I know not what would become of my supremacy; for no bishop—no king." On bended knee Bancroft protested "that his heart melted for joy that Almighty God had, in his singular mercy, given them such a king as had not been since the time of Christ;" and the primate exclaimed, "that his majesty spake by the Spirit of God." The conclusion of the conference was, that the book of common-prayer was ordered to be re-printed with a few unimportant alterations, with a proclamation prefixed enjoining conformity to the established, worship. Neither party was satisfied. The church was not satisfied, for the prayer-book was to be altered without reference to the clergy in convocation; the puritans were not satisfied, for they were as far off as ever from their object or their end; while a third section were indignant at the assumption of such despotic power by his majesty, in all matters, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

Whitgift being dead, Bancroft was called to the primacy, who employed his greater influence to enforce conformity. The puritans suffered much. And lest he should be suspected of favouring popery, James pressed with equal force and rigour on the catholics, and had recourse to the statutes of Elizabeth against the jesuits, the seminary-priests, and all recusants. Among these last was a gentleman of the name of Catesby, who had conceived the infernal project of destroying the king and the parliament. He had numerous confidants, not excepting a member of the house of Northumberland, all of whom bound themselves by an oath of fidelity and secresy upon the holy sacrament, administered by the jesuit Gerard. Having taken a building contiguous to the House of Lords, under its garden wall they began to open a mine. At this mine they worked for several weeks, but found that the edifice was vaulted underneath. The vaults were then being cleared out, and would soon be let on hire. Percy took them with the magazine of coals which they contained. These vaults were exactly under the throne. Six-and-thirty barrels of gunpowder were conveyed thither, which were covered over with coals and faggots, and the doors were thrown wide open, as if the cellars concealed nothing dangerous. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, their eldest son, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. His majesty's second son was to be assassinated; and the princess Elizabeth, being only a child, was to be taken, secured, and

proclaimed queen. The day for the meeting of the legislature was the fifth of November, 1605, and the conspirators having with infernal sagacity laid their plan, and perfected their preparations, they were flushed with the hope of success. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty individuals, had been religiously kept for nearly a year and a half. The discovery of the plot on the eve of its completion, was owing to a letter which was sent by one of the number to his brother-in-law, lord Monteagle, whose life he was anxious to preserve. It was as follows :—

"My lord:—Out of the love which I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament, for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past as soon as you have burned this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, and to whose holy protection I commend you."

Not knowing how to interpret this letter, his lordship took it to Salisbury, who was secretary of state. Equally perplexed, he laid it before the king, who conjectured that there was some conspiracy in existence against his government; and that the terms of the letter were such as to indicate a catastrophe by explosion. It was thought advisable to inspect the vaults under the parliament house. The search was delayed till the day before the meeting, when, on being made, Guy, or Guido Fawkes, was found putting a final hand to the arrangements; and when taken, his only regret was that he had not had the satisfaction of completing his diabolical scheme, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. At first he refused any information as to his associates, and it was not till they applied the torture that he made confession. As soon as they heard that he was apprehended, the other conspirators took to flight, and, pursued by the sheriffs, they passed through the counties of Warwick and Worcester till they came to Holbeach, the residence of one of their accomplices. They stood upon their defence. When commanded to surrender, they refused, resolved to sell their lives at no vulgar price. They fell into the snare which they had laid. An accidental explosion of some gunpowder, which had been laid out to dry, seriously injured some of them, others took to flight, and were mortally wounded by the shot of the besiegers. Some were taken prisoners and were executed; and of the three jesuits who were involved in the plot, two escaped, and Garret having been apprehended was put to death. Had the thing succeeded, it is probable that not fewer than thirty thousand human lives, including spectators, would have been sacrificed in one instant of time! "This monstrous crime was the joint result of favoritism, priestcraft, and persecution. In this view it is useful as a moral lesson. Like all religious crimes, it sank deeply

into the passions and memories of men. It envenomed hatred, and perpetuated intolerance." The parliament, which met on the 21st of January, in the year following, for the despatch of business, appointed the fifth of November as a day of thanksgiving. How far it is wise or prudent to keep up the observance of this day may be questioned. Some of the tirades delivered from the pulpits of England in its observance, are absurd and disgusting in the extreme. It redounds to the honour of James that he inculpated not the catholics, as a body, in this conspiracy; that he did not alter his plan of government; that he gave place and preferment, almost indifferently, to his catholic and protestant subjects, and that he employed every means to overcome the opposition of the people to the religion of their fathers. In other words, he was liberal rather than persecuting—merciful rather than implacable. Yet he afterwards consigned Arminians to the flames, and hinted that the great and learned Vorstius, who succeeded Arminius in his professorship at Leyden, and with whom James entered the lists of controversy, was not unworthy of the same fate. What a compound of folly and cruelty!

SECTION IV.—NEW LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND.

On the accession of James, Ireland, no less than Scotland, became an integral part of the one empire of England. Ireland had been subjugated under the Plantagenets, but she had never willingly submitted to the yoke. Elizabeth did nothing to lighten her burden, or to meet her wants. James aimed at civilizing the inhabitants, reconciling them to laws and industry, and rendering their subjection comparatively easy to themselves, and advantageous to England. It appears that all crime was punished by fine, and that the fine was graduated according to the rank or station of the offender; that landed property was divided among all the males of a family, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and if any one of them died, the chieftain at discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that family; and that the chieftain owed his position and his power rather to force and violence than to a free choice. So unlimited and absolute was his sway, that a common saying among the people was;—"they lived westward of the law." Having abolished these customs, James substituted English law, took the natives under his protection, and governed them by a mild and regular adminstration. A small army was maintained at the expense of England; circuits were established—justice dispensed—oppression discouraged—crime and disorder of every kind severely punished. As a nation, they were called to resign all separate jurisdiction, and yield implicit submission to the sovereign and the law of England. Private estates had all to be given up, and were rendered back with such conditions as to preserve and guard the common people from acts of tyranny and oppression. The province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting new colonies in that fertile region; tenants were sent from England and Scotland, by whom

the Irish were taught husbandry and more useful arts, and soon that province became the best cultivated and the most civilized portion of the sister island. "Such were the acts by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Noble cares!—much superior to the vain and criminal glory of conquests; but requiring ages of perseverance and attention to perfect what had so happily been begun." But if in the space of nine years more had been done for the regeneration of that unhappy kingdom, than had been effected in the four-hundred and fifty years which had elapsed since her first conquest, it holds out no little encouragement to those who will earnestly devote themselves to the task of redressing the grievances of that noble-hearted, generous, patriotic people. No country, perhaps, has greater internal resources, and no country would yield a better return for whatever might be expended on its cultivation and improvement. Her soil needs capital and labour. Her children must have mental culture and moral training. Her administration must be conducted on the principles of unbending justice. Her institutions and her religion must be free.

SECTION V.—SUMMARY OF EVENTS—DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.

With the assassination of Henry king of France, or with the death of Henry prince of Wales, his majesty's eldest son, in the nineteenth year of his age, though more respected than his sire, and though possessed of nobler qualities and of rarer virtue, our history has nothing to do. Still less does it enter into our plan to notice that minion of the sovereign, Robert Carre, who succeeded the courtly Salisbury in the highest offices of the state—his place in the affections and the confidence of the king—his guilty amours with lady Essex—his securing her divorce from her own husband—their subsequent marriage—their share in the death of Overbury, their confidant and counsellor, or their subsequent degradation and ruin:—as little have we to do with the sudden elevation of Villiers, another royal favourite, who was caressed and indulged by James until he became intoxicated with pride, and his insolence grew insufferable. So complicated are the negociations and intrigues connected with the matrimonial alliances of his majesty's family, that they are not worth unravelling. The marriage of prince Henry with Christina, second daughter of Henry of France, was first broken off, and afterwards frustrated by the death of the prince. The hand of the princess Elizabeth was solicited by Frederic, the elector-palatine. The union was effected, but afterwards involved James in considerable difficulty. Misfortune brought the merits and the virtues of Elizabeth into a stronger light. Turning from this, a painful chapter might be supplied on the corruptions and the intrigues of the court. The profligacies and the crimes of those who more immediately surrounded the person of the sovereign, can be written only with the blackest ink. Nor was justice pure. Bacon, the man of letters and

of science, who prostituted his fine genius to the lowest and the basest ends, compassed the overthrow of chief-justice Coke, the great lawyer of his day, the champion and the exemplar of judicial independence, and the oracle of English jurisprudence. But retribution came upon Bacon. He was charged, as lord-chancellor of England, with two-and-twenty acts of bribery and corruption. He confessed his crime, and was sentenced to the loss of the great seal, disqualified for the services of the state, or for sitting in parliament, with a fine of forty thousand pounds, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. After two day's confinement, James released him from the Tower, and remitted his fine. He spent his future years in the composition of those works which have made his name immortal. "His life should be a moral lesson, as his genius is an intellectual guide to all mankind."

Other events transpired. Arabella Stuart, after lingering four years in captivity and in want, and being reduced to comparative idiocy in the dark Tower of London, bade a final adieu to this lower world on the 27th of September, 1615, and was buried without pomp in the same vault with the lovely but unfortunate Mary queen of Scots. In 1616, after the truce was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, the states expressed their willingness immediately to pay his majesty two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and to incorporate the English garrisons into their army, if he would deliver up the cautionary towns, which had been consigned into the hands of Elizabeth, as pledges for the money which she had advanced for the support of the infant republic, against the power and the ambition of Spain. This offer, from the pressure of his wants, James accepted. Up to this period the States had been, to a certain extent, subject to the English crown, and were no common possession. Now he evacuated them, and the Dutch commonwealth enjoyed a freer, fuller liberty.

In the year following, his majesty paid a visit to his native country, to whose interests he continued sincerely attached. His chief object was, if possible, to introduce those changes in the ecclesiastical system which would bring the Scottish church into a closer correspondence with the English. There was nothing on which he was more intent than the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland. But to the graver presbyterian of the north, instrumental music in the worship of the sanctuary was grating to the ear; sculpture and painting, which were employed to adorn the churches, were instruments of idolatry; the surplice was a rag of popery; and every motion or gesture prescribed by the liturgy was a step towards that mystic Babylon which is doomed of heaven. As might be expected, his every effort failed to establish a conformity of worship and discipline between the churches of England and Scotland; and equally vain was his endeavour to lift the civil above the ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction. Disavowing his supremacy, some of the clergy were thrown into prison; others were condemned for high treason, and though their lives were spared, they were banished the kingdom. Having, in his progress to Scotland, observed that a judaical observance of the Sabbath was every day gaining ground throughout the kingdom, he issued a proclamation, allowing

after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises from his Book of Sports, which he directed the bishops to have read in their churches, and the reading of which so shocked the popular feeling as to produce the most violent revulsion. The games and exercises which it allowed and enforced were associated with the most scandalous debaucheries of his court.

The states of Bohemia having taken up arms against the house of Austria, conscious of their own weakness, solicited foreign assistance. They turned to the Elector-palatine, to whom they offered the sovereignty of the States, and through whom, as the son-in-law of James, they hoped to enlist the sympathies and the aid of England. The whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the conflict; but James, who trembled at the sight of a drawn sword, wished to refer the matter to arbitration. No proof this of his folly. And though Ferdinand made several overtures to reconcile the Bohemians to his title, they refused to settle the question otherwise than by an appeal to arms. Frederic was crowned king of Bohemia. James refused to acknowledge his title; yet he assisted him with both money and men. His elevation rendered his fall the greater. In battle he was wholly defeated; his forces were hewn down in thousands; and he, and his queen, and their family, were obliged to take flight.

SECTION VI.—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT.

The events just enumerated took place between 1618 and 1621, when a parliament was summoned as the only adequate resource for supplying his needs. Voluntary contributions, forced benevolences, extravagant loans, and the continued sale of crown property, not excepting the jewels of the queen recently deceased, all were insufficient to meet the exigencies of his case. Though the house regarded his pretended benevolences as real extortions, and contrary to law; they seemed disposed to sacrifice not a little to maintain a good correspondence with their prince. But having instituted an examination into grievances, they found such abuses in the granting of patents, and the corruption of justice at its very fountain head, as to arouse their inmost indignation. As the representatives and the guardians of the people, they demanded redress. James, who was not unwilling to correct the abuses, but who would not submit to have his power disputed, finding that his prerogative was at each successive step being involved, determined to dissolve the parliament. The house protested, and applied to the lords to join them in a petition to his majesty to delay the adjournment. The peers refused; for which James thanked them. Parliament was prorogued; but the foundation was laid for an open rupture between his majesty and the house. During the recess, James used every means to render himself popular with the nation, all whose sympathies were with the parliament. Matters had gone too far. And when the house assembled in November, a collision became inevitable. James took high ground; the parliamant took higher still. He addressed a letter to the speaker,

in which he forbade the house to meddle with anything concerning his government, and the deep matters of state, while he claimed the sole right to punish any man's misdemeanours in parliament, as well during their sitting as after. The commons were not terrified, but indignant; and the following protest was entered on the journals of the house:—"The liberties, franchises, and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England—the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and the defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within the realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of those matters, in such order as, in their judgments, shall seem fittest; and that every such member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by the censure of the house itself) for, or concerning any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters, touching the parliament or parliament business." James, who was at Theobalds, hastened to London, and in a paroxysm of rage, ordered the clerk to bring him the journals of the house, when he tore out the protest with his own hand, and entered a minute on the books to that effect! He then dissolved the parliament by proclamation. Some of the members were sent to the Tower, and others were committed to the common prisons. As might have been expected, such proceedings became a national topic, and, as if to make his conduct yet more obnoxious, he directed the judges on their circuits to intimate in their charges that he was resolved to visit with the severest punishment any of the people who might be found indulging in liberal speaking, or in undutiful speeches touching the state and the government.

In open rupture with his parliament, James sought for relief and consolation in a foreign power. The most vigorous efforts had been put forth by Frederic his son-in-law for the recovery of his dominions; and conceiving that if he could but effect his son's marriage with the Infanta of Spain, the restoration of the Palatinate would be easily obtained, this now became the object of his pursuit. The king of Spain was rather favourable than otherwise to such a union; but a dispensation from Rome was requisite for the marriage of the infanta with a professedly protestant prince. To gain upon the pontiff, James relaxed the penal statutes against his catholic subjects, and ordered all popish recusants who were in prison to be discharged. The king of Spain having undertaken to procure this dispensation, a considerable delay took place. Embassy succeeded embassy to the court of Spain, and still no advance was made. Villiers, now duke of Buckingham and the favourite of James, to ingratiate himself into the good esteem of the young prince, between whom and himself there had hitherto existed neither confidence nor friendship, proposed to Charles to go over in person to Madrid, and have an interview with his bride elect, as also with her royal father and family. The

proposal pleased Charles well; and after a good deal of doubt, and hestation, and change of mind, on the part of his majesty, he proceeded thither with Buckingham and two other attendants. Charles was received at the Spanish court with unprecedented honour, and endeared himself to all classes; but Buckingham so conducted himself as to become the object of almost universal detestation. The pope, who had granted the dispensation, in the meanwhile died. His successor was called to ratify the deed, but in doing so imposed some new conditions, which rendered it necessary to submit the terms again both to the courts of England and of Spain. During the delay Charles and his attendants left Madrid; and on their return to England, Buchingham so prevailed over the prince as to induce him to break his engagement with the infanta, and turn his attention in another direction. James was mortified and disappointed in the extreme.

In this difficulty, what could James do to maintain his faith with Spain? He was at variance with the parliament and the people, and yet the parliament must be convened. The Spanish affair had so exhausted his funds, and increased his debts, that he was on the point of bankruptcy. The parliament met on the 19th of February, 1624, in opening which he was advised to win the commons by "casting some crumbs of his crown amongst them, which crumbs would work miracles." The man who boasted of his divine right, now condescended to ask the counsel and advice of his parliament. Much of the time of the house was spent in drawing up addresses to his majesty, and in receiving messages from him. He was opposed to war; yet, to recover the Palatinate, war with Spain appeared inevitable. To speak of war without a large military force was absurd, and such a force could not be obtained without money. James asked them to provide the necessary means. Six subsidies and twelve fifteenths were supposed to be required. The commons voted one-half. An impressment took place throughout the kingdom to raise an army of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse. Arrangements were made with the courts of France and Savoy, and the republic of Venice, for the supply of money and of men. James, who deemed it an unhappy thing to seek that by blood which might be had by peace, was at this conjuncture seized with a bilious fever, of which he died on the 27th of March, 1625, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. In all history, it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious in the sense in which the word is used in connection with the courts and governments of this world. James was not destitute of virtue, but it was deeply mingled with vice. "His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness."

SECTION VII.—ESTIMATE OF JAMES S CHARACTER AND GOVERNMENT.

Nothing is more easy to employ than the language of condemnation. But it may be fairly questioned whether the character and government of James deserved those sweeping censures which have been passed upon them. His weakness and his folly cannot be denied; his meanness and his arrogance were alike despicable. He would descend to the lowest acts, and yet claim the homage and obedience of a god. His vanity placed him on so high a pedestal, that everything beneath him seemed but as the dust of his feet. The more abject his minions, the more prodigal his favours. His favouritism and his prodigality impress him with the character of a weak and worthless prince. For the sake of his creatures, he burdened and oppressed the people—imposed a yoke which galled their inmost spirit. His impositions by prerogative were the curse of his reign. It is true that in England the authority of the sovereign had hitherto been all but absolute; yet as all authority was derived from the voluntary submission of the people, it was ridiculous to speak of the privileges of parliament as dependant and precarious. The monarch who had founded his power, or the exercise of his prerogative, on mere arbitrary principles, must be watched with the same care, and be opposed with the same vigour, as the veriest tyrant that breathes God's free air. In seeking to circumscribe the authority of the crown, James perceived that his prerogative was being invaded; and yet without some limitation, the liberties of England would have been at stake.

The battle which the representatives of the people fought for constitutional liberty, gives to this reign deep and delightful interest. The introduction of the puritanical element in a larger degree into the later parliaments of James, made the house bold in the assertion and the defence of principles, which lay at the basis of the freedom and the independence of England. It was the maintaining of these principles—principles not more conservative of the people's rights than of the prerogative of the monarch, if that prerogative be exercised within its own proper limits—which brought the king and the parliament into such direct collision, and occasioned so fearful a rupture. All honour is due to the men who, in such an age, espoused those principles; and who stood fast in the day of trial. Their fidelity saved the country; and to this day England is basking in the sun of that liberty for which they so earnestly and so manfully struggled. They were not wanting in true loyalty, but James was exorbitant in his demands. "He enraged and alarmed his parliament, by constantly telling them that they held their privileges merely during his pleasure, and that they had no more business to inquire what he might lawfully do than what the Deity might lawfully do. Yet he quailed before them, abandoned minister after minister to their vengeance, and suffered them to tease him into acts directly opposed to his strongest inclinations. Thus the indignation excited by his

claims and the scorn excited by his concessions went on growing together. By his fondness for worthless minions, and by the sanction which he gave to their tyranny and rapacity, he kept discontent constantly alive. His cowardice, his childishness, his pedantry, his ungainly person and manners, and his provincial accent, made him an object of derision. Even in his virtues and accomplishments there was something eminently unkingly. Throughout the whole course of his reign, all the venerable associations by which the throne had been fenced were gradually losing their strength. During two hundred years, all the sovereigns who had ruled England, with the single exception of the unfortunate Henry the Sixth, had strong-minded, high-spirited, courageous, and princely bearing. Almost all had possessed abilities above the ordinary level. It was no light thing that, on the very eve of the decisive struggle between our kings and their parliaments, royalty should be exhibited to the world, stammering, slobbering, shedding unmanly tears, trembling at the drawn sword, and talking in the style alternately of a buffoon and of a pedagogue."*

Men enamoured with that shadow of glory which flits across the battle-field, have been forward to rebuke James for his want of martial spirit. His mild and temperate disposition was perhaps the best trait in his character, as his peaceful policy was the brightest gem in his crown. He was in advance of his age in believing that the balance of power could be better maintained on the principle of a just arbitration than by the force of arms. Would that he had kept as far from the strife of religious parties as from the din of war; that he had left truth to its own inherent force; that he had shown equal favour to all religious sects, and had carried his pacific principles so far as never to have subjected any of his people either to persecution or to suffering. The most rigid statutes of Elizabeth against nonconformity were enforced and carried into effect. Liberty of conscience there was none. No man was safe beyond the pale of the established church. Neither catholic nor puritan, neither Calvinist nor Armenian, could boast of his security for a single day. How profoundly absurd was it for a man to be now prescribing the doctrines and worship of his people, and then doing violence to all its sublime sanctities and sanctions, by enforcing a book of sports, whose exercises but too closely corresponded with the liberty and the licentiousness of his court! Nor was James alone intolerant. So bigoted was the bigotry of the age, that sect could not tolerate sect. Each party looked upon themselves as the purest and the most nearly conformed to the apostolic model. But sectarian feeling would soon have expended itself, if it had not been adopted as a maxim of the state, that uniformity in religion was absolutely necessary to the support and stability of government. Not only, therefore, were men prevented expressing the living and deeper convictions of their moral nature, but the liberty of the press was taken away. The decree of Elizabeth forbidding any book to be printed in any place but in

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

London, Oxford, or Cambridge, under severe penalties, was not only re-enacted, but no publications could be imported from abroad!

The monopolies which James established by his numerous and extravagant patents, seriously interfered with a free commerce; yet the peace which he maintained with the world was favourable to industry. The arts flourished; trade increased; manufactures advanced; the whale fishery was carried on with success; the East India Company received a new patent, enlarged their stock, and fitted out several new ships; the English colonies in America were commenced; and "the spirit of independency which was revived in England had shone forth in its full lustre," and received new accessions from the aspiring character of those who, panting for a more perfect freedom, went and settled on those distant and desert shores.

In the middle of this reign died the man—Shakspeare, whose monument is his name. Other men perhaps surpassed him in learning, but none possessed his genius. The great luminary in the world of letters was lord Bacon, whose works have earned for him a deathless fame. Nor is the manly but unfortunate Raleigh to be denied a niche in the temple of literature. "If the reader can have patience to wade through the Jewish and Rabbinical learning which compose one half of his work entitled THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, he will find, when he comes to the Greek and Roman story, that his pains are not unrewarded." Camden's memoirs of queen Elizabeth is one of the best historical productions of that age. Nor must we overlook the king himself. With talents not above mediocrity, he made no mean appearance in the circle of the learned, and his works still prove that he was not destitute of genius. But what is most memorable, in connection with the progress and triumph of letters, is the fact, that most of those who were distinguished for mental power and literary merit, were men ardently attached to the principles of freedom. The mind that has burst every human shackle, and is itself free, will be the first and most forward to sympathise with any people in their struggle for liberty. It has been chartered to him by Heaven; and the fiat of the Eternal has gone forth that wherever man is found, man shall be free!

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BEARINGS OF DESPOTIC AUTHORITY.

IN one of his noble addresses to the young king of France, Massillon thus expressed himself:—"If the poison infect the heart of the prince; if, forgetting that he is the protector of public tranquillity, he prefer his own false glory to the love and the happiness of his people; if he rather conquer provinces than reign over hearts, and think it more illustrious to be the destroyer of every neighbouring nation than the father of that confided to his care; if the lamentations of his subjects be the only song of triumph that accompanies his victories; what a scourge has God, in his wrath, given to man, in giving him such a master! His glory, Sire, will be ever sullied with blood. Some madmen will sing perhaps his victories; but the provinces, the cities, the villages will weep them. Superb monuments will be erected to immortalize his conquests; but the ashes, still smoking, of cities that once were flourishing; the wide desolation of plains stripped of their fertility and beauty; the ruins of the walls under which peaceable citizens lie buried; so many public marks of calamities that are to subsist after him, will be sad monuments which are to immortalize his vanity and folly. He will have passed, like a torrent, to ravish the earth; not like a majestic river, to bear to it joy and abundance. His name will have its place among conquerors in the annals of posterity, but it will not be to be found in the list of good kings; and as often as the history of his reign shall be recalled, it will be only as a memorial of the evils which he has inflicted on mankind."

SECTION I.—CHARLES' THREE PARLIAMENTS.

On the 27th of March 1625, and in the twenty-fifth year of his age, Charles succeeded to the crown of the three kingdoms. In every sense of the word he was a superior man to his father. But having inherited his father's political theories, he was resolved to carry them out. In the first four years of his reign there sat no fewer than three parliaments. The house which was sitting at the time of James' death had by that event ceased to exist. Finding that it could not be re-as-

sembled, Charles issued writs for a new parliament. In consequence of the arrival of the princess Henrietta of France, whom he had espoused, the meeting of the legislature was delayed till the 18th of June. He opened the session with a clever, business-like speech. The last parliament having pledged itself to furnish the necessary supplies for the carrying on of a war with France, and as such a war could not be carried on under seven hundred thousand pounds a year, his majesty looked for a corresponding grant; at the same time reminding the house of his own and his father's debts. The commons included some of the wisest and ablest senators; some of the purest and most devoted patriots of which England could boast. They were far-seeing men, and men of profound views. The death of his late majesty had produced no radical change in their temper and disposition. And feeling that they could not implicitly confide in Charles, they were resolved to keep his prerogative within its proper limits, by holding the key of the public exchequer. They voted a supply of two subsidies, which were equal to about one hundred and twelve thousand pounds, or one-sixth of the sum specified. Whether this was an expedient on the part of the legislature to get Charles to displace Buckingham, who had become so unpopular and so obnoxious to all parties, or whether from his marriage with a daughter of the house of France, they suspected him of leaning to the catholic interest, it is difficult to determine. His majesty felt himself insulted, and finding a pretext in the ravages of the plague, he adjourned the house. They re-assembled at Oxford in the month of August; but still in the same mind. No representation which Charles could make could induce them to shift their ground. They remained inexorable. Disappointed of supplies, and weary of their complaints against the growth of popery, he dissolved the parliament, and by this act emphatically expressed his displeasure.

To meet the preasure of his wants he betook himself to loans from his subjects, by which he succeeded in equipping his fleet, and in sending it out under the command of Cecil, but only to return without a single prize. Again drained in his resources, he again summoned a parliament to meet in February 1626, and again he had the mortification to be refused the necessary supplies. Clearly, the humiliation of Buckingham was their purpose and determination. By throwing his shield over this his favourite, and rather adding to his honours and his influence, Charles was alienating the hearts of the parliament and of the nation from himself. He threatened the commons that if they did not funish him with adequate supplies, he should be obliged to try new counsels. They protested that they would never yield an unlimited submission to the royal will; never give up their constitutional rights and liberties. Two of the members having been thrown into prison, the house would proceed no farther in business till they had satisfaction in their privileges. The members were released, but the house did not forget the wrong. Another dissolution was impending. The peers advised his majesty against such an expedient. His mind was made up, and nothing could change him. His next and only step was to conclude a peace with Spain. Had he, like some of the continental powers, been able to command an armed force

on which he could have relied, it is not unlikely that he would at once have thrown aside the mask, and have governed with the mos despotic authority.

A compound with the catholics for the mitigation of the penal statutes which existed against them, filled his coffers, but exasperated the people. The nobility gave him but little assistance. The city of London refused him a loan. The maritime towns, which were required, with the aid of their respective counties, to equip a certain number of ships, were dissatisfied. Loans and benevolences were alike objectionable to the nation. News arrived that the king of Denmark had been defeated in battle, and being nearly allied to Charles, money was wanted to repair a loss which had been sustained in an engagement in which the king of England was involved. In these peculiar circumstances and in the non-existence of a parliament, it was deemed the most speedy, equal, and convenient mode to obtain a general loan from the subject according as he had been assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. A more arbitrary procedure could not have been suggested. It rendered parliament superfluous, and struck the most violent blow at the liberty of the subject. The nation was aroused. Many refused the loan. All insisted upon their common rights and privileges. Some, among whom was Sir Edward Hambden, were thrown into prison; but they demanded their release, not as a favour from the crown, but as an act of justice according to the laws of their country. Their imprisonment told upon the minds of the people. The question was tried in the king's bench, in the prosecution of which it came out, as in the light of the sun, that the personal liberty of the subject had been jealously secured against the arbitrary power of the crown, by six several statutes, and by a separate article of the Great Charter. Nor could the judges keep back the conclusion, that there was no law which could justify imprisonment for the non-payment of loans or subsidies without the consent of parliament. The soul of the nation became increasingly fired against this undue exercise of the prerogative. "The commons as yet had in no wise invaded his authority. They had only exercised, as best pleased them, their own privilege. Was he justifiable, because he had from one house of parliament met with harsh and unkind treatment, to make, in revenge, an invasion on the rights and liberties of the whole nation?" Nor this alone;—companies of soldiers, who had served in the Spanish expedition, were billeted on the people, and such were their excesses that martial law took the place of ancient jurisprudence.

In the depth of his poverty, and while the nation was exasperated against him, Charles madly plunged into war with France. But, instead of following the bloody car of the demon war, and collecting the dust of his chariot-wheels, let us watch the struggle for constitutional right and liberty. The king called a third parliament in March 1628, whose spirit was not less manly, and whose opposition was stronger and firmer than ever. They were men of wealth and of character, and inspired with the love of liberty. Despite all the provocations which they had received in the treatment experienced by some members of the last parliament, "they entered on business with perfect

temper and decorum." To correct the late disorders in the administration, some new laws were required. They, however, proceeded with moderation. While every voice was lifted up in opposition to arbitrary imprisonments and to forced loans, due regard was had to the prerogative of the king. It was their supreme desire to consult his interest, no less than the interest of the people. They voted him five subsidies, which he received with the tear in his eye. This vote was followed by the introduction of THE PETITION OF RIGHT, which having, after much altercation and much evasion, been ratified by his majesty, became the second Magna Charta of the liberties of England. "By ratifying that law, he bound himself never again to raise money without the consent of the house; never again to imprison any person, except in due course of law; and never again to subject his people to the jurisdiction of courts-martial." It was a day of joy and of gladness when the bill received the royal sanction. The house rang with acclamations. All London was "astir with bells and bonfires;" and the acclamations of parliament were echoed and re-echoed by the nation. The joy was short-lived. Within three weeks it became evident that Charles never meant to keep his compact. The supply was collected, but the covenant was broken. The parliament had hitherto concealed their intentions with regard to that branch of the revenue which was derivable from tonnage and poundage, which was a temporary grant to enable the prince to maintain a naval force for the defence of the kingdom, by undertaking the defence of the seas, and which had never before been levied without proper authority. They now asserted that such a levy, without the consent of parliament, was a direct violation of the ancient liberties of the people. This was the rock on which the king and his commons split. He first prorogued, and then dissolved the parliament. A crisis came—a contest followed—all England was soon convulsed. Charles was aiming at despotism; the people were struggling for freedom. It was a contest between unlimited authority and constitutional liberty. While the king refused to become the slave of his subjects, his subjects refused to become the creatures of the sovereign. It was not, as too many historians have affirmed, his opposition to the puritan, but to the parliament, which involved Charles in such deep and complicated calamities. If he had acted in conformity with the principles of the English constitution, there was nothing in the doctrines and teachings of that noble but despised sect to disturb his throne or endanger his crown. How deep-rooted soever were their prejudices against catholicism, it was not his majesty's leaning to that system, or any other, that drew forth their opposition; but his wanton violation of all constitutional right and law. Had he proved faithful to the charter, and treated all religious parties with impartial justice, they would have poured out their life as a libation for him.

SECTION II.—VIOLATION OF THE PETITION OF RIGHT.

The parliament which framed this famous document, and in which Oliver Cromwell first came into more public view, having been dissolved, and Buckingham having been assassinated at Portsmouth, Charles now became his own minister, and henceforth trusted for the support of his government chiefly to that hierarchy to whose faith he was a devoted adherent, and who were, in their turn, the most submissive of his subjects. His prime counsellor was the archbishop Laud, a man of narrow mind and of narrower views, and whose grand aim was, in opposition to the spirit of the age, rather to increase than diminish the ceremonies of the church. Looking upon every one who would not conform as an enemy to loyalty and to piety, he made a merit and a virtue of his most persecuting and cruel inflictions; and such was the ascendancy which he gained over his royal master, that he led him into a line of conduct which proved fatal both to himself and his kingdom. From March 1629 to April 1640 no parliament was convened. A tremendous struggle was coming on. Charles had lost his hold on the national feeling—on the national confidence.

Having concluded a peace, first with France and then with Spain, and the other states of Europe having shown little or no disposition to come into conflict with England, Charles almost wholly withdrew his attention from foreign affairs, and gave his undivided mind to the now distracted and doubtful interests of his own kingdom. His sturdiest apologists are forced to admit that, not occasionally, but constantly, and on system, he violated the provisions of the Petition of Right; that he levied taxes without any legal authority, imprisoned his subjects, caressed his minions, repressed the rising spirit of liberty, and exalted his prerogative above all that is called human. Thomas Wentworth, an apostate from the ranks of the opposition, was taken into the national council, and, from his character and capacity, was trusted in all political and military affairs. His grand aim, from the moment of his elevation to the peerage and the cabinet, was to render the monarchy absolute, by putting, not only the estates, but the personal liberty of the subject at the disposal of the crown. To secure this end, he perceived that nothing less was required than calling into existence a standing army, and to this he directed all his efforts and all his resources. To say nothing of those mere mummeries which Laud laboured so earnestly to introduce into the service and the worship of the sanctuary, and which shocked the deeper spiritual feelings of the nation, and against conformity to which the civil power held out no protection;—to say nothing of the star-chamber and the high commission, which were alike relentless and cruel, and both of which possessed all but unbounded authority;—to say nothing of all this, in itself sufficiently humiliating and oppressive, THE SHIP-MONEY, which was at first confined to sea-port towns, was now levied on the whole kingdom. Each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon in-

dividuals. Hitherto this impost had been levied only in time of war. England was now at peace with the whole world. What need was there for such a tax? It was not to maintain the navy, but to furnish his majesty with supplies, which might be increased, at his discretion, to any amount, and be expended, it may be, in raising and supporting a military force, which alone seemed to be wanting to make his government truly despotic. Nothing could reconcile the people to the obnoxious impost, far less to the arbitrary mode of its being raised. The soul of the nation was roused. John Hampden, a worthy and well-born gentleman of Buckinghamshire, under whose quiet and amiable deportment, under whose moderation and simplicity, lay concealed a will of iron, and a most determined resolution —to him it was given to lift the signal of resistance to the sovereign's arbitrary measures. On the 11th of January, 1636, a meeting was held in the church of Great Kimble, to assess and rate the ship-money of the said parish. John Hampden was assessed for one parish to the amount of thirty-one shillings and sixpence, and for another parish to the amount of twenty shillings. By their own resolution, the commons had declared the levying of tonnage and poundage to be illegal, and those to be guilty of high treason who should levy, or even pay such dues. Hampden stoutly refused to pay the same, or any portion of it, being resolved to try the issue by law. His judges decided against him by a majority of eight to four. "But the people looked upon him as the victor, and he became dear to all true hearts in England." Nor has his name ceased to be identified with the great principles of truth, justice, and freedom. These principles are immutable and eternal, and in connexion with them Hampden became the greatest man in England.

By the sentence pronounced on Hampden justice was prostituted, and the people were irritated. But "men had become accustomed to the pursuits of peaceful industry, and, exasperated as they were, hesitated long before they drew the sword." Not a few began to cast a look beyond the great Atlantic, to the bleak and barren shores of the New World, as offering a happier and a safer asylum both for their families and their faith. Eight ships lay in the Thames ready to set sail; but the government, jealous of the departure of so many subjects from the mother country, and averse to those new American colonies, interdicted, by an order in council, those vessels from leaving port, and disembarked both the passengers and their provisions. Among the party were ministers of religion, and men of eminence, including Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell. How short-sighted were the policy and the precautions of tyranny! Cromwell, Pym, and Hampden could have given but little opposition to Charles's government in the wilds and the wildernesses of North America; but the sequel will tell the singular part which these patriotic men played on England's wide and open stage, and in the presence of England's great and noble people.

It was not England alone that was disturbed, but Scotland, which had become an integral part of England, was moved to its very centre. In no part of Europe had the Reformation been carried to greater perfection, or had obtained a more signal triumph. In no other

country, not excepting Geneva itself, had the doctrines and discipline of Calvin taken a deeper hold of the popular mind. The pure and god-like spirit of Knox still animated the people. Devoted to their country, they were not less devoted to their religion. Far removed in thought and faith from popery, they looked upon prelacy as but too closely allied to it; and nothing but the most violent revolution in the religious opinions of the national mind could ever have brought them to leave their own simpler ecclesiastical platform for another, even the most gorgeous and imposing.

While Charles was filling the soul of every true Englishman with horror and anguish by his persecuting and tyrannical conduct, he was applying himself with intense earnestness to abolish presbyterianism and establish prelacy in Scotland. The service-book which he took the pains to transmit for the benefit of his Scottish subjects, was received by them with horror and indignation. They took a national covenant against its adoption; and eventually proceeded to march a large army across the Tweed in support of the freedom of their consciences. Charles, by extraordinary economy, having contrived to accumulate a considerable sum above and beyond the outlay involved in carrying on his government, and assisted by the nobility and gentry, and chiefly by the prelates of the church, in this emergency levied and equipped a formidable body of troops, at whose head he marched against the Scots. But the Scots, with a much better army, already lay encamped on Dunse Law—every nobleman with his tenants there as a drilled regiment round him—at every colonel's tent this pennon flying:—"FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT." No fighting was thought of; the king judged it most prudent to enter into terms. Charles having failed honourably to perform his part, the Scotch shortly afterwards prepared to renew their visit. They had sworn fidelity to their ancient institutions, and nothing could make them swerve. Their banner now floated in the light of heaven. Ill success, and no mistakeable evidences of a disposition in his army to side with their Scottish brethren, compelled the king to listen favourably to the petition and prayer of the enemy for the means of a lasting peace.

During the eleven years in which no parliament was holden, the proceedings of the star-chamber and of the commission partook the character of the inquisition, rather than the character of righteous tribunals. Barnard, Bastwick, Burton, Leighton, and Prynne, with a host of others, both lay and clerical, were made the victims of a heartless and unconstitutional tyranny. Because they dared to express and publish their thoughts on the giddy and profane levities of the age, to denounce the "Book of Sports," or to blame the hierarchy for the introduction of unmeaning ceremonies into public worship, they were subjected to the pillory, or to castigation, or to brandings with hot irons, or to heavy fines, or to imprisonment for life. And there have been historians who have defended these barbarities as necessary to the support of the administration. What, then, must have been the character of that administration which required such measures to uphold it? These men were far removed from the spirit of rebellion. Their virtue was equal to their daring. They feared God, and they

honoured the king. But they hated injustice, oppression, and tyranny. They refused to be slaves; and they swore before the altar of eternal truth that they would preserve the freedom of their country at the price of their hearts' purest, warmest blood. Happily the force of circumstances compelled the king to call another parliament. The pressing necessities of the crown, the hostile attitude of the Scots, and the wide-spread discontent of the people on account of the irregular and arbitrary methods of taxation, left him no alternative. He offered a total abolition of that most obnoxious impost—the ship-money, and in return asked for twelve subsidies, or six hundred thousand pounds, made payable in three years. The house received the proposition, but instead of making this their first or chief business, they immediately entered on the subject of grievances. These were classed under three distinct heads:—the privileges of parliament, the property of the subject, and the matters touching religion. Disappointed and mortified with the proceedings of the commons, his majesty requested the good offices of the peers. They ventured to suggest that the king's pressing necessities ought to precede the subject of grievances. The lower house regarded this interference of their lordships as a breach of privilege. Charles had many devoted friends and adherents in the legislature, who considered that a happy occasion now existed for removing the principal causes of difference between his majesty and the people, and for reconciling the sovereign to the use of parliaments. They maintained that the subject of grievances had always been taken up before the question of supply—that the present necessity was not national, but only ministerial—and that if they were to accept the remission of the ship-money on the condition specified, it would be to ratify the authority by which it had been levied, and to sanction the cruelties by which it had been enforced and obtained. Finding that his friends were outnumbered by his enemies, Charles knew not what to do. Incapable of grappling with difficulties, he resolved to dissolve the parliament. This only more inflamed the popular mind, and rendered his own position still more critical and alarming. He persevered in his crooked counsels and conduct. Men of the first name and of the first character were searched, insulted, and committed to the Tower or to the more common prison. Denied parliamentary supplies, he obtained, by a vote of the convocation, which, with the commission, continued still to sit, certain ecclesiastical subsidies. He then borrowed money from his courtiers and his ministers, from Spanish merchants and London citizens. Such were his extremities, that it was proposed to coin base money, and make it current by proclamation. An act this, baser than the money. And yet in these circumstances he madly resolved to march his army against the Scots, whose superior valour soon overcame the English and forced them to retreat. The Scots took possession of Newcastle, and from thence despatched messengers to the king, who had arrived at York, to assure him of their loyalty and their duty. To prevent their farther advance, he entered into a treaty with them. But Strafford, who had obtained the command of the army in the room of Northumberland, advised Charles, rather than submit to terms, to renew the attack, and hazard his all. But mutiny broke out

in the English troops; martial law was abolished; there were no adequate means for subsistence of the army; his majesty was a suitor at the door of the city treasury, and without support on either side of the Tweed, his case was all but hopeless. The final adjournment of the treaty with the Scots was transferred to London, and the nation waited with breathless suspense the issue of events. Loud and universal was the call for a parliament. It was the advice of his peers—it was the recommendation of his queen—it was the demand as well as the right of an oppressed people, that the house of representatives should be again convened. The whole land heaved and trembled, as if with volcanic irruption. The elements of destruction were gathering force and concentration. A man may play with the lightning of heaven with impunity; it is a much more difficult thing to deal with those elements which come into action in all popular excitement and agitation—in the strife and the contest of party feeling.

SECTION III.—THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

It is admitted that Charles "had assumed power incompatible with the principles of limited government, and had rendered it impossible for his most zealous partizans entirely to justify his conduct." Yielding to the pressure from without, THE LONG PARLIAMENT was opened by the king in person on the third of November, 1640, to the unspeakable joy of the people. He professed to throw himself on the affections of his subjects; promised a redress of grievances; deprecated all jealousies and mutual distrusts; and then urged the necessities of the crown and of the service. His majesty, according to usage, recommended Gardiner, the city recorder, for speaker; but such was the organization and activity of the patriot party, that they continued to defeat his election, not only in London, but in every other place for which he put up; and a poor practising barrister, of the name of Lenthall, was chosen to fill the chair. Never had Charles addressed such an assembly, and its proceedings form no common chapter in the history of our loved England. Milton, after noticing their high birth and their attainments, and commending their sterling virtue in having passed unhurt through the severe ordeal of both courtly temptation and vengeance, says—"Thus, in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects, having given proof of themselves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue, than others, under the holiest precepts and best examples, have been headstrong and prone to vice; and having, in all the trials of a firm ingrafted honesty, not oftener buckled in the conflict than given every opposition the foil; this, moreover, was added by favour from heaven, as an ornament and happiness to their virtue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclipsed for want of matter equal to illustrate itself; GOD and man consenting, in point of approbation, to choose them out, as worthiest above others, to be both the great reformers of the church and the restorers of the commonwealth. Nor did they deceive that expectation which, with the eyes and desires of their country, was

fixed upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy, but, encountering the dazzled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and subtle, till they had laid her grovelling on the fatal block; with one stroke winning again our lost liberties and charters, which our forefathers, after so many battles, could scarce maintain." Even Clarendon himself testifies—"that there were in the commons many persons of wisdom and gravity, who, being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the court, had all imaginable duty for the king, and affection for the government established by law or ancient customs; that, without doubt, the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church and state; that there was observed a marvellous elated countenance in many of the members of parliament before they met together in the house. The same men who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide and exposing it to the air—and rather to cure what was amiss than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady—talked now in another dialect both of things and persons, and said that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the tops and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties." The house addressed itself to its great duty, conscious of its own strength and of the present weakness of the sovereign. The king was in the hands of parliament. Complaints and petitions relative to grievances were presented on all hands, so that the house was divided and sub-divided into more than forty committees for their consideration.

It soon became apparent, from the conduct of Charles, that he was a man without faith, and that an open and uncompromising opposition to his entire policy could alone save England. This was the crisis. The salvation of the country called aloud for patriotic men and true. And we are told that it was not a few of either house, but all the great PATRIOTS, that concurred at first to make inquiry into the grievances of this reign; and, indeed, most of those who took the king's part in the succeeding war were the men that appeared with the greatest zeal for the redress of grievances. Parliament proceeded energetically to prosecute the authors of the wrongs which had been inflicted on the nation. They effected the committal of the king's first ministers, the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, upon charges of high treason. They reversed the sentences formerly passed against Hampden and others of the popular party; obtained the king's assent to their bill for triennial parliaments; procured the abolition of monopolies, and an answer from his majesty relative to his extraordinary methods of raising supplies by forced loans, tonnage and poundage, ship-money, and other expedients—succeeded in placing ministers all very gra-

cious to the people in the royal counsels; and among their earliest measures sent commissioners into the several counties "for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels." It is worthy of remark that the speeches of members of parliament were now first published, and the liberty of the press, though not formally decreed, was for the first time fully established. The first three-and-twenty months of this parliament were "months distinguished beyond most others in history by anxieties and endeavours, by hope and fear, and swift vicissitude, to all England."

The parliament conducted their proceedings with consummate wisdom and prudence. Those who had assumed or exercised any unconstitutional power were held to be delinquents, not excepting such as had been engaged in assessing and collecting the ship-money. All who had concurred in the arbitrary jurisdiction of the star-chamber and the commission were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. The judges, whose decision went against Hampden, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find surety for their appearance. All ecclesiastical canons were henceforth to be confirmed as well by the lords and commons as by the sovereign. The star-chamber, which had "no precise rule or limit, either with regard to the causes which came under its jurisdiction, or the decisions which it formed," was abolished, as was also the court of commission, whose institution was most arbitrary, and whose professed object was the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment. Vehement was the outcry against the clergy. Petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom, and forwarded to the parliament. There was a strong feeling in favour of the worship and discipline of the presbyterians. The hierarchy had been established in England ever since the Reformation. The right of prelacy was a favourite doctrine with the priesthood. The church, as an institution, had become venerable, and thousands were attached to her liturgy and her government. In these circumstances, the leaders in the house resolved to proceed with caution. A bill was introduced which excluded the clergy from all civil offices, and consequently deprived the bishops of their seat in the house of lords. This was rejected by the peers. Another bill was framed and brought in, for the total abolition of episcopacy, but it was allowed to slumber and sleep in its progress through the house. All measures were carried with determination and vigour, and a statute was enacted that the parliament should not be dissolved without the consent of both branches of the legislature.

After eleven months of intense application, and of herculean labour, the first session of this memorable parliament was brought to a close on the ninth day of September, 1641, and stood adjourned for six short weeks. "An Englishman who can contemplate those achievements without emotion, does not know how to appreciate all that is virtuous and noble in patriotism, and great in character, and is ignorant of the true authors of the freedom which he enjoys. The revolution of 1688, and its declaration of rights, dwindle into a petty

transaction, when compared with this single session of the Long Parliament. The Pyms and Hampdens assaulted, stormed, and dismantled the fortress of despotism. The Danbys, Devonshires, Halifaxes, and Shrewsburys had but an easy and secondary conquest to achieve, and they achieved it imperfectly by disreputable means. Their names, indeed, are scarcely known among the vanquishers of tyranny and the liberators of nations; whilst the men of the Long Parliament and the commonwealth are named in association with the founders and heroes of Roman liberty, and those who rescued Athens from the thirty tyrants and the Pisistratidæ."

Strafford, the great apostate from the popular cause, and who had become obnoxious to all the three kingdoms which composed the British monarchy, was at length brought to trial. Hated by the Scots, who looked upon him as the capital enemy of their country; abandoned by the Irish, who used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him; and branded by the English, as the procuring cause of all their national evils; he was left to eat the bitter and the deadly fruits of his own doings. Accounted the chief promoter of every arbitrary counsel, and who had, in the exercise of his authority, raised so many monuments of tyranny, what could he expect at the hands of a severer and sterner justice? In one little hour he fell from the height of his pride and his power. The impeachment consisted of twenty-eight articles, and ran over fourteen years of his life. Their whole force lay in his arbitrary and unconstitutional measures. He requested three months to prepare his defence, and was allowed three weeks, and the 22nd of March was fixed for his trial. Westminster-hall was chosen as the stage for this great spectacle. The pleadings lasted eighteen days. The bill of attainder passed the commons, with only fifty-nine dissentients. It was carried in the lords against nineteen. The king delayed his assent. It is said that Strafford wrote to his majesty, resigning his life with all imaginable cheerfulness; and yet, when he was informed that Charles had signed the warrant for his execution, he exclaimed—"Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation!" This took place on the 9th of May. An interval of three days was granted him to prepare for his now certain end. On his way to the scaffold, he stopped under Laud's window, and asked the assistance of his prayers. The aged primate, himself a prisoner, and not knowing what his own fate might be, was dissolved in tears, pronounced his benediction on his departing friend, and then sunk back into the arms of his attendants. On reaching the scaffold his lordship said:—"I have nigh done. One stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from all my friends. But let God be to you and to them all in all! I thank God that I am nowise afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time as ever I did when going to repose." He adopted a crooked policy, and it led him to an untimely end.

The stern and sturdy COVENANTERS of Scotland were a prime element in the popular party, and performed no field-day part in the mighty struggle for civil and religious liberty. Nor did Charles fail

to employ every means possible to bring the Scots over to his standard. With this view he undertook a journey to his native country. It is said that Montrose, who had deserted the Covenanters, and had made a secret offer of his services to the king, had laid the plan for a general rising throughout Scotland in favour of the now forsaken and afflicted monarch. But this bubble soon burst, and something more bodily and more serious rose into view.

An alarming report suddenly reached London, that the Irish, sheltering themselves behind the names of the king and queen, holding in one hand a commission which they feigned to have received from Charles, and bearing fire and sword in the other, were ravaging the country with fearful desolation. The plot, contrived with the greatest secresy, had broken out in the most horrible and revolting massacres of their protestant fellow-subjects. In London and Edinburgh, in town and country, the most distressing accounts were passed from mouth to mouth, and terror sat deep in the hearts of all. The better part of the commons immediately called for a REMONSTRANCE to the king, which set forth that all "their grievances, which amounted to no less than a subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels; who had endeavoured by an uninterrupted effort to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and who had now, at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland."

Great interests were at stake. All that the people most dearly loved and cherished was being perilled. On the 22nd of November, amid the deep stillness of midnight, the remonstrance was passed. "Had it been rejected," said Cromwell, as he left the house, "I would have sold everything that I possess, and never have seen England more." But England could not lose so true a son. Her destinies were soon to be in his hand. All that had taken place was yet but as the drawing up of the curtain from the great stage on which he was to act so conspicuous and so glorious a part.

"Charles struggled ineffectually against the force of things. The age had outstripped him. It was not his nation only, but the whole human race, that dragged him along. He desired what was no longer possible. The liberty that had been won was first to be swallowed up in a military despotism, that deprived it of its anarchy; but what was taken from the fathers was restored to the children, and remained as a final result to England." On the 7th of December, a bill was introduced into the commons, to the effect, that the organization of the militia, and the nomination of its officers, should for the future only take place with the concurrence of parliament. This measure went far to undermine the royal power; and yet the liberty and the protestantism of our England seemed to depend upon it.

So unpopular had the bishops of the church become, that they could not pass along the streets on their way to parliament without being menaced, assaulted, and affronted, by what they deemed an unruly multitude. Unable to be in their place without risking their safety, they protested against all laws, votes, and regulations, as null and void, which might be passed during the time of their unconstitutional absence. This protestation was signed by twelve bishops, and

communicated to the king, who cordially approved of it. The lords conferred with the commons. Those right reverend prelates were at once impeached for high treason, and they were committed to custody. Such was the light in which their conduct was viewed, that there were not wanting those who thought that they ought to have been sent not to the Tower but to Bedlam!

Surrounded by evil counsels, Charles was advised to exert his vigour and display the majesty of the monarch. With a blind and desperate infatuation, he instructed his attorney-general to go to the house of peers, and enter a charge of high treason against my lord Kimbolton, and the five commoners, Hollis, Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode, as having traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom. These commoners were the heads and leaders of the popular party. A sergeant-at-arms appeared in the lower house; and, in the king's name, demanded the surrender of those five members, but was sent back without any distinct or definite answer. Messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them. The house was indignant. The country was surprised and confounded. Charles, irritated by opposition, resolved to go down in person and insist on the giving up of these gentlemen; but, having received a private intimation of the king's intention, they, on the very morning, withdrew from the house. Attended by an armed retinue, he proceeded thither, when a more than theatrical scene took place. As he entered, the whole house stood up, uncovered; and he, casting his eyes around the assembly, said:—"Since I see the birds are flown, I expect that you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them." The house became justly indignant, and there was one universal shout of "Privilege! privilege!" Charles now stood in the most hostile attitude to the nation. The struggle between the parliament and the monarch, it was clearly seen, could be no vulgar conflict. The ruin of the throne seemed involved in the movement, and was all but inevitable. This was the beginning of the revolution.

The character of the times called for new and extraordinary measures. "Every day those men who felt the truest affection for their country were disturbed in their homes at London, or in their more tranquil rural retreats, by reports of the massacre of the protestants in Ireland; of the king's connivance at it; of his insincerity and falsehoods; of his projects; of the punishments already inflicted on many of their brethren; of the persecutions in Scotland; the daily banishment of the best christians in the kingdom; and by other signs and events no less alarming." The liberties and the happiness of England were not to be tamely sacrificed to the ambition of a proud and imperious monarch. Men of noble daring and invincible energy rushed forth "to save, with God's assistance, their country and their faith, by withdrawing from their families and exposing their lives in arms."

Charles, no longer confident of his safety, retired to Hampton Court. The queen, on pretence of accompanying her daughter Mary, now married to the prince of Orange, was on the eve of setting out for Holland. The nation was on the point of civil war. Concluding

that certain movements of the king were indicative of an appeal to arms, the parliament issued a decree, in which it was set forth that whoever should assist him in such a war should be held as traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Both parties now became busy with preparations. While Hull, whose magazines contained the arms of all the forces which had been levied against the Scots, refused to admit Charles within her gates, the county of York raised for him a guard of six thousand men. The queen having disposed of some of the crown jewels in Holland, purchased a cargo of arms and ammunition, which she shipped for his majesty. He roused his friends and adherents to action. He was resolved to support his authority by arms. The parliamentarians had resources which he could not command, and were in a state of greater preparedness for war. They sent to Charles the conditions on which they were willing to come to terms. The monarch's proud spirit could not brook them. It appeared to him that they would reduce him to "the outside, the picture, the sign of a king." His reply was—"My towns are taken from me, my ships, my arms, my money; but there still remains to me a good cause, and the hearts of loyal subjects, which, with GOD'S blessing, I doubt not, will recover all the rest." The actions of the parliament-party had the rapidity and the effect of lightning.

The hour had now come when the interests of the country called for any sacrifice, even the greatest. Charles having turned a deaf ear to the petitions and the claims of his parliament—having raised troops to overawe them in the honest discharge of their duties, and flushed with the victory which sat upon his helmet—became the object of the nation's distrust and abhorrence. Good men and true turned away from him with unutterable aversion and disgust. He planned, he plotted, he deceived. His prime ambition was to crush the liberties of the people. In the evening of August 22, 1642, the king planted the royal standard at Nottingham, and formally summoned his subjects to arms. The fates favoured him not. Heaven was not auspicious to his design. The very elements conspired against him. The wind, which was very tempestuous that very night, blew down his standard, and laid it with the dust. Bad omen this for poor Charles. So he must have believed, for at no very great distance from this spot the earl of Essex was organizing the parliamentary army, in which Cromwell served as captain, and from which he was destined to rise to the highest rank. Liberty was now to fight the ground with tyranny. Exclusive of the eastern association, where Cromwell, by his extreme vigilance, prevented the designs of the royal party, every county in England was a stage on which the great tragedy of the civil war was about to be acted. At the outset of hostilities "the parliament were possessed of every advantage over the king. All the places of strength in the kingdom were in their hands; their party was, beyond all comparison, the most numerous; they themselves were honoured, nay, almost adored, by the great body of the nation, as an example to all times and countries in which kingly despotism might again rear its detested head; they commanded, almost unlimitedly, the purses of the people; and they had taken care to be amply supplied with every munition of war. On the contrary, so ill provided was the king, in

every respect, that nothing would have been more easy than for his enemies to seize upon his person at Nottingham; disperse the little band of royalists that had there collected round his standard, and thus commence and end the contest at a stroke. But the parliament, willing perhaps to permit the latent hostility of his party to expand, were it only to convince the world of its existence—and sensible that the English would never have taken it well that the parliament should make war upon the king, upon any provocation unless it were in there own defence, in case the king should first make war upon them—neglected the favourable opportunity; and Charles availed himself of their neglect to exert himself with a degree of industry and talent that astonished both his friends and his enemies. His zeal, in fine, assisted by the efforts of his adherents, soon created and equipped a force which, though still inferior to the parliament in numbers, much more than counterbalanced that advantage by their alacrity, courage, and general soldier-like qualities."

The first engagement of any moment between the two armies was the battle of Edgehill, which was fought on the 23rd and 24th days of October, 1642, and the indecisive result of which filled London with the deepest alarm. After this the winter passed quietly away, but in the following spring the war broke out with renewed force. Earnest was the contest on either side, but with doubtful success. Cromwell's keen and penetrating judgment soon discovered the cause of weakness in the parliamentary troops. "How can we be otherwise than beaten? Your troops are most of them old, decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and theirs are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. But I will remedy that. I will raise men who will have the fear of God before their eyes, and who will bring some conscience to what they do. And I promise you they shall not be beaten." Thus he spoke to Hampden; and at once betook himself to the duty of infusing new life and soul into the army. Fourteen squadrons composed of young and pious freeholders, and withal zealous protestants, were soon raised. They were men in whom religion and patriotism were a living thing—a grand reality. From that hour the course of events was changed. This new element soon decided the destinies of the war, and of England.

In Chalgrave field, a few miles from Oxford, a skirmish of cavalry took place on the 18th of June, 1643, in which the parliamentarians sustained a rather severe defeat. One of their chiefs, who was always found in the foremost rank, was seen slowly quitting the field of battle before the end of the action. His head hung upon his chest; his hand was leaning on his horse's neck. It was Hampden. "He is certainly wounded," said one of the bystanders as he passed along. His wound was mortal. He died on the 24th of the same month. He was the sound-hearted champion of the popular cause; a man of invincible resolution, and if not of first-rate parts, yet a man of very eminent ability. He was brave even to a fault in the field of battle; nor was he more brave than patriotic. The sorrowing people, the nation in tears, named him the father of his country.

Towards the close of the same month Cromwell signalized himself by his masterly relief of Gainsborough, which was the beginning of

his great fortunes. His military skill was principally evinced in an up-hill charge which he made upon the rear of the troops—thrice the number of his own—commanded by Lieutenant-general Cavendish, after the latter had completely worsted the Lincolnshire men, who fought for the parliament. Cromwell, by this manœuvre, restored the battle, and drove the young and brave Cavendish, with a number of his men, into a quagmire, where, with their gallant officer, they were nearly all killed. Nor did his success terminate here. In October, 1643, he led the van of the forces, commanded by the earl of Manchester, in their attack upon the royalists near Horncastle. At the words—"TRUTH AND PEACE," Oliver's thirty-seven troops of horse and dragoons, with himself at their head, advanced without trepidation or fear, and only reserved their charge till the eighty-seven troops of the enemy that were seen coming down upon them had fired.

But so expeditious were the evolutions of the royalists, that their second salute, followed by a desperate charge, met and arrested the parliamentarians' onset. It is said that, by the last volley, Cromwell's horse was killed, and fell with him to the ground, and that before he had well regained his footing, being mixed promiscuously with the combatants, he was again prostrated by the hand of a royalist gentleman. Again rising, he seized a very sorry horse from one of his troopers, remounted, and contributed his personal share to the victory finally obtained—a victory so complete that the enemy were pursued almost to Lincoln, a distance of fourteen miles. Towards the close of this campaign, Cromwell took Helsdon-house by assault, and for a time kept Oxford in a state of considerable alarm. By these and other great military achievements, his reputation became so established that public opinion already began to put him against prince Rupert, the most daring leader of the king's party. Charles coveted his popularity and his success, and would fondly have got him within his grasp, dead or alive.

Knowing how much now depended on his individual line of action, Cromwell went on recruiting and augmenting the army till he found himself in a position successfully to encounter the enemy. Writing to his honoured friends the commissioners, at Cambridge, after the taking of Gainsborough, he tells them to raise all their bands, and send them to Huntingdon; to get up what volunteers they could; to be expeditious and industrious; to act lively; to do it without distraction; to neglect no means. From Peterborough he writes to the same commissioners:—"It much concerns your association, and the kingdom, that so strong a place as Holland is not possessed by them If you have any foot ready to march, send them away to us with all speed. I fear lest the enemy should press in upon our foot: he being thus far advanced towards you, I hold it very fit that you should hasten your horse at Huntingdon, and what you can speedily raise at Cambridge, unto me. I dare not go into Holland with my horse, lest the enemy should advance with his whole body of horse, this way, into your association; but remain ready here, endeavouring to bring up my Lord Grey's and the Northamptonshire horse towards me, that so, if we be able, we may fight the enemy, or retreat unto you, with our whole strength. I beseech you hasten your levies, what you can

especially those of foot! Quicken all our friends with new letters upon this occasion; which, I believe, you will find to be a true alarm."

Both parties seemed in a doubtful position, and it was every day becoming more evident that they must look beyond themselves for those auxiliaries, by the preponderance of which, on one side or another, the contest must be decided. It was a critical moment. While the royalists looked to Ireland, the parliamentarians, who had sustained several defeats, called in their extremity upon the Scots for help, with every prospect of obtaining it. Cromwell was resolved to get the best of soldiers — men who became worthy of the name of Ironsides. "They were men who had the fear of God, and gradually lost all other fear." They were never beaten. While the shops of London were all shut for certain days—while Gloucester is in hot siege—while Essex is despatched to relieve Gloucester—while poor lord Falkland, a man "of prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of flowing and obliging humanity and goodness to mankind, of primitive simplicity and integrity of life," and all whose sympathies were at first with the popular interest, and lay bleeding there under a mortal wound, Cromwell was waiting with great solicitude at Cambridge to know what was being done towards the public assistance"—that is, towards raising the necessary supplies for carrying on the war. He was moved to his inmost heart by the posture of affairs.

Failure was followed by success—defeat by triumph. Lynn Regis, in which distractions had been recently ripening into treason, was besieged and taken. Ten days hence the battle of Newbury was fought and gained. Victory succeeded victory. Hope revived; and the stars rushed into one grand constellation of light and glory. Many were busy in signing the solemn league and covenant, which was framed in Scotland, and bound the contracting parties to endeavour to bring the churches of God into the nearest conjunction and uniformity of religion, form of church government, to defend each other against all opponents, to endeavour, without respect of persons, to extirpate popery and prelacy, superstition, schism, heresy, and profaneness; and to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments. Another, and still more extraordinary stipulation, was, that both nations should endeavour, with their estates and lives, not only to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments and the liberties of the kingdom, but to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, that the world might bear witness of their loyalty, and that they had no thoughts nor inclinations to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness. Cromwell and his party had other work to do than sign covenants, till he got to his place in parliament again, with more leisure on his hands than now. While they were signing, he was marching. He went to Hull, but made no stay. On the same day Sir Thomas Fairfax crossed the Humber with twenty troops of horse, and joined Cromwell's forces in Lincolnshire.

Charles, that he might give the show of legality to his power and procedure, summoned the two houses of parliament to meet at Oxford. On the 22nd day of January, 1644, forty-five peers and one hundred and eighteen members of the commons obeyed his call.

The parliament then sitting in London numbered twenty-two peers and two hundred and eighty members of the lower house, exclusive of one hundred or more who were absent on the service of the state. But little was done at Oxford to any effect; and the king, as little satisfied with the assembly, adjourned it on the 16th day of April.

The Scots, twenty-one thousand strong, had crossed the Tweed, and were marching knee-deep in the cold snows of the cold days of January. In conjunction with the parliamentary troops, they commenced the siege of York, which was defended by the marquis of Newcastle. The parliamentarians, from growing divisions among themselves, and from other causes, were at first disposed to resign the city to their new adversary. As if to dishearten them still more "in the last days of June, prince Rupert, with an army of some twenty thousand fierce men, came pouring over the hills of Lancashire, where he had left harsh traces of himself, to relieve the marquis of Newcastle, who was now, with a force of six thousand, besieged in York, by the united forces of the Scots, under Leven; the Yorkshiremen, under lord Fairfax; and the associated counties, under Manchester and Cromwell." On hearing of his approach, the parliament generals raised the siege, and drew off in the direction of Marston Moor, on which the great decisive battle was fought. The Scots, having marched in the advance, were hastily recalled, and, forming into line of battle with their comrades upon elevated and advantageous ground, they unitedly, upon the appearance of their common foe, presented such an extensive and imposing front, as more effectually to check the accustomed impetuosity of the prince, than to delay the meditated attack. Some hours were occupied in seeming indecision on both sides. At length the parliamentarians resolved upon a general charge on the royalist line, and descended, Cromwell leading the onset with the horse of the left wing. The prince repelled and countercharged this attack of his enemies with very signal success, their entire right and main body, including nearly the whole Scots army and that of Fairfax, being beaten from the field. Flushed with this temporary triumph, he despatched couriers to the king, to acquaint him with the victory. But his joy was short-lived. In this extraordinary emergency, and when the three parliamentary generals, considering all as lost, had actually quitted the ground, Cromwell, with "the brave regiment of his countrymen," three hundred strong, and they only unappalled, were seen even yet persisting in the desperate conflict with prince Rupert's right. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had commanded the right wing, recalled to himself by such an example, promptly rallied some horse; while Cromwell, with the marquis of Newcastle's foot immediately opposed to him, and which up to that moment had "stood like a wall," now began to "mow them down like a meadow." Reanimated at the sight, his entire brigade returned to the conflict. A body of Scots, under the gallant major-general Leslie, attacking the marquis in flank, completed his defeat. Aided by these troops, as well as by those reclaimed through the exertions of Fairfax, and at length by all the parliamentarians remaining on the field, Cromwell fell with the most crushing and resistless force upon the detached and divided

body of the enemy, and, after a three-hours' close fight, totally dispersed them. Seeing the victory secured, he in person pursued their flying divisions to the very gates of York. The capture of all the baggage and artillery of the royalist army, with the speedy surrender of the city, were the consequences of this signal engagement, which was fought on the 2nd day of July, 1643, and the end of which was, four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies to be buried, and total ruin to the king's affairs in those northern parts. The Scots delivered their fire with such constancy and swiftness, it was as if the whole air had become an element of fire. The conflict was bloody; but glorious was the victory! The enemy lost more than a hundred flags, which it was proposed to send to the parliament, but they were torn in pieces by the conquerors, and bound as trophies round their arms. The king lost all the north of England, and the queen escaped to France.

Cromwell having by his successful charges decided the battle of Marston-moor, and the great character of the victory having struck terror into the enemy, Prince Rupert fled into Lancashire, and then south to Shropshire, to recruit his forces; Newcastle, with about eighty gentlemen, disgusted at the turn of affairs, withdrew beyond seas. The Scots moved northward to attend the siege of Newcastle, and ended by storming it in October following. To save the parliamentary army another defeat, which seemed impending, Cromwell was sent down to Cornwall to the relief of Essex, who was then suffering great reverses, and who had already made his escape, while his men had surrendered their arms and artillery to the king. Returning from this temporary victory towards Oxford, Charles was intercepted at Newbury, and there, on Sunday, October 27th, a second battle was fought. His majesty, after four hours' confused fighting, had decidedly the worst of it; and yet, by some strange and unaccountable imbecility on the part of Manchester, who had the chief command, he was allowed to make his escape, and reached home in safety. Manchester refused to pursue. Cromwell urged, and again urged him; but still he refused. Nay, twelve days after, when the king came back, and openly re-victualled Donnington Castle—a good stronghold not far distant—Manchester continued to turn a deaf ear to Cromwell's urgency, and still declined to interfere. Cromwell was in possession of the field; and but for the obstinacy and irresolute policy of Manchester, a decisive victory promised to crown his arms—a victory which would have extinguished the hopes of Charles, and perhaps have finished the war. Propositions for peace from the two houses, and the Scotch commissioners, were presented to the king; and, in consequence, delegates on both sides commenced a treaty in January following, which might have ameliorated, but could never have eradicated the evil. After debating their conflicting claims till beyond the middle of February, they parted, without having made the slightest progress towards an adjustment of affairs.

Before entering on the year 1645, it may be proper just to glance at a few historical incidents inseparably connected with our subject. The Presbyterian party having obtained considerable power in both houses, now began to take the lead in all ecclesiastical and civil

affairs; but to most of their measures Cromwell was diametrically opposed. Prelacy was fast losing hold of the popular mind. Laud had done not a little to bring it into disrepute. He was still a prisoner in the Tower, on the charge of sedition or treason. Being tried before the House of Lords and found guilty, he was subsequently beheaded on Tower-hill. In this the parliament has been charged with unconstitutional and unnecessary severity; but on what ground we confess does not appear to us. Laud's entire course of conduct was subversive of the laws and interests of the country; and though we are no advocates of capital punishment for any crime, still no common retribution was due to a man, who, next to Charles himself, had done everything in his power to set England on fire, and so to dissolve the bonds of social and political life.

On the same day that Laud's bill of attainder passed the Commons, an ordinance was voted for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and establishing in its stead a Directory for Public Worship. This was to be confided to an assembly of divines, to be chosen by each member of parliament sending one. In this assembly the presbyterians—men far removed from the enlarged and liberal views of the modern school of voluntary presbyterianism as it obtains and triumphs in Scotland—were most forward and conspicuous. Nor is much of their conduct capable of defence. Even Milton does not withhold from them his burning caustic; and declares that the most part of them, though they had so lately "preached and cried down with great show of zeal the avarice and the pluralities of bishops and prelates, were setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms." Severe was the ordeal through which they had to pass; and we are not to wonder if, in passing through it, we see somewhat more of human imperfection and weakness.

With the introduction of the famous SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE commenced a new epoch in the parliamentary affairs. The first mention of this ordinance in the journals of the House of Commons occurs in December, 1644, but its primary source is conceived to have been THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT between the English and Scottish nations. One of the most important clauses of this ordinance, and introduced not without difficulty, was, that religious men might now serve without taking the covenant as a first preliminary, which was a great relief to some more tender consciences; but it excluded all members of parliament from commands in the army. As soon as it had passed both houses, Cromwell prepared to take leave of his general, and return his sword to its scabbard. The force of circumstances and the interests at stake alone prevented him from taking this step. The hour had not yet come when England could dispense with the services of the hero. Hostilities broke out afresh, and Oliver, at the head of his strong-hearted puritans, rushed upon the enemy, and everywhere put them to the flight.

To the Scots, who were the chief or sole framers of this covenant, and who were favourable to Charles, "the triumph of presbyterianism over the parliamentary party in England appeared at first, to their unspeakable satisfaction, complete; and such a triumph elated them more than a thousand martial victories. But self-interest had

operated with numbers, both in the English parliament and army, in the production of this signal success; and the men who had entered into so solemn an engagement with the Scots, from the temporary conviction, produced by early want of success, of the pressing necessity for securing their assistance in the contest, had become in many instances lukewarm, or even hostile, to more than one of the declared 'ends of the covenant.' Cromwell, with others, though by this time sufficiently averse to prelacy, and very desirous to witness some amendment of the old administration of church affairs, saw not without disgust the harsh and exclusive spirit that predominated in the doctrines and conduct of the newly-established hierarchy; and he, with such, evinced their equal dissent from episcopacy and presbyterianism by styling themselves "*Independents*," of whom the historian Hume asserts, that, "of all christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration." Each party had hitherto distinguished itself by seeking its own individual advancement, and lifting itself to higher ground on the ruins of those who refused to symbolize with them, and it remained to independency to teach the world the great lesson of looking with equal favour on men of all religious denominations, and of permitting the free exercise of every form of christian worship. A lesson this which the independents have from that day been ever reiterating and ever teaching, but which the nations have yet to learn.

In Ireland the protestants were reduced to the last extremities. The insurrection, which had deluged that fertile island with so much blood, had indeed been repressed, but its deeper elements had not been destroyed. The genius of religious toleration had found no altar on which to rest. By continuing their violent persecutions against them on the ground of their religious creed, the protestants irritated the catholics, and confirmed them in their rebellion. Hostilities were carried on from time to time in the midst of such privations and sufferings that both parties were reduced to the necessity of eating the flesh of their own horses. In these circumstances Charles resolved on a truce with the rebels. A cessation of arms was concluded with the council of Kilkenny, which left both sides in possession of their present advantages. This displeased the parliament, who conceived that his majesty was showing such favour to the catholics as to leave no doubt of his predilection for their faith and worship. Considerable bodies of the army were sent over to England, some of whom continued in the service of the king, while others, and those not a few, deserted to the parliament.

The nobility, who had hitherto very generally come into the earlier measures of opposition to Charles and his government, now imagined that they had been instrumental in giving too much power into the hands of the people, and were, therefore, prepared to coalesce with the Scots in entering into terms of peace with the king. They conceived that if they could but secure Charles in the possession of his former power and greatness, this would be no unsafe basis on which to rest their own peculiar claim to hereditary rank and privilege. "They went much farther; for the earls of Essex and Manchester, who had been

intrusted with the command of the parliament's forces, and who might be said to be the representatives of the great body of the nobles with the army, had seemed, since the battle of Marston Moor, to neutralize the efforts of their soldiers, as though they were unwilling to make the popular cause too eminent; and, though not actually to allow themselves to be beaten by the king, to make little advantage of his failures, and occasionally even to permit him to avail himself of a drawn battle, or a positive defeat, as though it had been to him a victory. Owing to these causes, it had become apparent that the parliament, instead of approaching to the state of things they so much desired, and by which they had once hoped effectually to give the law to their sovereign, were even yet losing ground in the contest."

These things weighed on Cromwell's spirit. He only stepped back that he might make a more successful leap. His eagle eye went down at one glance to the depth and origin of these adverse movements. Deprecating the consequences which seemed to be impending over the country and the just cause of aspiring humanity, he addressed himself with new life and energy to the work of reformation. He began, to the high satisfaction of the commons, by a formal accusation of Manchester, his commanding officer. This he did openly, and in the light of the sun. He had nothing to conceal, and therefore he had nothing to fear. For a season he left the field of battle and the din of war, for the floor of the House of Commons and the storm of angry debate.

On Monday, November 25th, 1644, Cromwell preferred his charge to the effect that Manchester had always shown a backwardness to come to an engagement with the enemy, and seemed disposed rather to a dishonourable fear;—that he had declined whatever tended to further an advance upon the opposite party; that he had so disposed the parliamentary army as to give the enemy repeated and positive advantage; and that he had acted sometimes against the council of war by persuading and deluding them, now to neglect one opportunity on pretence of finding another, and then by intreating them not to fight at all.

Having thus stated the charge, Cromwell addressed the house to the following effect:—"It is now a time to speak, or for ever hold the tongue. The important occasion now is no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost a dying condition, which the long continuance of this war hath already brought it into; so that without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament.

"For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the parliament? Even this, that the members of both houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in parliament, what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This that I speak here to our own faces is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those commanders, members of

both houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.

"But this I would recommend to your prudence—not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waiving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no members of either house will scruple to *deny* themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter."

In his defence, Manchester indulged in violent recrimination. He preferred that he had ordered Cromwell to proceed to some rendezvous with the horse; and that Cromwell, very unsuitably for a lieutenant-general, had answered, "that the horses were already worn off their feet; and that if his lordship wanted to have the skins of the horses, this was the way to get them." Words these which could never have fallen from the lips of that great man at the beginning of a war in which were involved the destinies of all England. Nor can we believe that the sentiment is his—"There never would be a good time in England till we had done with lords:"—far less would he be guilty of saying that—"If he met the king in battle, he would fire his pistol at the king as at another!" Cromwell having recommended the parliament "not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever," neither house permitted itself to go into any inquiry either as to Manchester or Cromwell; but turned their immediate attention to find out a remedy for the evils which now threatened the country and the country's purer faith.

It was conceived that Cromwell was aiming at nothing higher or purer than his own advancement in the state. That his solicitude for the public weal was free from all admixture, it would be folly to assert. There cannot be a total annihilation of self in every line of conduct. But Cromwell's will was neither a selfish nor a sordid feeling. "That so many have thought and affirmed the contrary, has arisen from the circumstance that the path he now pursued really did lead, in spite of all rational calculation, to that very temple of fortune he for once seemed most anxious to avoid; and from that common disposition to suppose that every return of prosperity accruing to a bold and successful man, must have been planned and foreseen by him, while as yet in the womb of futurity."

Cromwell having escaped from the fangs of his enemies, and his character having been brought out in the light of the sun, unimpeached and unimpeachable, he again turned his thoughts to the state of the nation, and began to make provision for his own future safety and that of the parliament, involving, as it did, the national good. Having

probed the army-disease to its very seat and centre, the first thing was to reveal and apply the remedy. Nothing could be done so long as those who sought to remove him as an obstacle out of the way continued in power. These must be displaced; and room be made for men of better stuff. The danger which now impended could only be escaped by depriving them of their influence in the national affairs. The policy which they had adopted as to the war was calculated to bring defeat and ruin to that ever-memorable party, who, with Hampden and Cromwell, on "first drawing the sword, had boldly thrown away the scabbard," and sworn before high heaven to stand or fall with the interests and the rights of the people. It was with true consistency, therefore, that Cromwell hoped that there were "such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of the mother country as none would scruple to deny themselves and their own interests for the public good, nor account it to be a dishonour done to them whatever the parliament should resolve upon in this weighty matter." Essex was gratified by a splendid pension; Manchester was put on the committee of both kingdoms; the army was remodelled, by which England became alive again; and a new epoch opened to the nation.

Before any important change was effected, or even the old officers had laid down their commission, Cromwell was sent on an expedition into the west. He at once marched to head-quarters, and put the enemy to flight. He held it unsafe to pursue, from the nature of the country, and the limited number of his foot. He came from Shaftesbury to Salisbury, but having been informed of the approach of Prince Rupert with additional reinforcements, he wrote in great haste to General Fairfax, begging for succour and support. "Send us with all speed such an assistance to Salisbury as may enable us to keep the field and repel the enemy, if God assist us—at least, to secure and countenance us, so as that we be not put to the shame and hazard of a retreat, which will lose the parliament many friends in these parts, who will think themselves abandoned on our departure from them. Sir, I beseech you, send what horse and foot you can spare towards Salisbury, by way of Kingscleere, with what convenient expedition may be. Truly we look to be attempted upon every day." The prince withdrew without fighting. He repaired to Worcester, and prepared for a new attack. From thence he sent above two thousand men to Oxford, to convoy his majesty's person and the artillery over to Worcester. The committee of both kingdoms ordered the said convoy to be attacked. This service was committed to Cromwell, who had come from his march in the west to Windsor, to kiss the general's hand and take leave of him, "looking on himself as now discharged from military employment by the new ordinance." But the parliament thought otherwise. His services could not be dispensed with. Commands came to him from the committee of both kingdoms, ere he had left his chamber in the morning, summoning him to immediate action. On the 22nd of April, Cromwell instantly took horse, plunged into Oxfordshire, and on the 24th, at Islip-bridge, attacked and routed this said convoy. He had but to march, and triumph waited upon his steps. On the 26th he gained a new

victory at Radcot-bridge, or Bampton-in-the-Bush. On the 29th he summoned the governor of the garrison in Farringdon to surrender house, ammunition, and everything else, not excepting even their persons, to be disposed of at the will of the parliament. This he did upon pain of the utmost extremity of war. The governor refused. Cromwell withdrew into the town, and again summoned in the following terms :—

"Sir,—I understand, by forty or fifty poor men whom you forced into your house, that you have many there whom you cannot arm, and who are not serviceable to you. If these men should perish by your means, it were great inhumanity surely. Honour and honesty require this, that though you be prodigal of your own lives, yet not to be so of theirs. If God give you into my hands, I will not spare a man of you, if you put me to a storm."

Cromwell waited till three o'clock next morning for some infantry from Abingdon, and then stormed the town. He lost fourteen men, and one of his captains was taken prisoner. He was well satisfied with the result, and hastened to other scenes of action. Fairfax and the officers petitioned parliament that he might be appointed their lieutenant-general commander-in-chief of the horse. The parliament continued by instalments his services in the army, and at length regarded him as its essential element. In June we find him at Huntingdon, busied in securing that part of the Isle of Ely which he conceived to be most in danger. Fairfax, with his model army, was at Oxford, but to little purpose. The king, not much apprehensive about Oxford, had just stormed Leicester. Cromwell hastened from Huntingdon to Cambridge, and found "huge alarm round him there;" from which he wrote to the deputy-lieutenants of Suffolk to have in readiness what horse and foot could be had, that so a proportion might be drawn forth for service such as might be expedient. "The Suffolk and other horse old Ironsides, not hindmost, did muster, and in about a week hence, there came other news this side Harborough," three miles from which the enemy's body was upon march to make an assault.

BATTLE OF NASEBY—DECISIVE CONFLICT.

This was in June, and on the fourteenth day of that month, on the high moor ground of Naseby, seven or eight miles from Market Harborough, in Leicestershire, in the very centre of our old England, did Charles fight this last battle—"dashed fiercely against the new model army, which he had despised till then, and saw himself shivered utterly to ruin thereby. Prince Rupert, on the king's right wing, charged up the hill and carried all before him; but lieutenant-general Cromwell charged down hill on the other wing, likewise carrying all before him. . . . He had the ordering of the horse. Prince Rupert, on returning from his plunder, found the king's infantry a ruin; prepared to charge again with the rallied cavalry; but the cavalry, too, when it came to the point, broke all asunder, never to re-assemble more. The chase went through Harborough, where the king had already been that morning, when, in an

evil hour, he turned back, to revenge some surprise of an outpost at Naseby the night before, and give the Roundheads battle." He fought desperately, but unsuccessfully. His carriage was taken, in which was found a cabinet with many royal autographs. This cabinet of letters and papers was forwarded without delay to the parliament in London, and was carefully examined. These documents, which were published under the title of "the King's Cabinet Opened," not only made a sad impression against his majesty, but entirely ruined him in the judgment of his people. The clearest evidence was supplied in these documents that, notwithstanding his frequent protestations to the contrary, and his as oft-repeated denials, he was constantly soliciting the aid of foreign princes, and secretly aiming at the overthrow of the parliament. Many who were desirous to maintain the dignity of the throne were so impressed with the deception and perjury of Charles, as wholly to withdraw their confidence and support.

The king and the kingdom were both lost; the royal cause was utterly hopeless; the parliamentary army overspread the land, and bore down all before them. If they were ever called to new exploits, they were ever rewarded with new victories. Leicester, which the king had so recently taken, was immediately regained; Taunton, which had been closely besieged by the brave though profligate Lord Goring, and defended by the valiant Blake, was relieved—his lordship was beaten and pursued close to Bridgewater. Cromwell, putting himself at the head of his cavalry, attacked the royalists with such vigour and success, that nearly their whole body of foot became his prisoners, while he captured also the greater part of their ordnance. Bridgewater, which was very strongly garrisoned, was directly afterwards taken by storm. He had then to do battle with a kind of third army, which had sprung up in the western counties, ostensibly to defend themselves and the country from the rapine and violence of the royalists, and which were known by the name of CLUB-MEN. Their movements were formidable to both parties. They were as far from being at one with the peacefully-disposed as were the cavaliers themselves. But they found no time-server in Cromwell. By combining moderation with firmness, he effectually disarmed and dispersed these men, and opened up the path for his free and triumphant advance. Sherborne Castle was next reduced, and immediately after we find the lieutenant-general right before Bristol, in company with Fairfax, whom he advised to storm a place of so much importance. It was defended by Prince Rupert, who held it with about five thousand horse and foot, and who had declared that nothing should induce him to surrender, unless the inhabitants proved disaffected. This was feared; but Cromwell was resolute. His counsel was followed, and the attack was made with so much fury, that, though the prince repelled it for awhile, he feared to run the hazard of a second assault, and so delivered up the city, and with it a large proportion of the king's magazines and warlike stores. This signal triumph spread unusual joy through the land, and on Sunday, September 21st, according to order of Parliament, Cromwell's letter on the occasion was read in the several congregations about London, and thanks returned to Almighty God for the wonderful reducing of that city. From this

letter we learn that it was disputed at a council of war whether Cromwell and his army should march into the west or to Bristol, and that "the hope of taking so important a place—so advantageous for the opening of trade to London—did sway the balance, and beget that conclusion:"—that when they came within four miles of the city they had a new debate as to whether they should endeavour to block it up or make a regular siege; that having resolved on the latter, part of the army took up their position within a musket-shot of the city; and that on their advance the enemy fired several towns and villages lying more or less contiguous, and would have fired more but for the unexpected approach of the army; that several important posts were soon taken by the general and his officers, and maintained with great courage; that these posts being settled, the horse were forced to be upon exceeding great duty, in standing by the foot, which were comparatively weak, and to receive the repeated sallies of the enemy; that considering the paucity of the men to make good the various posts, as well as the internal strength of the enemy, but little loss was sustained by Cromwell in these sallies, while the enemy sustained no common damage; that at first there was great unwillingness, through the severity of the weather, and other apparent difficulties, to proceed to the storming of the city, but at length all things seemed to favour the design, and the work was undertaken in the spirit of rare energy and cheerfulness; that the general and his officers soon recovered the line and the forts upon it, took post after post, entered the city, and beat the enemy to pieces; that all the line, which was a full mile long, with all the forts, ordnance, and bulwarks, were soon possessed; that seeing but little chance of their escape, the town was fired in three places by the enemy, which rather disturbed the general and his intrepid forces; but while they were viewing so sad a spectacle, and consulting how to turn their past success to still greater advantage, the prince sent a trumpeter to the general to desire a treaty for the surrender of the town, to which the general agreed, and deputed three of his officers to undertake this service; that certain articles of agreement were concluded, and mutual hostages were given for their being faithfully performed; that, in conformity with these articles, the prince marched out, under a convoy of two regiments of horse from the side of the conquerors, and proceeded to Oxford, as the place of his own choice; that not fewer than about one hundred and forty cannon, mounted, were taken, and there had come to hand about a hundred barrels of powder, with a good quanty of shot, ammunition, and arms; that between two and three thousand muskets were found; that the royal fort had in it victuals for a hundred and fifty men for three hundred and twenty days; that the castle was victualled for half the same period of time; that the prince had, in foot, two thousand five hundred men of the garrison, and about a thousand horse, besides the trained bands of the city and auxiliaries, a thousand and more; that though the parliamentary army were quartered in the midst of places and persons infected with the plague, but one man died of that fearful malady, and that, during the storming and taking of the city, not more than two hundred were killed.

After Bristol had surrendered, the two great leaders having divided their forces, Fairfax continued his march westwards, in order to complete the conquest of Devon and of Cornwall. Rapid and uninterrupted success attended the movements of this illustrious general. Nor did Cromwell ever fail in any enterprise which he undertook. His success in storming Bristol was sufficient to entitle him to an immortality of fame, and in other circumstances he would have been fanned with the breath of the nation's praise. Glory was mantling on his brow. Yet the hour had not come when he might lay aside his armour. "Full of charity towards his brethren, rejecting every restraint upon religion, and proclaiming the great principles of liberty of conscience, how terrible he appears with the sword in his hand!" From Bristol, with a brigade of four regiments, Cromwell flew to Devizes and summoned the castle. So strong was this fortress, and so confident of his safety was the governor, that he returned for his answer—"WIN IT AND WEAR IT." It was to be won. Cromwell speedily took the place by assault, but manifested the utmost clemency and moderation towards the garrison. He next stormed Berkeley castle. Then Winchester surrendered to him by capitulation. Information being laid before him by the vanquished that some of his soldiers on leaving the city had been guilty of acts of plunder, contrary to the terms of the capitulation, he ordered the offenders to be tried by court-martial. Being found guilty, six of them were sentenced to death. Cromwell was inflexible, not only in dealing with his enemies, but even when it called upon him to punish his own followers. Yet he mingled mercy with judgment. Instead of insisting on the execution of the sentence on all the six, he directed the unfortunate men to cast lots who should suffer first; and after his execution he sent the other five, with a suitable explanation of the matter, to the governor of Oxford, requesting him to deal with them as he thought fit. This conduct so charmed the royalist commandant that he immediately returned the men to Cromwell, with an acknowledgment of the lieutenant-general's nobleness, as well as his precise regard to his military engagements.

The path of glory still invited him to advance. We love to track his manly step. His was the tread of a hero. Basinghouse, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester, and one of those castellated mansions which were thought to be impregnable, having been unsuccessfully assaulted by some of his brother-officers, was next stormed and reduced by Cromwell, and the marquis himself made a prisoner. Then Langford-house surrendered to him at the first summons. Through manifold difficulties he forced his way beyond Exeter, fought Lord Wentworth at Bovey-Tracey, and took from him five hundred prisoners, horse and foot, with six standards, of which one was the king's. In conjunction with Fairfax, he then took Dartmouth by storm; and after a very gallant resistance, defeated Lord Hopton at Torrington. From this he pursued the last remains of the royal army into Cornwall, where, through mutiny and licentiousness, they were soon broken up; and Exeter having already surrendered, there remained scarcely a single enemy to the parliament in the open field. So sensible of this was one of the royalist commanders, that, on being

taken prisoner, he said to Cromwell and his party—"You have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves." He had done his work, and no other man could have done it so well. He, therefore, came to London, took his seat in parliament, and with no vulgar gratitude the house voted him hearty thanks for his great and many services. But something more than thanks was deemed due. A committee was appointed to take into consideration how the sums before voted of £5,000 per annum to Fairfax, and of £2,500 per annum to Cromwell, might be settled upon them and their heirs. At a subsequent period the commons resolved that the title and dignity of a baron of England should be conferred and settled on him, and that his majesty should be desired to grant and confer the said title upon him and the heirs male of his body. It thus appears that titles of honour were considered a fit reward of public services, and that the king was still acknowledged as the fountain of honour, whence alone such rewards could legitimately spring. and to which the enlightened mind of Cromwell fully and unreservedly assented.

The year 1646 opened with Newark and Oxford as the only places of any consequence that still held out for the royal cause. The king was resident in Oxford, which was closely besieged by the united army of the English and Scotch. In these unhappy circumstances the perplexed monarch at first offered to come to Westminster in person for forty days, provided a safe conduct were granted by the two parliamentary commanders, who were busy in blockading the city at some little distance. Charles professed that his business was to negociate a treaty with their employers. The offer was refused. In a letter which he addressed to the Marquis of Ormond, the king stated, that having obtained no answer from the parliament to his several messages, or such only as argued that nothing would satisfy them short of the ruin, not only of himself, his posterity, and his friends, but of monarchy itself, he resolved to hazard his throne and his life by adopting another line of policy. On the 27th of April, 1646, he left Oxford in disguise, and wandered from castle to castle, and from one county to another, almost distracted and without hope. But having received the assurance that he and all that adhered to him should be safe in their persons, honour, and consciences in the Scottish army, he boldly surrendered to them, as they lay off Newark. The Scots immediately informed the English commissioners residing with them of this extraordinary event, and the commissioners despatched the intelligence to parliament. Meanwhile Charles ordered the governor of Newark to surrender to Leven, the Scottish general. Oxford surrendered to Fairfax, by a capitulation, whose principal articles were, that the duke of York should be granted a suitable convoy from that city to London, where the king's other children now resided, and honourable provision made for him and them; that the prince Rupert and Maurice, with all the monarch's chief friends then in Oxford, should have liberty to retire to the continent; and that all the privileges, immunities, and possessions of the university should be preserved to it entire.

Many detached towns and castles held out till the last—"the scat-

tered fires of an expiring conflagration." But, with the surrender of Oxford, almost every other place gave in before the end of August, "and THE FIRST CIVIL WAR, to the last ember of it, was extinct!"

SECTION IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE ARMY.

Things ecclesiastical were distracting the nation, and rending it to pieces. This must be borne in mind. Leave out this link in the chain of history, and there is much in the character and conduct of Cromwell and the popular party for which it will be impossible to account. Deep was the strife among the religious sects. Each party was striving for the mastery in the state. The episcopalians, who had drunk but too deeply into the spirit of Laud, were intensely eager for uniformity, and "so great attachment had the king to episcopal jurisdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in balance even with his own power and kingly office." The presbyterians, to whom Charles had fled, were loud and clamorous in their demand for THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, and entreated him, on bended knee, and even with tears, to take the covenant, and sanction their worship, and then they would fight to the last man for him. The independents—the most generous of the sects—were panting for a fresher life and a freer liberty, not for themselves only, but for man—universal man. Charles having been conquered by arms, and having lost all hope of prevailing with the parliament by means of treaties, derived his last resource from these intestine dissensions, which began to run very high among the conflicting parties. Presbyterians and independents fell into serious contests, and their religious as well as civil disputes stirred and agitated the whole kingdom; and hence, before quitting Oxford, the king wrote privately to Lord Digby, being not without hope that he should be able so to draw either the presbyterians or the independents to side with him for extirpating one another—that he should be really king again. Vain expectation! The cup which he was thus raising to his lip was suddenly and for ever dashed to the ground. His condition became, to the last degree, disastrous and melancholy. "As the dread of ills is commonly more oppressive than their real presence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the object of compassion. His vigour of mind, which, though it sometimes failed him in acting, never deserted him in his sufferings, was what alone supported him; and he was determined, if he could not live as a king, to die like a gentleman; nor should any of his friends ever have reason to blush for the prince whom they had so unfortunately served. The murmurs of discontented officers, on the one hand, harassed their unhappy sovereign, while they overrated those services and sufferings which they now saw must for ever go unrewarded. The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of his more generous friends, who respected his misfortunes and his virtues as much as his dignity, wrung his heart with a new sorrow, when he reflected, that such disinterested attachment would so soon be exposed to the rigour of his implacable enemies."

The presbyterians, who were now the dominant party, having succeeded in getting established, by an ordinance, their mode of worship, in all its forms of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies, the inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and choose elders, on whom, together with the minister, was devolved the entire direction of all spiritual matters within the congregation. So far they were gratified. But, though the assembly of divines had voted presbytery to be of divine right, the parliament very wisely refused their assent to that decision. They were rather inclined to a free toleration of all the protestant sects, against which, again, the presbyterians protested and declaimed, declaring that "such indulgence made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts!" With marvellous inconsistency "they maintained the eternal obligation imposed upon them, by the covenant, to extirpate heresy and schism; and so menaced all their opponents with the same rigid persecution under which they themselves had groaned when held in subjection by the hierarchy!" In such a state of things the monarch was greatly at a loss to determine on which side it would be most for his interest to place himself. The presbyterians were, by their principles, less averse to the regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy. The independents were resolved on widening the foundations of government, without regard to any one party above another. Charles paused. Like a man watching the flow of the tide, he saw wave roll upon wave, and each wave rise higher and higher still; but knew not at what point the next wave might touch. His only hope was, that it might bear him, in its mighty sweep and flow, to some yet unknown resting-place.

We have found that, when the king, in disguise, made his escape from Oxford, he continued his flight with all speed, and at last threw himself into the Scottish army as it lay before Newark. The generals and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of Charles. They showed all the respect due to his dignity; but, under the colour of protection, set a guard upon him, and in fact made him a prisoner. The Scots informed the parliament of this unexpected arrival, with the assurance that they had entered into no private treaty with the king. The parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the king's person, in pressing which they were involved in frequent altercations with the Scottish commissioners. The parties entered into a contract that, "upon the receipt of two hundred thousand pounds, voted under colour of *arrears of pay*, from the parliament, together with a promise of as much more, the Scots should commence their march toward their own country, and leave the king in the hands of his enemies. No actual mention of the person of his majesty was made in the articles thus concluded between the two nations; but the commissioners on both sides sufficiently understood the intentions of their employers, and acted accordingly. The lords then voted that the king might reside at Newmarket; but the commons agreed that Holmby-house, situate on his own manor of Holmby, in Northamptonshire, would be the fitter place; and the lower house, as was become usual with them, carried the matter their own way."

Truly humbling was the condition of Charles. He was not only a prisoner, closely and for ever guarded, but his friends were kept at a distance. No intercourse, either by letters or conversation, was allowed him with any one on whom he could depend, or who was known to cherish any attachment to his person. The Scottish generals would enter into no confidence with him. Every proposal which they made him tended rather to his humiliation and ruin.

As Charles was king of Scotland as well as of England, the Scots pretended that they were entitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person. So thinking, they kept the king as a pledge for those arrears which they claimed from England. Having received but little regular pay since they had crossed the Tweed, the sum due to them, according to their own account, amounted to nearly two millions of money. A very moderate sum to be sure! After many discussions it was at last agreed that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of £400,000—one-half to be paid instantly, and the other half in two subsequent payments. Intelligence of the final resolution of the Scottish nation to surrender him was brought to the king. He happened at the very time to be playing at chess. Such was his self-possession that he continued his game without interruption. Being delivered over by the Scots to the English commissioners, he was conducted by a parliamentary escort to Holmby-house, "to continue in strict, though very stately seclusion, and await the destinies there." It is said that, on his journey thither, the whole country—moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection—flocked to see him. If any still retained rancour against him in his present condition, they passed in silence; while his well-wishers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his safety. "Singular, indeed, was the spectacle now presented by England to foreigners, and to all who were capable of reflecting among Englishmen themselves. The king, the legal head of the government, and the source whence the power of its other existing branches had been originally derived, was a captive to the authority he had created: the peers, hourly sinking into insignificance, maintained only a feeble appearance of yet forming a legislative, and still less, as they had assumed to be, an executive order in the state, by conceding in all things to the pleasure of the lower house; the commons united in themselves all power, legislative and executive, and ordered all according to their sovereign will."

The dominion of the parliament was of short duration. Having subdued the sovereign, they were soon involved in no common difficulties with the army. The presbyterians enjoyed the superiority in the commons—the independents predominated in the army. The presbyterians, in their proud position, began to talk of diminishing the army, and thus, on pretence of easing the public burdens, leveled a deadly blow at the opposite party. They proposed to send a strong detachment, under Skippon and Massey, into Ireland. The army had but little inclination for Irish service; they were still less disposed to disband, and to renounce that pay which they had earned in the heat of conflict and of danger. Many of the private men, as well as officers, had nearly a twelvemonth's pay still due to them. The army

suspected some design. They conjectured that this deficiency was contrived purposely in order to oblige them to live in free quarters, and, by rendering them odious to the country, serve as a pretence for disbanding them. Here lay the seeds of discontent. Serious commotions arose in the army. A petition was prepared, and addressed to Fairfax, craving an indemnity, to be ratified by the king, for any illegal actions of which, during the war, the soldiers might have been guilty; together with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows and men maimed in battle, and full pay till disbanded. Intelligence of this fell like a thunderbolt on the ear of parliament. It shook the house to its centre. Officers were summoned to answer for this act of the army; and the house voted that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland. They threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace. This extreme procedure led to the most fatal results. The soldiers burned with indignation at the thought that, having been made the authors of liberty to the nation, they themselves should be reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the most grievous servitude. Commissioners were sent to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland. They scorned the proposals, and continued to urge their claim. The officers, to the number of two hundred or more, signed an application to the parliament, in which they asserted their right of petitioning, and complained of the imputations thrown upon them by the house. The army felt their power and resolved to be masters.

The parliament were as resolved to preserve their supremacy. But they were wanting in power. They betook themselves to the expedient of sending a commission to Saffron Walden, in Essex, as the head-quarters of the army, to inquire, in the name of the parliament, into their supposed grievances, and to make them certain offers. Cromwell was included in this commission. He clearly perceived that such a state of things could not continue. He had the deep mortification of seeing the presbyterians wielding the whole authority in church and state, and absolutely ruling over the king, the parliament, and the purses and consciences of the people; while the army, comprised chiefly of the independents, had, in fact, achieved all for the parliament. Was the army, then, to be blamed for claiming the right of petition? Or, now that the destinies of our England were in their hands, was it too much for them to ask that the duration of parliaments should be limited—elections better regulated—the representation more equally distributed—improper privileges, and particularly that of being screened from creditors, given up; not bishops, but their coercive power and civil penalties taken away; the king, with certain well-defined restrictions imposed upon him, restored to his rights; the laws simplified and lessened in expense; monopolies set aside; tithes commuted, and measures of a like nature? Opposed by the domineering presbyterians, the soldiers became still more determined and resolute. It occurred to Cromwell that now was his hour. His mind was filled with the idea that it would be to the national advantage, and to his own individual security, if the king, humbled by

his present situation, would be content to resume his power, on the condition of moderate prerogative and episcopacy; and, not ignorant of the important rank which, at this moment, he occupied in the councils and service of his country, there was nothing extravagant in thinking that he himself might become the instrument of replacing Charles upon his throne.

As one of four parliamentary commissioners, Cromwell was sent to Saffron Walden, as the head-quarters of the army, with a view to adjust existing differences between the parliament and them. Cromwell and the other three parliamentary commissioners could do but little with the army. A merely nominal settlement was secured. The house, on the return and representation of Cromwell, voted eight weeks' pay in ready-money, and bonds for the rest. A committee of lords and commons was then appointed to go down to head-quarters and see the army disbanded. The soldiers took still higher ground. "Eight weeks of pay!" said they; "we want nearer eight times eight!" and sternly refused to be disbanded. The power was now in their hands. The parliament was very much the creature of their will, and was forced to conform many of its proceedings to their pleasure. The soldiers were not only dissatisfied with the scanty performance of the pecuniary promises of the house, and with the more scanty measure of freedom it condescended to allot the good people of England, whom it had ever been deceiving with much fair speech, but was in fact ruling with tyranny and oppression. In one of their addresses they told the house that they did "not look upon themselves as a band of janizaries, hired only to fight the battles of the parliament; that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty of the nation of which they were a part; and that before they laid those arms down, they would see that end well provided for." Cromwell had strong sympathy with the army; but conciliation, and not rebellion, was the goal to which he was pressing. His path was beset with a thousand obstacles which he must wholly overleap, and still press forward, or he must set himself the fearful task of entirely removing them. If he had deserted the army, it must have been at the hazard of his life and the salvation of his country. If he had abandoned and sacrificed the parliament, it might have quenched the last ray of hope which remained to render possible the restoration of Charles and the tranquillity of the country. Like a merciful mediator, he came between, and deprecated the very thought of an open rupture. Despite all his efforts, things came to such a pass as to compel him to choose a side. Nor did he for a moment hesitate to throw himself into the arms of his military colleagues, and into the bosom of the party to which, by stern and holy principle, he was most heartily attached.

Cromwell had no desire to strike a blow at the king, if the king would have left off aiming to strike a blow at the nation. But a free, life-breathing, and soul-stirring people were not to be made the vassals of a cruel and relentless despotism. Cromwell pitied Charles, and hoped that he might be the instrument of restoring him to the confidence and love of his subjects. But the unhappy monarch had taken his course, and nothing could divert him from it. Even his

friends forsook him. No one could depend upon him. His continued falsehoods had disgusted and alienated the greater number of his partizans. "Incurable in his duplicity, because he held himself bound to no engagement with rebellious subjects, Charles meditated their ruin while he was employing their aid." And was he to be allowed to effect their ruin without any opposition being offered on the part of the nation? Were the faith and the liberty of England of so little consequence as to be tossed about like a tennis-ball, even by a royal hand, and made the sport of every wind? Were the people to stand and look calmly and quietly on, while a proud and imperious sovereign was converting the throne into a wheel of crushing oppression—the altar into an appendage to the inquisition—and the church of GOD into an arena of ecclesiastical gladiatorship? It was well to protest. It was something far better and more manly to set about the great business of working out their own freedom.

In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, there already existed a military parliament, the constituent parts of which were a representative, composed of a certain number of private soldiers, or inferior officers, who were called AGITATORS, or, more properly, ADJUTATORS; and a council of superior officers, in imitation of the house of peers. These two bodies were in direct antagonism the one to the other. If neither had conceded, fearful was the struggle which must have ensued. The breach which had already become so wide, threatened the most tremendous consequences. At this juncture, the presbyterians, who feigned to believe that Cromwell was secretly fomenting the army, and supporting them in their opposition, and who had sufficient strength in the house to carry any measures which they proposed, resolved to commit him to the Tower. Their plot failed. Having been privately informed of their design, he quitted the city for his quarters, on the very morning that his arrest was to be moved for. That he might not, if possible, commit himself, he had the address to write to the house, and without taking any, even the least notice of what had been intended against him, informed them that his presence among the soldiers was required, to disabuse them of much misinformation they had received respecting the designs of the parliament, and requested that the general might be sent to aid him in the good work.

Cromwell escaped the Tower; but the tide of discontent was rolling in with resistless surge and fury. Incident after incident occurred to accelerate the course of events. While the parliament had voted that all the troops which did not engage for Ireland should instantly be disbanded in their quarters, the council of the army had ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. In thus preparing themselves in opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow which at once decided the victory in their favour. On the second or fourth day of June, 1647, "a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holdenby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a tailor by profession, but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being opposed by the guard, whose affections were all on their side, Joyce came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and told him

that he must immediately go along with him. 'Whither?' said the king. 'To the army,' replied Joyce. 'By what warrant?' asked the king. Joyce pointed to the soldiers whom he brought along—tall, handsome, and well accoutered. 'Your warrant,' said Charles, smiling, 'is writ in fair characters, legible without spelling.' The parliamentary commissioners came into the room. They asked Joyce 'whether he had any orders from the parliament?' He said 'No.' 'From the general?' 'No!' 'By what authority he came?' He made the same reply as to the king. 'They would write,' they said, 'to the parliament, to know their pleasure.' 'You may do so,' replied Joyce, 'but in the mean time the king must immediately go with me.' Resistance was vain. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triple Heath, near Cambridge. The parliament, informed of this event by their commissioners, were thrown into the utmost consternation.

This act has been ascribed to the counsel and suggestion of Cromwell, but on what evidence it is difficult to conceive. We can find nothing but the most naked assertion. We have searched for proof, but not the shadow of a shade comes into view. We do not say that Cromwell was wholly ignorant of the movement; that the step was not in accordance with his wishes—or that he withheld his sanction from the measure after it had been taken. But to say that he was positively concerned in the king's removal, is at once to strip him of all that moderation of conduct by which his past life had been uniformly distinguished; while so flagrant an assumption of power over the person of the sovereign, in contempt and defiance of the parliament, was an undertaking which challenged the most prudent daring of any one single man. It is clear as day, we think, that it was the general act of the army, effected by their representatives, the adjutators, of whom Joyce was one; and that Cromwell, so far from being even consulted by them, was looked upon as an obstacle, rather than an auxiliary, to the carrying out of their views. Nor is it improbable that the immediate instigators of the deed were more inclined to conceal than to communicate their intentions. If Cromwell had all along kept up a confidential correspondence with those officers of the military council who agreed with him in the moderation of their views, it does seem probable that he both knew the measure which was contemplated, and so far countenanced it as to take no steps to prevent it. The chief actors belonged to a party not expressly commanded by any one, but who were forward to do what they knew the whole army wished to be done. Certain it is that Oliver had not the actual direction of either the party or the plot, but left it to the violence of its planners to execute in their own time.

Few, if any, felt astonishment at the daring of Joyce; or thought it necessary to inquire who were the authors of a scheme the executor of which the great body of the army were prepared to support and defend with their lives. So far from concealing he was the agent of the military, Joyce rather gloried in what he had done. If asked who were his employers, his uniform answer was—THE ARMY. Addressing Charles himself, he said:—"Let the army be drawn to a rendezvous,

and the question put to them, and I will be content to be hung, if three parts out of four do not acknowledge me in what I have done." Still Charles was not convinced; and, when Fairfax and Cromwell both denied having commissioned Joyce, he replied:—"I'll not believe, unless you hang him."

With whatever degree of horror and despair the parliament commissioners, who were in attendance on the king, were seized on the removal of his person, his majesty was himself the subject of no common satisfaction. He, no doubt, hoped that, "in this new shuffle and deal, some good card would turn up for him;" hoped, with some ground, that the presbyterians and independents might be got to extirpate one another. He, therefore, rode willingly. The parliament commissioners followed, wringing their hands with grief. They came to Hinchinbrook, where Colonel Montague received them with all hospitality, and entertained them for two days. Colonel Whalley, with a strong party, deputed by Fairfax, met his majesty—offered to deliver him from Joyce, and conduct him back to Holmby and the parliament. Charles positively declined. The parliament had never been in such a plight before. All officers in the house were ordered forthwith to go down to their regiments. Cromwell had gone. In company with Fairfax, he had an interview with Charles on the 7th day of June; but to what effect? The king was more inclined to the side of the independents and the army. "It was held impossible for Charles to come to an understanding with the presbyterians, considering as he did that episcopal government was essential to christianity, while the presbyterians were bound, by their covenant, to abolish episcopacy. On the other hand, there was always an opening for some arrangement with the independents, who were disposed to use all their exertions with parliament to tolerate episcopacy, as well as the other sects. They were convinced that, if the opposite party once got the upper hand, they would tyrannize over the conscience as much as the bishops themselves had done in the early years of Charles's reign. In fact, the presbyterians, whenever they offered to treat with the king, always proposed that steps should be taken to suppress the independent opinions, as well as those of other sectaries."

Charles had no sympathy with any of the sectaries. He had hoped to have rendered stable his throne by their divisions and mutual animosities; and, finally, to have cemented that now broken throne with their blood. He was perverse in the extreme. He would take neither counsel nor advice from those who were ready most effectually to serve him. Cromwell perceived this; and, after frequent fruitless attempts to bring the king to a right state of mind, he gave him up as hopeless.

The new votes of parliament did not meet the expressed desires of the army. A memorable rendezvous took place on Triploe-heath, when the force assembled is said to have amounted to nearly twenty-one thousand men—"the remarkablest army that ever wore steel in this world." Matters here came to an issue. "The general and the commissioners rode to each regiment. They first acquainted the general's regiment with the votes of the parliament; and Skipton

spoke to them to persuade a compliance. An officer of the regiment made answer, that the regiment did desire that their answer might be returned, after the perusal of the votes by some select officers and agitators whom the regiment had chosen." This was the motion of the regiment. The soldiers, to a man, called for justice. "An armed parliament, extra-official, yet not without a kind of sacredness, and an Oliver Cromwell at the head of it, demanding, with one voice, as deep as ever spoke in England, JUSTICE, JUSTICE!—under the vault of heaven," was not to be lightly esteemed. The army daily drew nearer to London, in the hope of overawing the parliament. It now moved to St. Alban's, and from the rendezvous itself a joint-letter was despatched to the lord mayor and aldermen of the city, enforcing the claims of the soldiers.

To this document was attached the name of Oliver Cromwell. He was now supreme in the army; and, having openly espoused the cause of the independents, became the acknowledged leader of this noble-minded party. He well knew that so long as he could depend on his soldiers he had nothing to fear from his parliamentary colleagues. He acted with firmness. The restricted restoration of the monarchy was now the goal to which he pressed. "Favoured as he now was by almost every possible extrinsic circumstance; by the general dislike to the parliament; by the king's domiciliation with the army, and present popularity with the troops; and, more than all, by the extensive authority he himself possessed, as the actual, though not titular, military head, and the representative of a powerful religious party,—we may readily credit that he was neither remiss in his endeavours to procure such terms from the king as should confer a rational freedom upon the country, nor in such as might secure his own permanent security and greatness. But Charles, possessed with the idea that his importance to every party was so great that it must instantly turn the scale in favour of the one to which he should surrender himself, hesitated so long between the offers made him by the Scots, the presbyterians of the two houses, and Cromwell with the independents, that he lost the opportunity of making his peace with either. Cromwell's terms were the more moderate; he insisting mainly upon such retrenchments of the prerogative as were indispensable to the just liberties of the people; and agreeing to the re-establishment, without its coercive powers, of episcopal government, not as a matter of right, but upon the broad basis of toleration to all religious denominations."

From the character and extent of those contentions, which still divided the civil and military powers, and even threatened to rend them asunder, Charles hoped to find means to reinstate himself in all his former absolute authority. Never was poor mortal more deceived. In rather a familiar conversation which took place between them, Ireton, who was not only related by marriage to Cromwell, but in constant and closest correspondence with him, plainly said to Charles, "Sir, you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the parliament and us; and we mean to be between your majesty and the parliament." On a subsequent occasion, Charles so far forgot himself as to let fall the words—"I shall play my game as well as I can;"

to which Ireton replied—"If your majesty have a GAME to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours." Charles was not sincere. He felt little if any interest in the people's good. What he had lost in fight, he tried to regain by the meanest and most despicable ends. The independents would have restored him upon the easiest terms, but they became estranged from him by his extreme vacillation and treachery. It was his boast, often reiterated—"You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." Not only did they do without him, but taught him that he was in their hands, and that his very life was at their disposal. The idea of restoring him was at length abandoned, and justice was invoked upon him as a public delinquent. Cromwell still inclined to the side of conciliation and agreement. He was willing to cede a good deal to the monarch, if he could but bring him to terms. He went further than his son Ireton. He pressed the king's cause with great earnestness. So eager was he for a settlement, that he was suspected of being in private correspondence with Charles, and was in danger of being treated as a traitor to his country. He was heard once to say—"I think the king the most injured prince in the world; but this (laying his manly hand upon his sword) shall right him." Oliver made a most temperate use of the extraordinary power which he now enjoyed. He shrank from a revolution. Nor was his a feigned and hypocritical solicitude. "May God be pleased to look upon me according to the sincerity of my heart towards the king," was the utterance of a man who invoked the searching look of Omniscience on his inmost soul.

On the 16th of June the army accused eleven members of the commons—the chiefs of the opposite party—of high treason, whom the honourable house were respectfully required to put upon their trial. On some more or less plausible pretext, they asked leave to retire for six months. They soon withdrew, it is said, "to France—to deep concealment—to the Tower otherwise." The army then determined upon wresting the city militia from commanders who were the mere creatures of the presbyterians, and replacing it in the hands of those who had conducted it during the war. This they would have effected but for the clamour and the violence of the citizens of London, who were generally pledged to the presbyterian party. Their not succeeding in this contributed to their future triumph. They began to move from place to place. All London was moved. Shops were shut—fear had taken hold of men's hearts. At length the army lay circled round London and the parliament—now advancing, now receding—and kept the city and the house in perfect subjection. Such was the consternation which the military inspired, that, on their march, they were met at Hounslow-heath by the two speakers, Manchester and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and above sixty commoners, chiefly independents, who unanimously declared that they came to them for protection. The soldiers conducted their unexpected friends with shouts to London; reinstated the speakers and the members; and, assuring themselves of complete success from the flight of those eleven leaders of the opposite party whom they had accused, escorted the monarch to Hampton-court, and established their own headquarters at Putney. The army saw that both the king and the par-

liament were at their mercy; and, having lost all confidence in Charles, their whole fury was soon turned against the life of this self-deluded prince. It every day became more evident that he could not be trusted; that he had no affection for, or confidence in, the army, but was jealous of them and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the presbyterians of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation in blood; and therefore no man —not even the most temperate and pacific—could be answerable for what might occur. The adjutators conceived that, since Charles had declined the proposals of the army, they were no longer bound by these proposals; and that their chief duty now was to consult their own safety and the good of the kingdom, and to use every possible means to the obtaining of these ends. They were under the impression that GOD had, on the one hand, hardened the king's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not accepting the proposals, whereby they held themselves absolved from offering him any more; and, on the other hand, that the Lord had led captivity captive, and put all things under their feet; that they were, therefore, bound to finish the work of the Lord, which they conceived was to alter the government according to their first design; and to effect this, they were resolved to seize the king's person, and take him out of Cromwell's hands. This was more easily conceived than done; both Cromwell and Ireton were in direct opposition to these adjutators. At the hazard of placing his own person and authority in imminent danger, Oliver determined to make another bold effort to befriend his majesty. After conferring with such officers of the council as continued faithful to the late views of the army, a rendezvous of the troops was appointed to be held between Hertford and Ware, with a view of making the propositions to the king once more agreeable to the soldiers. Having, by some means, received intelligence of the business to be brought forward, the troops resolved to lay hands upon the king the day before the meeting should take place. Cromwell was informed of this, and generously provided for the monarch's safety by writing to his military guardian, Colonel Whalley, warning him of the design. He did not even now despair of Charles, and was desirous of saving him not less from the excesses of his own despotism than from the rage of those levellers who had risen up as an extreme party in the military. The rendezvous was held on the day appointed. When the more violent of the republican party appeared in the field with distinguishing marks in their hats, and declared their resolution to stand to their engagements, not to be dispersed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the government of the nation established, Cromwell, undismayed by this audacity in the anti-monarchical faction, accompanied by his loyalist officers, rode up to one of the regiments which displayed these distinguishing marks, and ordered the men to take them from their hats. They hesitated. They refused. Cromwell immediately caused twelve, who appeared most refractory, to be seized, and one of them to be shot on the field, besides having several of the officers apprehended. By such prompt and decisive measures the troops were reduced to submission, and forthwith remanded to

their quarters. Though the object of the meeting was not secured, an important end was obtained. Oliver and his son Ireton had frequent interviews with Charles and his agents. Propositions were made to him of a most equitable character. The monarch was entreated by his own most attached friends and supporters to accept the terms. He became very gracious in these interviews. But his graciousness was only put on as a cloak to conceal his dark and treacherous heart. He declined the most favourable offers. How haughty his temper and bearing! "I can turn the scale which way I please; and that party must sink which I abandon." So spake the monarch; to which Berkeley, his own agent, very pertinently replied—"Sire, a crown so near lost, was never recovered on easier terms!"

Weary of treating with the monarch to no purpose, an incident fell out which determined Oliver's future course. A letter, which Lord Oxford stated that he had seen and held in his own hand, addressed by his majesty to his royal consort, then in France, in answer to one from her, which had been first intercepted and then forwarded to the king, fell into Cromwell's hands. It happened thus. Information had been sent to him that the letter addressed to the queen would be despatched at a certain time, carefully sewn up in the flaps of a saddle, which a man, not in the secret, would carry on his head to the Blue Boar, in Holborn, whence it would be forwarded to France by way of Dover. Cromwell informed Ireton, and both determined to seize this opportunity of learning the king's thoughts. They left Windsor disguised as private soldiers; and, on reaching the hotel, placed a trooper, whom they had brought with them, as a sentinel at the door, sat down, and called for some refreshment. At ten o'clock the messenger arrived. Under pretence that they had orders to search everything, they seized the saddle, carried it within, ripped up the lining, found the letter, closed up the saddle again, and returned it to the terrified messenger, assuring him that it was all right—that he was an honest fellow and might continue his journey without fear.

The queen's letter, to which this was a reply, had reproached his majesty with making too great concessions to those villains that opposed his interests. The answer was sure to disclose the secret feelings and intentions of Charles. No sooner had they sent away the messenger, than the impatient generals withdrew to a private room, opened the letter, and read:—

"My time is come at last. I am now the man whose favour they court. I incline rather to treat with the Scotch than with the English army. For the rest, I alone understand my position. Be quite easy as to the concessions I may grant. When the time comes, I shall know very well how to treat these rogues, and instead of a silken garter, I will fit them with a hempen halter."

Ireton and Cromwell were speechless. They looked at each other. They left the hotel in great haste, and rode back to Windsor. There was no power which the monarch was not willing to enlist, and no scheme, how perfidious soever, which he was not prepared to adopt and prosecute, if he could but gain the mastery over the struggling spirit of England. He bade defiance to the army; but, finding that the army were not to be trifled with, he meditated his escape. Crom-

well informed him of his danger, and assured him of his services. There were those who counselled him to secure his person by quitting the kingdom, while the Scottish commissioners endeavoured to persuade him to come to their terms, by augmenting his fears as much as lay in their power. Some proposed that he should conceal himself in England; but others, thinking that to be unsafe, if not impossible, advised his going to Jersey. Cromwell would have prepared the way for his flight to France. Escape he must; but whither can he go? He was "surer of flying, than whither he should fly." A report became current that the strict watch of the garrison at Hampton-court had been relaxed, and the sentinels had been withdrawn from the posts which they usually guarded; and that a vessel sent by the queen was cruising off the coast towards which his majesty was to proceed, for the purpose of carrying him off. Evening came on, the king, mounted on horseback, accompanied by two or three of his chief advisers, left Hampton-court, rode through the forest, but the night being dark and stormy, and the roads bad, they lost their way, and did not reach Sutton till break of day. At Sutton they were informed that a committee of the county was then sitting by order of the parliament; the king then continued his journey to Southampton, from which place he sent to colonel Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, a true well-wisher to the king's person, but an inflexible partisan of the parliament, expressing his great fears and apprehensions of the ill intentions of the commonwealth party. Hammond was seized with consternation and alarm. He desired to know where the king was; accompanied the messenger to the earl of Southampton's, and was resolved to have a personal interview with the monarch. When Charles was informed that the governor had come with them, he struck his breast, and exclaimed, "What! have you brought Hammond with you? Oh, you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring!" Hammond was soon introduced into the royal presence, kissed the king's hand, and having been received in the most gracious manner, conducted Charles over to Cowes. Next morning they proceeded to Carisbrook Castle. No sooner was the king's escape discovered by the guards at Hampton-court, than colonel Whalley hastened to the parliament with a letter which Charles had left upon his table, showing the reasons of his withdrawing, and his resolution not to desert the interest of the army. The parliament at once declared it treason for any person to conceal his majesty. The manner of his escape was soon afterwards discovered, and also that Charles had put himself in the hands of the governor of the Isle of Wight. Here he became a prisoner, but had liberty to ride abroad daily. On his incarceration, he placed in the hands of Hammond a communication which he had received from Cromwell shortly before leaving Hampton-court, in which he was informed of the risk that he would incur by staying any longer in that palace. This hastened his flight, but whether he escaped by Oliver's advice is somewhat questionable. Cromwell, no doubt, approved of his detention, and was glad to learn that he was in such safe keeping.

While Charles was passing his time in the Isle of Wight, under the

surveillance of governor Hammond, the parliament voted that four propositions should be presented to him; and that if he accepted them, he should then be allowed to treat with them in person. Commissioners were sent to his majesty, but he disguised his real intentions, and feigned to be favourably disposed. On their return, the commissioners presented the report of the journey and its results. Parliament resolved to hold no further communication with the king. Cromwell, addressing the house, said—"the king is a man of great sense, of great talents, but so full of dissimulation, so false, that there is no possibility of trusting him. While he is protesting his love of peace, he is treating underhand with the Scottish commissioners to plunge the nation into another war. It is now expected the parliament should govern and defend the kingdom."

Cromwell was right. Lord Lauderdale and two other Scottish commissioners, shrouding themselves in the deepest secresy, arrived at Carisbrook castle nearly at the same time with the deputation from parliament. To re-establish him in his rights, and on the condition that his majesty would confirm the presbyterian polity in England for three years, they promised him the intervention of a Scottish army. Like a drowning man, Charles caught hold of every straw. He accepted everything. In two days the treaty was concluded and signed, but buried in the garden until it could be made known with safety. This settled, his position became worse than ever. The royalist party, inflated and bellowing, threatened to rise with shouts of GOD AND KING CHARLES; the great presbyterian party, with the city of London at their head, became hourly more discontented with the state of affairs; while the levellers, or radicals, would have made confusion confounded.

SECTION V.—THE SECOND CIVIL WAR.

The leaders of the army, after having spent three days at Windsor in conference and in prayer, were in great danger of adopting a mistaken course of action. Their next step might have involved the most serious—the most tremendous consequences. Alive to this fact, Cromwell once more interposed "to check the movement, which was hurrying on towards a violent catastrophe. He strove to restrain the pretensions of the republicans and enthusiasts. He was grieved to see the power passing from the hands of moderate men, and extended to earnest and active persons of inferior condition, but who were void of experience and wisdom. He assembled one day, at dinner, the principal independents and presbyterians, and earnestly entreated them to suspend their quarrels and combine together. But it was without result; the minds of all were inclined to violence and war; and Oliver was at length compelled to yield."

The king, still kept in close confinement at Carisbrook castle, was busy in secretly carrying on his intrigues with England, Scotland, and Ireland, and, reduced to the hopeless belief that he could find no instrument to his restoration in the army, endeavoured to set on foot a new treaty with the parliament. That body, now delivered over to

military authority, submitted propositions to which the arbitrary monarch refused to accede. On his refusal, they resolved that they would make no more addresses to his majesty, neither receive either his future messages or letters. He was thus virtually dethroned. Even Cromwell began to lose his confidence in him, and said in the house that "the king was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, he was not to be trusted!"

The protracted imprisonment and the increasing calamities of Charles, awakened no common degree of popular commiseration on his behalf, and this, for a time, became a serious bar to the completion of the schemes of the military power. Insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom. The cavaliers were everywhere plotting and working upon the people. The Scottish army, of more than forty thousand, was still full of fire, and clothed with steel. Wales was full of confused discontent. The country was all up. "The gentry were all for the king; the common people understood nothing, and followed the gentry." The spirit of discontent was spreading on every hand, and loud was the clamour for the king's deliverance and restoration. In the spring of 1648 everything became indicative of a second civil war. "In South Wales several officers, who had gained distinction in the parliamentary army, joined the cavaliers beneath the royal flag. In Scotland the parliament voted a levy of 40,000 men in the king's defence. At this signal, the royalists in the north of England broke out, and the chiefs of the parliamentary army in Ireland went over to the king's standard. Shortly after this event the Kentish royalists drew together in great numbers. Even in London, troops were raised for the king, and armed bands marched through the streets to join the insurgents."

As the chief strength of the insurgents lay in Wales, it was deemed expedient to despatch Cromwell thither with a body of troops, so as at once to put down the rising spirit of insurrection. Cromwell hastened to the scene of action, and intelligence soon reached London of his having taken Pembroke castle, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the besieged.

Meanwhile a new enemy had risen in the north. A Scottish and English army in equal defence of the king and of presbyterianism, had there unfurled the royal standard. On the 8th of July the royalist army from Scotland crossed the border; but the hearts of the Scottish nation were not with their army. The faithful presbyterians complained loudly that, while everything was done to restore the king to his rights, nothing was done to put CHRIST in possession of His. Pembroke castle surrendered three days after the Scotch invasion. On the very next day the victor hastened northwards, writing to his friends at Derby-house—"Send me some shoes for my poor tired soldiers; they have a long march to take." With these ill-shod, ill-clad soldiers, he traversed England from west to east, and then from north to south, with the rapidity of lightning; and suddenly the cavalry sent word to the duke of Hamilton, who commanded the Scotch army, that Comwell was approaching. "Impossible!" replied the duke; "he has not had time to come." But the outposts were already engaged with the advanced guard of the parliamentarian

general. Cromwell defeated the royalists; dashed upon the Scots, whom he found near the Ribble; routed them thoroughly; crossed the river with them; followed them close as they fled, still continuing their invasion, to the southward; came up with them in a defile near Warrington, and compelled them to surrender. A fortnight's campaign had sufficed to sweep away the whole northern army. The conqueror marched into Scotland, where he was joined by the presbyterians, who gave him a magnificent reception at Edinburgh.

The parliament were still negociating with Charles. The presbyterians forming the majority of that assembly, demanded that a personal treaty should be entered into with the king; that the independent schismatic army should be disbanded; that independents, anabaptists, and all other separatists should be suppressed, and no toleration allowed them; that the solemn league and covenant should be enforced, and the presbyterian form of church government more perfectly and universally established. They therefore revoked their vote of "no more addresses," and sent commissioners to the Isle of Wight, once more to offer Charles terms for an accommodation. Under such auspices commenced the treaty of Newport, during the progress of which his majesty was allowed almost unrestrained liberty, on the express stipulation that he should not attempt his escape, while the articles were pending, nor for three weeks subsequently to their possible unfavourable close. The army being absent on important expeditions, Charles had the opportunity of again ascending the throne under the sanction of these representatives of the people. But the presbyterians persisted "in mixing such bitter ingredients in the cup of conciliation, that the monarch again dashed it untasted from his lips." Deep was the desolation of his soul. Cut off from those he loved, and denied the service of his former chaplain, we find him thus musing:—"My agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good angel—for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet divine; and such I would have all mine to be. To thee, therefore, O God, do I direct my now solitary prayers! What I want of others' help, supply with the more immediate assistance of thy Spirit. In thee is all fulness; from thee is all sufficiency by thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough and comfort enough. Thou art my king, be also my prophet and my priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me."

While Cromwell was staving off the enemy at the peril of his life, going down into the deepest conflict of the battle-field to save his country, the hollow-hearted presbyterians were engaged in suborning one major Huntington against this first of England's sons. Huntington preferred that "Cromwell and Ireton had from the beginning, instigated the army to disobey and resist the parliament; that they had pledged themselves to make the king the most glorious prince in christendom, while they were only making use of him, and while their real object was to perpetuate the power of the army; that Ireton said, when the king and parliament were treating, he hoped they would make such a peace, that the army might, with a good conscience, fight against them both; and that Cromwell had, both in public and private, maintained as his principle, that every individual

was a judge of just and right as to the good and ill of a kingdom, that it was lawful to pass through any forms of government for attaining his end; and that it was lawful to play the knave with the knave." This false witness was allowed to go unpunished; but he had a conscience, and that conscience not seared. Milton tells us, that, "struck with remorse, he came of himself and besought Cromwell's pardon, and fully confessed by whom he had been suborned."

The successful battle of Preston, fought on the 17th of August, threw both kingdoms into the hands of the republicans. The army having quelled all insubordination and disturbance, and indignant at the treaty still pending between the presbyterians and Charles, sent a party of horse, under the command of major-general Harrison, to seize his majesty at Newport; whence they conducted him to Hurst castle, and placed a strong guard upon his person. He had been previously advised to escape, but refused. About the same period, a remonstrance was presented to parliament by the forces, in which they required that the house should return to their vote for "no more addresses;" proceed against the king in a way of justice; decree that the prince of Wales and duke of York should render themselves by a certain day, or stand exiled for ever as traitors; that the parliament should speedily terminate their sittings; that all future parliaments should be annual or biennial; and that no king should ever be allowed but upon the election of, and as upon trust from, the people, by their representatives. To work upon the fears of the members, they threatened to march to London if their desires were not immediately complied with; and the house taking no steps toward their satisfaction, they entered the city, and lodged their general in Whitehall, taking up their own quarters in St. James's, and elsewhere as they judged proper. The same night Cromwell arrived from Scotland, but protested that he knew nothing of the whole design. "God is my witness," said he, "that I know nothing of what has been doing in this house. But the work is in hand: I am glad of it, and now we must carry it through." Next day he took his seat in the house, when he received very hearty thanks for "the great and eminently faithful services performed by him to the parliament and the kingdom."

Before the commons had finally determined to bring the king to trial Cromwell had several meetings with some of the leading members of the house, and a few others whom he could trust, to consider the critical state of affairs, and the best means to free the nation from the evils with which on all hands it was now threatened. The army, as an entire body, not being under his acknowledged direction, it was not only wise and politic, but in the highest sense patriotic, on the part of Cromwell, to take counsel with the more temperate and pacific men of the age; for it was by their assistance he hoped in some degree to calm the passions of the contending parties, and by some middle path to conduct all things back to their wonted rest and security. The ground on which he now stood was heaving and rocking beneath him. How does it become him to act? Is he to yield himself to the mighty sweep of that current which is now bearing all before it with resistless force? or is he to withdraw from public life,

and sacrifice the interests of a great and struggling nation? Decide he must; and what unspeakable issues were involved in that decision!

SECTION VI.—THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES.

Meanwhile the monarch had been brought back to Windsor, where once again he lived in regal state and splendour. The army had left Windsor for London, where everything was indicative of impending calamity. It having been proposed in the commons to bring the king to trial on a charge of high treason, Cromwell betrayed no common degree of trepidation and fear. His words are memorable on so memorable an occasion. Rising and addressing the speaker, he said:—"If any man whatsoever have carried on this design, the design of deposing the king, and disinheriting his posterity, or if any man have such design, he must be the greatest traitor in the world. But since the providence of God has cast this upon us, I cannot but submit to Providence, though I am not yet prepared to give you my advice." It was with no common reluctance that Cromwell finally and fully committed himself to the stream of public opinion, and consented to the trial of Charles. He had tried every means in his power to prevent this great public calamity; but now that the measure had been determined upon, it was beyond his influence to arrest it.

Not a few of the religionists, both episcopalian and presbyterian, protested against the king's trial. Several foreign princes did the same through their ambassadors. The parliament, without paying any attention to their protest, erected a high court of justice for trying the sovereign, with John Bradshaw as lord president. For the more speedy accomplishment of their important work they voted, "That, by the fundamental laws of the land, it is treason for the king of England for the time being to levy war against the parliament and kingdom;" to which the lords not concurring, they passed it the next day, without their consent; and the day after declared "that the people are, under God, the original of all just power; that the house of commons, being chosen by, and representing, the people, are the supreme power in the nation; that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the commons in parliament, hath the force of a law, and the people are concluded thereby, though the consent of the king or peers be not had thereto." This obstacle being removed, the court, composed chiefly of members of parliament, officers of the army, and gentlemen of the country, met on January 8th, 1648-9, in the painted chamber. Charles was brought to the bar on the 20th, when the president acquainted him with the causes of his being brought thither:—For that he, contrary to the trust reposed in him by the people to see the laws put in execution for their good, had made use of his power to subvert those laws, and to set up his will and pleasure as a law over them; that, in order to effect that design, he had endeavoured the suppression of parliaments, the best defence of the people's liberties; that he had levied war against the parliament and people of

England, wherein great numbers of the good people had been slain, of which blood the parliament, presuming him guilty, had appointed this high court of justice for the trial of him for the same. Then turning to the clerk of the court, he ordered him to read the charge against the king. Charles interrupted him, saying: "I am not intrusted by the people, they are mine by inheritance;" and demanded by what authority they brought him thither. The president answered that they derived their authority from an act made by the commons of England assembled in parliament. The king said the commons could not give an oath; that they were no court, and therefore could make no act for the trial of any man, much less of him as their sovereign. The president maintained his first position, and commanded the clerk to proceed with the reading of the charge. This being done, the king was required to give his answer to it, and to plead guilty or not guilty to it. Charles demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, affirming that no man or body of men had power to call him to account, being not entrusted by man; and, therefore, accountable only to God for his actions. The king was then removed from the court; brought up again on the 22nd; and, finally, on the 23rd, when, refusing to plead as he had done before, his refusal was entered, and witnesses publicly examined, to prove the charge of his levying war against the parliament. The solicitor-general then demanded of the court that they would proceed to the pronouncing of sentence against the prisoner at the bar; whereupon the court adjourned into the painted chamber, and, upon serious consideration, declared the king to be a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy to the commonwealth; that his condemnation should extend unto death, by severing his head from his body, and that a sentence grounded upon those votes be prepared; which, being agreed upon, the king should be ordered, on the next day following, to receive it. The sentence, being engrossed, was read on the 27th of January; and thereupon the court resolved that the same should be the sentence, which should be read and published in Westminster-hall the same day. The sentence ran thus:—"That the king, for the crimes contained in the charge, should be carried back to the place whence he came, and thence to the place of execution, when his head should be severed from his body." It was agreed that this sentence should be carried into execution on Tuesday, the 30th of the same month. A scaffold was erected in Whitehall, near the banqueting-house, on the day previous; and the warrant for his execution, signed by nearly threescore of the commissioners. Here is the stern and deadly document:—

"DEATH WARRANT.

"To colonel Francis Hacker, colonel Huncks, and lieutenant-colonel Phayr, and to every of them."

"At the High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, 29th January, 1648-9.

"Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason and other high crimes; and sentence, upon Saturday last, was pronounced against him by this

court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which sentence execution yet remaineth to be done:

"These are, therefore, to will and require you to see the said sentence executed, in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon, with full effect. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"And these are to require all officers and soldiers, and others the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

"Given under our hands and seals.

"JOHN BRADSHAW.
"THOMAS GREY (Lord GROBY).
"OLIVER CROMWELL."

(And fifty-six others.)

Not only was the warrant signed and sealed, but the deed was executed. Scarcely had the first light of the morrow dawned upon the world when that light was dimmed and darkened by one of the most tragic scenes that the sun ever beheld. About eight in the morning the king, attended by a guard, was brought from St. James's, through the park, to Whitehall, where having drank a glass or two of red wine, and after spending about two hours in a private room, he was conducted to the scaffold out of a window of the banqueting-house; and, having made a speech, and taken off his George, he knelt down at the block, and the executioner performed his office. The body was ordered to be interred at Windsor. The duke of Lennox, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with some others, having leave from the parliament, attended it to the grave!

Solemn day! The glory of England now glittered in a cloud. The throne was vacant. The regalia lay unclaimed. The nation sat in sackcloth!

As we muse on this great tragedy in the great historical life of England, which involved the death of England's rightful sovereign, to what depth is our spirit moved! In what light is this deed to be viewed? Can it be justified or even defended? A mind not fully enlightened, a judgment not free from bias, a man whose love of truth does not rise infinitely above every other consideration, can never be intrusted with the settlement of this delicate question. Political and ecclesiastical prejudices have hitherto determined the conclusions of historians, biographers, and writers in general. Each one has been endeavouring to find the shibboleth of his own school, and just in proportion to the difficulties which have beset him has been the virulence with which he has execrated and anathematized those who differed from him; as if truth lay in calling men names, or even in repudiating every opinion but that which we ourselves have embraced. We are the apologists of neither weakness nor wickedness. We do not say that there was no error in putting Charles to death. Notwithstanding his treachery and his wrong-doing, his life, in common with the life of the meanest of his subjects, was too sacred to be thrown away. Grant that he had been guilty of betraying the in-

terests of his country, that he had sacrificed the public good to promote his personal ambition and pride, that he placed in immediate peril both the freedom and the ith of a great people, and that he was therefore, obnoxious to punishment, still it is more than difficult to defend the extreme character of the penalty which he was called to endure. We have no wish to deal harshly with the conduct of Charles, and we have as little desire to exonerate those who were more immediately involved in his execution and death. We plead for justice to both. We desire to hold the balance with an even hand. Let the beam take its own inclination. In the name of all that is honourable and true, let not its motion be interfered with, or be determined by a false finger-action.

We deny not that many good qualities entered into the character of Charles. And we would be the last to utter a single syllable to detract from those qualities in their force and loveliness. We admire virtue, whether it look out from beneath the crown and purple of royalty, or, like a gem of the first water which becomes more brilliant in proportion to the depth of the darkness which surrounds it, it is seen shedding its holy radiance over the darker scenes of dependance and poverty. Charles was not a compound of pure and unmixed evil. Nor did his good qualities suffer so much from the presence and existence of vice in the man, as from the absence of those other properties which give integrity and unity—completeness and harmony to the character. Constituted as he was, he must ever have appeared to positive disadvantage in any condition of life, or in any given or possible circumstances.

We are not unwilling to admit that he was surrounded by men, who first, and for the most selfish ends, flattered his vanity, and then, in the hour of need, proved unfaithful, and abandoned him to the tide of circumstances. This was his misfortune. Yet he cannot be held innocent. His first ambition should have been to provide for the good of his people. To this everything should have been made subordinate. This involved his own interest: the stability of his throne—the perpetuity of his kingdom. And from this he should have suffered nothing to divert his thoughts. If he could not depend on those around him, the greater the necessity for individual determination and purpose. Nor was the country so barren of talent and virtue, that he might not have called to his councils men of the first character and qualifications. The consciousness that he was pursuing a crooked policy, led him to look out for the merest sycophants to surround his person—men who refused not to bow down and lick the dust of his feet, and whose selfishness ultimately led them to sacrifice both him and the country. He sowed to the wind and he reaped the whirlwind. If he had been true to his country, the people would have been to him a tower of strength. If he had ruled in righteousness, he would have died full of honour, and his memory would have been embalmed in the affections of a devoted nation.

Painful as the conclusion is, it is forced upon us by his whole conduct, that he was guilty of betraying his country. Had he been left to himself, he would have sacrificed both its faith and its freedom. Having acted contrary to the constitution, he had violated his corona-

tion oath—he had, in fact, forfeited his crown. Was he above law? Was there no tribunal to which he was amenable? We see not why a sovereign should betray the faith and freedom of his country and be obnoxious to no punishment. But what shall be the punishment? We would take no man's life. If Charles was a traitor, then, according to the laws of his realm, death was the penalty of treason. In spite of that law, we should have inclined to another course. And, perhaps, had the same views obtained then as now on the subject of capital punishment, not a man would have affixed his name to the death-warrant. By law Charles was obnoxious to death, but death ought not to have been inflicted.

We cannot be mistaken. It is a settled point that the king should not have suffered the extreme penalty of the law. And yet to speak of him as a martyr is sheer nonsense. If his love of truth and liberty had been such that he counted not his life dear in their defence, we might concede to him the honour. But a man who periled both, and was prepared to barter both for purely selfish ends, is not a man to be put into the calendar and worshiped as a saint. Nor can we see how Cromwell can be charged with the death of the king. No man of the day was more sincerely anxious to save his life. It was with him an effort—a business. If the thing could by any possibility have been done, Cromwell would have accomplished it. It was not till Charles rendered his own salvation hopeless; it was not till his treachery and wickedness stood revealed in the sight of the sun; it was not till the voice of an oppressed people, and of insulted justice, called for retribution, that Cromwell consented to the death of his sovereign. Would that he had thought of some expedient for disposing of the king, at the moment when he dipped his pen in that black, black ink with which he signed the death-warrant! It would have invested his character with seven-fold glory, and overpowered his bitterest enemy. Here he failed; and the failure can never be repaired. He did it ignorantly, but he did it for the best. We, therefore, write it, once for all, that CHARLES WAS NOT A MARTYR, AND THAT CROMWELL WAS NOT A MURDERER.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PERIOD OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

With the death of Charles there came a period of deep agitation. The kingdom was convulsed to its very centre. No one could foresee into what frame or mould the future government would be cast. It was still a problem in whom should be reposed the executive power. Hitherto the parliament had retained every branch of the executive in their own hands; now they surrendered that power, and gave it up, in its general branches, to a COUNCIL OF STATE, with this anomalous provision: that this council were to frame their acts in conformity with instructions which they should receive from parliament! Few, if any, perceived or understood that while the constituent parts of a government may be made subject to the constant operation of check, the one from the other, it is yet absurd to think of any one branch commanding and controlling all the rest. All was chaos—all dark and deep confusion!

The dissolution of the monarchy soon followed upon the death of Charles. On the very day of his execution, the commons, by express act, forbade the proclamation of any other king. A week afterwards they voted the house of peers to be "useless and dangerous, and therefore to be abolished." Next day they resolved that the office of king had been found by experience to be unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people. It was consequently abolished, and forty of the members were constituted a council of state, legal writs from whom should issue by the style of THE KEEPERS OF THE LIBERTY OF ENGLAND, while they themselves were to be entitled, THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES APPOINTED BY PARLIAMENT. Seals were ordered them bearing this inscription, with power for one year to command and settle the militia of England and Ireland, to set forth a navy, to appoint magazines and stores, and to dispose of them at pleasure. The commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend—IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. It was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales. The king's statue in the Exchange was thrown down, and on the pedestal were inscribed these words:—"EXIT TYRANNUS—REGUM ULTIMUS;"—the tyrant is gone—the last of the kings. The duke of Hamilton and several others of the nobility were condemned for high treason, and suffered the last penalty of the law.

A few days after the execution of Charles, there appeared a most extraordinary work, entitled,—"Ikon Basilikè;" or the portraiture of his most sacred majesty in his solitude and suffering—a work professing to come from the pen of the sovereign himself, and to contain devout meditations of his latter days. It produced a powerful excitement in the public mind, and did much to enlist the sympathies of the nation in favour of the unhappy monarch. Hume declares that "it is not easy to conceive the general compassion excited towards the king by the publishing, at so critical a juncture, a work so full of piety, meekness, and humanity. Many have not scrupled to ascribe to that book the subsequent restoration of the royal family." So eagerly and universally was the book perused by the nation, that it passed through fifty editions in one year, and it is not improbable that through this influence the title of royal martyr was given to the king by his friends and partizans. Milton compares its effect to that which was wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Antony's reading to them the will of Cæsar. Yet Milton, who wrote an answer to it under the title of "Iconoclastes; or, the Image-breaker," entertains the strongest doubts as to its authorship. Indeed, from his day down to the present, it has been a question among critics and learned men whether the work is to be ascribed to Charles himself, or to a certain worldly and ambitious theologian of the name of John Gauden, who was chaplain to the earl of Warwick, and one of the presbyterian leaders, but who afterwards rose to great preferment in the episcopal church. Much more recent and searching investigation has shown that the weight of evidence lies on the side of Gauden, who, thirsting for higher preferment as a remuneration for services done to the state, urges his claim thus—"Not on what was known to the world under my name, but what goes under the blessed king's name—the Ikon, or portraiture of his majesty in his solitude and sufferings. This book was wholly and only my invention, making, and design, in order to vindicate the king's wisdom, honour, and piety."

While various parties in the state were busying themselves in concocting and framing forms of government, the religionists were intensely earnest in putting forth their respective views, and in giving currency to the most extravagant assumptions and opinions. "The leveller insisted on an equal distribution of power and property, and disclaimed all dependance and subordination. The millenarians, or fifth-monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. The antinomians even insisted that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle more perfect and divine, were superior to the beggarly elements of justice and humanity. A considerable party declaimed against tithes and hireling priesthood, and were resolved that the magistrate should not support by power or revenue any ecclesiastical establishment. Another party inveighed against the law and its professors; and, on pretence of rendering more simple the distribution of justice, were desirous of abolishing the whole system of

English jurisprudence, which seemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even those among the republicans who adopted not such extravagances, were so intoxicated with their saintly character, that they supposed themselves possessed of peculiar privileges; and all professions, oaths, laws, and engagements, had, in a great measure, lost their influence over them. The bands of society were everywhere loosened; and the irregularities of men were encouraged by speculative principles still more unsocial and irregular."

The royalists, who had been degraded from their authority and plundered of their property, were indignant. The presbyterians who were now reduced and disappointed, became enraged and haughty. The only solid support of the republican independent section was a numerous army of fifty thousand men, and not a little formidable from its discipline and courage. All was unsettled; and but for the great influence, both civil and military, acquired and possessed by Oliver Cromwell, all would have continued disjointed and broken. His authority was all but unlimited. All England was awed into submission. The new republic daily gained upon the confidence and the affections of the people.

SECTION I.—THE STATE OF IRELAND.

The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave immediate disquietude to the young government. Ireland was in a state of open war. Let it be borne in mind, that during the former rebellion the Irish had conceived the design not only of erasing from their country every trace of the English nation and of the protestant faith, but also of crossing over into England, and of there abolishing the reformed religion. During that rebellion the massacre of protestant christians exceeds all belief. "On all sides they were attacked unawares, ejected from their houses, hunted down, slaughtered, exposed to all the perils, all the tortures, that religious and patriotic hatred could invent." There was no indignity to which humanity could be subjected which they were not called to endure. "Cruel fighting, desperate violence, and frightful misery, afflicted the unhappy land during eight years. Armies, or savage hordes, rather, full of hatred, disobedience, and cruelty, met and fought. Murder, pillage, conflagration, wasted the most fertile parts of Ireland." While the authority of the English parliament was established in Dublin, and some other towns which had previously fallen into their hands, the rest of the kingdom was divided into factions, among which either open war or secret hostility prevailed. The lord-lieutenant Ormond stood on the side of the royalists. With him went the nobility; while the clergy and the body of the people took the opposition. Checked in his progress by distracted counsels and contrary influences, the parliamentary forces successfully maintained their ground against him. Yet these forces were somewhat impaired. Cromwell, therefore, sent a reinforcement of four thousand horse and foot in order to strengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himself against the marquis of Ormond, who lay

at Fenglass, and was making preparations for the attack of Dublin. Matters assuming a more serious aspect, the commonwealth began to turn their thoughts to this scene of deep agitation and tumult. The lieutenancy must be transferred into other hands. But where was the man equal to the task of reducing Ireland to submission? All eyes were turned to Cromwell. All parties concurred in his appointment, with supreme civil and military authority. He was not insensible to the magnitude and the difficulties of the undertaking. He appeared in the house next day full of anxiety and seriousness, and declared his "unworthiness and disability to support so great a charge." But he gave himself up with "entire resignation to the commands of the house," not concealing from himself or from them the manifold difficulties he should have to meet and surmount in fulfilling his mission. These are his words:—"That kingdom is reduced to so great straits, that I am willing to engage my own person in this expedition, because of the difficulties which appear in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of my life, to give some obstruction to the successes which the rebels are at present exalted with. And all that I desire is, that no more time be lost in the preparations which are to be made for so great a work." No time was lost. The new lieutenant applied himself, with his wonted energy and vigilance, to make all necessary preparations for his departure. Under his directions, the commons made incredible exertions to raise money, provide ships, and collect forces. Cromwell departed for Ireland at the head of 12,000 men. At his setting out, we are told, he was drawn in a carriage with six horses, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of state, with the chief of the army—his life-guard consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all bravely mounted and accoutred, both they and their servants. He joined his forces at Milford Haven, the place selected for the general rendezvous. In the prospect of Cromwell's advent all the parties that had ravaged Ireland now united. Oliver hastened to the spot. Ormond had already sustained a signal defeat. Animated by the recent reinforcement which he had obtained from England, Colonel Jones sallied out, suddenly and unexpectedly attacked the royalist party employed in repairing the fort, totally routed them, pursued, and fell in with the army. These he threw into disorder and confusion, chased them off the field, seized their tents, baggage, and ammunition, and after killing a thousand men, and taking above two thousand prisoners, he returned in triumph to Dublin. Cromwell was already there. Thence he hastened to Tredah, or Drogheda, which was well fortified, and in which lay a garrison of three thousand men. At once he dashed into the deepest of the fight. Having made a breach, he ordered a general assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack—himself and his son Ireton leading on the army. Their valour trampled down all opposition. The town was taken, sword in hand; and, orders being issued to give no quarter, a fearful slaughter ensued. It is said that only one person of the garrison escaped to tell the tale of this universal havoc and destruction.

This scene and tale of death had its effect on other places. Having led his army, without delay, to Wexford, he began to batter

the town, and then the garrison shared not a very different fate from that of Tredah; in fact, every town before which Cromwell presented himself now opened its gates without resistance. Garrisons formerly in the royalist service deserted to him one after another, which soon put an end to Ormond's authority, and Oliver became master of all Ireland. Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found the state of affairs to be desperate, and without remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men passed into foreign service. There is fearful truth in the remark, that "Oliver descended on Ireland like the hammer of Thor; smote it, as at one fell stroke, into dust and ruin, never to re-unite against him more!"

It may be that Cromwell had a deep-rooted enmity against the papists; it may be that he confounded the spirit of the Jewish economy with the freer and sublimer genius of the christian faith; it may be that he looked upon himself as the soldier of God the Just, and felt that he was but the minister of heaven in inflicting retribution on those who had butchered thousands of innocent protestants; but all this comes short of a vindication. We have no wish to conceal the fact that every place that ventured upon resistance was, with almost magic rapidity, carried by assault; that the military movements of Cromwell were such as, perhaps, had never before been known in the conduct of any European army; that this great soldier did more, in a few short months, than any sovereign of England had effected in a long series of years; and that the English authority was placed upon a firmer basis than at any previous period in our national history. Still we cannot but deplore that a man—a christian man—should have been called to wage so terrible a war, and to show towards his enemies greater severity than had ever, perhaps, been exercised by the pagan leaders of antiquity. Nothing can save Cromwell from the charge of extreme cruelty. His conduct often approached to savagism. We are gravely told that "the papacy, by vitiating the revelations of christianity, by establishing again in the world a sacerdotal caste, which it was the object of the gospel to abolish everywhere; by retarding the nations wherever she was dominant, and by keeping them, in all respects, in the rear of the others, will have to answer, before God and man, for the poverty and sufferings she has entailed on an island which, before it was subject to the pope, was at the head of all christian countries, and which is now, alas! at the lowest step in the scale." It is affirmed that all "impartial judges must acknowledge that it is from the Seven-hilled city whence flow those torrents which have inundated this interesting and unhappy nation with ignorance, superstition, servility, and wretchedness; with humiliation, famine, and pestilence, and death!" Nay, it is conceived that this view is confirmed by the past history and present condition of other nations. "Portugal, Spain, and Italy, are sunk by their clergy into the mire, from which they cannot extricate themselves. France would be in the same state if it had not always preserved a protestant element, which for some time was predominant, and which has never entirely perished. And if we desire to see what popery makes nations in these days, we have only to cast

our eyes on Belgium, which, next to Ireland, is the most popish country in Europe. We shall find there a fertile soil, a land offering immense resources, and a people once at the head of European manufactures and commerce, but of whom the fourth part is now reduced to mendicancy, and is dying of hunger;" and hence it is concluded, that if Cromwell "loved Ireland—if he desired its happiness and prosperity—he must have wished, above all things, to see popery and the mass disappear, and to behold the establishment of evangelical christianity and of the bible." Granted that he might desire this as a positive good; but to attain the end was he to butcher so many thousands of Ireland's misguided children? What has a man's religious opinion to do with his position and his deserts as a citizen? It is true that the saying of the mass had been prohibited for more than eighty years in the sister island; but this itself was an infringement of religious liberty. If we cannot fetter thought, we ought not to repress its freer utterances. Man is not responsible to man for his belief. It is a thing between his conscience and his God. Speak of toleration! Why, of all intolerance, nothing is more intolerant than to punish man's free thoughts; but to take advantage of a successful siege to put to death thousands on thousands of devoted papists, because they were papists,—oh! let it not be named. It is a crime which might have veiled the face of day. It is a deep dark blot on the escutcheon of Cromwell. No time will wipe it out; it is indelible. It will detract from his name, and tarnish his glory, till the years shall cease to be numbered!

It alters not our opinion when we are told that his severity was directed not against the people, but only against the heads, or chiefs, of this religious body. His own words are sufficiently expressive when he says, "I shall not, where I have power, and the LORD is pleased to bless me, suffer the exercise of the mass where I can take notice of it; no, nor in any way suffer you that are papists, where I can find you seducing the people, or by any overt act violating the laws established; but if you come into my hands, I shall cause to be inflicted the punishments appointed by the laws—to use your own term, *secundum gravitatem delicti*—upon you, and shall try to reduce things to their former state in this behalf. As for the people, what thoughts they have in matters of religion in their own breasts, I cannot reach; but shall think it my duty, if they walk honestly and peaceably, not to cause them in the least to suffer for the same. And shall endeavour to walk patiently and in love towards them, to see if, at any time, it shall please GOD to give them another, or a better, mind. And all men under the power of England, within this dominion, are hereby required and enjoined strictly and religiously to do the same." Let us admit that the priests, from the highest to the lowest of their grades, were the prime instruments of fomenting this rebellion, and of goading on the people to that nameless protestant massacre which stains the annals of Erin—let it go undenied that they stand chargeable with all the crime which was committed, and with all the blood which was shed—is this to be taken as an apology of Cromwell's conduct? Let every class be held amenable to law for their actions, and let law deal with them according to their deserts; but let no one

rush upon the divine prerogative, and determine the retributions of human conduct. Before Cromwell assumed that he was but executing the "righteous judgment of GOD upon the barbarous wretches who had imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood," he should have satisfied himself and the world that he held such a commission from heaven, and that his not fulfilling it would have been rebellion against GOD. He erred—grievously erred. He had no more pretext for his severe procedure towards the priesthood than towards the people. Were men to be branded and butchered for their religious opinions? Was catholicism to be fettered and bound, and protestantism to be left unshackled and free? Besides, what was the procuring cause of the Irish protestant massacre? Was it not the extreme persecution to which the catholics had been subjected ever since the conquest of their country by Henry the second? Why should protestantism ever have been forced upon the people? And because the people refused it, as a thing repugnant to their feelings, why should they have been trodden down and oppressed? The massacre admits of no justification. It is a nameless deed. But it was only the fatal effect of a nation struggling to be free. And why should a man, who, to preserve the faith and the liberty of England, had consented to the death of his sovereign, turn round, and punish others for asserting their freedom and independence? The question to be determined was not whose faith is right, that of the protestant or that of the catholic? Nor was Cromwell sent into the world to arbitrate the great question. He should have acted independently of man's faith and religious opinions. But, after he had become master of the country, to threaten the priesthood with the severest penalties if they continued to adhere to their own ecclesiastical system, or to perform worship according to the forms and directory of their own church, was a species of persecution for which we have no word in our language sufficiently strong to express our abhorrence. Much as we admire Cromwell, we cannot sacrifice truth. We grieve to write it:—"One thing is clear—that no name in history is so familiar to the memories of even the common Irish to this day, and no name is so universally execrated, as that of Cromwell. In England he is undoubtedly remembered too little to his praise; but in Ireland it must be allowed that he, by his military and other severities, has left a fame that will never die to posterity's justest horror and detestation. Most singularly will our terror-striking lord-governor's private letters, written during his progress in the island, and evincing, as they do, his habitual religious feelings, and the tenderest affections towards his family and friends in England, contrast with the mistaken zeal, the policy, or any other of the supposed resources of that public conduct by which thousands were divested of every tie that had united them to their families, their homes, their country, and their existence." Would that we could have thrown the veil of eternal oblivion over this scene in the hero's life! It is written in blood, and nothing but an act of heaven's love can wash it out. Let us forget it.

After Cromwell had made himself master of the country, and before leaving its soil, which was still wet with the blood which he had shed, he penned and published "a declaration for the undeceiving of de-

luded and seduced people; which may be satisfactory to all that do not wilfully shut their eyes against the light: in answer to certain late declarations and acts framed by the Irish popish prelates and clergy in a conventicle at Clonmacnoise," in which he sets forth that all christians belong to the spiritual estate, and that there is no other difference between them than in the functions they discharge; that the term clergy and laity is anti-christian, and leads to discontent and division; that men should never have recourse to carnal means for the advancement of religion; and that the people were the last objects of the care and solicitude of the priesthood; that if the people were a flock, they could be but badly fed under such pastors; that the mass was an unmeaning ceremony, and therefore not to be tolerated; that the priesthood, in the propagation of catholicism, had made use chiefly of fire and sword; that not an instance could be given of any one man since his first coming into Ireland, not in arms, being massacred, destroyed, or banished, concerning whose massacre or destruction justice had not been done; that he should not willingly take, or suffer to be taken away, the life of any man not in arms, but by the trial to which the people are subject by law; that if the people should run to arms by the instigation of their clergy or otherwise, they could receive no mercy at his hands; that England had experience of the blessing of God in prosecuting just and righteous causes, and that if ever men were engaged in a righteous cause in the world, this war would hardly be second to it; that he had come to ask an account of the innocent blood that had been shed, and bring to an account all who, by appearing in arms, had sought to justify the same; to break the power of a company of lawless rebels, and, by the assistance of God, hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty; that such as had been formerly in arms might, by submitting themselves, have their cases presented to the State of England, which no doubt would be ready to take into consideration the nature and quality of their actings, and deal mercifully with them, and so with those who were still in arms; while such as persisted and continued in arms could expect nothing else but what in the providence of God (in what is falsely called the chance of war) might come upon them; that such of the nobility, gentry, and commons of Ireland, as had been actors in the rebellion, might depend on the protection of their property, liberties, and lives; but that if, after all this, the people should headily run on after the counsels of their prelates and clergy, and other leaders, he hoped to be free from the misery and desolation, blood and ruin, that should befall them, and that he should rejoice to exercise the utmost severity against them!

Strange conclusion this! Strange document altogether! Some conceive that its utterances sound as "a powerful protestant voice, the like of which, perhaps, was not heard in the seventeenth century." We are not so enamoured with its protestantism; it savours too much of a narrow-souled bigotry. Whatever offences were obnoxious to punishment, Cromwell was wrong in opposing and punishing men for their religious belief.

SECTION II.—YOUNG STUART AND THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS.

Cromwell, having obtained such signal success in Ireland, returned to London in the month of May, and was received by the parliament and the people "as a soldier who had gained more laurels, and done more wonders in nine months, than any age or history could parallel." And yet "fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague when Sir Joseph Douglas brought him intelligence that he was proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament. At the same time Douglas informed him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and extremely damped that joy which might arise from his being recognised sovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles, too, considered that those who pretended to acknowledge his title were, at that very time, in actual rebellion against his family, and would be sure to entrust very little authority in his hands, and scarcely would afford him personal liberty and security."

Meanwhile, he left Holland, and having passed some time at Paris, where no assistance was given to him, and very few civilities were paid him, he made his retreat into Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged. Here Winram, laird of l'Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of estates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions to which he must necessarily submit before he could be admitted to the exercise of his sovereignty. He gave Winram a civil answer, and desired the commissioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to those conditions. Conditions more severe were never imposed by subjects upon their sovereign. They were:—That he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons—that is, all those who, either under Hamilton or Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family; that no English subject who had served against the parliament should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself, by his royal promise, to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament by which presbyterian governments, the directory of worship, the confession of faith, and the catechism were established; and that in civil affairs he should entirely conform himself to the direction of parliament, and in ecclesiastical to that of the assembly. These proposals the commissioners very solemnly delivered to the king. His majesty's friends were divided in opinion as to the part which he should act at such a crisis. Most of his English counsellors dissuaded him from accepting such conditions. The duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party who had been banished their country for the late engagement, were *then* with the king, and, being desirous to return home in his retinue, earnestly pressed him to submit to the conditions required of him. Encouraged by the advice of the queen-mother and of the prince of Orange his brother-in-law, both of whom thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom for the sake of giving his sanction to episcopacy,

Charles was induced to comply. But what chiefly influenced him was the account brought him of the fate of young Montrose. This illustrious nobleman, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France; but, desirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, where he heard of the tragical death of the late king, and, at the same time, received from his young master a renewal of his commission as captain-general in Scotland. His ardent and daring spirit now burned within him. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, and set out for the Orkneys with about five hundred men, most of whom were Germans. On his arrival, he armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, and carried them over with him to Caithness. Notwithstanding the weakness of Montrose's army, the memory of past events struck terror into the committee of estates. They immediately ordered Lesley and Holborne to march against him with a force of 4,000 men. The royalists were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies by a friend to whom he had entrusted his person. He was brought to speedy trial, and condemned to "be carried to Edinburgh-cross, and there be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, for the space of three hours; then to be taken down, his head to be cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison; his legs and arms to be stuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom; his body to be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors, except the church, upon his repentance, should take off his excommunication!" So perished the gallant marquis of Montrose; "the man whose military genius, both by valour and conduct, had shone forth beyond any which, during these civil disorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms."

Charles, who had all the while been conniving at Montrose, and through whose military exploits he hoped to recover a throne, having come to an agreement with the commissioners of Scotland, set sail for that country, and, being escorted by seven Dutch ships of war, arrived in the Frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was required to sign the covenant; but, to show how little confidence was reposed in his word and character, when he professed his readiness to sign that deed on board the ship, even before he landed, Livingstone begged him to wait until his arrival; but it was in vain. And when again, at Dunfermline, Charles wished to append his signature to a new declaration, by which he renounced popery and episcopacy, and asserted that he had no other enemies than those of the covenant, the Rev. Patrick Gillespie said to him:—"Sire, unless in your soul and conscience you are satisfied, beyond all hesitation, of the righteousness of this declaration, do not subscribe to it; no, do not subscribe to it, not for the three kingdoms." "Mr. Gillespie, Mr. Gillespie," replied the king, "I am satisfied, I am satisfied; ..... and therefore will subscribe." As soon as the English parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war which they deemed to be all but inevitable. Cromwell, having

broken the force and courage of the Irish, was summoned home. He left the command of Ireland to Ireton, his son-in-law.

The Scots, who professed to desire no more than to moderate the power of the late king, and to complete the triumph of their peculiar religious principles, when they beheld their monarch led to the public scaffold, and presbyterianism no longer in the ascendancy, as it had been in the English parliament, immediately adopted measures for proclaiming prince Charles monarch of Scotland; and within twelve months after his father's death, were known to be actively preparing an army to invade England, and support his pretensions to the crown of the three kingdoms. If Charles had thought of ascending his native throne only, Cromwell and the English might have remained quiet; but as he aimed at the recovery of the three kingdoms the posture of affairs became every day more alarming. The Scots had put themselves in direct opposition to the commonwealth of England. They had espoused the very interests of that family which they had declared guilty of so much precious blood, and resolved to force the same upon England. The attempt to place the youthful prince upon the throne of his fathers, gave birth to a second revolution.

To arrest the progress of the war, parliament resolved to send all the forces they could muster into the north, and thus save their own country from impending calamity. Fairfax was requested to head these troops. He professed himself wholly averse to such a proceeding; but declared that, in case the Scots should attempt to invade England, he would be ready to lay down his life in opposing them. Every argument and motive was employed to persuade him. It was represented to him that the Scots had already declared themselves the enemies of England—that by public protestation they had bound themselves to impose that government upon the English which the English had found it necessary to abolish—that to this end they had made their terms with prince Charles, waiting only an opportunity as soon as they had strengthened themselves, by foreign assistance which they expected, to put their design into execution—that England would be reduced to great difficulties incident to the keeping up of an army in expectation of being invaded by the Scots—that the peace and the prosperity of the country were deeply involved—and that the effusion of so much blood might be saved. But nothing that was said or urged could induce him to alter his resolution. Cromwell then proposed that, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they should yet continue him to be the general of the army; professing for himself that he would rather choose to serve under him in his post, than to command the greatest army in Europe. The council of state, not approving of this advice, appointed a committee of force out of themselves to confer farther with the general on so weighty business. It was Cromwell who moved for this committee. In their interview with Fairfax, they went first to prayer, after which they proceeded to the matter in hand. Fairfax having grounded his unwillingness to invade Scotland upon the provisions of the league and covenant, Cromwell, with no common force, replied:—

"I confess, my lord, that if they have given us no cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable in us to do it; and to make war upon

them without a sufficient ground, will be contrary to that which in conscience we ought to do, and displeasing to God and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordship knows they have, since the national covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of the duke of Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and so the act of the whole nation by their representatives; and if they now give us too much cause for suspicion that they intend another invasion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they had made a full agreement without the assent or privity of this commonwealth, and are very busy at this present in raising forces and money to carry on their design; if these things are not a sufficient ground and cause for us to endeavour to provide for the safety of our own country, and to prevent the miseries which an invasion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly submit it to your excellency's judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all; wherein God was pleased to bless us with success against them; and that they now intend a new invasion of us, I do as really believe, and have as good intelligence of, as we can of anything that is not yet acted. Therefore I say, my lord, that upon these grounds, I think we have a most just cause to begin, or rather to return and requite their hostility first begun upon us; and thereby to free our country (if God shall be pleased to assist us, and I doubt not but he will,) from the great misery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be a war between us I fear is unavoidable. Your excellency will soon determine whether it is better to have this war in the bowels of another country or our own; and that it will be in one of them I think it is without scruple."

The committee having failed to succeed with Fairfax, they returned to the council of state, and a formal report of the business was agreed to be made to parliament. The house then voted Cromwell to be captain-general of all the land forces, ordering a commission to that effect to be forthwith drawn up, and referred to the council of state, so as to hasten the preparation for the northern expedition. This was carried without opposition; and Cromwell, on his promotion, received the congratulations of all classes of the people. A single exception must be taken. Three officers of the army, named Rich, Staines, and Watson, suffered themselves to conceive such violent apprehensions of Cromwell's designs, and to cherish such malignant envy and hatred of his talent and person, as to entertain the idea of assassinating him. Happily the plot was discovered; and the council of state resolved on visiting them with corresponding punishment. In the most generous manner, Cromwell interposed in their behalf, and procured not only their pardon, but entreated that the attempt should not be more publicly made known. This act, which bespoke a true bravery, mu h advanced his reputation and his glory.

SECTION III.—THE GREAT DECISIVE BATTLE OF DUNBAR.

Being now in command of all the forces of England, he immediately marched his troops, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

The command of the Scottish army was given to Lesley, an officer of great experience, who entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, taking care to cut off everything which could serve to the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scottish camp, and endeavoured by every expedient to bring Lesley to battle. Knowing that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in military discipline to the English, Lesley kept himself within his entrenchments. His army daily increased both in numbers and in courage. Charles himself came to the camp, and by his exertions and bravery in a certain action, gained on the affections of the soldiers. The clergy became alarmed. They ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp; and after a process of purgation and separation, and thinking that they had an army composed entirely of saints, they concluded that they could not be beaten. Cromwell was in no enviable position. He had no provisions but what he received by sea, and his army was reduced to great straits. Finding that his marches and counter-marches, between his sources of supply and the Scottish capital, had subjected his forces to immense loss, he determined upon retreat, while retreat was yet in his power. He therefore, drew off his remaining forces—scarcely numbering 12,000 men—towards Dunbar, where he shipped his heavy baggage and the sick. The Scots army had, meanwhile, increased to 27,000 men; and following him in all the elation of anticipated triumph, thought they had Cromwell wholly in their power. They fell upon his rear-guard of horse in the night; and having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of the foot. This attack, coming somewhat suddenly upon Cromwell's army, put his troops into temporary disorder; but a thick cloud interposing at that very moment, and intercepting the light of the moon for nearly an hour, his men took the opportunity of securing themselves, and no doubt would have made their retreat to England, but the enemy had possessed themselves of all the passes, and there was no way left but to yield themselves prisoners or fight upon most unequal and disadvantageous terms. In this extremity a council of war was called; and, after some debate, it was agreed to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day. The several regiments were ordered to their respective posts. On the night preceding the memorable engagement, while the Scots yet hovered upon the hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction, Cromwell called his principal officers together, and gave general instructions to his army to seek the LORD by prayer. Much of the night was spent in deep intercession. He then bade them all take heart, for GOD had certainly heard them, and would appear for them.

Morning dawned upon their vision. It revealed the fact that Lesley and his army lay encamped on the heights of Lammermuir, a range of hills which overlooks the town of Dunbar. No position could have been more advantageous. This intrepid yet cautious officer was induced to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell, looking through a glass, saw the enemy's camp in motion, and gave orders immediately for an attack. He and his army rushed into the thickest of the fight. "The Covenant! The Covenant!" was the shout which filled the air, as it rose from the

thousand thousand voices of the Scots! "The Lord of Hosts! The Lord of Hosts!" echoed Cromwell and his true-hearted soldiers. The Scots, though double in number to the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued, with great slaughter. The chief, if not the only resistance, was made by one regiment of Highlanders—a portion of the army which was least infected with fanaticism. Two of Oliver's regiments of foot that were in the van behaved themselves with such bravery, that they not only sustained the charge of the enemy's horse, but beat them back upon their foot, and, following them close, forced both horse and foot to retreat up the hill, from which they had ventured to make the attack. The body of the enemy, finding their vanguard which consisted of their choicest men, thus thrown back upon them, began to shift for themselves, in the effort to do which, they fell into such precipitation and disorder, that few of them dared to look behind them. "Almost from the first clash of the hostile weapons, it became apparent to which side the victory would incline. Never did Cromwell more enthusiastically, and yet more calmly, exert himself; never, with his slightly-silvered locks, and piercing looks of stern composure, did he appear so like the ancient genius of war, less contending for an uncertain triumph, than assuring it to every soldier of the little band, in whose every breast his energies expanded. In the thick of the fight, the sun then rising in majesty from the sea, he seized upon his appearance with a poet's feeling, united with an intense conviction of the presence and favour of the God of battles, crying aloud,—"Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered!" And, in truth, vain were all the advantages which the Scots derived from their numbers, and the pouring of their masses *down*, while the English had to toil and fight their way *up*, the steep hills of this bloody contest. No victory could have been more complete. About three thousand of the enemy were slain, and nine thousand taken prisoners. All their baggage, arms, artillery, and ammunition fell into the hands of the English. Cromwell pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. Never had Cromwell obtained such a triumph. The successful issue of the battle determined "that in military action nothing can supply the place of discipline and experience; and that in presence of real danger, where men are not accustomed to it, the fumes of enthusiasm presently dissipate and lose their influence."

Previous to the battle, the Scottish clergy had wrestled night and day in prayer, and they dreamed that the victory must lie on their side. It was a day-dream! They professed to have received special revelations from heaven, and that Cromwell and his heretical army had been delivered into their hands. Oliver, without any such revelation, saw otherwise; and after the victory, he took up his pen against these high-minded ecclesiastics, reminding them of their favourite argument of Providence, and asking them whether the Lord had not declared against them? He insisted that the appeal had been made to God in the most express and solemn manner, and that in the fields of Dunbar an irrevocable decision had been awarded in favour of the English army.

From Dunbar, Cromwell now advanced to Edinburgh. Part of the

Scotch army had retired into the castle. The ministers of the city, also, had taken refuge in the same fortress. Cromwell gave them unfettered liberty to come down and preach to their respective flocks. They persisted in their determination to remain in the castle. It was, therefore, resolved to excavate the immense rocks on which that fortress stands, and blow it into the air. While the Derbyshire miners were toiling below, the ministers sat quietly above. Cromwell summoned the governor to surrender. He hesitated. He was in a strait betwixt two. After a good deal of parleying and delay, he agreed to capitulate.

Charles looked upon the defeat of the Scots as a fortunate event. The armies which fought on both sides were almost equally his enemies, and the vanquished, being under the necessity of applying to him for support and succour, had to concede to him yet greater authority. He was crowned at Scone with great pomp and solemnity. But amid all this appearance of respect, Charles was in the hands of the most rigid covenanters. Though treated with great courtesy and respect by Argyle, he was little better than a prisoner, and was still exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the ecclesiastics. Charles did not much like his position, and made an attempt to regain his liberty. He joined a body of royalists who had been proscribed by the covenanters, and, having secretly made his escape from Argyle, fled towards the Highlands. He was pursued, overtaken, and induced to return. As soon as the season favoured an expedition, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley, and the king was allowed to join the camp. After a few days' march, Charles encamped at Torwood. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Cromwell passed the Frith and Fife with his whole army, and taking his position at the back of the king, made it impossible for him to keep his post any longer. Charles, reduced to despair, resolved to march into England, in the hope that all his friends, and as many as were discontented with the present government, would flock to his standard. The army, which numbered 14,000 men, or more, rose from their camp, and advanced by successive and extended journeys towards the south. Cromwell, somewhat surprised at this movement of the royalists, despatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots; sent orders everywhere for assembling forces, and followed the king with all the expedition possible. Twelve months had elapsed since the memorable battle of Dunbar. Now came the battle of Worcester—a battle which could have but one issue. With an army of about 30,000 men, Cromwell fell upon Worcester, and, attacking it on all sides, and meeting with but little resistance, broke in upon the disordered and dispirited royalists. "The small Scotch army was on every side driven in. Its fiery pulsings were but the struggles of death—agonies as of a lion coiled in the folds of a boa!" The whole Scottish army were either killed or taken prisoners. The streets of the city were strewed with the dead. The king himself was forced to make his escape from the field. But whither could he go? Driven from Scotland, he sought an asylum in England; and now England threatened to throw

him from her more sacred soil as a thing worthless and of naught. "The king left Worcester at three o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into a neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king; and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the Royal Oak, and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration."

In this retreat he was far from being secure. Every one was on the look-out for him. Any, even the least indiscretion on the part of his most attached friends might have proved fatal. Attended by the Penderells, he first made his way to Bentley, then to Bristol, where it was hoped he might have been able to take ship, and for a time leave the shores of England. Here he lived in disguise, and as a servant in a family strongly attached to the royal cause; but he was recognised by the butler, and consequently became greatly alarmed. The butler was made to swear that he would reveal his secret to no one. He kept his promise; still Charles was impatient to make his departure. No ship would set sail for either France or Spain for a month or more, and he must either wait or go elsewhere for a passage. He left Bristol, committing himself to Colonel Windham, of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partisan of the royal family. He continued several days in the colonel's house, and a report of his death having been put into circulation, this relaxed the more vigilant search of his enemies. He passed through strange and manifold adventures. At length a ship was found at Shoreham, in Sussex, in which he embarked for Normandy. It is somewhat remarkable that, though no fewer than forty individuals had at different times been privy to his concealments and escapes, he should never have been discovered.

Ireland is subjugated; Scotland is humbled into submission; England has seen Charles secretly leave her shores, and the royalists prostrate at the feet of parliament. Nay, such was Cromwell's success that the parliament knew not how to be sufficiently lavish of their testimonies of respect and affection. They sent commissioners to congratulate his lordship on his multiplied virtues; to take notice of his

unwearied labour and pains in his late expedition to Scotland; of his diligence in pursuing the enemy when he fled into England; of the great hardships and hazards to which he exposed himself, particularly at the battle of Worcester, and finally, of the fact that his enterprise had been so signally blessed, and crowned with so complete and glorious an issue. He was met also by some of the leading members of parliament, together with the speaker, the council of state, the civic authorities, the militia, and vast multitudes of the people. He entered London in a carriage of state, and was received by the citizens with acclamations and every possible demonstration of joy. On September 16th, being the day he again took his seat in the house, and received in person the solemn thanks of the members, he and his principal officers were welcomed to a splendid banquet in the city; and not long afterwards, the anniversary of the victory of Worcester was ordered to be kept as a festival for ever throughout the three kingdoms.

It is pleasing to contrast the conduct of Cromwell in these later engagements with his line of action in the Irish war. He was as moderate and merciful in this as he was relentless and cruel in that. On his entrance into Scotland he found the inhabitants of Dunbar reduced to such distress and want that he distributed among them wheat and peas to the amount of more than £400; treated the people, as he advanced, with every demonstration of kindness, and most severely punished those who injured them. On the battle-field of Dunbar he issued a proclamation, which breathed the purest humanity. Having learned that there were not a few who could not leave the field in consequence of the wounds which they had received, he gave free liberty to all parties to repair thither and remove their wounded friends and relatives to such places as they should think fit. "Perhaps there never was general at the head of an army who entertained a more cordial affection towards his enemies."

To arrange and settle the affairs of the Scottish kirk, Cromwell constituted a commission of some most godly men, with the expressed desire that in the election of pastors they should have regard to the choice of the most religious portion of the flock, even if these should not constitute the majority. This was followed with the outcoming and deeper action of a revived religion. Witnesses, in whose veracity we can place implicit faith, assure us that "throughout the whole of Scotland, during the period of Cromwell's domination, there prevailed a degree of civil peace beyond what had almost ever before been experienced;" and not only so but that "there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the reformation, though of triple its duration!"

This was Cromwell's "crowning mercy." He felt assured that in due time it would appear to the world that in all his campaigns he studied the glory of God, and the honour and liberty of the parliament. And time has ratified it. In what page of history shall we find the record of wars which have resulted in such beneficial consequences? The glory of the field becomes dimmed and obscured by the triumphs of peace and order. Oliver was a brave soldier, but we admire him more as a true patriot. He was mighty in war, but

mightier still when he sheathed his sword, and hung his armour in the hall!

SECTION IV.—THE POWER OF ENGLAND.

The republic became a great fact. Men of the first mark now emerged from their obscurity, and rose to no common influence and elevation. The military genius of the people could not be denied, and officers of great repute were introduced into every branch and department of service. The army, not more numerous than powerful, served to retain every one in implicit subjection to established authority, and to strike terror into foreign nations. In fact, notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, and the spirit of faction which still survived, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as it did at this time in the hands of the commonwealth. All history bears testimony to this fact.

Blake, a man of great courage and generous disposition, was raised to the rank of admiral; and, though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land service, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command with orders to pursue Prince Rupert. The prince took shelter in Kinsale, and, escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued and chased him into the Tagus, but the king of Portugal refused Blake admittance, and aided the prince in making his escape. To avenge this insult, the English admiral made prizes of twenty Portuguese ships, richly laden, and threatened farther vengeance. The king, dreading so dangerous a foe, made all possible submissions. The English triumphed. Prince Rupert, who had made sail towards the West Indies, soon afterwards returned to France, where he disposed of the remnant of his fleet together with his prizes.

All the American settlements became subject to the republic. So also did Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man; even the sea, which had been so much infested by privateers from these islands, was now rendered safe to English commerce. The Isle of Man had hitherto made no common resistance. When summoned by Ireton to surrender it, the earl of Derby returned this spirited and memorable answer:—"I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn return you this answer: that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes that I should prove, like you, treacherous to my sovereign, since you cannot be ignorant of my former actions in his late majesty's service, from which principles of loyalty I am no whit departed. I scorn your proffers; I disdain your favours; I abhor your treason; and am so far from delivering up this island to your advantage, that I shall keep it to the utmost of my power to your destruction. Take this for your final answer, and forbear any further solicitations; for if you trouble me with any more messages of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice, of him who

accounts it his chiefest glory to be his majesty's most loyal and obedient subject."

But of Ireton we hear not much more. In the siege of Limerick he became infected with the plague, and shortly after died. He was succeeded in the command of the Irish army by lieutenant-general Ludlow, who continued to push the advantages against the Irish, and everywhere obtained an easy victory.

The British dominions being now wholly reduced, the parliament, in this new state of affairs, had leisure to look abroad, and put forth their efforts in foreign enterprises. During the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange, the Dutch republic had maintained a neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interposed except by her good offices between the contending parties. But when William, who had married an English princess, succeeded to his father's command and authority, the States were accused of taking steps more favourable to the royal cause, and of betraying a great prejudice against that of the parliament. In process of time there sprang up a quarrel between the two republics. This quarrel ended in open war. The superior power of the English commonwealth, together with its advantages of situation and naval skill, promised success. Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the Dutch States the command of a fleet of forty-two sail, in order to protect their navigation against the privateers of the English. Blake, whose fleet was inferior in numbers, met him in Dover-roads, where from stress of weather he had taken shelter. He maintained the fight bravely for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland. Elated by their past successes, the parliament demanded that, without any further delay or inquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained. This being refused, they despatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces. Blake sailed northward with a numerous fleet. Tromp followed him with above a hundred sail. Engagement succeeded engagement. In one action the Dutch had the certain advantage; Blake was wounded; two ships were burned, and one sunk. After this victory, and in bravado, Tromp fixed a broom to his mainmast, as if he were resolved to sweep the sea of all English vessels! Vain bravado! The lion of England was not to be so easily cowed and scared into his lair. "Great preparations were made in England in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland they descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels sailing up the channel, along with a convoy of three hundred merchantmen, who had received orders to wait at the Isle of Rhé till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Tromp, and under him De Ruyter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant

ships except thirty. He lost, however, eleven ships of war, had 2,000 men slain, and nearly 1,500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk."

The parliament were slow to move in "the further settlement of the commonwealth." The tumults which had so long agitated and convulsed the nation had, like the sea, which, after some heavier storm, has rocked itself to rest, almost entirely subsided. But still nothing effectual had been done, or was now doing. It was evident, therefore, that the men who had so long held the direction of affairs should forthwith either return to their constituents, and take their sense upon the assembling of another and more complete representation, or upon the formation of a permanent government, or else at once frankly confess that they either feared the confusion likely to be generated by the conflict of men's minds upon such subjects, or that they actually intended to retain their seats till, one by one, they should be removed by the hand of death. It is to be kept in mind that the house was now greatly reduced, and did not number more than one-fifth of its original members. It was thus looked upon as the fag-end, or, as it was afterwards nicknamed THE RUMP of the long parliament. This Rump, if it cannot pretend to be a "reputable full parliament," takes good care in the bill for a new representative government to provide that all the present members should continue to sit without re-election; and not only so, but that they should be a general election committee, and have a veto on the introduction of every new member. Cromwell watched their proceedings with no common interest. He had a conference with a number of the members and some chief officers of the army at the speaker's house. Being convened, Cromwell observed, that now, "the old king being dead, and his son defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation; and, in order thereto, he had requested this meeting, that they might consider and advise with him what was fit to be done, and from them to be presented to the parliament. A lengthened conversation followed. That Cromwell was free from all ambition, or that he was indifferent to the position which he now occupied, we are not careful to maintain. But we can discover nothing in the man, or in his entire demeanour, to indicate that he wished to uproot the republic which he had but just founded, and whose interests were dearer to him than life. It would have been a suicidal act. He and the commonwealth must have perished together. Still it remained a problem what shape or form the government was to take. There was no time to be lost. The vessel of the state, like some noble ship in a storm, was on dark and troubled waters. No hand might take the helm but the most skilled and the most nerved. Either it must be left to drift amid rocks or reefs, or at once be conducted into some haven where it may ride in safety; either we shall find it safely moored, or one great wreck, strewn and scattered on the wave!

SECTION V.—DISSOLUTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

Cromwell's conference broke up without coming to any practical

result. Time rolled on, and still nothing was done. The spirit of discontent and disquietude was every day becoming deeper and stronger in the people and in the army, while the parliament looked upon itself as the supreme power of the nation, subject to no control, and responsible to no authority. Cromwell clearly perceived that a check must be interposed, or the ruin of the republic was inevitable. How this could be effected was a question of deep moment. He entered into free communication with Whitelock, who was rather inclined to vindicate the parliament. That dangers threatened the state he could not deny. How to avert them was a difficulty from which his sluggish spirit shrank and recoiled. Since both he and Cromwell had taken their commission and authority from the parliament he did not see what power they had to interfere, or by what expedient they could curb and control their proceedings.

More than ever impressed with the peril to which the commonwealth was exposed, Cromwell set himself to work with an earnestness which promised no common results. Supreme in the army, he was resolved to bring the parliament into submission. Conscious of his power, he still acted with prudence. He needed no proof to convince him that the parliament were only seeking to perpetuate their power, and satisfy their selfish ambition; yet he went no farther than only to talk in a louder and more frequent strain of the great things THE ARMY had achieved for the country and the cause of liberty. The cry then waxed louder and louder still against the self-sufficient assembly. An immediate change was demanded. The pulpit began to echo the voice of the popular mind. Parliament became alarmed. Having at the beginning of these dissensions thought it convenient to declare that their sittings should terminate in about three years; they now deemed it more prudent to pass a vote that they would dissolve themselves within the space of the current year. The soldiers took high ground, and declared that if the house itself would not very shortly put a period to its session, that they must take the business into their own hands. Cromwell was opposed to anything like precipitation and haste. He confessed that he was pushed on by opposing parties; that "the impatient spirit of some would not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurried him on to an action which all honest men would have cause to repent," and "the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end." Parties were now divided, and circumstances soon transpired which determined Oliver's future conduct. It is said that private information was conveyed to him, "that a conspiracy was forming against him, in which were engaged not only several presbyterians and royalists, but also some considerable members of the house of the independent party; affairs, therefore, were in such a situation, that the parliament was either to be subdued or himself ruined." Not a few of the officers were jealous of his supremacy. Major Streater openly declared that "the general designed to set up for himself." To which Harrison, who was one of Cromwell's devoted partisans, answered that he did not believe it, but that "the general's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jesus!" Streater briskly rejoined—"Unless Jesus come very quickly, he will come too late. He will find his place occupied." Rubbish this; but it must

be cleared away to get to the foundation on which the future commonwealth is to rest.

On the 19th of April, 1653, Cromwell summoned a meeting of several members of parliament, and the principal officers of the army, at his house in Whitehall, and once more proposed that some expedient should be adopted for putting a period to the present parliament, and the future carrying on of the government of the commonwealth. His own idea was, that "the supreme authority should be by the parliament devolved on known persons; men fearing God, and of approved integrity; and the government of the commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the law, and administer justice and impartiality." This proposal was somewhat too vague to obtain support. It went, moreover, to transfer the whole civil power to the men who were already in the unchecked possession of military authority. Strong objections were taken to this line of action. A long and heated debate followed. Not a few contended that "it would be a most dangerous thing to dissolve the present parliament and set up any other government, and that it would be neither warrantable in conscience or wisdom so to do;" while many of the officers openly and unreservedly avowed—"that it was necessary the change should take place in one way or other, and the members of parliament not be permitted to prolong their own power." The conference having been continued to a late hour, and the patience of some exhausted, it was broken up without having arrived at any conclusion. The same parties were invited to meet next day. Very few attended. The debates of the preceding day were resumed, and the following proposition gravely submitted: "Whether forty persons, or about that number, of parliament men and officers of the army, should be nominated by the parliament, and empowered for the managing of the affairs of the commonwealth, till a new parliament should meet, and so the present parliament be forthwith dissolved?" While this was being canvassed, intelligence was brought to Cromwell that the house was sitting, and was in the act of passing a bill to prolong its own duration. Filled with indignation, and under the impulse of no common excitement, he rose from his seat, and exclaimed, "It is not honest; yea, it is contrary to common honesty;" and then, drawing himself up to his highest height, added, "I must go down." He immediately broke up the meeting, and hastened down to the house, taking with him a company of three hundred musketeers, some of whom he placed at the doors, some in the lobby, and the remainder on the stairs. In his plain suit of black, with worsted stockings, he entered the hall of legislation, and, with calm composure, seated himself in his usual place. We can imagine the consternation and confusion into which the house was thrown at the firm tread of his manly step; and, when he entered the assembly, what flutterings of heart and paleness of face must have seized the members! Oliver said nothing, but sat down, and listened attentively to the debate. A motion, to the effect that the house should at once dissolve itself, having been previously put and negatived, it was then proposed that the speaker should issue writs for the filling up of the vacant seats, and

thus perpetuate its own existence. Now was the crisis. Cromwell must interpose now or never. He at first addressed himself to his friend, chief justice St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly, with tears, besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation. As the speaker was about to put the question, he whispered to lieutenant-general Harrison—"THIS IS THE TIME I MUST DO IT." According to his own confession, "the Spirit of God was strong upon him, and he could no longer consult flesh and blood." After a deep pause of a few moments, Cromwell rose, and, taking off his hat, addressed the house in terms of respect and commendation. Having thus secured their attention, and waxing warmer and still more vehement as he advanced, he changed his language of praise into that of biting reproof and of cutting condemnation; charged the members with injustice and self-interest, and distinctly informed them that he had come to put an end to a power of which they had made such bad use. He became increasingly excited; and when Harrison said to him, "The work is very great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it," the only reply which he made was, "You say well." Nothing intimidated, Cromwell was resolved to do his work. He walked up and down the floor of the house, and then stamping with his foot as a signal to his musketeers, the soldiers entered. A scene was then enacted which might have challenged the genius of Shakspeare to give it full effect. Casting his keen and searching eye round the assembly, and round again, darting fire and vengeance from his inmost soul, he said—

"For shame! get you gone! Give place to honest men—to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament. I'll put an end to your sitting. I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you. He has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work!"

The members were transfixed. They remained mute with astonishment. Having somewhat recovered from this tremendous shock and revulsion of their feelings, several of them at length rose to expostulate with the authoritative and imperious general. Let us listen to the plea which they set up on their own behalf:—

Sir PETER WENTWORTH:—"It ill suits your excellency's justice to brand us all promiscuously, and in general, without the proof of a crime."

Cromwell becoming yet more incensed, would suffer no one to be heard but himself; stepping into the centre of the house, and vehemently continuing his reproaches, said,—"Come, come, I will put an end to your prating. You are no parliament. I say you are no parliament. I will put an end to your sitting, begone!"

Sir HARRY VANE:—"This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty."

CROMWELL (with a loud voice)—"Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" He then took him by the cloak, exclaiming, "Thou art a juggling fellow."

To alderman Allen he said, in no equivocal words, that he had en-

riched himself by cozening the state, for which he should be called to account, and delivered him in custody to one of the guard. In plain terms he then ordered the soldiers to turn the members out, an order which they executed with great promptitude, while the chop-fallen representatives withdrew with sullen indignation, and swore vengence against the man Oliver. As they passed, Cromwell pointed to Sir Henry Martin and Tom Challoner, and asked—"Is it fit that such fellows as these should sit to govern—men of vicious lives, whoremasters, adulterers, drunkards, gluttons, extortioners—men without faith and without principle?"

The speaker had not yet left the chair. Harrison now went up to him and told him that, seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there.

The SPEAKER:—"I will not come down unless I am forced."

HARRISON:—"Sir! I will lend you my hand." And putting his hand within his, the speaker came down."

Cromwell, in a loud and imperative tone, protested—"It is you that forced me to this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." Marvellous to relate, not a single member of the house drew his sword against Oliver, or made the least resistance to his authority!

The house being cleared of every member, Cromwell turned his eye to the table, and observing the mace upon it, said, "What shall we do with this fool's bauble?" and ordered one of the soldiers to take it away out of his sight. He then commanded that the doors of the house should be locked, took possession of the keys, and withdrew to his house in Whitehall.

So ended this tragical scene, and with it ended the existence of a parliament that had made the world resound with its deeds.

England was now without a throne—a sovereign—a parliament! What shape or form will the future government take? Who will be man enough to lash himself to the helm of the state, and steer the vessel through the storm? All England was in suspense!

SECTION VI.—CROMWELL PROCLAIMED LORD PROTECTOR.

Just as there has been on the part of despotism a constant effort to enslave humanity, so there has been on the part of humanity no vulgar struggle for a more perfect freedom. In the midst of the most crushing and enthralling influences, there have ever appeared those nobler spirits who refused to barter their liberty for any price. The fires of persecution only burned into them still more deeply the love of principle. It was dearer to them than life. Notwithstanding all that they were called to sacrifice, and suffer, and lose in their struggle for freedom, they never became the less attached to their distinctive and peculiar principles. If they lost caste with men who, like so many reptiles, were seen creeping on the earth and licking up its very dust, they had the testimony of conscience and the sympathy of the good. If they had to look out on a dark and frowning world, still

sunny and cheerful was the light of their spirits. They believed that their mission was to fulfil the purposes of heaven on behalf of suffering humanity—that it involved the regeneration and the peace of the world, and hence they lifted their shield in the face of the sun, and challenged to the combat.

Oliver Cromwell was born in Huntingdon, on the 25th of April, 1599. His father was Robert Cromwell, younger son of Sir Henry Cromwell, and younger brother of sir Oliver Cromwell, knights both. His mother, who, it is said, had descended from the royal Stuart family of Scotland, and could still count kindred with them, was Elizabeth Steward, daughter of William Steward, Esquire, of Ely, and widow of William Lynne, Esquire, of Bassingbourne, in Cambridgeshire. Oliver was their fifth child. His father was engaged in farming. His income is supposed to have been about £300 per annum, which would be equal to £1,000 now —a tolerably good fortune. The report so assiduously circulated, and so easily passed from hand to hand, that his father was a brewer, is without any good foundation. The evidence is much more clear and satisfactory that he was allied to families of rank and distinction, that he served in the commission of the peace, and that he was returned as a member to parliament to represent his own town of Huntingdon. "His social rank is sufficiently indicated; and, better than all social rank, he is understood to have been a wise, devout, steadfast, and worthy man, and to have lived a modest and manful life in his station there."

The early education of Oliver was at first entrusted to the principal of a private seminary in his native town. But he was soon removed, and placed under the care of Dr. Beard, master of the Free Grammar-school, and a gentleman of no common learning and worth. Notwithstanding the assertion that "he had fits of learning—now a hard student for a week or two, and then a truant for twice as many months—of no settled constancy"—there is the strongest evidence, in his subsequent history, to prove that he could not have been the idle and ignorant fellow which some would have us believe. And here the veil drops over the life of the boy Oliver. No hand has ventured to lift it; nor is it permitted to us.

The next appearance of Oliver is when he entered Sidney-Sussex college, Cambridge, as a student. He was admitted a Fellow-commoner, April 23rd, 1616, in the seventeenth year of his age. A memorable day!—the very day on which our immortal Shakspeare put off his earthly tabernacle. Oliver's tutor was Mr. Richard Howlet, "who, with his best ability, endeavoured to infiltrate something that he called instruction into the soul of Oliver Cromwell, and of other youths submitted to him; but how, of what quality, with what method, with what result, will remain extremely obscure to every one."

In consequence of the death of his father, and at the age of eighteen, Oliver found himself an heir. He occupied a new position. To qualify himself for its duties and difficulties was now his one business. He returned no more to Cambridge. It is conjectured that, some months afterwards, he came to London, to study law; but instead of

entering Lincoln's-inn, or any one of the inns, that he merely entered himself in the chambers of some learned gentleman, with a view of gaining sufficient legal knowledge to qualify himself for the duties of the county magistracy. The stories about his idle and profligate life while in London, are without foundation. They solicit "oblivion and christian burial from all men."

England had just passed through a second civil war. The elements which had first overthrown despotism and then threatened the order and stability of the commonwealth, were now hushed and laid. The light which had been so often dimmed and obscured, now shone forth with greater power, and the nation began to bask in a brighter sun and under a purer sky. The political atmosphere was cleared of almost every storm, and everything promised a period of comparative tranquillity. The dissolution of the Rump parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of the three kingdoms, in the hands of Cromwell. Tired of anarchy and of parliaments, he now employed his great power in re-organizing the national affairs. He felt the difficulty of the task; but difficulties only gave fixedness to his purpose, and more positively determined his course. In conjunction with a council of state, he formed an assembly of notables, to whom the great work he had in view might be confided. He made choice of the best men in the land. Cromwell opened this assembly on July 4th, 1653, and addressed them for three hours in words pregnant with meaning. He reviewed the methods of Divine Providence towards the nation in the depth of its toils and sufferings; the posture of affairs at the time when the king and the parliament were in direct opposition the one to the other; the means by which the forces of the nation were winnowed and purified; how, by simply owning a principle of godliness and religion, God blessed and furthered their various undertakings; bringing offenders to justice—and the greatest of them; bringing the state of this government to the name of a commonwealth; searching and sifting all persons and plans; how the king was removed and brought to justice, and many great ones with him—the house of peers laid aside, the house of commons itself—the representative of the people of England—winnowed, sifted, and reduced to a mere handful. He then called up the various military engagements in which he and his fellow-officers and soldiers had acted so conspicuous a part, with the repeated and signal successes with which their arms had been crowned; told them how he had desired and used all the fair and lawful means in his power to let the nation reap the fruit of all the blood and treasure that had been spent in a cause which was so dear to him, and for which he had so often adventured his life; how that having fought for the rights and liberties of the nation, if he had sluggishly given up, it would have been a crime which would have branded him as base and hypocritical, and worthy to be accounted as the hater of God and his people. Seeing plainly that the cause of the people of God was a despised thing, he reminded them with what solicitude he laboured to establish a ministry that would give free and faithful utterance to God's living truth; how this business was trodden under foot in parliament; and how, therefore, he set himself to get rid of this poor, old, worn-out parliament

altogether. This having been at length effected, he assures them that he was moved to this step, not from any real or supposed necessity, but that it behoved him, to the end he might manifest to the world his singleness of heart and integrity of purpose, not to grasp at power himself, or keep it in military hands—no, not for a day; but, as far as GOD enabled him with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of proper persons that might be called from the several parts of the nation. He took for granted that those whom he had thus called together, and whom he now addressed on affairs so momentous, would have been both taking the argument of necessity for a government and the appearance of the hand of GOD in the present movement, that it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies. He farther told them that if GOD should give them hearts "easy to be entreated"—give them to be peaceably-spirited, full of good fruits, bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of GOD, to all in their several stations—this would teach them to execute the judgment of mercy and truth. Then he desired them to be faithful with the saints; to have their hearts touched as CHRIST, being full of the Spirit, was touched with their infirmities, that he might be merciful; so they should be pitiful—have a respect unto all, and be pitiful and tender towards all, though of different judgments.

With his great words yet fresh upon their heart, the assembly undertook their work like men in earnest. They proved themselves equal to their vocation. Their measures introduced the most important ameliorations into the commonwealth. They established order and economy in the finances, improved the condition of prisoners, and suppressed arbitrary taxation. They gave to the nation a fixed code of laws, abolished presentation to the cure of souls, suppressed tithes, diminished the army, purified the clergy and the church. As might have been expected, they met with no common opposition. Cromwell in vain endeavoured to reconcile conflicting feelings. His enemies, who breathed nothing of his deep-souled charity, were not prepared to appreciate either his motives or his conduct. This opposition became so determined as to paralyze the exertions of the assembly. More than one writer has hinted that Cromwell was behind the scenes during the whole period of their exhibition on the political theatre, planning the most important parts performed by these actors of his appointment, and ever ready to support them, if it should appear necessary, by the full terrors of military display. To us this seems more than improbable. Yet the men themselves soon became conscious of their unfitness to conduct the national affairs. The fact of an extensive empire, placed in critical and altogether unprecedented circumstances, and demanding the most comprehensive and vigorous legislation, overpowered them; and, conceiving that the sitting of the assembly any longer would not be for the good of the commonwealth, they at once resolved to deliver up to the lord-general Cromwell the powers which they had received from him. The assembly had sat but five months and twelve days. It was styled the Little, or Barebone Parliament; this latter designation being derived from the fact, that one of its members, much noted for his long

prayers, sermons, and harangues, and who was a leather-seller in London, bore the unhappy name of Praise-God Barebone. This name struck the fancy of the people, or, which is more likely, was seized upon by some of the wags of that day, and transferred to the Little Parliament.

Upon the resignation of this assembly, it is said Cromwell lifted up his eyes with astonishment—at first refused to receive the instrument of resignation; but it being represented to him that the welfare of the nation absolutely required his acceptance of it, he then complied. All eyes were now turned to him as the only saviour of England. The supreme power was again in the hands of the leaders of the army. It now rested with them to give shape and form to the future government. They unanimously resolved to give that government a form more nearly approaching to monarchy; the necessity of which all men had been brought to acknowledge, in terms more or less explicit. The authority of a single individual, who should be known by the appellation of PROTECTOR, was deemed the best expedient to temper the liberty of a commonwealth. The instrument of administration, including the plan of this new legislature, was prepared without delay; and, as it was supposed to be in harmony with the views of my lord-general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. It was decided that from henceforth Cromwell should assume the name and title of—

LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,

and into his new office he was installed with great pomp and solemnity. It was a sunny day for dark old England. And had England improved her day, what might not England have been and done!

Four days were spent in drawing up the instrument by which the whole government of the three kingdoms was to be regulated to all succeeding generations. The chief articles of the instrument are these:—A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and, in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed supreme magistrate of the commonwealth. In his name was all justice to be administered; from him were all magistracy and honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treason; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, rested in him; but in these particulars he was to act by the advice and with the consent of his council. The power of the sword was vested in the protector jointly with the parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they passed were to be presented to the protector for his assent; but if within twenty days it were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of the parliament. A standing army for Great Britain and Ireland was established, of 20,000 foot

and 10,000 horse, and funds were assigned for its support. This was not to be diminished without the consent of the protector; and in this article alone he assumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief-governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief-justices of both the benches must be chosen with the approbation of parliament, and, in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life, and, on his death, the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. This was the instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and solemnly sworn to by Oliver Cromwell.

During the interval that elapsed between his inauguration and the period which had been fixed for the summoning of his first parliament, the only ripple that could be heard in the political waters was a petty royalist conspiracy, which was no sooner discovered than it was quelled. The miserable jealousy which was felt by numbers of the old nobility was more than counterbalanced by the unresisting submission of the people to his now more just and equal sway; and addresses from some of the most considerable places in the kingdom poured in to congratulate and acknowledge the power of the protector, and promise him obedience. All the courts of Europe hastened to recognize the new governor of England. Ambassadors from France, Spain, Holland, Portugal, and Denmark, were all eager to do him homage.

When Cromwell began his protectorate the states of Europe were deeply disturbed. The French and Spanish monarchs were in open hostility; and it became a question with him as to the part he should take between the rival sovereigns, or whether he should at all interfere. At length he espoused the cause of the French, since Spain, and not France, had been the terror of Europe through all the late preceding reigns, and had become more especially the enemy of England. Treaties with Holland and Portugal were also concluded on the conditions laid down by Cromwell. All Italy trembled at his name, and seemed under a panic-fear as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the Mediterranean; and the Turks durst not offend him. Everywhere he made the name of Englishman as great as even that of Roman had been.

At home and abroad his conduct was magnanimous and his career glorious. His protectorate introduced a new state of things. Peace sat smiling on every home-hearth throughout the land; while without and abroad anarchy had given place to order, tumult to quiet, and the wailings of death to the rejoicings of hope and the voice of gladness!

SECTION VII.—THE PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

If the light which fell upon Cromwell's foot-prints revealed to him the steep which he had yet to ascend, it as clearly pointed to the distance which he had left behind him.

By article seventh of the instrument of government, it was provided that the first protectorate parliament should meet on September 3rd, 1654; that it should not be dissolved, or prorogued, for at least five months; and that it should not continue beyond three years. But in the interval which elapsed between the dissolution of the Barebone parliament and the convocation of this new assembly, there were acted, and acted again, the most tragical scenes on the wide stage of this old England. Men who professed to preach Christ's holy gospel, "vomiting forth from their own inner man into other inner men, greedy of such pabulum, a very flamy fuliginous set of doctrines," declaring that the protector had deceived the Lord's people, that he was a perjured villain, and that his reign would not be long! Your fifth-monarchy men, muttering their unbelief in any government but the reign of Christ and his saints!—Christ and his saints just about to come! Your royalists plotting and planning how they might compass the death of Oliver Protector, and so damage and overthrow the commonwealth. Your royal proclamation travelling all the way from Paris, where Charles Stuart had found an asylum, offering £500 a year, with colonelcies in the army, and other rewards suitable, with the promise of being a made man, on the word and faith of a christian king, to any one who would kill by sword, pistol, or poison, a certain base, mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, for usurping the throne of England.

In the face of all this, Cromwell was directing his energies to the consolidation of the commonwealth; the raising of the needful supplies; the framing of laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of the nation; the settlement of a gospel ministry; the reformation of the church; the construction of an ecclesiastical platform, sufficiently wide and free for all parties; the amendment of existing laws; the reform of the court of Chancery; and other measures of great practical moment, the effect of which we shall discover as we proceed.

In calling his new parliament, Cromwell did not observe the old course in sending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which used to send burgesses. He took a more equal way, by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses. By this means the number of the whole was much lessened, and yet the people everywhere were left to make their own election. The parliament was to include four hundred members. Expectation was highly awakened in the prospect of its meeting. How will it demean itself? Is it likely to prove competent to the mighty business which lies before it? Is it to turn out a sham or a reality?

The third day of September dawned upon England. It was Sunday. Cromwell met the members in great state in the Abbey-church of Westminster. Upon the close of the service they proceeded, in number about three hundred, to the Painted Chamber, where Cromwell, with head uncovered, and with soul on fire, addressed them very briefly, and desired them to meet him on the morrow. On Monday the protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey-church. After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas

Goodwin, a noble puritan-man, his highness proceeded to the Painted Chamber. He took his seat in a chair of state set upon steps. He sat covered; while the members, upon benches round about, sat uncovered. For a moment or two the deepest silence reigned. All were in suspense and expectation. Cromwell alone saw into the future, and could read the destinies. With a manly bearing he rose, took ff his hat, made his eye flash fire over the whole assembly, and then addressed them in a speech of remarkable depth and power.

Seldom if ever did any one rise to the seat of supreme power who so conspicuously united in himself all the qualities of a great, wise, and good governor. It stands as a fact revealed in the light of day, that in his own person he was an example of all those higher and purer virtues which adorn private and domestic life—a man of devout feelings and of stern integrity—while those around him were eminent for their piety and their learning. He was fond of literature, and was chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. He was a lover of all good men, and bestowed his favour upon all irrespective of name or denomination. Cruel as his line of action had been in Ireland, and notwithstanding the blood which he there shed under the pretext of putting down popery, he was now tolerant, and maintained a principle of neutrality among all the conflicting religious sects; and even "suspended penal laws against Romish priests, and protected several of them under his hand and seal." He threw oil on the troubled waters —was supremely anxious for the peace of the state and the unity of the church—was forward to promote merit, and reward faithful service—was resolved that justice should be administered with impartiality, and truth be enshrined in her own sanctuary—was prepared to uphold England's greatness, but not prepared to lavish and waste her resources; and had he been supported with corresponding vigour and determination, his career would have been most illustrious—most beneficent. Impediments of every kind were thrown in his way. Parties whom no persuasion could induce to coalesce for any purpose but that of opposing the public good, hemmed him in with difficulties which no genius but his own could subdue, and in seeking to overcome which, his character assumed something more of the stern and the relentless. Elements these which have been seized upon by his enemies to tarnish his fame and dim the lustre of his glory.

It is said that Lord Broghill, who had come over from the side of the royalists to the service of the protector, fully appreciating the evils which beset Cromwell, and with a view of relieving him and the country, suggested the expediency of forming a matrimonial alliance between young Charles Stuart and the lady Frances, one of Oliver's daughters. This alliance, it was supposed, would bring about the restoration of Charles, and as the prince was in favour of the scheme, he gave his friends the liberty of promoting it in every way possible. The thing was mooted to Cromwell. He was not to be tickled with a straw. He saw through the whole design. He was immovable.

The protector dismissed his first parliament from the painted chamber with the express injunction to go and do their proper work. They went from their proper work to that which was improper. The very first subject which that assembly took upon themselves to debate was,

"Whether the house shall approve the government to be in one single person and a parliament." They overlooked the simple fact that this was a question with which they had nothing to do at this first stage of their proceedings, nor indeed at any subsequent stage. They had not been called together to frame a government, neither to intermeddle with the form of government already in existence. We deny not that a representative parliament has a right to deliberate upon the person who shall in future possess the executive power, as well as upon any alteration of the functions that may attach to that power, provided always that the executive itself has the privilege of a negative upon the result. But this Cromwell had not. And had the question taken by the parliament been decided in the negative, without Cromwell or his executive having the power of a veto, it must in virtue of the instrument of government have deprived the protector of his power after the lapse of twenty days from its being passed, and that by the vote of the very men who derived from himself the authority to pass it! Cromwell saw this; and though he manifested great moderation and temper in permitting the subject to be debated for three successive days, without the slightest interference, yet, finding that the debate became somewhat intemperate, and that language was being freely employed by the republican party derogatory to his essential eminence and authority in the state, he was resolved to put an end to it. He suddenly sent a message to the house to meet him in the painted chamber.

After entering into a variety of particulars, he told them how he had advised the dissolution of the parliament which sat during the civil war; how, under this arbitrary power, poor men were punished without reason by the confiscation of their goods and estates, and by the imprisonment of their persons; and that the only remedy proposed for this evil was, a succession of parliaments composed of the same men, which was only another way of perpetuating the wrong to be removed. He referred them to the calling of the little parliament out of the several parts of the nation, with a view to the settlement of affairs, and that he might lay down the power which was in his hands; then to its subsequent resignation; to the frame or mould of a new government, and to his election to the protectorate; to his acceptance of this high office, with the approbation of the officers of the army who had been instrumental to fight down the enemies of God and of his people in the three nations, amid the civil festivities and joys of the metropolis, with the consent and concurrence of the judges of the land—yea, lifted into it amid the prayers and rejoicings of a whole nation. He then asked them how they had come hither? If it were not by writs sent out at his command? And whether they were not chosen with the clear understanding that THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE POWER TO ALTER THE GOVERNMENT AS NOW SETTLED IN ONE SINGLE PERSON AND A PARLIAMENT? He feared not to say that he was in possession of the government by a good right from God and men; that while they were a free parliament, he was protector, and the authority by which they had been called; and that he might fairly balance this providence in the sight of God with any hereditary interest; but that they should sit and not own the authority by which

they sat, was a nameless inconsistency. He protested that he would sooner be willing to be rolled into his grave and buried with infamy, than consent to the wilful throwing away of this government. He again told them that they had been called together to save a nation—nations; that they had been put into their trust by the best people of the christian world; that they had had it in their power to settle the affairs of the state in such a way as to have ensured confidence, peace, and prosperity, and that having failed to do so, who was to answer for these to GOD or to the people? He then added—"Seeing the authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted, —till some such assurance be given and made known, that the fundamental interest shall be settled and approved according to the proviso in the writ of return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I HAVE CAUSED A STOP TO BE PUT TO YOUR ENTRANCE INTO THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

"The instrument of government doth declare that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the instrument doth express it, you may make any laws; and if I give not my consent within twenty days to the passing of your laws, they are *ipso facto* laws, whether I consent or no—if not contrary to the frame of government. You have an absolute legislative power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public; and I think you may make these nations happy by this settlement. And I, for my part, shall be willing to be bound more than I am in anything concerning which I can become convinced that it may be for the good of the people, or tend to the preservation of the cause and interest so long contended for."

A parchment was laid on a table, in the lobby of the house, containing the following declaration, which each honourable member was required to subscribe on his entrance, otherwise not a single bolt of the big dark door of parliament would have been thrown back, nor a single key have been employed to force its lock:—

"I DO HEREBY FREELY PROMISE, AND ENGAGE MYSELF, TO BE TRUE AND FAITHFUL TO THE LORD PROTECTOR AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND; AND SHALL NOT (ACCORDING TO THE TENOR OF THE INDENTURE WHEREBY I AM RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT) PROPOSE, OR GIVE MY CONSENT, TO ALTER THE GOVERNMENT AS IT IS SETTLED IN A SINGLE PERSON AND A PARLIAMENT."

Mr. Speaker Lenthall and one hundred and thirty of the members had taken the oath of allegiance to the protector and his commonwealth, and, on the third day following, resolved that they would permit none to sit in the house who had not signed the recognition. It was no common effort on the part of many to stifle their resentment. They could ill brook their recent humiliation. Yet sign they must, or the doors of the parliament would have thrown back their darkest and heaviest shadows upon them. At length the great majority of the members subscribed the recognition, and once more the house addressed itself to matters of business. The government by a protector was a bitter pill which they could not swallow. It was very bitter. And this being virtually, if not in fact, the subject of debate day after

day, Cromwell became impatient, and his soul burned with the fire of a just indignation. The parliament had done nothing, nor was it likely to do much, for the public weal. He could suffer it no longer. According to the instrument of government it could not be dissolved within five months. Cromwell was impatient: he could not, would not wait. Entreaties to the contrary were all in vain—he was resolved upon its dissolution. On Monday morning, January 22nd, 1655, he sent a message to the parliament to attend him in the painted chamber, where he addressed them in no very mistakeable language.

He expressed his deep disappointment at meeting them under present circumstances, inasmuch as they had neglected the opportunity of making those good and wholesome laws which the people expected from them, and to settle those affairs which pertained to them as a parliament. He accused them of keeping him in comparative ignorance of their proceedings, although he was far from being an unconcerned observer. He demanded what injury or indignity had been offered them—whether he had unseasonably intermeddled with their doings, or whether he had not rather patiently waited to see what would be the utmost issue of their proceedings, and what God would produce by them? He plainly told them that, instead of peace and settlement—instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by their reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling the woful distempers that prevailed, which had been glorious things, and worthy of christians to have proposed—dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, had been more multiplied within the five months of their sitting than in years before; while foundation had been laid for future troubles both abroad and at home! He dilated upon the cause which he had at heart as the cause of God and his people; but with the neglect of which he charged them without fear or reservation. He put it forth as undeniable, that while the cavalier party were busy plotting conspiracy—a fact of which he had the most certain knowledge—they were listless and inactive, and that if God had not stepped in, no one could have anticipated the result, inasmuch as the aim of parties evidently was to pervert the people, divide the army, and plunge the whole nation in a battle of blood. He traced all discontent to their apathy and heartless indifference to the public good—the loss of those golden opportunities which God had put into their hand for the effecting of a happy settlement. He told them that there existed a government, already in the possession of the people for fifteen months, owned by God as being the dispensation of his providence after twelve years of fearful war, and sealed and witnessed unto by the people themselves. He accused them of pressing their finger upon their brethren's consciences; of asking liberty and not giving it, and so forcing many of the godly to forsake their native country and seek their bread from strangers, and take up their abode in howling wildernesses. He asserted that there was a just liberty to the people of God, and the just rights of the people ought to have been respected; and that he himself desired not to keep his place in the government an hour longer than might preserve England in its just rights, and protect the people of God in the

just liberty of their consciences. He reminded them that they had been called together to accept a government already formed, and which was so well adapted to avoid the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and of democracy on the other; that no particular interest either of himself, his estate, his honour, or family, had prompted him to undertake the government; and that he repudiated the very idea of its being in any sense hereditary. He protested that there were among them those for whom he was prepared to lay down life itself, and that it pained him to the inmost soul to have occasion to speak to them in such severe terms, but he had a duty to perform, and nothing should induce him to shrink from it; that the cause which he had in hand was either of GOD or man—if of man, he would never have touched it with a finger; but if of GOD, he would bear it up. He challenged all that feared GOD to contradict him, when he said that the man lived not who could come and charge him with having in these great revolutions made necessities to enrich himself and his family, since all which had happened had been the wise disposings of the ALMIGHTY, and that to deny this was nothing short of very blasphemy. His conclusion fell upon the ear and the heart like a peal of mighty thunder.

The cavalier plot, to which Cromwell makes allusion, was not the dream of a feverish and disturbed brain. It was a reality—a tragical reality. And this it was that acted as one of the chief motives and causes for his dissolving the parliament. The conspirators had little chance of success. The protector was too vigilant, too far-seeing, and too well-informed.

The plot was discovered. The principal agents were arrested before even they were prepared to act. Among others a major John Wildman was apprehended, his papers seized and sent up to the protector. Among these papers was one entitled—"The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant, Oliver Cromwell, Esquire." It contained some truth, but more treason, and soon fell into merited oblivion. The design of the whole party was nipped in the bud, and the tree of the commonwealth struck deeper its root, and yet more firmly. The spirit of agitation, quelled in one place, manifested itself in another. The most considerable rising was at Salisbury—the judges of the circuit were seized, the people incited to open rebellion, and Charles proclaimed king of England. Cromwell was nothing dismayed. The malcontents were met by his true-hearted military, routed, and put to flight, and the leaders of the rebellion afterwards beheaded. The insurrection was arrested, and the royalist party rendered more hopeless than ever of future success. The protector reinforced his army, and challenged every opposing power.

We repeat it, that the love of glory in Cromwell was that he might make England glorious and great. This was the object which he had in view in all his wars. But for the freedom and the faith of his country, and he would never have laid his hand upon his hilt. PAX QUÆRITO BELLO—peace is sought in war—were the characteristic words which he had engraved on his medals and his coins, and formed the device which he wore on his coat in the day of battle. "Cromwell had tried

various means to accomplish the work which the condition of the country rendered necessary. At first he had recourse to an assembly of notables, nominated by himself; and next to a parliament, elected by the nation. Neither the one nor the other attained the object. He then thought that since others were either unable or unwilling to do anything he must apply himself to the task. He was soon found employing the same activity in organizing and building up, which he had made use of in dissolving and throwing down."

SECTION VIII.—CROMWELL'S FOREIGN CONQUESTS.

This world has never been wanting in true men—in real kingly spirits. They have appeared in every successive age of time, and in every condition of society. Many of them had to urge their way through no common difficulties and opposition; yet they pressed forward, and startled the world with their self-sacrificing devotion to the common weal of our common race. Heaven is never at a loss for agencies and instrumentalities to carry into effect its purposes and plans. It can lay everything created under contribution, and make what is most adverse and conflicting subservient to the evolution of the mightiest good.

England was now waiting her new condition and destiny. The parliament had been broken up and set adrift. Plots and conspiracies were not yet at an end. The whole country was unsettled and ready for an explosion. Cromwell manfully grappled with the difficulties which beset him, and allowed some little interval to elapse before he thought of calling together a second parliament. Besides, it behoved him at this juncture to turn his attention to foreign affairs. In dealing with these, his conduct was full of vigour and enterprise. He equipped two considerable squadrons, and sent them—the one consisting of thirty-six ships—into the Mediterranean, under the command of Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe; the other, commanded by Penn, and carrying on board four thousand men, under the authority of Venables—with instructions to attempt such of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies as these officers should judge, upon their arrival in that quarter of the globe, most practicable to be carried by their forces. About five thousand more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Christopher. It was agreed to attempt St. Domingo, as the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. Their resources not being equal to their undertaking, the English were defeated, and lost six hundred men. To atone for this defeat, the commanders bent their course to Jamaica, which they captured without difficulty. Though inferior to the project which Cromwell had formed, it was a conquest of far greater importance to England. Convinced of this, the protector offered all possible encouragement to the new settlers there, together with every necessary supply. He supported it with men and money; and from that day that island has ever remained in the hands of the English.

On the news of this successful expedition reaching Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England. The commerce with Spain

was cut off; and about fifteen hundred vessels fell, within the space of a few years, into the hands of the enemy. Blake prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards. Hoping to intercept the Plate fleet, he lay off Cadiz for some time, but was compelled to make sail towards Portugal. An officer, whom he had left on the coast with a squadron of seven vessels, pursued the Spaniards, and victory decreed the glory to the English. The treasures gained by this enterprise were immense, and ordered by the protector to be conveyed by land from Portsmouth to London. But greater triumph yet awaited this illustrious officer. Blake having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately set sail towards them. The Spanish admiral had moored all his smaller vessels close to the shore, and stationed the larger galleons farther off at anchor, with their broadsides to the sea. The wind blowing into the bay, Blake was suddenly brought into the thickest of the enemy. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure.

This was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. Hume bears just and honourable testimony to his character and merits, when he says—"Never man so zealous for a faction was so much respected and esteemed, even by the opposite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. 'It is still our duty,' he said to the seamen, 'to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government may fall.' Disinterested, generous, liberal, ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies, he formed one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral, at the public charge; but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory."

The king of Sweden having sent an ambassador extraordinary to England, "to negociate a still stricter league of amity between the two countries," the protector received him in great state, and, in his general demeanour towards him, united the ease of the courtier with the dignity of the prince. The ambassador was received in the banqueting-house of Whitehall. After receiving the address of this distinguished foreigner, Cromwell replied in the following beautiful and appropriate speech:—

"My Lord Ambassador,—I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the king, your master, towards this commonwealth, and towards myself in particular, whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory; and shall be ready, upon all occasions, to manifest the high sense and value I have of his majesty's friendship and alliance.

"My lord, you are welcome to England, and during your abode here you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a 'nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the king of Swedeland,' as that which, in my judgment, will

tend much to the honour and commodity of both nations, and to the general advantage of the protestant interest. I shall nominate some persons to meet and treat with your lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them."

Previously to the ambassader's departure, the protector conferred on him the honour of knighthood, presented him with his picture in a case of gold set round with diamonds, and showed him other marks of respect.

Much as his life and government had been disturbed by the spirit of faction, he was supremely anxious to win over his enemies by demonstrations and acts of kindness. His forbearance ran out to the last degree; and to numerous malcontents, both lords and others, he offered liberty on no other security than their promise of future peaceable behaviour. His policy was truly humane; but when he found that no kind usage would put a stop to the attempts which were made by the royalist party especially against his government and person, he had no alternative but to betake himself to severer and more stringent measurers.

It is said that, "willing to extend his tolerant principle to the JEWS, the protector appointed an assembly of men of various professions—divines, lawyers, and merchants—to take into consideration the expediency of permitting them to trade in England, leave for which had been supplicated by Manassah Ben Israel, one of their chief rabbis. But the general prejudices were as yet too strong against that people to allow of their obtaining the liberty desired." This oppressed and too-long-trodden-down portion of the human family had heard of the fame and liberal principles of my lord protector, and naturally hoped, from the ascendancy of such a star in the political horizon of Europe, that under his administration a brighter and happier era might dawn on their nation. So thoroughly did this idea possess them, that a Jew of great wealth and distinction came from a remote part of Asia over to England for the sole purpose of investigating Cromwell's pedigree, not doubting but that he would find in this very man Oliver —THE LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH!

If our immortal Milton believed that the protectorate was a thing required by the necessities of the times and the everlasting laws of justice, and that Cromwell ought now to fulfil the duties of the charge to which he had been summoned by the nation like a christian hero, we shall find that his heroism gathered strength, and that his reign became the object of terror to his enemies. The Irish, and still more the Scotch, entertained towards him the most rancorous aversion and hatred. Many looked upon him as an apostate from the cause of truth and liberty, and hence plots and conspiracies became more rife and frequent than ever. To control such elements challenged no common power. But at the very point where others would have hesitated and paused, or shrunk and retired, Cromwell put himself in the most manly attitude, while light and glory were seen mantling on his brow. If to some his rule felt like the cold and relentless touch of an iron despotism, it was to others—to the nation—an administration of mercy. The feeling of the royalist party may be conceived from a letter which was addressed to the protector, in which

they say—"You have cancelled all obligations of trust; and taken away all possible confidence from all men, that they can never enjoy anything they can call their own under this government: and having so little pleasure in life, they will prefer losing it in some noble attempt to free their country and themselves from the bondage and servitude they live under, to the dying ignobly in some loathsome prison when you please to be afraid of them." But Cromwell and his council reminded them that "the character of the difference between them and the rest of the people, which was now put upon them, was occasioned by themselves, not by the government. There was nothing they had more industriously laboured in, than to keep themselves separated and distinguished from the well-affected of the nation; to which end, they had kept their conversation apart, as if they would avoid the very beginnings of union; had bred and educated their children by the sequestered and ejected clergy, and very much confined their marriages and alliances with their own party; as if they meant to entail their quarrel, and prevent the means to reconcile posterity. Which (it was added,) together with the great pains they took upon all occasions to lessen and suppress the esteem and honour of the English nation, in all their actions and undertakings abroad, and their striving withal to make other nations distinguish their interest from it, gave ground to judge that they had separated themselves from the body of the nation: and therefore the government left it to all mankind to judge, whether they ought not to be timely jealous of that separation, and so to proceed against them, as they might be at the charge of those remedies which were required against the dangers they had bred."

The protector, had, if possible, more trouble with the church than with the state. The union of these two things—so diverse in their nature, and separate in their functions, and never designed to be brought into connection—had done more to retard the progress of society than any other cause. Even before the dissolution of parliament he had nominated thirty-eight chosen men—the best, the purest, the most uplifted puritan spirits in the land, of whom nine were laymen and twenty-nine clergymen—and formed them into a supreme commission for the trial of public preachers. Any person pretending to hold a church-living, or to levy tithes or clergy-dues, were first to be tried and approved by these men. The investigation had special reference to moral incapacity. These commissioners, to whom was added another body selected from the puritan gentry in the several counties of England, judged and sifted until by degrees they had winnowed the church! It was a winnowing indeed! The ordinance by which the commission had been appointed enjoined the dismissal of all ministers who should be guilty of profane cursing and swearing, perjury, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns or ale-houses, frequent quarrellings or fightings! Those who were inclined to popery, or held popish opinions, were also to be excluded! Did not such a church need winnowing? The marvel is, how it could be winnowed. Chaff may be driven before the wind, but when it is steeped in tavern and ale-house potions, it is not so easily winnowed. At least, so it strikes us. Still the commission

did good. Richard Baxter gives his testimony:—"Because this assembly of tryers is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries. The truth is, though some few over-rigid and over-busy independents among them were too severe against all that were arminians, and too particular in inquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and erroneous men, that favoured antinomianism or anabaptism; yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, that sort of men who intend no more in the ministry than to read a sermon on Sunday, and all the rest of the week go with the people to the ale-house, and harden them in sin; and that sort of ministers who either preached against a holy life, or preached as men who were never acquainted with it. These they usually rejected; and, in their stead, admitted of any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were; so that though many of them were a little partial to the independents, separatists, fifth-monarchy men, and anabaptists, and against the prelatists and arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the prelatists afterwards cast them out again."

SECTION IX.—THE PROTECTOR'S REFUSAL OF THE CROWN.

Cromwell, having deemed it necessary to put his hand to the work of organizing and improving the church, felt that it was no less imperative upon him to turn his most serious attention to the state of the nation. The royalists and the levellers had coalesced, and, in their estimation, Charles Stuart was more than Oliver Cromwell. The tide of agitation set in with renewed force. It was impossible to say at what point the next wave might touch. Turbulence must be checked; order must be maintained. For this purpose the protector divided England into twelve districts, placing in each division a man of known integrity and undoubted superiority, with the name and designation of major-general. This office invested its possessor with a universal superintendence, as well civil as military, and not excluding even the ministers of religion. Under their influence and supervision vice and crime were greatly diminished, peace promoted, and religion and virtue placed on a broader and more perfect basis. As a consequence, their power, which had been delegated for the accomplishment of these ends was gradually contracted, and, finally, the office itself was allowed to die out.

There were no major-generals in Ireland, and poor old Ireland was convulsed. It heaved to its centre. His son Henry had been sent thither at a time when it was suspected that Fleetwood, the son-in-

law of my lord protector, was inclined to the side of the discontented republicans. This son Henry was none of your wooden-headed tribe, but a man of real insight—of truth, of purpose, of soul. To him the father wrote in these words :—

"Son,—I find that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you towards yourself and the public affairs. I do believe that there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their discontent as they have opportunity; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, if they are found in other ways towards you. Which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof shall be."

Let it be remarked and remembered that Cromwell sought to govern Ireland by patience, moderation, and love. In calling another parliament, he hoped that such members might be returned as might be of essential service to the commonwealth and to him. At all events, he hit upon an expedient which promised much for the purity and the efficiency of the prospective parliament. On the day of assembly a party of military was placed at the door of the house, and no member was permitted to enter who could not produce a certificate, signed by the clerk of the commonwealth in Chancery, that he was returned to serve in this present parliament, and approved by the council. Indignant at this treatment, a majority of the excluded representatives addressed a letter of complaint to the speaker; and, after some show of investigation into the cause and reason of such conduct, the members who had secured their seats in the house resolved that their unapproved brethren should be instructed to make their application to the council in their own behalf, and that the house should proceed with the great affairs of the nation. This was far from being satisfactory. The rejected members published a spirited remonstrance and protest, in which they said, unqualifiedly and without reserve, that "the lord protector had, by force of arms, invaded the fundamental law and liberty; that he had taken upon himself to be above the whole body of the people of England, as if he were their absolute lord, and had bought them for his slaves; and had exalted himself to a throne like unto God's, as if he were of himself, and his power from himself, and the people all made for him, to be commanded and disposed of by him, to work for him, and serve his pleasure and ambition. Therefore, for the acquitting of their souls, they solemnly protested and remonstrated unto all the good people of England, that the violent exclusion of the people's deputies in parliament did change the state of the people from freedom into mere slavery. That such members of parliament as should approve the forcible exclusion complained of, or should sit, vote, or act, while many members were by force shut out, were betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the commonwealth. While that the present assembly at Westminster, being under the awe and terror

of the lord protector, was not the representative body of England, nor could tax or tallage be justly or lawfully raised by them." Nor will it be believed that not a few of the men who wrote in this bold and fearless style became the merest sycophants—the most servile adorers of the man who "had taken upon himself to be above the whole body of the people of England."

On Wednesday, September 17th, 1656, the parliament assembled. After a sermon by that master divine, Dr. John Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, the protector and the members proceeded in great state to the Painted Chamber, where Cromwell, from his place, addressed them in a speech of some hours' length, in which he touched on the being and subsistence of three nations, with all their dependencies; on the attitude of Spain, as one of determined hostility in conjunction with the See of Rome; on the reformed religion in its protestant and more vital type; on the fact of being at peace with all other nations, but not overlooking that an endeavour had been made to create an insurrection at home; on the insurrection itself; on the character of the last parliament; on the sordid motives and base conduct of the levellers; on the plots and intrigues of various opposing parties; on the fifth monarchy-scheme, with all its dribbling nonsense; on the division of the country and the appointment of major-generals, with the peculiar attributes with which they were invested; on the provision made for the reformation of the church and the stability of the state. He concluded with some remarkable passages on liberty of conscience and christian union.

The parliament being constituted, and a speaker having been chosen in the person of Sir Thomas Widdrington, gave Cromwell uncommon satisfaction in the earlier stages of its proceedings. One of its first acts was for the security of the person of the lord protector, and the continuance of the nation in peace and safety. It was therefore made high treason to compass or imagine the death of his highness, or "indirectly to proclaim, declare, publish, or promote Charles Stuart." It was also provided by the same act that all persons guilty in these points should be tried before high courts of justice, composed of commissioners named, who, or any seventeen of whom, were empowered to hear and determine by examination of witnesses upon oath, and to proceed to conviction and final sentence, as in causes of high treason, according to the merits of the case. It may fairly be questioned whether such an act at all harmonized with the oft-avowed principles of the protector, or whether it was in conformity with the free and uplifted genius of a free and mighty constitution. The parliament, however, acceded, and Cromwell was well satisfied.

The parliament being reconciled to the rule of Oliver, a question of deep moment now engaged the attention of the house. It was conceived that the protectoral prerogative was too undefined, and gave to its possessor a latitude exceeding that of kings; and therefore to bring the matter to an issue, Sir Christopher Park, alderman and member for the city, stood up in his place in parliament, and declared that a paper had come into his hands tending to the settlement of the nation, and of liberty and property, and requested that he might be permitted to lay it before the house. Some of the members moved that he

should further open up the subject of it before the paper itself was read. When it was read it was found to contain "the humble address and remonstrance of the knights, citizens, and burgesses now assembled in the parliament of the commonwealth," proposing an improved form of government. But, "though a blank was left for the title of a single person, it appeared to be a shoe fitted to the foot of A MONARCH, who, with two houses, was to have the supreme legislative authority." This document was met with the most vehement opposition by certain parties. Yet, nothing disconcerted, the friends to the measure proposed to debate the address. The blank was filled up with the significant—the all-potent word—KING; and on Tuesday, March 31st, 1657, Mr. Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole house, repaired to the residence of his highness, at Whitehall, to present this same petition and advice to the man Cromwell.

Three days after, a letter was received from Cromwell, addressed to the speaker, in which he requested that a committee might be appointed to wait upon him and receive his answer. The very essence of his answer comes to us in one little syllable—NO. The protector could not be persuaded, either by the terms of the address, or by the subsequent representations of his friends, to assume the name and title of KING OF ENGLAND. The house addressed him a second time, but still without success. In fact, Cromwell was threatened with assassination if he assumed any such name. The fifth-monarchy men were for putting down all "carnal sovereignties," and setting up a reign of Christ!

On the morning appointed for a second meeting with the protector, to the general surprise and confusion of the house, a lieutenant-colonel Mason appeared at the bar with a petition, subscribed by himself and thirty-two other officers, to the effect that, having hazarded their lives against monarchy, and being still ready to do so, and having observed in some men great endeavours to bring the nation under its old servitude by pressing the general to take upon himself the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him, they humbly desired the house to discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which they repeated their readiness to lay down their lives. Cromwell being informed of this fact, paused, hesitated, trembled. He desired the committee to meet him. Conference succeeded conference. Still Cromwell continued in a strait betwixt two, when circumstances so pressed upon him that in the clearest light of heaven's clear sun he finally and for ever refused the diadem.

We are not sure, after all, if circumstances had conspired to favour him, whether Cromwell would not have accepted the name and title of king, and worn the crown of England as her anointed sovereign. The petition and advice conferred upon him the power of appointing and declaring his successor, and thus rendered the office hereditary. It also recommended that parliament should henceforth consist of two houses, which Cromwell soon afterwards carried into effect, by constituting his house of lords—the number of whose members was sixty-two, including in itself noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families and good estates, together with some few military officers who had

risen to this elevation from the humblest employments. In addition to these two parties, this new instrument of government provided that the protector should preserve and maintain the ancient and undoubted liberties and privileges of parliament, and never exclude members chosen by a free election; should see that the laws and statutes of the realm were observed, and no laws made, altered, repealed, or suspended, without consent of parliament; should have a privy council of twenty-one members; should encourage a godly ministry for the assertion of the true protestant christian religion; admit a general tolerance in religious affairs to all those who should agree to a public confession of faith, to be framed by himself and the parliament according to the rule and warrant of the scriptures; and took an oath to govern the nation according to law. To which was subsequently appended the form of the oaths to be taken by the protector and his council, and also by the members of parliament. It moreover gave him the large power to summon, by his own writ, what persons soever he should think proper, being duly qualified, and not exceeding seventy in number, to sit in the other house of parliament.

In consequence of Cromwell having refused the royal state and title, the word king had to be erased from this new instrument, and the old name and style of lord protector reintroduced. And now that Cromwell is fully recognised by parliament, it is deemed expedient that there should be a fresh inauguration. All was busy preparation for this grand solemnity. This second investiture took place in Westminster Abbey, with far more pomp and splendour than characterized the first installation. Bulstrode tells us that his highness standing under the cloth of state, the speaker, in the name of parliament, presented to him first a robe of purple velvet, which, assisted by Whitelock and others, he put upon his highness; then he delivered to him the Bible, richly gilt and bossed; after that, he girt the sword about his highness, and delivered into his hand the sceptre of massy gold. This done, he made a speech to him on these several things presented, and then gave him the oath. Mr. Manton, by prayer, commended his highness, the parliament, the council, the forces by land and sea, and the whole government and people of the three nations, to the protection and blessing of God. It was a scene of rare interest—a day of high joy.

SECTION X.—A PARLIAMENT OF TWO HOUSES.

A commonwealth with the new element of a house of lords, was something untried. After their adjournment at Westminster the parliament —lords as well as commons—met on Wednesday, January 20th, 1658. Cromwell opened it in a short characteristic speech; and then the lord-keeper Fiennes rose and addressed the house at great length, in a speech full of manly thought and rich in gorgeous style. Business then proceeded. Unhappily the feeling between the lords and the commons was anything but cordial or friendly. The lower house looked to the upper with suspicion and jealousy; and the peers were far from being united among themselves. Cromwell was under the painful necessity

of summoning both houses into his presence, and of exhorting them to unity, and to the observance of their own rules in the new instrument of government. This had but little effect. The two bodies could not co-exist. One or the other must cease to be, or both must fall together. Fifteen short days the parliament sat, and it was dissolved!

The speaker received a letter from his highness, summoning both houses to meet him at Whitehall. Being assembled, Cromwell ventured to remind them that they could not be ignorant of those things which most nearly affected them—affairs abroad and their difficulties; affairs at home with their difficulties. He touched on the protestant religion as a thing of vital interest to the nation, and showed how the house of Austria, on both sides of christendom, was armed and prepared to destroy it, and how England might become the general object of all the fury and wrath of all the enemies of God and religion in the world. He told them that if they were apt to boast of being Englishmen, it became them to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of the nation. He impressed upon them that they were now at peace, and that whosoever should break it, God would root that man out of the land. He then alluded to the religious dissensions which were rending all parties; to the plots and plans of the cavaliers and their participants; to the fidelity of the army; to the impossibility of the people of England ever coming to the enjoyment of true liberty if another civil war should ensue; to the dangers which beset the country; to the wretched condition of Ireland; to the poverty and ruin of Scotland; and then prayed God to affect their hearts with a due sense of these things.

The protector, from some intelligence which had reached him, dreading a combination between the parliament and the disaffected portion of the army, resolved to allow no time for forming a conspiracy, by immediately dissolving the parliament. When urged by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into this rash measure, he put his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God that they should not sit a single hour longer. He waited not for his own carriage, but taking the first that was at hand, with a few attendant guards, he hastened to the upper house, sent the usher of the black rod to the commons to require their attendance. The speaker and certain of the members proceeded thither. Cromwell's speech was not very flattering:—

"That which I told you in the banqueting-house, ten days ago, was true; that there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, that the king of Scots hath an army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some, who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this town into tumulting, what if I said into a rebellion. And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me.

"It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a commonwealth; but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any insurrection that may be made. And what is like to come upon this, the enemy being

ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion? And if this be so, I do assign it to this cause—your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your petition and advice, as that which might prove the settlement of the nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this parliament. And let God be judge between you and me!"

This dissolution was a painful necessity. "If their session had continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood, both in city and country, upon Charles Stuart's account." So imminent and immediate was the danger, that Cromwell himself took the inspection of the watch at Whitehall for several nights in succession. On the night of the very day on which parliament was dissolved, the chiefs of this dark plot against England's protector were discovered and arrested at their rendezvous in Shoreditch. The avowed design of this conspiracy was to restore the race of the Stuarts, an attempt of all others the most pregnant with danger to the liberties and happiness of the country.

In this plot Sir Henry Slingsby, the Rev. Dr. Hewit, a famous royalist divine, and a few others, were conspicuous. For their trial, a justiciary court was established by express enactment, which sat for some time, and administered justice with equal firmness and impartiality. Both the knight and the preacher were condemned, and, in conformity with the sentence, were beheaded at the Tower. Others were doomed to the same fate. Not a few were imprisoned, and subjected to other penalties, more or less severe. "So the high court of justice dissolved itself; and at this, and not at more expense of blood, the huge insurrectionary movement ended, and lay silent within its caves again."

SECTION XI.—THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

In all his measures the protector proceeded with the same vigour and enterprise. Nor could the most distracting distractions at home take off his attention from foreign affairs. The poor protestants of Piedmont were in a state of deep peril, and Oliver's sympathies were all with them. He wrote to the French monarch on their behalf, and prayed him to snatch these poor suppliants from the hands of murderers, who had more than once become drunk with blood. Such were the barbarities practised on these simple-hearted and primitive believers, that their mere recital makes our blood cold. Not only were towns and villages reduced to ashes, aged people, of both sexes, were burnt in their houses; the men were hewn in pieces; the women impaled naked; children were torn from their mother's arms, and their brains dashed out against the rocks! Facts prove that the sufferings of these poor people lay near the heart of Cromwell. He did everything which in his circumstances and high position he could to alleviate their distress, and to ensure their liberty of conscience and of worship.

The principle of religious liberty was never understood or recognized in this England of ours till the time of Cromwell. It was left to him to introduce it into the world in its force and life. His love of liberty was founded on his love of truth. When George Fox, that distinguished member of the Society of Friends, was arrested in his pious and benevolent efforts by some little, busy official, he wrote to the protector, from his cell, and asked for an interview. It was granted; and, after conversing for some time, the protector said to him—"Come again to my house, for if thee and I were but an hour a day together, we should be nearer the one to the other." And though many of the friends, at that period, indulged in such excesses as to lay them open to the gravest charges, and, in some cases, to severe punishments, yet the spirit of the protector ever inclined to mild and pacific measures. "It is certain that the protector was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government; and even the prejudice which he had against the episcopal party was more for their being royalists than for being of the good old church." His opposition to Roman catholics was not so much on account of their religious tenets, as from the fact that they were the sworn enemies of the government and the country. Protestantism had become the law of the country by a vote of the legislature, and as such was imposed upon all men. Still he was tolerant even to the papists. He could be satisfied with nothing short of universal freedom. When Spain solicited an alliance with England, he required, as a condition, not only that the trade to the West Indies and South America should be thrown open to his flag, but that that infernal instrument of oppression and death—THE INQUISITION, should be suppressed, and every man allowed to read the bible and worship God as he pleased. A catholic historian has said:—"When we think of the combats of the protestant religion against the catholic faith, it was undoubtedly a noble and a mighty thought to claim for himself the protection of all the dissident sects, and to regulate in a fixed and durable manner the support which England had granted them on more than one occasion. If it had not been interrupted by death, Cromwell would no doubt have resumed a design so much in accordance with his genius, and which his power would have allowed him to attempt with courage." Cromwell thought it his vocation to be in the whole world what he was at home—the great champion of religious liberty. In all his treaties he stipulated for freedom—the freedom of conscience.

His views were not so enlarged, however, as to lead him to see that perfect freedom of conscience necessarily leads to the entire separation of the civil and ecclesiastical power. He was far from regarding the state as a merely human institution. His views were too theocratic. His idea was, that the supreme magistrate should exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church government he is satisfied should be set up, and that the public authority should not be without some sort of director in religious matters. His good secretary saw further and clearer. Milton was the resolute champion of the complete separation of church and state. In addressing himself to the protector, he says—"If you leave the church to the

church, and thus judiciously disburthen yourself, and the civil magistracy in general, of a concern forming half their incumbrance, and wholly incongruous with their appropriate functions, not permitting the two heterogeneous authorities of church and state to continue their intrigues (with an apparent, though deceitful, reciprocity of support, but to the actual enfeebling and eventual subversion of both;) not allowing any constraint upon conscience, which, however, will necessarily continue as long as gold, the poison of the church, and the very quinsy of truth, shall continue to be extorted from the laity, to pay the wages of the clergy; you will cast down the money-changers, and hucksters—not of doves, but of the Dove itself; I mean the Holy Spirit of God."

Strong language this of Milton. But the truth he uttered has been gaining on the popular mind ever since, and is destined to triumph in the emancipation of the universal church—its spiritual independence, unfettered liberty, and sun-like glory.

In his various negotiations and treaties with foreign states, and not less so in the prosecution of his warlike affairs, Cromwell manfully upheld the honour of the English name. His alliance with Sweden he still supported; and in its successful enterprises, for reducing all its neighbours to subjection, and rendering itself absolute master of the Baltic, he rendered that crown the most efficient service. As soon as Spain declared war against him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himself in his counsels with that powerful and ambitious kingdom. Dunkirk was to be besieged by their united forces, and, if taken, to be given up to the English. The Spanish army advancing to relieve it, they were totally defeated. The valour of the English excited universal astonishment. At the end of the siege, Marshal Turenne, commander of the French troops, with above one hundred officers, came up to the English, alighted from their horses, and, embracing some of the first commanders, said they never saw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were so transported with the sight of it, they had not power to move or do anything. Even Prince Condé, who was associated with Don John the Spanish general, declared that he had never seen so gallant an action as was that day's performance by the English. Dunkirk soon capitulated. But the French were disposed to claim it and retain it. They vainly imagined that they had obtained a precious morsel from Spain at the expense of the blood and treasure of England. Never did they commit a more grievous mistake. Lockhart, the English ambassador, a man of consummate abilities, drew off the English army to an eminence at some little distance from the French lines; then, repairing to cardinal Mazarine, he with his watch in hand, peremptorily demanded a written order for the delivery of Dunkirk to the English within an hour from the moment at which he was speaking, or the treaty between the protector and the French monarch would be nullified. The cardinal interpreted this into a mere threat, but was soon convinced that it had in it something of reality. The place was given up within the specified time. Soon after, great demonstrations of mutual friendship and regard passed between the French king and the Protector. Lord

Fauconberg, the son-in-law of Cromwell, was despatched to Louis, then in camp before Dunkirk, and was received with every mark of honour. Mazarine, on the other hand, sent to London his nephew, Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi, to compliment the protector upon the success of the allied nations, and to express his regret that urgent affairs deprived him of the honour, which he had long sought, of paying in person his respects to the greatest man in the world. That one gem is sufficiently large and sufficiently brilliant to adorn Cromwell's brow for ever—THE GREATEST MAN IN THE WORLD!

SECTION XII.—THE LAST SCENE IN CROMWELL'S LIFE.

In the midst of deep domestic affliction and bereavement, Cromwell was seized with a tertian ague, whose symptoms daily became more alarming. He was comparatively ignorant of his real state. The most serious apprehensions were entertained by all but himself. Even the physicians had but little hope; and, perceiving their inward fear betrayed in their very look and manner, he said to them—"Ye physicians think I shall die. I tell you, I shall not die; I am sure of it. Don't think that I am mad. I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than your Galen or Hippocrates furnish you with. GOD ALMIGHTY himself hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater intimacy with Him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things; yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and GOD is far more above nature." The prayers to which the great sufferer here refers had been offered up in deep concert by a company of godly ministers and others then present at Hampton Court. On what ground we know not, but these pious souls conceived that they had received a favourable answer to their intercessions, and communicating their impressions to the dying Oliver, he seemed disposed to place more reliance on their asseverations than on the professional skill of his medical advisers. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed on his behalf, and observed with great solemnity both at Hampton Court and Whitehall. "Prayers abundantly and incessantly were poured out on his behalf, both publicly and privately, in a more than ordinary way; besides many a secret sigh—secret and unheard by men, yet like the cry of Moses, more loud and strongly laying hold on GOD, than many spoken supplications. All which—the hearts of GOD's people being thus mightily stirred up—did come to beget confidence in some, and hopes in all—yea some thoughts in himself, that GOD would restore him." Unfounded confidence this—vain hopes these! Neither prayers nor tears availed to prolong his life.

It being now evident that his bodily distemper was but the forerunner of death, he called for his Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there, with others present, to read unto him certain specified portions of scripture. In the depth of his conflict, in his

great death-struggle, his spirit was in deeper communion with his God. Nor did he plead for himself alone. The interest and welfare of his people were dearer to him than life. Conceive of the mighty strivings, the never-to-be-spoken yearnings of his heart when he offered up the following prayer:—

"Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace; and I may, I will, come to thee for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them good, and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord, however, do thou dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on thy instrument, to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure. Amen."

It was evident to all around him that his end was rapidly approaching. It was doubtful whether he would survive the night. When the sun rose next morning, it ushered in his beloved and glorious 3rd of September, the day so celebrated for his military triumphs, the most fortunate in his fortunate life, and always kept as a season of thanksgiving and joy, since the memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester. But before the sun of that day set, Oliver had "entered the eternities, and rested upon his arms there."

His character has been set forth, on the one hand, in the most extravagant panegyrics; and, on the other, it has been treated with the most virulent invectives. It has been said:—"What can be more extraordinary than that a person of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body—which have sometimes, nor shining talents of mind—which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute, so great a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best-established monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should banish that numerous and strongly-allied family? Cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a parliament in whose service he pretended to be retained? Trample, too, upon that parliament, in their turn, and scornfully expel them as soon as they gave him ground of dissatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most visionary idea which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress, again, that monster in its infancy, and openly set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England? Overcome, first, all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for awhile, and command them victoriously at last? Overrun each corner of the three nations, and subdue with equal facility both the riches of the south and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all

foreign princes, and be adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike and discontented nation by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by means of seditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as master of those who had hired him before to be their servant? Have the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal in the spending of them? And, lastly (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory,) with one word bequeath all this power and splendour to his posterity? Die possessed of peace at home and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world, which, as it was too little for his praise, so might it have been for his conquests, if the short line of his mortal life could have stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?"

SECTION XIII.—THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION.

Amid the deep solemnities of his dying hour, Cromwell was called to settle the question of the succession. His eldest son Richard had been some time before introduced into the court, and in some degree familiarized with public business. From that time he was regarded by many as the heir and successor to the protectorate. He was a man of the most peaceable, inoffensive, unambitious character. His energies and his activity were ever put forth on the side of humanity and benevolence. And the question for Oliver now to settle on his dying-bed was, whether this son should succeed him. It is said that a document was drawn up more than a year before at Hampton-court, sealed and laid aside, in which the successor was named; but this instrument was not to be found. The name understood to have been written was that of Richard. No one can tell. One writer has ventured a conjecture. He says:—"We cannot refrain from the supposition that Henry was the name contained in that secret paper, his own second son, and who appeared to possess most, if not all, of his father's great qualities. When we think of Oliver's character and discernment; when we reflect that he did not wish his choice to be made known until after his death; we cannot entirely reject the thought that it was Henry, the former governor and pacificator of Ireland, whom the protector had pointed out as alone capable of carrying on in England his work of liberty, prosperity, and peace." But, in a conversation which Cromwell had with Ludlow, it is said that he formally named his son Richard. Be that as it may, it was so understood; and Richard quietly succeeded to the protectorate. Though his title was universally acknowledged both at home and abroad, he lacked all those peculiar properties, which were required to sway the destinies of a great empire. All parties looked upon him with interest and with favour, and for five months his administration went on with

almost unbroken tranquillity. To furnish the necessary supplies, a parliament was called on writs which extended to all the small boroughs their ancient rights, and limited the county members to their former numbers. The house of lords included not only the parliament which had been appointed by Cromwell, but by a declaration of the commons, such of the ancient peers as had from the commencement of the civil war adhered to the parliament, and for a time there was a prospect of the constitution being settled on a strong and deep foundation. But neither the protector nor the parliament could control the power of the army. Richard had few, if any friends among the officers. Even Fleetwood, his own brother-in-law, took the side of his opponents. A conspiracy was formed. The military malcontents were joined by the republican minority of the commons. Religious partizanship was carried to the very extreme. "It seemed that the independents were to be subjected to the presbyterians, and that the men of the sword were to be subjected to men of the gown." Such was the spirit of the faction, that the fall of Richard was inevitable. Lambert, in the hope of lifting himself into the seat of supreme power, acted a conspicuous part in promoting his overthrow. The officers demanded the dissolution of the parliament, and having employed him as their instrument in dissolving the house, they then contemptuously threw him aside. With the dissolution of the parliament came his own fall. "He fell ingloriously, and without a struggle." He subscribed his own demission, and retired into private life, and died not till about the close of queen Anne's reign. His brother Henry, who had the government of Ireland, though possessed of most of the rare qualities of his father, and was in great favour with the people, made no resistance, but quietly resigned his command, and came over to England.

The sole power being now in the hands of the military, the rump or fag-end of the long parliament was invited to resume its functions. But there was to be neither first magistrate nor house of peers. Scarcely had the house entered upon business before they came into collision with the army, and again the doors of parliament were closed by military command, and a provisional government appointed. An alliance took place between the cavaliers and the presbyterians, and the whole party became eager for the restoration of the royal house. The choice had now to be made between the Stuarts and the army. Happily for the cause of monarchy and of liberty, the soldiers of the north came into collision with the soldiers of the south. If the state was henceforth to be governed by military authority, the Scottish army were fairly entitled from the service which they had rendered, to participate in the government. General Monk, who had served both protectors, refused to acknowledge the authority of the provisional government, and at the head of seven thousand veterans marched into England. He became instrumental in putting an end to those dissensions which had so long rent the three kingdoms, and of re-establishing the monarchy of England. He was opposed by Lambert, on whom he made rapid advances. The nation was now in a state of anarchy. The people everywhere refused to pay taxes. Faction divided the army. Lambert was forsaken by his troops, and

fell a prisoner into the hands of Monk, who, without declaring his purpose to any one, still advanced with his army towards London, and was hailed and greeted as the appointed deliverer of his country. The voice of the nation waxed still louder for a free parliament. Having reached St. Alban's, Monk sent a message to parliament, requesting them to remove the military from the metropolis. This gave birth to a mutiny among the soldiers, who were at length compelled to submit. On his reaching London, Monk took quarters in Westminster, was introduced to the house, and after having received their cordial thanks for the eminent service which he had rendered, insisted upon the dissolution of the present parliament, and the summoning of another, unfettered by any oath or engagement, which might give immediate attention to the distracted affairs of the nation. "The whole nation was wild with delight. Wherever he appeared thousands thronged round him, shouting and blessing his name. The bells of all England rang joyously. The gutters ran with ale; and night after night, the sky, five miles round London, was reddened by innumerable bon-fires." The secluded presbyterian members returned to the house, and now formed a decided majority. The independents and their leaders disappeared, as if afraid again to lift their heads. The parliament renewed Monk's commission and enlarged his powers. An assessment was fixed for the support of the fleet and the army; a council of state was established composed of men of character and moderation; and the militia of the kingdom was committed to firmer and abler hands; writs were issued for a general election; and after twenty years of painful vicissitudes and unparalleled changes, the long parliament decreed its own dissolution!

The elections everywhere went in favour of the royalists, and restoration seemed all but certain. Only from the sullen and savage mood of the army, "the prevailing opinion was that England would be delivered, but not without a desperate and bloody struggle; and that the class which had so long ruled by the sword, would perish by the sword." By the escape of Lambert from the tower, both the general and the council of the state were thrown into unexpected difficulty, and into greater consternation. The danger was that the flame of another civil war might be kindled; but by his vigour and activity Monk extinguished the falling spark, and saved the country. The new parliament met at Westminster, and Charles was invited by both houses to return to England. Sir John Granville, as a messenger from his majesty, now stood at the door with a letter to the commons, in which Charles offered a general amnesty—promised liberty of conscience—submitted to the arbitration of the house all grants, purchases, and alienations; and assured the army of the payment of all arrears. This letter, with the reply of the parliament, was afterwards published, and filled the nation with feelings of inexpressible joy.

Charles was proclaimed with pomp never before known. All England was in high and joyous expectation. Spain, France, and the States General all offered the royal exile points of embarkation. As he passed from Breda to the Hague he was met by thousands on thousands whose acclamations rent the air. A gallant fleet conveyed

him from Holland to the coast of Kent. From Dover to London his journey partook more of the character of a triumph. On the 29th of May, 1660—which happened to be his birth-day, he entered his capital, and "the restored wanderer reposed safe in the palace of his ancestors."

SECTION XIV.—REVIEW OF THE COMMONWEALTH AGE.

It is said that when a statue had been erected to Theagenes, a celebrated victor in the public games of Greece, by his fellow citizens of Thasos, it excited so strongly the envious hatred of one of his rivals, that he went to it every night and endeavoured to throw it down by repeated blows, till at last unfortunately successful, he was able to remove it from its pedestal, and was crushed to death beneath its fall. And this is the lot of the envious. Envy acts with self-consuming fire upon its wretched subject. A man may perhaps throw down his rival's glory, but he is crushed in his whole soul beneath the glory which he overturns.

Cromwell has for ever done with the din and the treachery of this envious world; but the world has not done, nor ever will be, with the mighty principles and the noble doings of this illustrious man. We have not reached the outermost circle of that influence of which he was the centre. The impulse which he gave to our common world and our common humanity is destined to carry both forward in a career of positive and ever-advancing improvement. We are reaping the fruits of his principles and his government, and these fruits will cluster and ripen till the end of time.

The most cursory review of the commonwealth era will convince us that it was one of those bright and happy epochs which introduce man into a nobler race, and set before him a mightier prize. There is scarcely any writer but is forced to admit that under the protectorate of Cromwell the principles of taxation were more just and equal; that the customs and excise were greatly improved; that the army was reduced; that gentlemen and the younger branches of the best English families enlisted in his cavalry; that the vigour of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of those who had assumed the government, were conspicuous and undeniable; that the commerce and industry of the country, which had increased exceedingly during the peaceable period of Charles's reign, having met with some interruption from the civil wars and convulsions which afterwards prevailed, soon recovered under the protectorate, and ever since have been more honourable in England than in any other kingdom of Europe; that monopolies and exclusive companies, though they were never wholly abolished, were gradually invaded, and a freer path opened up for the increase of commerce, and that interest was reduced to six per cent.; that the post was farmed at £10,000 a year, though letters paid not more than half of a later postage; that the mint sent forth more coinage; that learning and the fine arts were favoured and encouraged; that literary merit was far from passing unrewarded; that schools, colleges, and other institutions for the advancement of

letters, were endowed; that eloquence rose to a higher point; that the speeches of the parliamentary orators were of a strain much superior to what any former age had produced in England; that the force and compass of our language were then first put to trial; that morality was placed on a purer and firmer basis; that liberty freely unfolded her wing, and rose to overshadow the world.

No man ever put a higher estimate on freedom of conscience. To this all writers consent. We do not deny that he was wrong when he determined to forbid the mass in Ireland. This arose from his conviction that the subjects of a foreign spiritual power were not from their relation to that power to claim immunity from all the consequences of disobedience to the established authority of the land. Full liberty of conscience to all was his great principle, if it could be granted without infringing on civil order and established rights. Hence, says Merle D'Aubigné, "Cromwell went very far in religious liberty, but still not far enough. He did wrong in transferring his patronage from episcopacy to the independents. Had he left all sects free, without protection as without restraint; had evangelical episcopacy in particular been able to move freely, religion would have been developed with more simplicity, and would probably have escaped that narrow mannerism—that *cant*, with which it has been reproached, sometimes perhaps with reason, by men of the world. Puritanism would have exercised a vivifyng influence on the episcopal religion, and the episcopal religion would have had a regulating and moderating influence on puritanism. Yet Oliver accomplished an immense work for his time; and England should now raise to him a monument, a triumphal arch, with this inscription:—

'TO THE FOUNDER OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.'

"We submit this to the consideration of those who have earnestly taken to heart Canning's motto, and Cromwell's work."

But he had other passions not less noble than that of religious liberty. The greatness, prosperity, and glory of England, absorbed his spirit. This was the end of his government. And knowing, as he well did, that it is righteousness which exalteth a nation, his administration was conducted on principles of stern morality. Here, again, testimony comes to our aid. Lingard says:—"Among the immediate consequences of the restoration of Charles II. nothing appeared to the intelligent observer more extraordinary than the almost instantaneous revolution which it wrought in the moral habits of the people. Under the government of men making profession of godliness, vice had been compelled to wear the exterior garb of virtue; but the moment the restraint was removed, it stalked forth without disguise, and was everywhere received with welcome. The cavaliers, to celebrate their triumph, abandoned themselves to ebriety and debauchery; and the new loyalists, that they might prove the sincerity of their conversion, strove to excel the cavaliers in licentiousness. Charles, who had not forgotten his former reception in Scotland, gladly availed himself of the opportunity to indulge his favourite propensities." Even Chateaubriand cannot deny that "this brief republic was not without glory abroad, or without virtue, liberty,

and justice at home." And when contrasting the moral difference between the revolutions of France and England, he candidly confesses that "this difference between the two revolutions, which have, nevertheless, led to the same result, the same liberty, proceeds from the religious sentiment which animated the innovators of Great Britain.....Setting aside the illegality of Cromwell's measures—an illegality necessary, perhaps, after all, to maintain his illegal power—the usurpation of this great man was a glorious one. At home he asserted the reign of order. Like many despots he was the friend of justice in everything which did not touch his own person; and justice serves to console a people for the loss of their liberty." Our own Southey acknowledges that Oliver's good sense and good nature would have led him to govern equitably and mercifully, to promote literature, to cherish the arts, and to pour wine and oil into the wounds of the nation; and testifies that, as "lord of these three kingdoms, and indisputably the most powerful potentate in Europe, and as certainly the greatest man of an age in which the race of great men was not extinct in any country, no man was so worthy of the station which he filled."

A more recent, and certainly the most eloquent, living historian has said that "while he lived his power stood firm, an object of mingled aversion, admiration, and dread to his subjects. Few, indeed, loved his government; but those who hated it most, hated it less than they feared it. Had it been a worse government, it might, perhaps, have been overthrown in spite of all its strength. Had it been a weaker government, it would certainly have been overthrown in spite of all its merits; but it had moderation enough to abstain from those oppressions which drive men mad, and it had a force and energy which none but men driven mad by oppression would venture to encounter."

In common with all enlightened and right-thinking men, Cromwell felt that religion can never be deemed a point of little consequence in civil government. If he "appeared like a blazing star, raised up by Providence to exalt this nation to a distinguished pitch of glory, and to strike terror into the rest of Europe," we must view him, not as a warrior only, whose arms were everywhere crowned with victory, but as a religious ruler, supremely solicitous for the progressive advancement of his people in education, intelligence, and virtue. His constant aim was to purify the church, to free christianity from its merely human encrustations, to secure a godly ministry, to extend to every man freedom of conscience, and to lift up the people in intellectual and moral influence. "In the seventeenth century there were but two men—Louis XIV. and Oliver Cromwell; the former representing absolutism and Roman catholicism; the latter, evangelical christianity and liberty. There were certainly in that age other important personages; and who will not recall to mind the generous Gustavus Adolphus? But the two chief figures are Louis and Oliver. Between them—between their systems, if not between their persons, the struggle was fought; and the victory, although slow and long-disputed, particularly in France, remained with Oliver. They are the representatives of two principles—of two worlds. The two

gigantic figures are each raised on a lofty pedestal, and their shadows fall, not only on their own age, but extend over all future times."

The fame of no man has it ever been more eagerly sought to tarnish and obscure than that of Oliver Cromwell. His name, his character, his government, have all been loaded with contempt. So true is it that fame has her whisper as well as her trumpet. There are some men who seem to revel in detraction. "There is everywhere envy striving to sully what is beautiful, and to bring down what is elevated. It may be said, that at the very moment when MERIT appeared in the world, ENVY too was born, and began her persecution. But nature at the same instant created glory, and gave it to her in charge, to atone for all the miseries which that persecution was to occasion. It seems, indeed, as if virtue and genius, so often oppressed on earth, took refuge from the real world in this imaginary world of glory, as in an asylum in which justice is re-established.....Each individual, by the mere ascendancy of his genius or of his virtues, mounts and takes his rank. The oppressed arise and recover their dignity. Those who have been assailed and insulted during the whole progress of their life, find glory at least at the entrance of that tomb which is to cover their ashes. Envy disappears, and immortality commences." On such glory, and on such an immortality, Cromwell has long since entered. And we fear not to predict that, wherever the name of virtue can reach, he will be revered as the benefactor of every age, by the light which he diffused and the actions which he performed, and his name be embalmed in the memory of a free and happy world.

Notwithstanding the distractions of the civil wars, and the rage for military renown, neither letters nor the fine arts were altogether neglected. Vandyke was encouraged and caressed at court, and Charles and Philip entered on a race of emulation to possess themselves of the best paintings of the best masters. Nor was Cromwell indifferent to literary merit. He took men into his service of whose genius any nation might be proud. While he caressed a poet he pensioned a bishop, and both for their devotion to literature. While he endowed a divinity professorship at Oxford, it was in his heart to erect a college at Durham, to be founded on the most enlarged and liberal principles. The incidents and stirring events of that period gave birth to a nobler eloquence—an eloquence which challenged the force and the compass of the English tongue. The press was not idle. Works of rare merit were written and published. Men of immortal fame then lived and flourished. It is enough to mention Harvey and Milton. To the former belongs the discovery of the circulation of the blood; and to the latter the production of a work which has no second in the language—in the languages of this world. But for the evil times on which he fell, and but for the retirement into which he was forced, and the world would have wanted its greatest poem—THE PARADISE LOST. That was the real fruit of the puritanic contest—of all its tears and all its blood. Nor was he a poet only, nor an author only. Far removed from the calculations of a selfish interest, with a self-denial but rarely approached, with the heart of a patriot throbbing for his country's weal, and giving his fears to the winds, he threw himself into the current of the times, and made the cause of the people his own. A defence had been set up

in favour of the king. Traitor as he was to his country—oppressor and tyrant as he proved to the best and truest-hearted of his subjects—there were those who undertook to vindicate the character and government of Charles. The pen and the press were alike employed on his behalf. Priest and courtier both bowed down to lick the dust of his feet. But Milton knew nothing of such meanness. He felt that he was a man, made in the image of GOD, and that a king was nothing more. Although he refused to wield the sword, he was the first to grasp his pen. Now issued his famous "DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND," a work which spread his fame over Europe.

We deny not that some of Milton's propositions are sufficiently startling for any age of this dreamy world. We know that in contending that a prince may be guilty of crime, by which he degenerates into a tyrant, forfeits his regal character, and becomes obnoxious to the last and most extreme penalty, in opposition to the abstract principle that the people, whatever may be the character of their ruler, have no right to inflict upon him capital punishment, he assumed, of all grounds, the most delicate and most ticklish. But can there be said to be anything new in this doctrine? Wherein does it differ from the universal opinions and practice of nations? Is a prince to be held more innocent at the point where a subject would be deemed most criminal? Is the one to be flattered and extolled, while the other is gibbeted and his head made to roll in the dust? Let any man read Milton's "TENURE OF KINGS," and say whether he is to be ranked with regicides. A regicide! and yet the princes and the potentates of Europe, almost without exception, approved his doctrine. A regicide! and the utmost of his crime is, that he dared to vindicate an act by which the world was freed of a tyrant who glutted himself with blood! A regicide! and history attests that no man ever pleaded with more eloquence the rights of kings when they kept within the bounds of their jurisdiction! Milton believed in the sovereignty of princes, but he also believed in eternal justice, in the law, and retribution of heaven. It was in him a conviction that the evils which afflicted his country ought not to have been cloaked and concealed beneath the purple of royalty, that it was better that one man, and he a royal man, should die, than the whole nation should perish—be bruised and broken beneath his crushing step, or lie bleeding at his feet.

On the death of Charles, Milton was taken into the service of the commonwealth, and made Latin secretary to the council of state, who had resolved neither to write to others abroad, nor to receive any answers in return, except in that language which was common to them all. In this capacity he rendered important service to the republic. And yet, amid the pressure of official duties, he found time to devote to the highest literary pursuits, and contrived to publish some of his most powerful treatises on questions of no common moment. It is to be feared that his prose works, those magnificent monuments of his genius, are but little read, and less appreciated. They deserve the study of a man's lifetime. They are the utterances of one of the noblest and most uplifted spirits that ever stood on the side of humanity. Their thoughts and sentiments fall upon the heart with all the freshness and

the force of inspiration. We are not so fanciful as to imagine, with a living writer, that "some books may survive the last burning, and be preserved in celestial archives as specimens and memorials of extinguished worlds;" but, till the last burning, we think with him, that the works of Milton will find a place and a home in every human heart, for they are works that "belong to no country, and to no age, but to all countries and all ages."

On the deposition of Richard, son and successor of protector Oliver Cromwell, and on the return of the long parliament, Milton, being still in his official position, came out as a practical reformer. He was intensely anxious to obtain a change in the laws affecting religion, and which pressed so severely and cruelly on the puritan and non-conformist. He laboured with no vulgar devotion to prevent, if possible, the restoration of the second Charles. He drew up several schemes for re-establishing the commonwealth on a purely christian basis. But, "it is easy to imagine that among the admirers of bacchanals, gross and godless, an author, such as Milton, in port and majesty like a prophet, and with garments scented with the sacred incense of the altar, must have proved an unwelcome guest." Nor can it be denied that "the lettered slaves who sprang up under the fostering patronage of Charles, and his most dissolute and despicable court, and whose principal aim it was to depose the ALMIGHTY from his throne in the hearts of their countrymen, laboured with all the earnestness of hirelings to dim the glory of Milton, and those other holy and magnanimous men, who, with high and honest views, had sought to command for themselves and their brethren the full enjoyment of liberty, religious and civil."

Providence permitted it, and Charles was restored. A particular prosecution was taken out against Milton. His fortune became a wreck—his person was in danger—he lived by sufferance, and but for the friends which his mighty genius and extraordinary accomplishments had raised up among all parties on his behalf, he might, like many others, have been called to seal the cause of truth with his blood. He was poor—he was blind—he was solitary. All this he could have borne, but his country was enslaved. England had need of such a man at such a crisis. And hence he laboured still, and still he toiled, till worn out by intense application and effort, his spirit burst its earthly walls, and soared away into the clearer light of heaven to enjoy the freedom of immortality. He died at his house in Bunhill-fields, at the age of sixty-six, and was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London. His life was one of purity, patriotism, and piety. His death was like the setting of some mighty orb that melts into the effulgence of a more perfect day!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

RESTORATION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART

It has been affirmed that Cromwell died at a time fortunate for his renown, and for the salvation of England. Not only might his own life, had it been prolonged have closed in disasters and disgrace, but the government of the country been seized by a succession of petty tyrants, which would have been fatal to all her interests. Others have gone so far as to say "that public spirit and private morality—grandeur of character and simplicity of life—the love of country and of liberty, of virtue and of renown, were entombed with the commonwealth." This is the language of extravagance. Whether the commonwealth, if it had passed into hands equally strong and equally great as at first conducted it, would ever have come up to Milton's idea of "one huge christian personage—one mighty growth and statue of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body," is a point not to be so easily determined, and therefore we are not disposed to regard the Restoration as a pure, unmixed evil. After the death of Cromwell, the government fell into the hands of the military, and "to deliver the country from the domination of the soldiers was the first object of every enlightened patriot." All parties united to restore the ancient laws, and the old civil polity was re-established. The military tenure of the land, which perished with the fall of the monarchy, on the restoration of that monarchy was abolished by statute; the army was abandoned, and so meted away as to be entirely absorbed in the general masses of the community, and in the respective measures and business of men more known only for their greater providence and industry.

SECTION I.—ACCESSION AND GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

Having ascended the throne at the age of thirty, Charles took into his council, irrespective of all party feeling, men of the first eminence. By an express act of the sovereign, the convention put on the character, and invested itself with the authority, of a parliament. All judicial proceedings transacted in the name of the commonwealth, and all the acts of the long parliament which had received the royal assent, were ratified and confirmed. Those who had acted as judges in the trial and execution of his late majesty were called to surrender themselves prisoners within fourteen days. Nineteen surrendered; some were taken in their flight, and others made their escape. It was moved in the upper house that no pardon might be expected to any one who

had in anywise contributed to the king's death. But to allay the fears, deep and wide-spread, which this suggestion had created, Charles proclaimed an act of indemnity, which, after repeated contests and solicitations, passed both houses, and filled the nation with joy. The remains of Cromwell were dug up, hanged, quartered, and burned. Ireton, Bradshaw, and others, who lay under the cold green sod in the stillness of death, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Harrison, and Coke, and Peters, other republican chiefs, were executed. Glutted with the blood of regicides, the two hostile parties had not yet laid aside their jealousies and their animosities. The presbyterians, or roundheads, as they were named, while they condemned the sentence which had been passed on the first Charles, yet justified those who had taken up arms against his administration. The royalists, or the cavaliers, maintained that they had always been faithful to the crown, and therefore that they were more entitled than any other party in the state to share in the favour and the patronage of their prince.

The strife of those two parties was heightened and strengthened by religious dissensions. In the house the presbyterians found a minority; and the question now was, whether the ecclesiastical polity which had been established by the long parliament was to be continued, or to give place to the former order and constitution. Up to the hour when the independents obtained the supreme influence in the state, everything ecclesiastical was being fashioned on the presbyterian model; but the independents showed no disposition to enforce the existing ordinances of that body. Episcopacy planted its foot upon the ancient laws and claimed its rights. Presbyterianism pleaded the arrangement and prescription of parliament. Nor were there wanting those of both parties who conceived that an accommodation might be effected, and an union brought about. This took not with the royalists, who would be satisfied with nothing short of the the ancient church—her priesthood and her liturgy—her mitre and her altar. The puritans, who had no sympathy with episcopacy, were hated and contemned. And in this state of ecclesiastical perplexity, Charles was called to make his choice. Far removed from the puritanical virtues of the age, he frowned upon those who frowned upon his vices. Though the native of a country to whose soil presbyterianism seems indigenous, such were his reminiscences of the sour and unyielding severities of the system, that he rather sought to st nd at a further remove from its worship and its discipline. The national feeling was certainly in favour of the episcopal church, and in her bosom Charles thought he could find relief from the din and distraction of all religious parties. To the episcopalian party inclined his majesty's brother, James duke of York, as also lord-chancellor Clarendon, whose daughter, by a secret marriage, had become duchess of York, and whose counsel had great weight with the sovereign. But Charles had promised, on his restoration, liberty of conscience, and from that promise he could not in honour recede. His object was now to effect a compromise; and he proposed that the whole question affecting the worship and the discipline of the church should be referred to a body of learned divines. With this expedient he

allayed the fears of the nation; and, having obtained those supplies which were necessary to defray the expenses of the government, he dissolved the parliament.

SECTION II.—THE PARLIAMENT AND THE CHURCH.

By the general election which took place in the beginning of 1661, the house of representation included a rare number of men who had never swerved in their attachment to the crown and the church. From the moment the parliament assembled, it was no longer a question as to what should be the future ecclesiastical polity of the country. The cavaliers cherished a deadly hatred against the roundheads —the royalists had no sympathy with the presbyterians. Having first passed an act for the security of the king's person and government, the commons began their proceedings by resolving that each member should, on pain of expulsion, take the sacrament according to the form prescribed by the old liturgy; that the solemn league and covenant, with the act declaring England to be a commonwealth, should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and that the bishops should be restored to their former dignity, and to their seats in the upper house. A bill of uniformity was introduced, which required that every clergyman should receive episcopal ordination—declare his assent to everything in the book of common-prayer—take the oath of canonical obedience—abjure the covenant, and renounce the principle of taking up arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the person and the government of his majesty. The episcopal church was placed on the same footing as that which she occupied previously to the breaking out of the civil war. Dissent was accounted schism, and schism was made subject to penal infliction. It was a crime to be a nonconformist, or to enter a nonconformist place of worship. Nonconformist divines were prohibited from coming within five miles of any town where they had resided—of any town which was represented in parliament, or which was governed by a corporation! The gaols were crowded with dissenters; and the sigh of these prisoners died away upon the ear of a cold and heartless humanity.

If the church was restored with the restoration of the monarchy, it says but little for the moral life or influence of the church, to be told "that the years during which the political power of the Anglical hierarchy was in the zenith, were precisely the years during which national virtue was at the lowest point." There was a general corruption and licentiousness of manners. A depraved and sensure priesthood had neither heart nor power to correct a depraved and sensual people. The church was much more eager to punish schism than to repress vice. Hobbes might promulgate principles which tended to relax the obligations of morality, but Bunyan was forbiden to preach a simple, renovating, uplifting christianity. The one was favoured at court, the other was thrown into the cold dungeon of a prison. The 24th day of August, 1662, dawned upon England. It was the fatal St. Bartholomew's day, and the presbyterian or

puritan clergy were required either to subscribe to the act of uniformity, or to relinquish their livings. With a constancy and a courage never surpassed, perhaps never equalled, two thousand of the most learned, most pious, and most laborious ministers of the church refused subscription, and for conscience and for truth, suffered the loss of all things. They were the true heroes of their age; and to their manly resistance—to their high and solemn resolve, England is indebted for much of that civil and religious freedom which she now enjoys. Having so succeeded in England, the king now ventured to take a step which had involved his father in the most serious difficulties, and ultimately cost him his crown and his life. He resolved to introduce episcopacy into Scotland, much against the national will and feeling. Men attached to the religion of their fathers remonstrated, but in vain. With certain limitations of large discretionary power to the clergy, episcopacy was established by law. Not that the nation quietly submitted to the imposition. The new church was looked upon as but little removed from popery; and, though the spirit of insurrection was kept down, there was a deep and settled aversion in the minds of men, who, in defiance of the law, continued to follow their own simpler and purer form of worship. The covenanters, and men of like spirit, met on the hills and in the glens of their much-loved country, and with sword in hand stood prepared to resist even unto the death. Mighty in the conscious uprightness of their own cause, they were men of rock, and challenged every opposing force. They were bruised and they were broken, but nothing could subdue their spirit. Nor did they alone feel the keen edge of persecution. Though Charles contemplated an act of toleration, whose provisions might extend to every class of dutiful and loyal dissenters, not excepting the Roman catholics, to whose creed both he and his brother were strongly inclined, it received no favour from the parliament. The very shadow of popery appears to have frightened them; and hence the catholic suffered severely at their hand. Cromwell having, without distinction, expelled all the native Irish from the provinces which he conquered, those to whom he had apportioned the conquered territories represented that there could be no peace in Ireland till the whole Celtic race should be entirely extirpated. To such extreme measures Charles was not disposed to lend himself. He aimed rather at effecting an accommodation. He promised to maintain the colonists and the soldiers, who were principally protestants, in their settlement, and to redress the grievances of those who, though the adherents of another spiritual communion, were sincerely attached to his government, and had defended his rights against the murderers of his father. The colonists agreed to relinquish a third part of their possessions, and as there was a quantity of land still undivided and unappropriated, his majesty hoped to be able to make such an arrangement with both parties as would compose the troubles of that unhappy land. And had his commons consented, Ireland might have become as contented and as happy as any other portion of the British dominions

SECTION III.—THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The profligate and licentious life of the sovereign, with the no less corrupt and corrupting manners of his court, shocked the better feelings of the better portion of the nation. Politicians of every grade and of every class were destitute of virtue. Without principle, they were governed by a selfish cupidity. As a consequence, those men became divided in their opinions, and opposed in their line of conduct. The king had sunk his character of a ruler in that of a voluptuary; the public service was neglected; favour was shown to the catholic at the expense of the puritan; money was spent on concubines and buffoons which would have gone far to restore the dilapidated fortunes of those who had expended their fortunes in maintaining the cause of the king's father. All parties, and among those the cavaliers first and pre-eminently, were loud in their complaints. "Even immoral men, who were not destitute of sense and public spirit, complained that the government treated the most serious matters as trifles, and made trifles its most serious business." To feed the vice and the folly of the court, Dunkirk, which had been won from Spain by the valour of Cromwell, was sold to Louis of France for five hundred thousand pounds. The indignation of the country knew no bounds. Each successive act aggravated the evil and deepened the discontent of the public.

These were the beginning of troubles. The States-general, which before had prostrated themselves at the feet of Cromwell, were now in a hostile position to England. "Trade was beginning, among the English, to be a matter of general concern; but, notwithstanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce seemed hitherto to stand upon a footing which was somewhat precarious. The Dutch, who, by industry and frugality, were enabled to undersell them in every market, retained possession of the most lucrative branches of commerce; and the English merchants had the mortification to find that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loss and dishonour. Their indignation increased, when they considered the superior naval power of England; the bravery of her officers and seamen; her favourable situation, which enabled her to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the prospect of these advantages they were strongly prompted, from motives less just than political, to make war upon the States, and at once to ravish from them by force what they could not obtain, or could obtain but slowly, by superior skill and industry." Charles had neither the ambition nor the enterprise to undertake a war which might have secured to England the commerce of Europe. Clarendon and Southampton were both averse to hostilities, but war was desired by the people, and was pushed on by the duke of York. War was accordingly proclaimed. Fleets were equipped. Engagement followed engagement with doubtful success. But the Dutch at length obtained a decided advantage; brought their fleet into the English channel; touched at point after point of our coast; sailed up the Thames; burned the ships of war which lay at Chatham; and struck

terror into the capital itself. The shame of those disasters fell not on the navy, but on the government. Their incapacity to carry on the affairs of the state was now revealed in the light of the sun. And, though there were no violent outbreaks, far down and unmistakeable were the murmurs of the people. A treaty of peace was concluded; but neither the treaty nor the war was at all honourable to England. As if to aggravate the evils and the disgraces of war, a most fatal pestilence swept over the metropolis, and in six months carried off above a hundred thousand of the population. And scarcely had the car of death ceased to go its rounds, when the same city was by fire reduced to ashes!

Nor did the evil end here. Charles was jealous of his prerogative, and the commons were jealous of their privilege. The king was dependant on the parliament, and the parliament took care to keep him in a state of dependance. If he was poor, they only could supply his wants. They alone could legally grant him money, and every grant was made to rest on conditions which narrowed his authority and reduced his prerogative. He had no alternative but to submit to their will, or to hazard all the horrors of a civil war. If they were attached to his person, they were hostile to his government; and the full force of that hostility fell on Clarendon, to whom his majesty, from aversion to business, and that he might devote his whole time to sensual indulgence, had entrusted the entire administration. He was hated alike by the cavalier and the roundhead, by the royalist and the presbyterian, by the puritan and the papist. Every failure in the government was ascribed to him; and even for acts to which he was decidedly opposed, he was censured and blamed. Possessed of a sterner virtue than most of those with whom he was called to mingle in the court of his royal master, he was the object of their ridicule and their raillery. An obstacle in the way of the king's ambition and his grosser pleasures, he was abandoned by the sovereign. The great seal was taken from him. His fall was inevitable. His ruin was compassed. He was impeached for treason on the most unsatisfactory and inconclusive grounds. The upper house refused to sustain the impeachment; but Clarendon, finding that the commons were resolute and immovable, withdrew from England to France, from whence he wrote to the house of lords, vindicating his character and the entire line of his policy. His letter was sent down to the commons, under the appellation of a libel, and by a vote of both houses was condemned to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. He was declared an exile, and in solitude spent the remainder of his life. During his exile he completed his history of those civil wars in the midst of which he himself lived and moved. And thus fell a man who was declared to be a true protestant, an honest Englishman; and who, while he enjoyed power, was a living pledge to the nation of her laws, her liberties, and her religion.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.

NEW AND POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

VOLUME FOURTH.

NEW AND POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BY ROBERT FERGUSON, LL.D.

VOLUME FOURTH

What are all our histories and other traditions of actions in former times but GOD manifesting himself that He hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon everything that He hath not planted.—CROMWELL.

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TABLE OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS,

FROM CHARLES II. TO QUEEN VICTORIA.

Line.	Name.	Genealogy.	Began to reign in the year	Reigned years	Reign ended in the year
Stuart Line—continued.	Charles II.	Son of Charles I.	1668	17	1685
	James II. ..... (continued)	Son of Charles I.	1685	3	1688
Stuart Line again interrupted. House of Orange.	William and Mary.	Son-in-law and Daughter of James II.	1688	14	1702
				6	1694
Second Restoration of the House of Stuart.	Anne.....	Daughter of James II.	1702	12	1714
Brunswick Line—6.	George I.	Great-grandson of James I.	1714	13	1727
	George II.	Son of George I.....	1727	33	1760
	George III.....	Grandson of George II.	1760	60	1820
	George IV.....	Son of George III.....	1820	10	1830
	William IV.	Son of George III.....	1830	7	1837
	Victoria	Niece of William IV.	1837	—	—

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONTINUED REIGN OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

We have seen that after the death of Cromwell, the government fell into the hands of the military, and that to deliver the country from their domination was the first object of every enlightened patriot: that on the accession of Charles, the convention put on the character and invested itself with the authority of a parliament; that the strife of political parties was heightened and strengthened by religious dissensions; that Charles referred the whole question affecting the worship and the discipline of the church to a body of learned divines; that from the moment the parliament assembled it was no longer a point of debate as to what should be the ecclesiastical polity of the country; that the episcopal church was restored with the restoration of the monarchy; that the act of uniformity forced two thousand of the most learned, most pious, and most laborious of the clergy from the bosom of the establishment; that the genius of religious toleration was insulted and trodden down; that the general manners of the age were most corrupt and profligate; that the government became every day more unpopular with all parties, both political and religious; that each successive act of the ministry aggravated the evil and deepened the discontent of the people; that there was a general and growing impression as to their incapacity to carry on the affairs of the state; that while Charles was jealous of his prerogative, the commons were jealous of their privilege; and that he had no alternative but to submit to their will, or hazard a civil war. Subsequent events will reveal the issue.

SECTION I.—THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

In the person of Louis the Fourteenth, France enjoyed a monarch who had revived her sinking fortunes, and raised her to a point at

which she might have claimed to be the greatest power in Europe. As she rose, Spain declined; and with the decline of Spain there opened up to Louis a still wider field for enterprise and for conquest. All the other nations of Europe were in danger of being brought into subjection. The ancient national animosity against England was removed, and yet England alone was in a situation to maintain the balance of power among the European states. Must she plunge into war? The French army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, commanded by the first and most illustrious generals then living; the navy had no superior; the revenue of the country was unequalled; and Louis had means at his disposal which no other potentate could command. It is true that he was engaged in war with Spain; it is true that the United Provinces, fearing his approach and the encroachments of his power, might have turned their arms against him; still England would have found it no easy task to have grappled with a power against which the united agencies of one half of Christendom had failed of success. In these circumstances, what could Charles do? There appeared but one expedient to be adopted in the hope of checking France. Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at the court of Brussels, and one of the ablest diplomatists of his age, represented to his government how desirable and how practicable it was to enter into engagements with the States-general; and after a great deal of hesitation and delay, his advice was followed. He was commissioned to enter into the necessary negociations; and having succeeded with De Witt, the chief minister of Holland, he at the same time secured the adhesion of Sweden, which still enjoyed a high rank among the European powers, and against this triple alliance Louis was too politic to embark his arms. He consented, therefore, to give up part of his conquests. A treaty was signed. Peace was restored to Europe. The English government occupied the highest vantage ground. England recovered her influence and her glory in the eyes of the nations. All Europe was filled with satisfaction. The world admired and applauded.

Impatient and restless under the restraints of his parliament, Charles had the meanness to offer himself as a vassal to the very person who by the triple alliance he had so effectually checked and controlled. He offered to dissolve the treaty, to embrace the catholic faith, to join his arms with those of France against Holland, if Louis would but contribute to make him independent of his parliament. Compared with his own self-indulgence, the interests of the nation were to him as the small-dust of the balance. A strong tide was setting in against him from the lower house. A powerful party was in the course of formation, distinguished for the love of freedom and of virtue. In these circumstances, without an army and without money, and with a growing band of patriotic politicians against him, Charles turned his eye to France. The propositions were such as could not but be acceptable to Louis. The house of Stuart was in his hands, and England was reduced to a mere dependancy. A secret treaty was entered into by the two sovereigns, which was ratified and signed at Dover, in May, 1670, to the eternal disgrace of Charles, who thus attempted to turn the arms of England against the United Pro-

vinces, in favour of the house of Bourbon. With a hypocrisy which is hateful, he retained the name of protestant, and received the sacrament according to the church of England.

Though the cabinet had but little to do with the treaty of Dover, Charles had almost wholly resigned himself to the direction of men whose names had acquired an unenviable notoriety. Those servants of the crown were known by the name of the Cabal.* "As those five evil-counsellors were among the last English statesmen who seriously thought of destroying the parliament, so they were the first English statesmen who attempted extensively to corrupt it." But the house of the country, though composed chiefly of cavaliers, was not to be bribed into an approval of the treaty of Dover. They were caught by fraud. In pretence of holding France in check, and of maintaining the triple league, his majesty represented that it would be necessary to augment the fleet; and the commons, not suspecting the snare which had been laid for them, voted a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, which was no sooner done than the parliament was prorogued. This sum, though sufficient to support the government during a period of peace, was wholly insufficient for the carrying on of war, while the greater part of it was spent in defraying the king's debts, and augmenting the sum of his pleasures. In this emergency, Charles declared that the staff of Treasurer might be grasped by any one who could find an expedient for meeting the present necessities. Shaftesbury suggested to Clifford, and Clifford whispered in the ear of Charles, the expedient of shutting up the exchequer, to which the bankers had been wont to advance large sums of money, for which they received government security, and were repaid with enormous interest, as the taxes were levied and paid. The country was taken by surprise. There was a universal panic. The scene which the Exchange exhibited no pen can describe. Bankers could not meet their engagements. Commercial houses failed one after another. Public confidence there was none. Gloom sat on every brow. No one could foretell to what an issue all this might tend. Never had there been such a flagrant breach of public faith; never such a violation of the most solemn engagements. And yet this was followed by other acts equally arbitrary—equally despotic. Royal proclamations were substituted for parliamentary statutes. All the penal laws enacted against the nonconformists were repealed by a declaration of indulgence, the real design of which was not so much to release the conscientious puritan, or dissenter, as to extend toleration to the Roman catholic, to whose church and polity, as we have found, both Charles and his brother were now more attached than to the protestant faith. The act of navigation was suspended. A proclamation was issued in favour of impressment. Another threatening to visit with the severest penalties those who might dare to question his majesty's measures;

* By a singular coincidence this word was constructed of the initial letters of the names of the five gentlemen who constituted the cabinet—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. The first was distinguished by his daring and imperious temper; the second by his weakness and inefficiency; the other three by their gaiety and licentiousness.

and, contrary to the petition of right, martial law was established in the army. Each successive act was an advance to a perfect and a destroying despotism.

War was then proclaimed against the United Provinces. Notwithstanding the valour which the Dutch displayed in naval engagements, their land forces were borne down by irresistible might. The French carried everything before them. In the midst of accumulated suffering, the people of the States became infuriated, and madly wreaked their vengeance on their own bravest captains and ablest statesmen. At this juncture rose into view William Henry, prince of Orange, who, in the ardour of his youth took the side of the distressed commonwealth, and inspired the souls of his countrymen with a courage which proved invincible. They indignantly rejected the terms proposed by Louis and Charles; terms which would have left them open to an invasion by land from France, and to an invasion by sea from England. Headed by the prince of Orange, on whose valour and conduct depended the fate of the commonwealth, they now refused to subject their neck to the yoke of oppression. Every stratagem was employed by the sovereigns of France and of England to seduce their noble-minded prince from the cause of the republic; but he generously rejected all proposals, and was resolved rather to die in the last ditch, than to abandon the liberty of his country, or to betray the trust which an oppressed people so implicitly reposed in him. Alarmed by the progress of the French arms, and the vast designs of Louis, other states came to the aid of the Dutch. Spain, forgetting her ancient wrongs and humiliations, became reconciled to Holland, and sent to her assistance no inconsiderable reinforcement. Louis had now to face one half of Europe. In vain did he look to England for succour and supplies. Charles had shut up the exchequer, and had not only appropriated, but had expended, all the revenue. Parliament stood prorogued, and to have coerced the people for supplies at such a moment would have been the signal for a civil war. There was no alternative but to convoke the parliament. After a recess of two years, the legislature was convened in the spring of 1673. The policy of the cabal was met with unmeasured severity. The next step was to get the declaration of indulgence revoked, in which it was conceived the king had exceeded his prerogative. Till this declaration was cancelled the commons refused to grant any supply for the Dutch war. Even the cabinet became divided. Ashley, now earl of Shaftesbury, and in possession of the great seal, in his place in the upper house, pronounced the declaration to be illegal. Thus abandoned by his chancellor and his ally, Charles annulled the indulgence. This was followed by the introduction of the TEST ACT, which provided that all persons holding any office, civil or military, should take the oath of supremacy, and publicly receive the sacrament according to the ritual of the established church. This act having obtained the royal assent, the duke of York was under the necessity of resigning his office as lord high admiral of England. Encouraged by their past success, the commons paused not, neither hesitated in their future course. They fearlessly attacked the foreign policy of Charles, insisted on the dismissal of Buckingham and Lau-

derdale, and broke up the cabal. Supplies were refused for the carrying on of the war; peace was demanded with Holland; and Charles was made to feel that he was in the hands of the parliament, and that his prerogative was neither absolute nor unlimited.

A new administration was called into existence under Sir Thomas Osborne, who was afterwards created earl of Danby. His domestic policy was too arbitrary and too exclusive to obtain at such a critical juncture. In 1675, he introduced a bill into the house of lords, in which it was provided that every member of either branch of the legislature, and every person entrusted with any public office should declare, on oath, that they considered resistance to the kingly power as in all cases criminal, and that they would never attempt to alter the constitution either in church or state; but after much opposition this bill was allowed to drop. In his foreign policy, he and the king were like men engaged in a game of cross purposes. Had Danby been left to his own course, there can be no doubt that he would have employed every means within his command for the restoration of the national independence and glory. Instead of acting as the vassal of Louis, he would have turned the arms of England against France. But the popular party in the house of commons were afraid to entrust Charles with the means of even keeping France in check. Others were eager to enter on a war. No sooner had Charles begun to raise an army, than the said party, fearing that the military resources might be employed against the state itself, insisted on its being disbanded. Louis dreaded the patriotic counsels of Danby. And the popular party having a profound distrust of Charles, it is said that the French monarch empowered Barillon, his ambassador at the court of England, to enter into arrangements with that party to insure their influence and their services against Charles, whom they were made to believe was acting the part of a traitor to his country. Could they have believed that their prince meant only to make war on France, they would have been the most forward to have supported him, and, though misled by Louis or his ambassador, there can be no doubt that their simple and sublime object was to save their country from what they conceived to be an impending danger. Happily the evil was averted in another way. A treaty of peace was concluded at Nimeguen, in 1678, in which the States-general obtained honourable and advantageous terms. This successful issue of a long-severe continental war was ascribed chiefly to the valour and ability of the prince of Orange, who, having married the eldest daughter of James, duke of York, was hailed by the English as the husband of their future queen.

SECTION II.—VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

No sooner had the fears and apprehensions springing from a long continental and doubtful war been allayed, than the nation was seized with other causes of alarm. During the eighteen years that had elapsed since the Restoration, the state of religious parties had become greatly changed. In proportion as the hatred of puritanism had abated, the hatred of popery had increased. No one was ignorant of

his majesty's leaning to the Roman catholic faith. His brother of York was a bigoted papist. His first duchess had died a catholic, and to a catholic princess he had allied himself in a second marriage. Their posterity might entail on England a long succession of popish princes. The protestant faith was in danger. The scenes which took place during the reign of the bloody Mary, and the no less bloody Elizabeth, might be acted over again. All their fears were strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of a GREAT POPISH PLOT, first brought to light by a clergyman of the name of Oates, who had passed some time among the jesuits on the continent. He gave it out as the cherished sentiment of this order, that the pope had intrusted to them the government of England, and to effect her restoration to the See of Rome there was to be a general rising of the catholics, which was to be followed by a general massacre of all the protestants. All parties took alarm. One Coleman was greatly suspected. Search was made for his papers. Enough was found to convince the country that some conspiracy was on foot. The gaols were soon filled with catholics of every class. All London was placed under military guard. Roman catholic lords were excluded from their seats in parliament, and the most stringent oaths were imposed. The commons impeached the lord treasurer for high treason, threw one of the secretaries of state into prison for having granted a commission to a gentleman whose protestantism was suspected, and would have taken the command of the militia into their own hands. "To such a temper had eighteen years of misgovernment brought the most loyal parliament that had ever met in England."

Singular and unaccountable as it may appear, at this juncture the king appealed to the people. Parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for a general election. It was a period of deep agitation. Corruption abounded; freeholds were split for the purpose of multiplying votes; the story of the popish plot was revived; Oates was not long without coadjutors and without rivals. "From all the brothels, gambling-houses, and sponging-houses in London, false witnesses poured forth to swear away the lives of Roman catholics." The merest fictions about the levying of armies, and the assassination of the monarch, and the queen plotting against her husband, found easy credence with a credulous and excited people. Coleman was found guilty. Nor can words describe the joy which was expressed when the sentence of death went forth against him.

The new parliament met in 1679. Danby was impeached. And fearing a popish succession, measures were contemplated for the exclusion of the duke of York from the throne. Though he had left England for Brussels, this did not satisfy either the parliament or the people. His majesty, in equal perplexity and fear, betook himself to the counsels of Sir William Temple, a man of rare diplomatic talents and the originator of the triple alliance. To prevent any undue stretch of the royal prerogative, on the one hand, and to prevent, on the other, the legislature from encroaching further on the province of the executive, he proposed a council of thirty, including ministers of state, of law, and of religion, with noblemen and gentlemen of character and of fortune, to whom all state-business should be sub-

mitted, and by whose advice the king should be guided. This council, being neither legislative nor executive, ultimately failed to realize the end. It was liked neither by the king nor by the parliament. The popular murmur deepened, and agitation was more violent than ever. The commons turned their thoughts to the succession, and Charles pledged himself to the upholding of the protestant faith if they would but leave the question of the succession untouched. Finding that they would accept no compromise, and that nothing would satisfy them but THE BILL OF EXCLUSION, he went down to the house, and, without any previous conference with the council, prorogued the parliament. It was a memorable day. A measure intimately affecting the personal liberty of the subject had been framed and passed under the name of THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT, and on that very day received the royal assent.

Having with reluctance given his consent to this popular measure, his majesty again appealed to the nation. Parliament was dissolved, and another general election took place. The new parliament proved as determined and as resolute as the one just dissolved. The cry for the exclusion bill was louder than ever. Monmouth, an illegitimate child of Charles, by a Welsh girl of the name of Walters, was set up in opposition to the duke of York and his two daughters, by the opposition, which affirmed that his majesty had secretly married this young beauty, and that Monmouth had been born in wedlock. He was exceedingly popular with the multitude, and all parties were favourable to his claim. Meanwhile York had returned from Brussels, and had gone down to Scotland to conduct the government of that part of the kingdom. The council of thirty was broken up; and ere the parliament had entered on business, Charles resolved on a prorogation. Lawrence Hyde, second son of chancellor Clarendon, and brother of the first duchess of York, succeeded Essex in the treasury. "Before the new parliament was suffered to meet for the despatch of business, a whole year elapsed—an eventful year, which has left lasting traces in our manners and language. Never before had political controversy been carried on with so much freedom. Never before had political clubs existed with so elaborate an organization, or so formidable an influence. The one question of the exclusion occupied the public mind. All the presses and pulpits of the realm took part in the conflict. On the one side it was maintained that the constitution and religion of the state would never be secure under a popish king; on the other, that the right of James to wear the crown in his turn, was derived from GOD, and could not be annulled even by the consent of all the branches of the legislature. Every county, every town, every family, was in agitation. The civilities and hospitalities of neighbourhood were interrupted; the dearest ties of friendship and of blood were sundered. Even schoolboys were divided into angry parties; and the duke of York and the earl of Shaftesbury had zealous adherents on all the forms of Westminster and Eton. The theatres shook with the roar of the contending factions. Pope Joan was brought on the stage by the zealous protestants. Pensioned poets filled their prologues and epilogues with eulogies on the king and the duke. The malcontents besieged the throne with petitions,

demanding that parliament might be forthwith convened. The loyalists sent up addresses, expressing the utmost abhorrence of all who presumed to dictate to the sovereign. The citizens of London assembled by tens of thousands to burn the pope in effigy. The government posted cavalry at Temple-bar, and placed ordnance round Whitehall. In that year our tongue was enriched with two words, Mob and Sham, remarkable memorials of a season of tumult and imposture.....The appellation of Whig was fastened on the presbyterian zealots of Scotland, and was transferred to those English politicians who showed a disposition to oppose the court, and to treat protestant nonconformists with indulgence. The bogs of Ireland, at the same time, afforded a refuge to popish outlaws, much resembling those who were afterwards known as Whiteboys. These men were then called Tories. The name of Tory was, therefore, given to Englishmen who refused to concur in excluding a Roman catholic prince from the throne."*

Louis continued to play a double part. While he expected Charles to be firm, he bribed and flattered the opposition, and taught them to look to France for succour and for aid. Party feeling ran high. The cabinet was divided. Loud and universal was the demand for a parliament, and Charles, yielding to the popular feeling, convened the parliament in October, 1680. The Exclusion Bill was again introduced, and went through all its stages with decided majorities. Charles wavered. He was on the point of driving a bargain with his commons for the birthright of his brother. The house of lords still stood between him and the commons, and in that house, through the intellectual might and mastery of Halifax, the bill was rejected by a large majority. As if to avenge this defeat, the commons renewed their convictions and prosecutions of the Roman catholics, and the life of man was prodigally thrown away. Informers were applauded and rewarded. Pope-burning was encouraged. The courts were infested with the basest villains, whose testimony was received without hesitation, and the blood of the innocent flowed in yet deeper streams. Stafford, who was condemned of high treason on the testimony of false witnesses, died protesting his innocence; and was believed to be a murdered man. "This is the last blood which was shed on account of the popish plot, an incident which, for the credit of the nation, it were better to bury in eternal oblivion."

Conscious of the power which they possessed, the commons introduced a variety of bills and measures by which they hoped to advance their own views, in opposition to the schemes of Charles and his court, and so render themselves formidable to both friends and foes. One bill was for the relief of protestant dissenters; another for the renewal of the triennial act. A third declared the levying of money without the consent of parliament to be high treason; a fourth made provision for the safety of his majesty's person and the protestant religion, and, as a necessary consequence, the exclusion of a popish succession. They desired a change of ministry, and voted that, till the Exclusion Bill was passed, they could not, consistently with the

* Macaulay's History, vol. i. pp. 255-257.

trust reposed in them, grant his majesty any measure of supply. While they were in this mood, and despairing of bringing them to any better temper, Charles, conceiving that their farther sitting would only serve to keep alive the spirit of faction, and add to the general discontent of the nation, resolved on a prorogation. The kingdom was on the point of a civil war. Everything foreboded a tremendous collision between the king and the parliament. Charles had no alternative but to try once more the experiment of a dissolution. Fearing the influence of the metropolis, and that he might feel more secure in the midst of his professed friends and adherents, he summoned the new parliament to meet at Oxford. The elections were sharply contested, and the newly-chosen members met in March, 1681, amid the bristling of arms, and with purpose and resolution as fixed and determined as that of any parliament which had preceded them. His majesty, who addressed them in a somewhat more authoritative tone, was yet in a mood to consent to almost any measure short of the Exclusion Bill. But nothing short of this Exclusion Bill would his commons accept. This was enough. Charles at once dissolved the parliament, and triumphed over the opposition. Though the Whigs had comprised a majority in the house, the Tories had been gaining ground in the country. The consequence was, that a powerful reaction took place. Large numbers of the upper and the middle classes began to rally round the throne. Whig violence was met by Tory opposition. The cruelty of the former was avenged by the injustice of the latter. The country party were in the hands of the royalists; and there were not wanting those who were prepared to swear away their lives with as little reserve as they had sworn away the lives of many an innocent Roman catholic on suspicion of being engaged in the grand popish plot. "The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, and offered their services to the ministers. To the disgrace of the court, and of the age, they were received with hearty welcome; and their testimony, or rather perjury, made use of, in order to commit legal murder upon the opposite party." Their first victim was a poor mechanic, of the name of Colledge, who, during the sitting of the parliament in Oxford, being found in possession of arms, was accused of an intention of seizing his majesty's person, and of throwing out the flag of rebellion against the government. As an exclusionist, he was not likely to find favour at the hands of a jury composed of country squires, and attached to the royal cause. He solemnly protested his innocence; and his innocence was clear as the sun. Yet he was convicted and condemned. "His execution was the beginning of a new judicial massacre, not less atrocious than that in which he had himself borne a share."

But there was a man of higher mark than Colledge. The government betrayed a strange eagerness that Shaftesbury should be brought to trial for his life. There were those who believed that there existed sufficient evidence to substantiate the charge of high treason. In his cabinet was found the draft of an association, of which he was not the

author, and in which was the form of an oath or declaration to be taken by each member of the confederacy, and of which the following is a copy:—

"I, A. B. do, in the presence of God, solemnly promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, to the utmost of my power, with my person and estate, the true protestant religion against popery and all popish superstition, idolatry, and innovation, and all those who do, or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this kingdom.

"I will also, as far as in me lies, maintain and defend his majesty's royal person and estate, as also the power and privilege of parliaments, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject against the encroachments and usurpation of arbitrary power whatsoever; and endeavour entirely to disband all such mercenary forces as we have reason to believe were raised to advance it, and are still kept up in and about the city of London, to the great amazement and terror of all the good people of the land.

"Moreover, James, duke of York, having publicly professed and owned the popish religion, and notoriously given life and birth to the damnable and hellish plots of the papists against his majesty's person, the protestant religion, and the government of this kingdom—I will never consent that the said James, duke of York, or any other who is, or hath been a papist, or any ways adhered to the papists in their wicked designs, be admitted to the succession of the crown of England; but by all lawful means, and by force of arms if need so require, according to my abilities, will oppose him, and endeavour to subdue, expel, and destroy him, if he come into England or the dominions thereof, and seek by force to set up his pretended title, and all such as shall adhere unto him, or raise any war, tumult, or sedition for him, or by his command, as public enemies of our laws, religion, and country.

"To this end we, and every one of us, whose hands are hereunder written, do most willingly bind ourselves and every one of us unto the other, jointly and severally, in the bond of one firm and loyal association; and do promise and vow before God. that with our joint and particular forces we will oppose and pursue unto destruction all such as upon any title whatsoever shall oppose the just and righteous ends of this association, and maintain, protect, and defend all such as shall enter into it, in the just performance of the true intent and meaning of it. And lest this just and pious work should be anyways obstructed or hindered for want of discipline and conduct, or any evil-minded persons, under pretence of raising forces for the service of this association, should attempt or commit disorders, we will follow such orders as we shall from time to time receive from the present parliament, whilst it shall be sitting, or the major part of the members of both houses subscribing this association, when it shall be prorogued or dissolved; and obey such officers as shall by them be set over us in the several counties, cities, and boroughs, until the next meeting of this or another parliament; and will then show the same obedience and submission unto it, and those who shall be of it.

"Neither will we, for any respect of persons or causes, or for fear or reward, separate ourselves from this association, or fail in the pro-

secution thereof during our lives, upon pain of being, by the rest of us, prosecuted and suppressed as perjured persons, and public enemies to GOD, the king, and our native country."

Happily for his lordship, his trial was removed to London, as the seat of the offence with which he was charged. By this circumstance he obtained a whig jury, who threw out the bill. The united testimony of the witnesses amounted to nothing like a charge of treason; and when the jury returned the bill IGNORAMUS, the people could not repress their feeling, but set up a shout of joyful exultation. As if to avenge this defeat, it was pretended that the city of London had by certain acts of irregularity and assumption, forfeited its municipal privileges, and therefore that its charter must be annulled. Proceedings were instituted against the corporation in the court of King's Bench, and the judgment was that the franchises of the city were forfeited to the crown. With the case of London before them, all the corporations of England saw how vain and fruitless it would be to contend with the court. Borough after borough surrendered its privileges; new charters, for which large sums of money were exacted, were granted; all offices of power and profit were at the disposal of the crown, which gave the entire ascendancy to the royalists and the Tories. Each successive step emboldened his majesty's advisers to proceed still farther. Their measures were most arbitrary and oppressive. The ecclesiastical hierarchy were indeed caressed and flattered; but nonconformity was frowned upon as a thing not worthy of a place nor an existence in this world. The penal statutes were reinforced all over the kingdom, and sanctified humanity groaned beneath a yoke which pressed upon it to the very death.

SECTION III.—THE RYE-HOUSE PLOT.

It was said that the lord-treasurer Danby had sold England to France, and that a plot had been laid to hand over our country to French and papal ascendancy. Now though there existed no conclusive proof that Charles had entered into a treaty with France against the religion and the liberties of England, there were those who believed that he had so done, and who in their protestant zeal concocted schemes of resistance. This opposition party, though they had been foiled once and again, were not subdued. The Whigs were still a numerous and powerful party. They obtained in all the larger towns and cities, and especially in the metropolis. And believing in the righteousness of their cause, they resolved to resist even unto blood. They formed a scheme of resistance; were favourable to a general insurrection; contemplated nothing short of putting the nation in arms against the government. This was one plot; and while this was being laid, another and lesser plot was being matured which had for its object the assassination of the reigning prince and of the heir presumptive.

This latter project, which is known by the designation of THE RYE-HOUSE PLOT, deserves to be described. One of the conspirators,

whose name was Rumbold, was a maltster, who possessed a farm which lay on the road to Newmarket, whither the king repaired once a year for the diversion of the races, and which was called the Rye-house. A plan of this farm had been furnished by Rumbold, who showed the conspirators how easy it would be to waylay the monarch, and so fire upon him from behind the hedges as to escape detection. In this plot lord Russell was said to have taken an active part; but the assertion is without proof. The scheme was known but to few; it was concealed with especial care from the upright and humane Russell. If ever a man opposed the course of a government in a pure and unselfish spirit, that man was lord William Russell. The two chief species of treason contained in the statute of the third Edward are the compassing and intending of the king's death, and the actually levying of war against him; while by the law of Mary, the crime must be proved by the concurring testimony of two witnesses to some overt act tending to those purposes; neither of which was brought out in the evidence against this noble and unsullied patriot. He protested in the words of a dying man that he knew of no plot against the king's life or the government.

At this period the highest seat of criminal jurisprudence was filled by the infamous Jeffreys—a judge who had sold "his forehead of brass and his tongue of venom to the court." He was a man of little character, and of deep-rooted prejudices. He was not only forward to promote every oppressive and arbitrary measure, but his procedure was most sanguinary and inhuman. Never was the judicial bench more degraded. Never was the ermine more deeply stained. In the presence of this bloated, blustering, mimic, and mock of humanity, were Russell and his illustrious compatriots tried; and never did men suffer greater injustice. In defiance of law and justice Russell was condemned. Sentence was pronounced on Saturday July 14, 1683, and on the Saturday following he was led to the scaffold and died with "the fortitude of a christian." So perished the third son of the house of Bedford in the forty-second year of his age; one of England's best and noblest sons. And for what? For no offence but an honest effort to secure a protestant succession to the throne, and to preserve the protestant faith in the land. He fell in the cause of truth and of God. And wherever truth has a sanctuary or liberty a shrine, his name will be remembered and revered. A martyr's crown now decks his brow, and a martyr's joy now fills his soul.

The discovery of the Rye-house plot for the assassination of the king, led to the detection of that other conspiracy which had for its object the preventing any but a protestant succession to the throne of England. As in the case of Russell, we find that Sidney was suspected of intriguing with Barillon, the French ambassador, to prevent the war between France and England, and so prevent Charles from coming into the possession of those large funds which, on such an occasion, would be necessary; lest he should employ them against the liberties of the nation. The French monarch was not less anxious to prevent the English from joining the list of his enemies; and, if possible, to secure this end, it is said that he bribed the leading Whig members of parliament. But when we reflect on the inflexible prin-

ciple and consummate virtue of Sidney, he was not a man to be bribed. His reputation was such for every higher and nobler property, as to raise him above suspicion. He was as far removed from corruption as he was from the most brutal and debasing lust. He took a conspicuous part in the proceedings by which it was sought to exclude the duke of York from the throne, and when those proceedings failed he joined in a conspiracy for an insurrection. It was proposed that there should be a simultaneous rising in London, in Cheshire, in Devon, in Bristol, and in Newcastle. Correspondence was opened with the presbyterians of Scotland who were "suffering under a tyranny such as England, in the worst times, had never known." Sidney, like my lord Russell, was dexterously inculpated in the inferior plot, and was tried before the same inhuman chief justice Jeffreys, whose court was "the den of a wild beast, which none could tame, and which was as likely to be roused to rage by caresses as by attacks." In such a court, and with such a judge, Sidney could cherish but little hope. He was brought in guilty, and was sentenced to be beheaded. Pledged to the principles of truth and of freedom from his earliest youth, he suffered with manly fortitude—not "the fortitude of a stoic." He had a heart as pure, and tender, and susceptible, as any that ever throbbed in human breast. His death, which will ever be held as one of the greatest blemishes in the reign of Charles, can be regarded as nothing better than legalized murder. He fell in the cause of liberty. Nor can we send forth a freer or a fuller aspiration for our country, than that England may never be wanting in men equally devoted to her freedom and her faith.

Hampden, the grandson of the great parliamentary leader of that name, was indicted for misdemeanour, in consequence of the evidence failing to sustain the charge of high treason, and was fined in the exorbitant sum of forty thousand pounds. A Bristol merchant of the name of. Holloway surrendered himself for trial, and was executed. Barnardiston, who in some private letters had reflected on the government, was fined two thousand pounds. Shaftesbury made his escape to Holland, where he shortly after died. Monmouth went into voluntary exile. On the day of Russell's trial, Essex, a man eminent for many excellent qualities, had perished by his own hand in the Tower. On the day of Russell's execution, the university of Oxford, believing that hereditary despotism was the form of government ordained by God, and that unlimited passive obedience was the duty of the subject, ordered the political works of Buchanan, Milton, and Baxter to be publicly burned!

The assassination plot having to a great extent been confounded with the inferior project for an insurrection, it rendered the whole party unpopular, and tended very much to reconcile the nation to the measures of the court. Charles availed himself of this state of public feeling. Never had he before such a hold of the national mind. He became more arbitrary. He placed his prerogative above law. Nothing, not even the persuasion and the influence of Halifax, could induce him to call a parliament, although more than the three years allowed by law had elapsed since the dissolution of that which sat at Oxford. The duke of York, whose administration in Scotland had been

characterised by cruelties and barbarities which had no parallel, was allowed to return to England. The Test Act was dispensed with in his favour; he was restored to the office of high admiral, took his seat in the council, and engaged his majesty in measures, which must have rendered an accommodation with any parliament worthy of a name, altogether impracticable. These breaches of the constitution were sternly opposed by Halifax, and were regarded with strong suspicions by many of the most moderate and cautious Tories. Halifax argued against absolute monarchy, and in favour of representative government. He was supported by North, who had lately come to the possession of the great seal; but was as resolutely opposed by Lawrence Hyde, created earl of Rochester. The two parties came into violent collision. The duke of York represented to his majesty the danger of retaining such a man as Halifax in his councils, and recommended Rochester as first lord of the treasury. This state of things greatly favoured the designs of Louis, whose aim was to prevent the calling of a parliament and the reconciliation of parties, that England might still be kept in a state of dependance. Bribes, promises, and menaces, were unsparingly employed. While some of the privy councillors were mean enough and base enough to allow themselves to be bought, Halifax remained uncorrupt; nor could all the art and influence of the French embassy effect his removal from office. Changes were secured, and it is said that during this contest of parties, Charles had contemplated and formed a new plan of administration. This may be questioned. There was a great want of decision on the part of his majesty. What his intentions were cannot even be conjectured. He was suddenly seized with apoplexy, and died in a few days, leaving the kingdom torn with internal distractions, and in danger of being consumed by its own internal fires. In the article of death he received the last rites of the Romish church, and in his cabinet were found certain documents, written with his own hand, in favour of that communion, which were afterwards published and given to the world by his brother, the duke of York, by which he greatly injured his own popularity, and imprinted a deeper stain on he memory of his brother

So ended the reign of Charles—a reign during which the higher interests of the nation were neglected and sacrificed, its industry checked, its commerce arrested, its treasure wasted, its peace invaded, its liberty restricted, its manners and its morals corrupted, its religion treated as the idol of a party. There was scarcely a measure of this reign which, from its arbitrary and unconstitutional character, was not of itself sufficient to plunge the country into all the horrors of civil war. By the secret treaty of Dover, England became in fact the vassal of France, and to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conquest England was ever exposed. But for the firm and manly attitude of each successive parliament, there is no conceivable point to which Charles would not have pushed his prerogative against the people and the free institutions of the country. Nor would he have refused to barter England's name or England's glory to any—even the most inferior power, if it might have but supplied him with the means of gratifying the lower and the baser passions of his nature

It was a reign which it would be well if we could blot from our national history. It imprinted a character on humanity, on law, on government, and on religion, which will stand out to our eternal disgrace. The only consolation is, that the manly struggle for the principles of truth and freedom, which characterized that period, endeared those principles to all succeeding ages, and in their past triumphs gave to them, and to us, the pledge of their final and universal empire.

CHAPTER XXX.

A GLANCE AT THE STATE OF ENGLAND.

NOTHING can be more pleasing than to trace the progress of nations from a comparatively rude and barbarous origin, till we find them sitting high-throned in civilization and refinement. Nations being made up of individuals, just as those individuals endeavour to increase their property, to lighten their labours, to obtain more of comfort and enjoyment, must their internal regulations and government keep pace with their increase, their growing strength, and their improved circumstances. On this scale of gradual, social, and civil improvement do the nations advance. They are never matured at once. Progression is the law of nature. Everything in the economy of our world is perfected by degrees. Imperceptible as the progress of society may sometimes appear, there are secret influences always at work which force it up to a still higher scale of social and civilized life. It may be true, that in "the whole circumference of the globe there are only a certain number of nations that occupy an important and really historical place in the annals of civilization;" but these are the very nations whose history gives us the deepest insight into the workings and the progress of our common humanity.

England stands high among the civilized countries of the world; but England once stood at a different point. At the death of Charles her population was not one-fifth of what it is at the present moment; her revenue was small, compared with that of neighbouring countries. Though the produce of the soil far exceeded all other fruits of human industry, agriculture was in a very rude and imperfect state;—the largest and most trading towns of the kingdom did not number more than ten thousand souls;—the manufactures and commerce of the whole of England were not equal to those of a single district in the present day;—the only army at all required was the militia, and it was not till after his restoration that Charles entertained the idea of forming a small standing army;—the navy was defective, and badly commanded;—the ordnance was a thing of no magnitude;—the expense of the civil government was so met as to occasion little or no drain on the revenue of the state;—the public service was starved, that courtiers and sycophants might be fed and pampered;—the gentry and the clergy were classes of little wealth, of little intelligence, of little importance. Superior to both these were the yeomanry, who were an eminently manly and true-hearted race,

spread over the face of old England, who ever leaned to protestantism and to liberty. There were the proprietors and the tillers of the soil. The towns were the centre of population, intelligence, and activity; but the modes of travelling being exceedingly defective and tedious, there was consequently but little correspondence between town and country;—the press was a boon which was confined to some few localities;—periodicals and journals were rare things;—a good public library was a thing almost unknown;—education was very limited;—the culture of the female mind was entirely neglected;—the literary attainments of the other sex were meagre in the extreme; if there were many who knew the Latin tongue, the Greek was but little studied even at the universities. If French was the language of fashionable society, the great masters of our richer and nobler English lay unread and unstudied. Nor was the literature of that period free from a grosser and more offensive immorality. Amid the corruption of a lighter literature, the genius of England was effecting in the field of science some of her noblest exploits. In proportion as England was in advance of her neighbours in science, she was behind them all in the fine arts.

It is computed that four-fifths of the common people were, in the seventeenth century, employed in agriculture, and that four shillings a week were fair agricultural wages, while those who were employed in manufactures might receive as much as a shilling a day. Children were set prematurely to work, and boys and girls of very tender age, created wealth exceeding what was necessary for their own subsistence. Beyond doubt the wages of labour were not more than one-half of what they now are, but equally true it is that provisions were not above one-half the price, whilst all foreign produce was much dearer than at present. Pauperism prevailed, and as a consequence, poor-rates were very heavy. Civilization was still far behind. The manners of society were coarse and offensive. Cruelties abounded. Vice was patronized. Barbarities applauded. Education was but little valued. The prisons were schools of every crime, and on the ugliest phases of wickedness and misery society looked with indifference. In fact, the past will bear no comparison with the present. We are surrounded by an entirely new state of things. And however glibly men may talk of the good old times of our good old England, and pronounce the former days better than these, it is a grand delusion. "We are under a deception similar to that which misleads the traveller in the Arabian desert. Beneath the caravan all is dry and bare; but far in advance, and far in the rear, is the semblance of refreshing waters. The pilgrims hasten forward and find nothing but sand, where, an hour before, they had seen a lake. They turn their eyes, and see a lake, where, an hour before, they were toiling through sand. A similar illusion seems to haunt nations through every stage of the long progress from poverty and barbarism to the highest degrees of opulence and civilization. But if we resolutely trace the mirage backward, we shall find it recede before us into the regions of fabulous antiquity. It is now the fashion to place the golden age of England in times when noblemen were destitute of comforts, the want of which would be intolerable to a modern footman; when farmers and shop-

keepers breakfasted on loaves the very sight of which would raise a riot in a modern workhouse: when men died faster in the purest country air, than they now die in the most pestilential lanes of our towns—and when men died faster in the lanes of our towns than they now die on the coast of Guiana."*

SECTION I.—ACCESSION OF JAMES II.—HIS EARLY MEASURES.

Before Charles had been laid in his last resting-place, a rumour obtained that he had been poisoned. The medical staff were divided in opinion as to the cause of death, and the common people believed that there had been a plot against his life. He refused to take the sacrament from the hands of a protestant bishop, but received at the hands of a priest the last rites of the church of Rome. James, who had retired for a few moments from the scene of death, met the privy council, and, in an extemporaneous address, assured them of his resolution to maintain the established government both in church and state. This assurance was received with delight and gratitude. Orders were issued for the proclamation. His speech to the council having been published, it secured for him a large measure of public favour. It was echoed from many a pulpit, was circulated through town and country; and became the watchword of the whole royalist party. Some few changes were made in the ministry. Though the great seal was left in Guildford's keeping, Sir George Jeffrey, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, whose depravity of character was proverbial, was appointed to assist in the administration. "Work was to be done, which could be trusted to no man who reverenced law, or was sensible of shame." But Jeffreys did it eagerly and triumphantly. He found his patron in James. He was raised to the peerage, and obtained a seat in the cabinet.

James, in the face of his own declaration, began to reign with an act of arbitrary power. The customs had been settled on Charles only during his own life, and could not, therefore, be legally exacted by the new sovereign. A house of commons could not be chosen for some weeks. In this dilemma, Guildford purposed that the duties should be levied, but should be kept in the exchequer till the parliament met. Jeffreys, on the contrary, advised his majesty to issue a proclamation, declaring it his will and pleasure that the customs should continue to be paid as before. This was more in conformity with James's views; and the better to conceal this stretch of his power, it was announced that parliament would soon meet. Charles had been kept from convoking it through the superior influence of France; and James was not without apprehension that, in departing from the cringing policy of his brother, he might incur the displeasure of the house of Bourbon. But he had no choice. It had become an established principle of the constitution that the people

* Macaulay, in the third chapter of his history, has a masterly sketch of the state of England in 1685, the merest outline of which would far exceed the limits prescribed to us in the present work.

were not to be taxed without the consent of their own house, and therefore to continue for any length of time a system of irregular taxation, might involve the most serious consequences. In this difficulty, James had a private interview with Barillon, the French ambassador, in which he said to him—"Assure your master of my gratitude and attachment. I know that without his protection I can do nothing. I know what troubles my brother brought on himself by not steadily adhering to France. I will take good care not to let the houses meddle with foreign affairs. If I see in them any disposition to make mischief, I will send them about their business. Explain this to my good brother. He has a right to be consulted; and it is my wish to consult him about everything. But in this case the delay even of a week might have produced serious consequences." Barillon at once communicated with his royal master; and Louis sent over a sum, equal to nearly forty thousand pounds of our present currency, to meet the exigencies of the English monarch. James, on receiving it from the hand of Barillon, affected even to tears, said, with a servility becoming a slave—"Nobody but your king does such kind, noble things. I can never be grateful enough. Assure him that my attachment will last to the end of my days." Churchill was sent as an ambassador to France, to assure Louis of his affection and gratitude. This was followed by the remittance of another, and a still larger sum, part of which was to be employed in bribing the members of the new parliament. England was now the vassal of France; and the power of France had struck terror into all the potentates of Europe. England could not turn her arms against a power on which she was so entirely dependant; and, without the help of England, the other powers had no chance of success. Besides, it was necessary that England should first settle her own internal disputes—the strife between the throne and the parliament—before she could think of engaging in a foreign war. To keep himself independent of his parliament, James readily accepted of foreign aid; and to keep James from prostituting the means necessary for supporting the national honour abroad into an instrument of cruel despotism at home, the parliament refused him all supplies. While Louis was interested in prolonging this state of things, James was in a strait what to do. He loved not his bondage; but his difficulty was how to break the fetter. The government could do nothing without the support of the parliament, and the parliament would lend themselves to nothing which was not in harmony with their own views. The policy of James was marked by indecision. His language was that of a man swollen with pride. His doings were those of a mean, cowardly, enslaved spirit.

Meanwhile the ceremony of a public coronation took place. The service connected with his inauguration was so altered as not to offend his catholic prejudices and prepossessions. A circumstance this not to be wondered at when we are informed that, previously to this, he went publicly, and in regal state, to the service of the mass, and that, after an interval of one hundred and twenty-seven years, the rites of the church of Rome were once more performed at Westminster with unusual splendour. The new house of commons con-

sisted almost entirely of men who were zealously devoted to the church and the state, and who consequently were strongly in favour of the measures of the crown. The Tories poured forth address after address, in which they expressed their profound veneration for the person and the office of the sovereign. The Whigs had had but little success in the recent election. In some instances those elections were severely contested, but the result exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the court. Secure of parliamentary support, James was in a mood to proceed to the most extreme and violent measures. He had not forgotten the former popish plot, and the men who, as the discoverers of the plot, had sought to compass his honour and his life. Some of those men were beyond the reach of human justice, but others still survived. Oates, who had been cast in a civil suit for defamation of James, as duke of York, and who, in default of paying one hundred thousand pounds, which the jury had given in the form of damages, lay in the cell of a prison, was put into irons, and soon afterwards brought to trial. "He was sentenced to be stripped of his clerical habit, to be pilloried in Palace-yard, to be led round Westminster-hall, with an inscription, declaring his infamy, over his head; to be pilloried again in front of the Royal Exchange, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate; and, after an interval of two days, to be whipped again from Newgate to Tyburn. If, against all probability, he should survive this horrible infliction, he was to be kept a close prisoner during life. Five times every year he was to be brought forth from his dungeon, and exposed on the pillory in different parts of the capital." The sentence was executed to the very letter. Nor is it hardly credible that the poor wretch survived it. He escaped with his life, but the dark den of the darkest cell in Newgate closed upon him, and in deep and settled melancholy he pined away till the reign of William, when he was released, and a pension of five hundred pounds a year settled upon him. Dangerfield was also sentenced to be pilloried and whipped; but he had not the constitution of Oates, and was taken back to prison in a hopeless and dying state. In these inflictions we discover the fiend-like temper of Jeffreys. He gloried in the misery and the torment of his victims. His treatment of the meek and pious Richard Baxter has impressed his memory with eternal infamy. Baxter was a man who had been thought worthy of a mitre, and a mitre had been offered him. He had laboured to effect a union between the episcopalian and the presbyterian. He had declared himself favourable to the Restoration. He was a man of extreme moderation. "The integrity of his heart, the purity of his life, the vigour of his faculties, and the extent of his attainments, were acknowledged by the best and wisest men of every persuasion." He had, during the civil war, acted as chaplain to a regiment in the parliamentary army, and had complained with some bitterness of the persecution of the nonconformists; and for these things Jeffreys would have placed him on the pillory with Oates, and swore that it would be but simple justice to whip such a villain through the public streets! Jeffreys was overruled, and Baxter became subject to the lighter punishment of fine and imprisonment.

SECTION II.—TREATMENT OF THE VARIOUS SECTS.

Before his accession, James was not a stranger to religious intolerance and persecution. The Exclusion Bill was framed to prevent his coming to the throne of England, and when the Test Act had had once passed the legislature, he was compelled to resign his office of lord high admiral. No man better understood the principles of toleration; but no man was less prepared to put them into practice. With the possession of power came the disposition to persecute. Having hastened on a new session of the Scottish parliament, he consequently demanded of them to provide new penal laws against the nonconforming presbyterians. Obsequious and servile, a statute was framed of the most atrocious and crushing character. To preach, or to hear in any conventicle, was to be punished with death, and the confiscation of property. The covenanters were given up to the licence of the army. With the keener persecution of this sect, and of this period, stands associated the name of Graham of Claverhouse, a name which, to this day, cannot be uttered on the other side the Tweed without stirring the very depth of the national feeling. Nor did the puritans and the nonconformists of England meet a better fate. Their condition was more deplorable than under the worst tyranny of the tyrant Laud. They could have no fixed place of meeting Worship was performed at the dead of the night a sentinel was appointed to keep watch and give the alarm at the most distant approach of a stranger. Men were afraid to walk the streets. Ministers and divines of great fame lay pining away in prison. Others quitted the kingdom, among whom were Matthew Mead and John Howe. It was a period of deep terror and of fearful conflict. The law was enforced with the utmost rigour; but the fires of persecution burned into them the love of truth. In proportion as they were crushed and oppressed, they laid firmer hold of their principles, and challenged the most deadly powers. They lifted no broken shield—theirs was no vulgar triumph.

On his accession, James received, among other addresses, one from the Society of Friends, which was couched in these terms:—"We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, no more than we, wherefore, we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself. Which doing, we wish thee all happiness." The existence of this religious community dates from the close of the war between James's father and the Long Parliament. As a society they had suffered much, and yet they had never been wanting in submission to the established authority; had never been implicated in any conspiracy; had not joined in the general clamour for the Exclusion Bill, and had ever maintained that no excess of tyranny on the part of a prince can justify active resistance on the part of a subject. To this sect James was remarkably lenient, and one of their party, William Penn, qualified equally by his station and his fortune, to move in the first and highest circles, had constant access to the royal ear. He was on the most

intimate and familiar terms with his majesty. Penn was a man of rare virtue, and his philanthropy was as unconfined as rare. A distinguished historian, after bearing honourable testimony to his private personal virtues, goes so far as to affirm "that he bore a chief part in some transactions, condemned not more by the rigid code of the society to which he belonged, than by the general sense of all honest men—that he was cajoled into bearing a part in some unjustifiable transactions of which others enjoyed the profits." This charge has reference to the following fact:—The duke of Monmouth, in his march, passed through the town of Taunton, in Somerset, and was presented by some young girls with a standard, in conformity with orders received from their schoolmistress, without even dreaming that they were committing a crime. These girls were seized and imprisoned. Seven thousand pounds were demanded for their ransom, and this ransom by royal permission, was to be paid to the queen's maids of honour, who requested Penn to act for them, and that Penn accepted the commission. This charge has been taken up and successfully refuted by a member of the Society of Friends.* Penn's christian character should have placed him above the suspicion of the historian. He must be held innocent of the charge; and while he sought liberty for his own party, he was not indifferent to the liberties of others. His own words are:—"That liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it; yet did I never once think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience for anybody who did not preserve the common protestancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the government; for, to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other."

While indulgence was granted to the quaker, it was not denied to the catholic. It was perhaps to secure the freedom of the latter that leniency was shown to the former. Meanwhile the parliament met, and James was desirous that the Habeas Corpus Act should be repealed, and that Roman catholics should be admitted to office. After the king's speech, the commons withdrew, and resolving into a committee of ways and means, voted to his majesty, for life, the whole revenue which had been enjoyed by his brother. The next step was to consider the best means of providing for the security of the national ecclesiastical establishment. It was not enough for the house to express their attachment to the church of England. This was followed by a resolution to put into execution the penal laws against the nonconformist portion of the community. This included the Roman catholics, and no sooner did James come to know the resolution of the house than his indignation knew no bounds. Sincerely attached to the See of Rome, he could not be expected to persecute unto death those who professed the same faith with himself, still less the teachers of that faith. The commons had no alternative but to reverse their decision, and fall back on the promise of his majesty to maintain alike

* See Brief Observations on the Charges made in Mr. Macaulay's "History of England," against the character of William Penn. By W. E. Forster. London: Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street.

the constitution of the church and the state. New supplies were voted to the crown. But how the supplies were to be raised was a question of more serious moment. Sir Dudley North, on whom the lord treasurer chiefly relied for the conduct of financial business in the house, proposed an additional duty for a term of eight years on sugar and tobacco, and prevailed against all clamour and all opposition. The crown was soon in possession of an income more than sufficient for all the ends of government. While the commons were thus busy in raising money, the lords were no less busy in discussing several important questions. Roman catholics who had been impeached under the late reign, and who had been kept under their recognizances for years, were set free. The protestant Danby was also removed from under impeachment, and was restored to his place in the house of peers. A bill was passed for reversing the attainder of Stafford, whose execution was nothing better than an act of judicial murder. The bill, no doubt, would have passed both branches of the legislature, but the proceedings of parliament were suddenly arrested by intelligence of a formidable rebellion having broken out in the west of England; and it was not till the reign of George the Fourth that the attainder was annulled, and the injured family restored to its ancient dignities.

How slowly have the principles of true toleration been taken up and acted upon by the christian church! Not only do we find the protestant against the catholic, and the catholic against the protestant, but we have protestant against protestant. Men who hold essentially the same faith, but differ in the subject of ecclesiastical polity, stand at the widest distance from each other. While christianity would commit us to universal toleration, the catholic looks upon protestantism as the most fatal schism that ever rent asunder the church, and the protestant regards popery as a political faction wholly incompatible with the safety of the state. The consequence has been most disastrous. Not only has much innocent blood been shed on both sides, but unspeakable damage has been done to the cause of simple truth. In the strifes and divisions of the faithful, the infidel has found argument against our common christianity. It will be a happy day, not less for the church than for the world, when the fire of religious persecution shall be burned out to its last ember.

SECTION III.—THE INVASION OF MONMOUTH AND HIS PARTY.

The news of Monmouth's arrival in the west, with three ships from Holland, whither he had gone as a voluntary exile, suddenly arrested the course of parliamentary proceedings. The Whigs, who had been implicated in the assassination plot, and who had sought an asylum in the Low Countries, kept up a close correspondence with England, which made them fully acquainted with the state of national affairs. Among those refugees were men who had figured in the parliamentary army, and had taken a conspicuous part in many of the more stirring events of the last reign. On the death of Charles all hope of returning peaceably to their native land was cut off, and they began to form

new projects against the throne of England. One Ferguson took the lead in this desperate movement. At first, Monmouth stood aloof, and manifested no sympathy with their views and designs. He retired to Brussels with a lady of ample fortune, with whom he lived as his wife, and found his happiness in retirement. But his party gave him no rest, and at length he yielded to their repeated solicitations. The English exiles now hailed him as their head and leader. But the Scottish refugees inclined to the Earl of Argyle, whose father had been the head of the covenanters, and one of the most deadly opponents of the first Charles. The earl, who had made his escape to Friesland, had been a party to the whig conspiracy, and had, with his fellow-conspirators, concerted a plan for the invasion of Scotland. Though proscribed and a fugitive, he was one of the most powerful subjects in the British dominions, and therefore more than usually formidable as a leader of a rebellion. The leading refugees, English and Scotch, met at Amsterdam. Suspicion and jealousy took possession of both parties. At length, their mutual differences being adjusted, they resolved that an attempt should first be made on the western coast of Scotland, and that this should be immediately followed by a descent on England. Argyle was to take the command of the Scotch, and Monmouth to lead the English. Arms, ammunition, and provisions were bought, and several ships which lay off Amsterdam were freighted. The government, having some indistinct impression that a movement was about to be made, put Scotland in a state of defence. Despatches were sent to the United Provinces and the States-General, to ascertain whether any project was known to be on foot among the English refugees in Holland. "Unfortunately, the place where the British exiles had congregated, and where their ships had been fitted out, was the rich and populous Amsterdam; and the magistrates were the heads of the faction hostile to the federal government and to the house of Nassau. The naval administration of the United Provinces was conducted by five distinct boards of admiralty. One of those boards sat at Amsterdam, was partly nominated by the authorities of that city, and seems to have been entirely animated by their spirit." The endeavours of James were thus frustrated. On the second day of May, 1685, Argyle set out with his three ships, and had a prosperous voyage. He reached Scotland; he called the Campbells to arms. He then published a manifesto, in which it was set forth that the chief object of his expedition was the suppression of popery and prelacy, and which called out all good Scotchmen to do valiantly for the cause of their country and of their GOD. Argyle and his chiefs could not agree as to the line of action to be pursued. Defeated in the Highlands, he turned his arms against the Lowlands. Here, too, disaster followed disaster. All thought of prosecuting the war was at an end. Argyle was taken prisoner, conveyed to Renfrew, dragged through Edinburgh in triumph, "and before him marched the hangman, bearing the ghastly instrument which was to be raised at the quartering block." On reaching the castle, he was put in irons, and told that his days were numbered. Religion sustained him. It was in him an inspiration and a life. On the night previous to his execution, "the door of the cell was softly opened,

and there lay Argyle on the bed, sleeping in his irons the placid sleep of infancy." He awoke with returning light. He was conducted to the scaffold. The rude old guillotine of Scotland awaited him. He laid his head on the block with unwavering fortitude; and, when severed from his body, it was fixed on the top of the Tolbooth, where the head of Montrose had formerly decayed. The head of Rumbold was already on the west port of Edinburgh. He was a brave man, and died christianly. Ayloff was executed before the gate of the Temple, and died with the composure of a stoic. Many of the Campbells were hanged without trial, and the country, to the extent of thirty miles round Inverary, was laid wholly waste.

Scarcely had the bleeding corpse of the illustrious Argyle been removed from the scaffold, before England was disturbed to its very centre. Monmouth had arrived in the west about a week before the final dispersion of Argyle's army. His ships anchored off the port of Lyme. There landed about eighty men, well armed and appointed. Monmouth drew his sword, and led them over the cliffs into the town. The news reached London. Parliament passed a bill of attainder against him, granted a supply of four hundred thousand pounds for suppressing his rebellion, and resolved that they would adhere to his majesty with their fortunes and their lives. Monmouth had already issued his manifesto, in which he declared James to be a murderer and an usurper, asserted his own legitimacy, and his right, by blood, to be king of England. The effect was truly surprising. His popularity was unequalled. In his progress he was everywhere received amid the most unequivocal demonstrations of joy. Everything seemed to promise success. Though encounters took place between his men and the militia at Bridport and Axminster, his reception at Taunton and in other towns was most flattering. He enjoyed the applause of the multitude, and he was told that the whole Whig aristocracy were eager to take arms. He assumed the title and prerogative of a sovereign, and was proclaimed in the market-place on the 20th of June, 1685. He then proceeded to Bridgewater, where the mayor and the aldermen came, in their robes, to welcome him; walked before him in stately procession to the high cross, and there proclaimed him king of England. Government could no longer be inactive. Forces were everywhere assembled; every place was in busy motion. The preparations more than equalled the danger which threatened. Churchill was sent down into the west, and came into direct contact with the rebels. Prevented by the king's forces from entering Bristol, the duke turned towards Wiltshire. In vain did he summon Bath, and therefore hastened to Philip's Norton, where a skirmish took place, in which his men lost heart, and made the best of their way back. His next remove was to France. But here disasters more serious befel him. He then returned to Bridgewater, where the royal army was close upon him. They lay encamped on the plain of Sedgemoor, about three miles from Bridgewater. Monmouth knew not how to act. He conceived that a night attack might be attended with success. The hour of conflict drew near. By a circuitous path the duke marched his army towards the royal encampment. The rebels were on the open moor. Before one in the

morning of Monday, the 6th of July, Monmouth drew up his army for action, before the royalists had time to muster. Soon both parties were in the heat of the battle. The royalists had the advantage. Monmouth took to flight, and his forces were scattered to the four winds of heaven. Not fewer than a thousand men were left on the moor, clasped in the cold embrace of death. The conqueror chased the fugitives; many were made prisoners. Gibbets were erected. Executions and quarterings followed. Grey, who had commanded the cavalry, was seized. A reward of five thousand pounds was offered for the apprehension of Monmouth. Grey having been seized, it was conjectured that Monmouth could not be far off. The most diligent search was made for him. He was soon captured, and conveyed under a strong guard to Ringwood. He threw himself on the mercy of the sovereign. He was conveyed to London, and, closely pinioned, was introduced into the royal presence. He fell prostrate at the feet of James, and implored pardon. But pardon there was none. He was condemned, and was beheaded at the Tower. He was regarded as a martyr, who had died for the protestant religion; and the people thronged around the scaffold, that they might dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, and his memory was cherished for a generation of time.

After the execution of Monmouth the soldiers were let loose on the inhabitants of Somerset; and, with Kirk at their head—a man who had been left in command at Bridgewater, and whose cruelty was equal to his depravity—they were guilty of a most revolting butchery. The jails were filled with captives, and an execution was an every-day event. Chief Justice Jeffreys set out, accompanied by five other judges, on his judicial circuit. At Winchester he condemned Alice Lisle to be burned alive, for no other crime than giving shelter to a poor nonconformist preacher, who was suspected of having taken part in the rebellion within her knowledge. Her sentence was commuted to decapitation. In Dorsetshire two hundred and ninety-two received the sentence of death, of whom seventy-five were hanged. In Somerset above two hundred and thirty prisoners were, within a few days, hanged, drawn, and quartered. "At every spot where two roads met, in every market-place, on the green of every large village which had furnished Monmouth with soldiers, ironed corpses clattering in the wind, or heads and quarters stuck on poles, poisoned the air, and made the traveller sick with horror. In many parishes the peasantry could not assemble in the house of God without seeing the ghastly face of a neighbour grinning at them over the porch. The chief-justice was all himself; his spirit rose higher and higher as the work went on. He laughed, shouted, joked, and swore in such a way that many thought him drunk from morning to night."

In addition to the three hundred and twenty whom he condemned to death, he transported more than eight hundred, many of whom were men of high moral character and excellence. Their property was confiscated, and Jeffreys enriched himself with bribes and ransoms. Grey obtained his redemption by paying fifty thousand pounds to the lord treasurer. Cochraine obtained a pardon by his father paying five thousand pounds. Wade and Goodenough were seized, but were

suffered to live. Ferguson made his escape, but whither no testimony informs us. Jeffreys had done his work, and the great seal was now put into his hands. The slaughter in the west was followed by judicial murder in London. Justice was perverted. Life was thrown away without a shadow of pretence.

SECTION V.—SPIRIT OF GENERAL DISCONTENT.

The power of the monarch had now risen to its height. The parliament and the people were alike in his dominion. In the plenitude of his authority, he concluded a treaty with the States-General, framed in the very spirit of the triple alliance; while a proposed union with Spain would have been equal to a declaration of war with France. And had his domestic policy commended itself to parliament, he might, through parliament, have made himself master of Europe. His effort to obtain a repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act; to displace the militia by forming a great standing army; to give a freer existence and a firmer stability to the church of Rome; to set aside the Test Act; or to proceed in opposition to its spirit and design, was fatal to himself. Opposed by Halifax, he informed Halifax that his services were no longer needed. No sooner had his name been struck out of the council-book than it was found that he was but the exponent of the feelings and sentiments of the whole nation. His dismissal produced no common sensation. In France a Roman catholic government had just withdrawn all—even the least toleration from the protestant Huguenot: how could James ask a protestant parliament to tolerate the Romish church? To cajole his parliament, he for a time feigned to be the advocate and the friend of the Huguenot, but it soon became apparent that if he had had the power, the protestants of England would have fared no better at the hand of James than the protestants of France had fared at the hand of Louis. A powerful opposition sprung into existence in the house of commons. Objection was taken to the increase of the army, and to the repeal of the Test Act; and after a prolonged and serious debate, the government and the court were defeated. This defeat was followed by another. Instead of granting fourteen hundred thousand pounds to his majesty, as the sum for which he applied, they voted government one-half. James was indignant. But nothing daunted, the opposition pursued a manly independent course. They had now the sympathy and the support of many of the peers, under the leadership of Cavendish, earl of Devon. Even the bishops began to discover that the constitution of the realm, both civil and ecclesiastical, was in imminent danger.

The publication of the papers of his late royal brother, on the tenets of the Romish church, no longer left the nation in doubt as to the real sentiments of James. If these documents supplied the evidence that Charles had lived and died a Roman catholic, their publication unmistakeably showed the inclination of the reigning prince. He was surrounded and flattered by a faction who would have hurried him on in the most rash and cruel measures against the protestant portion of the community. These men, backed by France and by the Jesuits,

would at once have proclaimed war against the constitution of the church and the state. They found James to be a man of easy and compliant temper, and they took advantage of his disposition and tendencies to push forward their design. All the sympathies of the monarch were with the party. And there were those who stood near his throne, not catholic but protestant, who encouraged him in his unconstitutional views and errors. Treacherous men, and more profligate women, so worked on his weakness and his folly as to lead him into the most crooked policy. Not only did he neglect a queen to embrace a concubine, but, through the evil counsel of concubines and of courtiers, he again made England the vassal of France, turned the keenest edge of the sword of persecution against the French protestant refugees, and claimed the right, in virtue of the dispensing power, to admit Roman catholics to all offices, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastical. The courts of common law were of opinion that his power did not reach so far. He was resolved to get twelve judges who were of his own mind. Resignations were followed by new appointments. When Sawyer, the attorney-general, was ordered to draw out warrants, authorising members of the Romish communion to hold benefices belonging to the church of England, he replied—"Sir, this is not merely to dispense with a statute; it is to annul the whole statute law, from the accession of Elizabeth to this day. I dare not do it. And I implore your majesty to consider whether such an attack upon the rights of the church be in accordance with your late gracious promises." No successor could be found to Sawyer; and he was, therefore, retained in office. But, with a solicitor-general and twelve judges of the same mind with himself, James began to shower his favours with rich profusion on the catholic party. Not only were they raised to ecclesiastical preferment, but Roman catholic peers were sworn members of the privy council. Pretending that Henry and Elizabeth had usurped a power which belonged only to the holy see, and remembering that since the Long Parliament had abolished the high commission which was instituted to investigate, reform, and punish all ecclesiastical abuses and delinquencies, the act of supremacy left him but little power to amend what was amiss in the church, he determined to create a new court of high commission. This was regarded as an outrage and a violation of all law. The church was scandalized. The pulpits of the national establishment declaimed against the see of Rome. The clergy of all ranks were now at the royal mercy. Citations were numerous. The bishop of London was suspended from his spiritual functions, and his diocese transferred to other hands. The mass was introduced into many churches. The people were offended. Riots broke out, a spirit of rebellion prevailed, and the kingdom became one wide scene of confusion and of tumult.

This was in England. In Scotland the public feeling was stirred to an equal depth. As a nation, the Scotch were nearly as far removed from the episcopacy of England as from the papacy of Rome. The mass of the population were firmly attached to the presbyterian doctrine and discipline. James wanted that the Roman catholics should be exempted from all penalties and disabilities on account of their professed principles; that they should be allowed to hold offices

of public trust without taking the test, and that the clergy were not, in their discourses and addresses to the people, to say anything in disparagement of the Romish faith. In the latter end of 1686, the Scottish estates met for the despatch of parliamentary business. They were willing to go as far as their consciences would allow to meet his majesty's wishes in reference to the claims of his Roman catholic subjects, but they were resolved to do nothing which would be detrimental to the interests of the protestant religion. The government were defeated, and the parliament was adjourned. James refused to take the warning which the decision of the Scottish estates had given him. He would not give way. The Scottish Act of Supremacy gave him almost unlimited control over the church. He raised the catholic to office and to honour. He ordered that all the laws against the papists should be regared as null and void, but that the covenanters and the nonconformists should be persecuted without mitigation. The national feeling rose to the highest point of resistance. There were thousands of true hearts and gifted spirits who had sworn allegiance to GOD, and to the sublime principles of his gospel—magnanimous men, who, with honest views, sought for themselves and for others that greatest of all freedom—freedom of conscience.

In Ireland, notwithstanding the distinction of race and of creed, there was free liberty of conscience. Religious dissensions were subordinate to national antipathies. The distractions, as James himself more than once acknowledged, arose not so much from the differences between the catholics and the protestants, as from the differences between the Irish and the English. But instead of seeking to allay the national animosity, his effort was to subject the protestant colonists to the popish aborigines. Fierce and powerful was the contest which ensued. The celt and the catholic gained the ascendancy over the Saxon and the protestant. Terror spread among the colonists. Joy sat smiling on the brow of the native. The highest places and the first offices of the state were bestowed on the catholic. Englishmen had to give place to Irishmen. The government and the army were remodelled. All the civil authority, and all the military force, were transferred into the hands of those who were the sworn enemies of England and of England's faith. The lord-lieutenant was everywhere treated with contempt. The king withdrew from him his confidence. He first dismissed Rochester his prime minister, and then transferred the government of Ireland from the upright Clarendon to the hypocritical and unworthy Tyrconnel. This done, the next thing was, the removal of the English colonists from the Irish soil. Nor could this be effected without a revolution, religious, political, and social. Clarendon came to England, accompanied by many of the most respectable inhabitants of Dublin. Hundreds of families sought their safety in emigration. The catholic cabal was now triumphant. Nor was it any longer a matter of debate as to what were the real designs of the monarch. It was clear as light that James had resolved on the extermination of every religious party, that his own church might possess unbounded sway over the conscience and the faith of men. "Pretending to abhor tests, he had himself imposed a test. He thought it hard, he thought it monstrous, that able and

loyal men should be excluded from the public service solely for being Roman catholics. Yet he had himself turned out a treasurer, whom he admitted to be both loyal and able, solely for being a protestant. The cry was that a general proscription was at hand, and that every public functionary must make up his mind to lose his soul or to lose his place. Who, indeed, could hope to stand where the Hydes had fallen? They were the brothers-in-law of the king, the uncles and natural guardians of his children, his friends from early youth, his steady adherents in adversity and peril, his obsequious servants since he had been on the throne. Their sole crime was their religion; and for this crime they had been discarded. In great perturbation men began to look round for help; and soon all eyes were fixed on one whom a rare concurrence both of personal qualities and of fortuitous circumstances pointed out as the deliverer."

Not only was the whole power in Ireland committed to Roman catholics—not only in Scotland were all the ministers of state in whom the king confided, converts to the Romish faith—in England every great office, whether civil or military, was gradually transferred from the protestant party. So was every branch of ecclesiastical preferment. Even the universities became the object of prey. While from Cambridge the king exacted literary degrees for his favourites, in Oxford he claimed the right of filling up every vacant chair. The colleges manfully withstood this excess of the royal prerogative. Collision followed. Heads of colleges and fellows were threatened with expulsion. Magdalen college, Oxford, was converted into a popish seminary. The blow thus inflicted was felt at the extremities of the kingdom. The clergy were indignant and prepared to resent the injury under which they suffered. Nothing intimidated, he pushed his illegal and arbitrary procedure still farther. Having issued a proclamation in which he assured his subjects without distinction of class or creed of perfect liberty of conscience, he soon afterwards published a second indulgence to the same effect, and ordered it to be read in all the churches of the kingdom. Conceiving that this was a mere device to enlist all parties against the established church, the primate, with six of the prelates, refused to read it, and protested in writing against it. They were committed to the Tower and prosecuted for sedition. Objection was taken by their counsel to their commitment, but this was over-ruled. The very reverend defendants then put in a plea urging their privilege as peers of the kingdom; but this was refused. The trial, which filled up several days, proceeded; and though no common effort was made on the part of the crown to impeach, no charge could be substantiated, and the jury brought them in not guilty. No sooner was the verdict delivered than the court rang with the shouts of the people. If justice enjoyed an occasional triumph, it was more frequently foiled and thrown down. The deepest wrong was offered to principle and truth. The claims of conscience and of God were trampled under foot. The truest patriots were treated as rebels. Men who would have sacrificed life itself for the good of their country were doomed to suffer as traitors! But the honours which they were denied in life are being strewn upon their graves by a faithful posterity. We can smile at

the idea of Charles the Martyr, but the names of Russell and Sidney are embalmed in the memory of the English nation. Nor are these alone cherished names. Others suffered. And when time has run its little round, they together will shine in a higher and brighter firmament as the stars for ever!

SECTION V.—POSITION AND CONDUCT OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Happily for England at this crisis, James, notwithstanding his popish predilections and doings, had a daughter who was sincerely attached to protestant principles, and who, ten years before, had been allied in marriage to a prince equally devoted with herself to the reformed faith. In addition to many personal attractions, William was distinguished for great military power and genius. With astonishing success had he carried his arms against the usurpations and the ambition of France, and had thus endeared himself to the English nation. It was only natural, therefore, that at the moment when all ranks and denominations of men were estranged from the king, and when the throne was in danger, that the people should look with no common interest and solicitude to a man who had by his marriage with the heir presumptive, stood so near that throne, and whose past deeds had given such a mighty pledge for the future. Hitherto he had taken but little part in English affairs, but a crisis came when he could no longer stand aloof. He was the centre of all the negotiations of Christendom. He possessed unbounded authority with the protestants, and the protestants of Europe rallied around him as their common centre, and resolved to stand or fall with him in defence of their common faith. It may be true that he never loved England, and that he never obtained her love; it may be true that "whatever patriotic feeling he had was for Holland;" it may be true that "the chief object of his care was not our island, not even his native Holland, but the great community of nations, threatened with subjugation by one more powerful than another,"—still he rendered England such signal service at a crisis in her history as to entitle him to the everlasting gratitude of the nation. He clearly saw that with England on his side, he might succeed in uniting the feeble and dispirited states of Europe, and compact them into one invincible body against one common enemy, and therefore he came to the rescue of England in the hour of England's peril, that he might make England auxiliary to the salvation of Europe. The treaty of Augsburg, by which the princes of the empire bound themselves for mutual defence, became the point of separation between James and William. Happily for the prince, he found in Bentinck a brave and faithful servant, "capable of executing orders punctually, of keeping secrets inviolably, of observing facts vigilantly, and of reporting them truly." In these circumstances, William became the head of the English opposition. Party feeling melted away. Conformists and nonconformists, Whigs and Tories, turned their hopes to the same leader. It may be questioned whether he ever dreamed of that great enterprise to which he was conducted by a chain of circumstances

running into stern necessity. The young and daring Mordant proposed to him a sudden descent on England, but from this he shrunk. He more wisely employed his time in efforts to unite and inspirit the party who stood opposed to the government, and of which he had become the chief. For some time things remained in a state of trembling oscillation. Such was the state of religious parties, that the protestant dissenters, who, a few months before, had been a despised and persecuted class, now held the balance of power. The monarch would have bought their support at any price, and leagued them with Roman catholics against the national establishment. The church which had hitherto treated them as schismatics, now recognised them as their dear dissenting brethren, and were implored to stand by the cause of the English constitution and of the reformed faith. It is needless to say that the majority of the puritans sided with the church against the court. Howe, whose almost superhuman genius makes us proud of our common humanity, was decidedly adverse to the dispensing power, and he carried the larger number of his brethren with him.

James had employed every means to induce the prince to consent to the repeal of the penal statutes and of the Test Act, but he proved himself a man of rock. Nor would he give his sanction to the Declaration of Indulgence. He was not opposed to the removal of all penalties, either from catholics or from nonconformists, on account of religious belief; but he questioned the expediency and the safety of giving places of public trust to any one who was not pledged to the protestant interest. Whether in this he was right or wrong we are not called to decide. A closer union of parties was now the goal to which he pressed. Burnet acted as William's secretary for English affairs in Holland, and Dykvelt, who had come over as an envoy from the States-general to the English government, acted with the opposition, and was in confidential communication with some of the leading characters of the day. Meanwhile the breach between James and William continued to widen and to threaten a final rupture. The church and the army—the soldier and the civilian—sided with the prince against the sovereign. Officers were cashiered, privates were executed in the sight of the regiments to which they belonged; clergy were now inhibited from exercising spiritual functions, deprived of their livings, and threatened with the severest penalties. The whole body of the people were now in the mood and the attitude to resist to the very last a power which aimed at crushing the liberties of the whole nation.

The better to impose on his subjects, James undertook a long and magnificent progress through the principal parts of his kingdom. During this progress, a rumour obtained that the queen was likely to give birth to a child, and it may well be conceived that the catholic cabal would have found no common joy in an event that would have given an heir to the reigning monarch. Strong suspicions were entertained by the people as to the fact of the queen's pregnancy. It was thought that the jesuits, by whom she was surrounded, were practising a delusion upon the country. Popular discontent still spread. The opposition to the government daily increased. All but insuperable difficulties lay between James and the accomplishment of his object.

He had nothing to hope from parliament. Both branches of the legislature sympathized rather with the country than with the court; and yet without the sanction of parliament he could effect but little. To overcome this difficulty he resolved to pack the lower house, knowing that he could overpower the upper by creating a new batch of peers. He set to work like a man in earnest. He wrote to the lord-lieutenants of the counties, and through them sought to determine the character of the elections. Those who refused to comply were dismissed. Some of the first and most distinguished nobles of the land were removed from the commission. Men could not be found to fill the vacancies. His majesty was baffled. His scheme proved an entire failure. The electors would return no man who would not pledge himself to the protestant religion; and no member who was returned would commit himself to any particular line of conduct which might interfere with the fulfilling of the pledge. All parties united against the common enemy. Even the sturdiest advocate of the Declaration of Indulgence among the nonconformists, no longer stood at a distance, but cast in their lot with the body of their countrymen; and it is admitted that "the protestant dissenters of London won for themselves a title to the lasting gratitude of their country." It was a juncture which demanded the highest virtue and the most manly fortitude. Nor were those nobler qualities wanting in the men who were called to take the advanced rank among the heroes and the patriots of that critical period.

In the midst of these deep commotions, on Sunday morning, June 1688, "a day long kept sacred by the too faithful adherents of a bad cause, was born the most unfortunate of princes, destined to seventy-seven years of exile and wandering, of vain projects, of honours more galling than insults, and of hopes such as make the heart sick." Still the people believed that they had been tricked—the whole nation protested that an imposture had been practised. The suspicions of the people were groundless. The prince of Orange sent a formal message of congratulation; but the ambassador wrote back to say that not one in ten of the people believed the child to be born of the queen. And at a subsequent period James thought it necessary to adduce proofs to his privy council as to the fact of the birth. Witnesses were called, depositions were taken, and the evidence was published. Objection was taken to the testimony of all Roman catholics, and no faith was reposed in the protestants who had been present on the occasion. Nothing could remove the impression that a fraud had been practised.

The birth of the prince of Wales, followed, as it was, by the prosecution and acquittal of the bishops, effected a change in the minds of many on the lawfulness of resistance. The education of the heir would, without doubt, be committed to the jesuits; and, consequently, the nation had no other prospect than that of a long succession of popish sovereigns. Could not the evil be averted? Was there no remedy? Would the remedy violate no principle of eternal justice? There was no alternative but submission or resistance. Submission would have involved the people in slavery; resistance, if it put not on the character of revolution, might lead to

independence and to glory. The veriest Tory began to hold more loosely the doctrine of passive obedience. In common with the truest Whig, he felt that there is a point at which resistance becomes a duty. At this crisis, and in this state of public feeling, William was advised by Edward Russell to make a descent on England. With Russell was associated Henry Sidney, brother of the illustrious and immortal Algernon. They were joined by Devon, Shrewsbury, Danby, Compton, formerly bishop of London, and others of kindred spirit. Halifax hesitated, and Nottingham was afraid. A formal invitation was drawn up and sent to William, assuring him that if he would but appear in England as the leader of the opposition, nineteen out of every twenty would hasten to his standard. He deliberated. He took counsel; and to himself and his consort the enterprise seemed to be just and righteous. Great difficulties lay in his path. He resolved to surmount them; and the conduct pursued by the government greatly diminished them. James became more arbitrary and tyrannical in his doings. He harrassed the clergy—he corrupted the elections—he forced the army—he trampled down the people. But in the people there was a spirit and a force not to be overcome. They only wanted a leader, and they were ready for any action. France having assailed the religion and the trade of Holland, estranged Holland from her; and having insulted the Holy See by invading the prerogative of the pope, had forfeited her claim to favour and protection. Such was the state of things when William called on the princes of Northern Germany to rally round him in defence of their common faith. Men and money were at his command. Having completed his arrangements with all possible speed, and with renewed assurances of support from England, as well as with the sanction of the States-general to his expedition, and having given the command to Schomberg, who had no equal in the art of war, he resolved to set sail. James, whose naval and military force no one could affect to despise, was roused to a sense of danger, and began to conciliate his people, but in vain. On the 16th of October, the prince of Orange took leave of the States of Holland. On the 19th, the armament put to sea, but was driven back by stress of weather. In two or three days the fleet reassembled, and again set sail. William's declaration preceded him only by a few hours. James was smitten with terror; nor could he rest till he had made every effort to discover at whose instigation the prince had been invited over. The fleet of William, as it neared our shores, exhibited one of the most magnificent and most touching spectacles ever beheld. Having safely rounded the lofty cape of Berry-head, it rode into the harbour of Torbay. The beach was crowded with spectators. The troops now landed, and William soon followed. Public thanks were offered to God for the protection of the fleet. Though alone, William began to march his army up into the country. On the 8th of November he reached Exeter, where he found the people all in his favour. He repaired, in military state, to the Cathedral, and when the chaunt was over, Burnet read the prince's declaration, and in a loud voice exclaimed—"God save the prince of Orange!"—to which many devoted hearts and voices answered—Amen. News of William's pro-

gress spread through the land. The kingdom was convulsed. The metropolis was the scene of riot after riot. Men of fortune hastened from various parts of the country to join his standard. James was advised to enter into a negotiation with the prince. The whole nation was on the eve of a general rising. William was the idol of the people, and the people to a man were prepared to take up arms in his cause. His new regiment was made up of picked recruits. Thousands multiplied by thousands swore to stand by him till the liberties and religion of their loved England should be permanently secured. Though the hostile armies in the south were quickly approaching each other, and James was eager to fight, William was not less determined to avoid an action as long as possible. Betrayed by his friends and deserted by his soldiers, James determined on a retreat. A conspiracy had been formed against him. His own daughter, the princess Anne, after having expressed her approbation of William's enterprise, had made her escape, which so affected her royal father, now in the midst of distress and danger, that he exclaimed—"God help me! my own children have forsaken me!" He called a council, after which he appointed commissioners to treat with William, declaring that he was prepared to make great concessions and equal sacrifices for the public tranquillity. His professions were not sincere. He only wished to have sufficient time to perfect his preparations for the removal of the queen and the prince of Wales, and for his own subsequent flight. North and south, east and west, the country was up. Some few skirmishes took place. On the 8th of December, the royal commissioners and the prince met at Hungerford. The proposition which the former submitted to the latter was, that the points in dispute should be referred to a parliament shortly to be convened, and that the prince's army should not come within thirty or forty miles of London. William consented, on the condition that the existing statutes should be obeyed till they should be altered by constituted authority, and that all persons who held office without a legal qualification should forthwith be dismissed. The negotiation had answered its purpose. The queen and the prince of Wales were safely out of the kingdom on their way to France. Having rejected the liberal conditions of William, he now contemplated his own flight. On the 11th of December he carried his purpose into effect. No sooner was it known that the king had fled than town and country—the metropolis and the hamlet, were in commotion. No regency had been appointed. William had not yet reached the capital. James had carried with him the Great Seal, and had thrown it into the water in crossing the Thames. Rochester advised Northumberland to call the troops, and declare for the prince of Orange. The lords met at Guildhall, and having determined to join William, sent a deputation to inform him, and to request him to hasten with all speed to the metropolis. London was a scene of tumult and riot. Great havoc was committed by the mob. Jeffreys was seized, and escaped only with his life. He was then committed to the Tower, where he was destined to close his life in ignominy. The presence of William was alone wanted to restore the metropolis to its wonted order. Then a rumour obtained that

James had been detained at Sheerness, and was still in the island. By order of the lords he was set at liberty. He then sent a letter to William, who was now at Windsor. Feversham, the bearer of the letter, having come into the midst of a hostile camp without a safe conduct, had subjected himself to an arrest. He was arrested, and a messenger sent to inform James that the prince declined any interview with him. James was already in London. He held a council. William summoned all the peers who were at Windsor to a solemn consultation at the castle, as to what should be done with the king. They thought it best that he should be sent out of London to the village of Ham, on the banks of the Thames. James preferred Rochester, and William consented. While the king was on his way to his chosen destination, the prince's troops were pouring into London from the west; and on the 18th of December, William arrived at St. James's palace, amid universal demonstrations of joy. Having been advised to assume the crown by right of conquest, he very wisely, and in conformity with his own declaration, left it to the legislature to settle the form of future government. Having called together the peers and the commons of the parliament of the second Charles, in preference to the obsequious parliament of James, there were those among them who cherished the hope that the constitution and religion of England might be saved without the deposition of the king. In their estimation James had only to renounce those projects which were so abhorrent to the feelings of the people. He was not in a mood to yield. Filled with a craven fear for his life, he determined once more to make his escape, and he succeeded. Again the lords met, and drew up an address, in which they desired William to take on himself, provisionally, the administration of the government, and to invite the constituencies to send up representatives to Westminster. The commons agreed with the lords in their advice to the prince. Barillon, the French ambassador, was ordered to leave England within four-and-twenty hours; and all the papists, with a few notable exceptions, were banished from the metropolis. It was no common crisis. It was a period of deep struggle. It was the struggle of a mighty people for the nation's purer faith and wider freedom.

SECTION VI.—THE INTERREGNUM—STATE OF PARTIES.

When William, in conformity with the expressed wish of the estates of the realm, took on himself the executive administration, he found it no easy task to restore order and law, justice and religion. Blessed with the sympathy and the support of all classes, the kingdom, under his mild and righteous policy, was soon restored to peace and confidence. He was tolerant to all religious parties. All was joy in England and in the united provinces. All was gloom and despondency in France, where James and his queen, with their infant prince, were dependant on the hospitality of Louis, who had hoped for a far different issue in English affairs.

The result of the election of members to serve in the convention gave a decided majority of Whigs. Scotland sympathized with Eng-

land in her deliverance and her joy; and for Scotland the victorious prince was willing to put forth every possible effort. The nation and the convention were divided into parties. One party attached to hereditary monarchy proposed that James should be invited to return on such conditions as might fully secure the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the nation. Others advised the appointment of a regency without depriving the monarch of the crown. A third party preferred that since the birth of the prince of Wales was still involved in difficulty and in doubt, the princess of Orange should be proclaimed queen regnant. Such were the schemes projected by the Tories. The plan of the Whigs was still in reserve. They believed that James had abused his prerogative, and that the sovereign who abuses his power may be dethroned. The fact or the fiction of the birth of the prince of Wales was, in their judgment, a point not worth discussing. They were, therefore, prepared to declare the throne vacant. The convention met. Powle was chosen speaker. The mace was laid on the table, and the house proceeded to business. A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the great deliverance which God had vouchsafed to the nation. The commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house, with Richard Hampden in the chair, and entered into a grand debate on the state of the nation. The conclusion was, that James, having abdicated the government and withdrawn from the kingdom, the throne had thereby become vacant. The motion having been adopted without a division, Hampden brought up the resolution, and the whole house instantly agreed to it. It was carried to the lords, with the vote that it was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant nation that it should be governed by a popish prince. The upper house went into committee. The various Tory schemes were discussed; and on the question being put whether, as the Whigs had asserted, the throne was vacant, the contents were outvoted by fourteen. This decision created no little sensation. The Tories hoped that they might obtain a regency. The country demanded that the prince and princess of Orange should be proclaimed king and queen. But, to their eternal honour, neither party in the convention would allow themselves, even at the moment when their disputes ran highest, to be affected by any influence from without. James addressed a letter to the convention; but no one asked that it should be read. It promised nothing for the peace and the happiness of the people. William refused to be regent. His consort was willing that her husband should have the supreme power, and should reign for life. To this even Anne, the next presumptive heir, fully assented. The Tories must yield; William must be king, and his wife queen regnant. Both parties at length agreed. A Declaration of Right was drawn up, by which William and Mary were bound to govern the kingdom according to the fundamental constitution. It was then resolved by both branches of the legislature, that during the joint lives of the prince and princess, the administration of the government should be committed to William alone. The crown was then to pass to the posterity of Mary, then to Anne and her issue, and then to the descendants of William. Mary having arrived in England, no time was lost in tendering the crown to her

and her honoured husband. It was accepted with unutterable emotions, and William pledged himself to conduct the government according to the existing laws, and with the advice of both houses of parliament. This assurance was received with shouts of inexpressible joy; and William and Mary were forthwith proclaimed king and queen of England, while, from the very depth of the nation's heart there came up the prayer that they might have a long and happy reign.

It was a propitious moment for England. Not only did James aim at the overthrow of the faith and the freedom of England, but his character and example had tended to corrupt society in its most hidden and vital springs. One fact alone is sufficient to reveal to us the degeneracy of the age. So long as female virtue maintains the ascendancy, a nation has nothing to fear for its stability and perpetuity. That virtue will determine the moral force of any people, and moral force more than physical power to whatever extent possessed, will be found the surest defence of a country. What then must have been the moral condition of England when women could sell their honour for the sake of royal favour, or degrees of rank? The court of James was a disgrace to humanity. Nor did his favourites and his flatterers fail to frown upon the sterner virtue of the puritan, and to punish men for the advocacy of principles of all others the most conservative of all that is pure, and loyal, and good. Had the people allowed themselves to be borne on that tide of corruption which had its source and rise in Westminster, there is no excess of wickedness and of crime to which it would not have conducted them. The press was under censorship. The pulpit had no free utterance. The men who would have spoken God's living truth, had been either silenced, or were in exile. The court was filled with sycophants. The monarch passed his hours in sensual indulgence. The wonder, therefore, is that the people did not sink down to the lowest point of social and moral degradation. If the humbler classes were to follow the example of a large majority of those above them, who pique themselves on their elevation and refinement, the very foundations of the country would be removed. If we want to discover the true conservative power of a nation, we shall find it in the sterling intelligence and manly virtue of the masses, and not in the wealth, or rank, or resources of a class.

It was during this stormy period in England's history that John Locke wrote his famous treatise on toleration. His great patron was the earl of Shaftesbury; and when that nobleman, to avoid a state prosecution for the part which he took in the Rye-house plot, retired to Holland, the great philosopher accompanied him. From that day he became obnoxious to the government of James; and on suspicion of his being concerned in Monmouth's rebellion, the English envoy demanded his surrender of the States. In these circumstances he withdrew into deeper retirement, and passed his hours in the study and composition of those works which have rendered his name so distinguished in the world of letters. Nor can it be said that that period, with all its deeper agitation and unsettledness, was barren of great men, and of commanding genius. Dryden then held the first place among living English poets. His fable of the Hind and the

Panther has been pronounced "the most valuable addition which was made to English literature during the short and troubled reign of James the second;" and in none of his works "can be found passages more pathetic and magnificent, greater ductility and energy of language, and more pleasing and various music." But there is a name beside which that of Dryden is insignificant. John Bunyan finished his earthly pilgrimage in the memorable year of 1688, and left behind him a work of unparalleled genius and influence. For nearly a century of years it was unknown to the learned and the polite; and yet, during those years it was the guide and the companion of many a pilgrim to that great spirit-land which is revealed as the "Saints' Everlasting Rest," of which the meek and the benevolent Baxter wrote in such soul-stirring strains, amid the distractions and tumults, and sufferings, of that unhappy period; and during which the immortal Howe was engaged in rearing out of the ruins of our humanity, that "LIVING TEMPLE," in which God might again dwell, and standing in which we are conscious of being amid the outburstings of eternal light and love!

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION.

We have seen that scarcely had the grave closed upon Oliver Cromwell, when the kingdom was torn with internal dissensions. We have seen how discontent in the popular mind was followed by conspiracy, and conspiracy by plot; and how the discovery of each plot was followed by the severest penalties which the law could inflict. The restoration of Charles, though hailed with the highest demonstrations of joy, was not the return of peace, of law, and of freedom. We deny not that in "the crisis which followed the deposition of Richard Cromwell, England was in imminent danger of sinking under the tyranny of a succession of small men raised up and pulled down by military caprice," and that it was well for all parties to stand up "in firm union for the old laws of the land against military despotism." But what could the country expect from the reign of a sovereign who was "addicted beyond measure to sensual indulgence, fond of sauntering and of frivolous amusements, incapable of self-denial and of exertion, without faith in human virtue or in human attachment, without desire of renown, and without sensibility to reproach?" What development or progress could be looked for under the sway of a man who "detested business, and would sooner have abdicated his crown than have undergone the trouble of really directing the administration"—a man whose "aversion to toil was such, and such his ignorance of affairs, that the very clerks who attended him when he sat in council could not refrain from sneering at his frivolous remarks, and at his childish impatience?" But for the foundation which Cromwell had laid, deep and broad in the national mind, for peace, and law, and freedom, the country would again have been deluged with the blood of her children. With the profligate and licentious example of the sovereign before them, those on whom a sterner puritanism had acted as a check, broke forth with ungovernable violence as soon as that check was withdrawn—threw the rein loose upon the neck of passion, and rushed to every kind and degree of criminal indulgence. And, but for the stronger virtue whose seeds Cromwell had so thickly and diligently sown, the nation would soon have sunk beneath the weight of its own corruption.

We have seen that when James ascended the throne, he lost none of his fondness for arbitrary power. He was in heart a Romanist, and to bring back the English nation to the Romish faith was with him an object of intense solicitude. Any violent and unconstitutional exercise of his royal authority would not do; but, presuming on the confidence of his parliament, he hoped to relax those statutes

which imposed civil disabilities on the ground of religious belief. Nor did he hesitate long before he put the loyalty of his protestant people to the test. In his own palace he had a public celebration of all the Roman catholic rites; then he determined to have the mass celebrated with all the pomp with which his predecessors had been surrounded when they went to worship in their protestant churches and cathedrals. The service of the Romish church was, after an interval of more than a century, once more performed at Westminster with regal splendour. This roused the sounder portion of the community. They conceived the protestant succession to be in danger, and they were resolved to guard and defend it. We have seen that a bill was introduced into parliament for the exclusion of any Roman catholic from the throne of England; and that, for the support of this bill, some of England's best and purest blood was shed. It was the introduction of this measure which forced on the great crisis that resulted in the abdication of James, and in the introduction of that great constitutional change which marks an epoch in our history. Nor is it difficult to account for this. The change was but the fruit of a closer and more faithful adherence to the constitution. It was in fact nothing more than the constitution carried out to its legitimate extent. "That, without the consent of the representatives of the nation, no legislative act could be passed, no tax imposed, no regular soldiery kept up; that no man could be imprisoned, even for a day, by the arbitrary will of the sovereign; that no tool of power could plead the royal command as a justification for violating any right of the humblest subject, were held, both by Whigs and Tories, to be fundamental laws of the realm. A realm of which these were the fundamental laws, stood in no need of a new constitution." It was only necessary to discover and supply any existing defect. The fundamental laws of the realm were no longer left in ambiguity. The divine right of kings, was as a dogma of the church, given to the winds, and William ascended the throne of England in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. It was acknowledged in a free and independent parliament that the power of the crown flowed from no other source than the will of the nation. In other words, it was all but a universally-received maxim, that the royal prerogative could never rise above the fundamental laws of the realm. It was because this truth had not hitherto been recognised that England had so often been the scene of rebellion, of battle, and of blood. And it was because this truth now took possession of men's minds, that England, from that day down to the present, has been preserved from those deeper convulsions which have shaken Europe to its centre, and deluged its cities and its plains with the blood of the slain.

SECTION I.—DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NATION.

William began his reign by confirming the protestants in the offices which they enjoyed. He then chose his council from among those who were known to be sincerely attached to his interest. Danby was

created president, Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state; Halifax obtained the privy seal; and Schomberg was nominated master of the ordnance. But the chief favourite was Bentinck, while Burnet was raised to the see of Salisbury. In proportion as honour and preferment were thus conferred on the Whigs, were the Tories filled with suspicion and resentment. Though, from a common sense of danger, all parties had resolved on inviting the prince of Orange over to England, no sooner had the hour of danger passed, than party feeling began to divide the country, and involve the country's deliverer in unlooked-for difficulties. William was a man of purpose and determination; he took no vulgar attitude, nor was it easy to dislodge him from his purpose. No sooner had he convened his new council than their first act was to convert the convention into a parliament, that every measure connected with the settlement of the country might have a legal sanction. But the question was put, whether such an assembly could be regarded as a parliament, seeing it had not been called together by his majesty's writ or summons. This was overruled, and the lords and commons assembled at Westminster, were declared to be, to all intents and purposes, a parliament. A suitable revenue was settled on the king and queen. Yet there were those in the upper house who were opposed to the government of William, and who, rather than take the oaths required, absented themselves from parliament. Those peers were afterwards known by the name of NONJURORS. They rejected the notion of a king *de facto*, and contended for the divine, hereditary, indefeasible right. The faction was nipped in the bud. Letters which were intercepted revealed the secret. Certain parties were apprehended and sent to the Tower. The great majority of the peers stood by William, and the commons passed a bill to dispense for a few months with the Habeas Corpus Act. And the spirit of discontent having entered the army, his majesty sent the most disaffected troops to Holland, and retained the Dutch forces in England. This step made a strong impression on the ministry and the country, and a bill was passed for the punishment of mutiny and desertion.

Having taken the oath to administer the law according to the statutes of the realm, and to preserve the protestant church in its integrity of privilege as by law established, their majesties were crowned on the 11th of April, 1689, and next day the commons approached the throne with an address of congratulation. This was followed by corresponding addresses from various civil and ecclesiastical bodies. William then set himself to the work of reform. The grievous impost of hearth-money was abolished. He desired that the revenue might be settled in such a way as to be collected without difficulty, and as would prove equal to the protection and honour of the kingdom. The sum of six hundred thousand pounds was voted to cover the expenditure of the States-General in promoting the expedition of William. Grants were made, as well for equipping a numerous fleet, as for raising and maintaining an efficient army. But, knowing that the affections of his people would prove a stronger and a surer defence than any degree of physical force, his majesty manifested no little solicitude for the removal of all those disabilities which

pressed still upon nonconformists, and for their admission to the exercise and enjoyment of equal rights. A bill of toleration was introduced and passed into a law, by which protestant dissenters were relieved from certain penal laws; and though the Roman catholics were not included in the act, William deprecated the idea of treating them otherwise than with equal favour. At this the church party took offence. While many of them refused to take a new oath of allegiance, they yet, with marvellous inconsistency, insisted on the sacramental test for the nonconformist. Others dreamed of a scheme of comprehension, and a bill was brought into the house of lords for uniting all his majesty's protestant subjects. It passed the lords, but languished and died in the commons.

The revenue for the support of his majesty's household, and for the public service, having been determined, with certain limitations, William was far from being satisfied with the conduct of his ministers. The Tories, alive to this fact, sought to widen the breach between his majesty and his advisers, and, on the ground of receiving a bill of indemnity, offered to exert themselves in favour of the crown. Party feeling began to run high, and threatened to lead to still more serious factions. Happily, however, the estates of Scotland had convened, and, after a severe struggle with the adherents of James, found and declared—"That king James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary, despotic power, and had governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfeited all right to the crown, and the throne was become vacant." It was then proposed that the throne, thus declared vacant, should be filled by William and Mary, king and queen of England. An instrument to this effect was prepared, and their majesties were publicly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh. The Scottish convention having resolved itself into a parliament, it was opened by the duke of Hamilton on the seventeenth of June. The opposition threw every possible obstacle in the way against a peaceful settlement of the kingdom. They were resolved to try the force of arms in defence of their old master. Dundee, having assembled a body of stout-hearted Highlanders, resolved to give battle. A furious engagement took place. The Highlanders fell in among the English, and, with sword in hand, mowed them down like grass. The victory was decisive; but Dundee fell in the field. The command passed into other and feebler hands; and the clans, wearied and mortified by repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms, and implored the royal clemency. William offered a free pardon to all who should submit within a specified time.

James, who was hospitably entertained by the French monarch at the castle of St. Germain, looked to Scotland and Ireland, as alone likely to succour him in his misfortune. In Ireland his power was far from being inconsiderable. And Tyrconnel, who had feigned submission

and allegiance to William, was in closest correspondence with James. Nor was Louis indisposed to aid the unhappy exile in his effort to invade Ireland. He supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms, with repeated sums of money and all necessaries for his camp. At his parting, he embraced him affectionately, and, presenting him with his own cuirass, said :—"The best thing I can wish you is, that I may never see you again." On the 22nd of March, James landed at Kinsale, and in a few days made a grand public entry into Dublin. His object was to reduce the whole of Ireland to the most abject submission and obedience, even if it should involve the massacre of the entire protestant population. Stricken with alarm, the protestants of Londonderry closed their gates, and resolved to resist even unto death. Succours were sent to them from England. They prepared for a vigorous defence. In the midst of privation, and extremity, and disease, their courage failed not. Their attitude was that of men inspired with the love of liberty and of religion. Their doings were those of a truer heroism. James was compelled to abandon the siege, and retire with precipitation under the shadows of night, with a loss of nearly nine thousand men. Like valour distinguished the inhabitants of Inniskillen, who resolved to maintain the title of William and Mary against all opposition.

In conformity with the proclamation of James, the Irish parliament assembled in Dublin, when a bill was brought in to recognise his title, to protest against the usurpation of the prince of Orange, and to offer a free pardon to all who would desert his standard and join that of James. The act of settlement by which the protestants had been secured in the possession of their estates, was repealed, and thus thousands were reduced to comparative poverty and ruin. A bill of attainder was passed against all protestants of both sexes, and of all ranks, who were absent from the kingdom, and who did not own the claim and authority of the House of Stuart. Ireland was declared independent of the English parliament. All tithes payable by Roman catholics were transferred to the priesthood of their own communion; and the establishment was deprived of all power and prerogative. The acts of oppression that were every day committed upon inoffending protestants, no words can describe. Base money was coined and forced upon them, in payment of provisions and other merchandise, for the king's services. Taxes were imposed in the most arbitrary manner. All vacancies in the public schools were filled up with popish teachers. Protestants were forbidden to worship in any place on the pain of death. Louis continued to furnish James with all needful supplies. He sent a strong squadron as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and large sums of money, which was met by the English, and with which there took place a naval action, which was maintained with equal valour on both sides. The English parliament sympathized with the Irish protestants; and the more surely to obtain those supplies which were necessary for carrying on the war, they reversed the attainders of Russell, Sidney, and others of the noble band of patriots who had suffered unto the death for the liberties of England.

Letters addressed by James to some of his fvourite partisan

having been intercepted, and having learned from their contents that there were schemes in progress fatal to the interests and the peace of the kingdom, after a culpable delay of some months, the army was despatched to Ireland under the command of Schomberg. On the 10th of August, he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, took possession of Belfast, besieged Carrickfergus, and carried his arms in triumph from garrison to garrison, till his men began to sink under fatigue, privation, and distemper, and until a conspiracy was formed in the English camp by some French papists who had insinuated themselves into the protestant ranks. This conspiracy discovered and checked, Schomberg was more than ever cautious in his movements. Though censured for inactivity, and though advised by written communications from his sovereign, to hazard an engagement, he chose rather to pause and allow time for his men to recover strength. As winter approached he retired into quarters, and waited in the hope of being reinforced with seven thousand Danes who had arrived in Britain. Admiral Herbert had made a fruitless attack upon Cork, and lost many of his seamen by sickness and death. The commons moved that his majesty would appoint commissioners to go over to Ireland and inquire into the condition of the army. William having previously sent special instructions to Schomberg, deemed this unnecessary, but allowed them to take the matter into their own hand. His own fixed resolution was to cross the channel, and finish the war in person. On the 4th of June, 1690, he embarked, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, and others, landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th, and immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he remained for two or three days. He had been six days in Ireland before James knew of his arrival. James occupied a very advantageous position on the banks of the Boyne; and, contrary to the advice of his best officers, was resolved to hazard an engagement. William had reviewed his troops; and finding them in good condition, marched up to the opposite bank of the river. The enemy opened a fire upon him, and a shot grazed his right shoulder. Observing some confusion among his attendants, the enemy concluded that he was killed, and their camp echoed with shouts of joy. But the joy was only momentary. After a succession of severe engagements, William came off triumphant. James hastened to Dublin, assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and resigned Ireland into the hands of the victor. Next day he set sail for Waterford, and embarked in a vessel which had been prepared for his reception, and found himself within the walls of St. Germain.

So decisive was his victory, that William did not think of pursuing the enemy. On the morning after the battle, he sent to demand the unconditional surrender of Drogheda. He then marched for Dublin, where he was received with no common joy by the protestant clergy and laity, and where he proclaimed a free pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided that they surrendered themselves and their arms on or before the first day of August. William then proceeded to take Kilkenny. The garrison of Waterford capitulated. The fort of Duncannon surrendered. Meanwhile, the earl of Marlborough arrived with five thousand English troops,

attacked Cork and Kinsale, and soon effected a breach, so that the besieged had no alternative but to capitulate. By those successes the means of communication between France and the enemy were, to a great degree, cut off, and positive advantage given to the English. But for the succours and the supplies by the French, and the Irish could not have held out so long or so successfully. The reduction of Ireland was now complete. Pardon was proclaimed to the rebels on the condition of submission and allegiance. Liberty was extended to all sects. Parliament welcomed the return of their prince as a mighty conqueror. Honours were lavished on his gallant officers. Joy diffused itself through all classes.

SECTION II.—PROJECTED CONFEDERACY AGAINST FRANCE.

The princes of the empire looked on France as their common enemy, and William, who sympathized with them in their opposition, had no difficulty in persuading the English parliament to undertake a war against their ancient rival; and they unanimously resolved, that in case his majesty should think fit to engage in war with France, they would enable him to carry it on with vigour, in the hope that, in conjunction with the other allied powers, he would be able to reduce Louis to such a condition that he should not have it in his power to disturb the peace of christendom, nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England. Churchill, now created earl of Marlborough, was sent to Holland to command the British auxiliaries in that service. Having united the councils of Europe against France, William could not look on an unconcerned and inactive spectator. It was imperative that he should espouse the common cause, and turning away for the moment from the strife of religious parties, he convoked the parliament on the 19th of October, and represented to them the necessity of an immediate supply to carry on the war. A supply of two millions was voted, partly to be applied in the reduction of Ireland, and partly in aiding his allies against the power of France. The Tories, who were carrying on a secret negotiation with the court, and who were resolved to dislodge the Whigs from all place and power, promised to his majesty large supplies of money, provided this parliament might be dissolved, and another convoked without delay. In the business of the elections, they employed their undivided influence, and not without corresponding success. They were gradually gaining the ascendancy over the royal mind and will. The new parliament met, and after the vote of supplies, William, as we have seen, proceeded in person to Ireland, where his arms were crowned with all but universal conquest. While there, the queen, who acted as regent, found herself surrounded by the most pressing difficulties. Not only had she to grapple with the spirit of faction at home, but intelligence reached her that a fleet was about to sail from Brest, and that on the appearance of such an enemy in the British channel, battle must be given them. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, an engagement took place, in which the English and Dutch sustained certain defeat; the news of which filled London with

consternation. The panic left not the government unaffected. The ministry professed to believe that the French were in league with the malcontents of the nation, and that a general revolt was meditated. The people were not incredulous; and their aversion rose still higher against non-jurors and Jacobites of every class. Loyal addresses were presented to his majesty, and promises given of universal and increased support to his throne. Her majesty, with becoming fortitude and wisdom, gave orders for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence. A camp was formed in the vicinity of Torbay, where the French it was supposed would make a descent. They anchored in the bay; landed at Teignmouth, set fire to the place, and after having burned a few coasting vessels, returned to Brest, as inflated and lifted up as if they had won the mightest action. Not a few English officers, and others, who were conceived to be disaffected, or who were suspected of having conspired with the enemy, were apprehended. By intercepting letters of James, to his confidant Tyrconnel in Ireland, William had become acquainted with the whole design of the French. He was resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. For this purpose he again applied to his parliament for another grant. They proposed, by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland, to raise a million of money out of which they might vote increased supplies. Such was the position of affairs, that William deemed it expedient to leave England for the Hague. The commons were willing to meet the wishes of their sovereign. A few changes were effected in the ministry; and, having recommended unanimity in their counsels, his majesty embarked for Holland on the 16th of January, 1691, under a convoy of twelve ships of war. On his arrival, he was received by the various states, colleges, and ministers, with every demonstration of honour and joy.

At the solemn congress of the confederate princes, he represented the danger to which they were exposed from the power of France, and the necessity of acting unitedly and with vigour. The plan of operation was settled, and in the ensuing spring the campaign was to be opened. Domestic affairs having called him for a season to England, he again embarked for Holland in the month of March. But while absent, engaged in maturing the grand confederacy, Louis was busy in preparing for an invasion of England. The adherents of James now contemplated his return, and sympathized with Louis in his projected movement. James, with the concurrence of Louis, was at the head of thirty thousand men, to make a descent on England, and to rest satisfied with nothing short of his restoration, while a plan had been matured for the assassination of William. Letters were despatched by James to several of the former members of his council, and persons of quality, accompanied by a declaration, in which he called upon the people of England to join his standard against an usurper. In the counties of York and Lancaster, and in the bishopric of Durham, men were positively enlisted for his service. Regiments were raised in London to join him on his landing; and James now prepared to embark. The government was not ignorant of his movements. In Holland, William hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, and waited in readiness. Three English regiments were sent

from Holland to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The queen issued a proclamation commanding all papists to leave the cities of London and Westminster; summoning the parliament in both branches; directing the apprehension of all persons known to be disaffected to the government; and enjoining the train-bands to be armed. Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all expedition, while a squadron of eighteen sail was to cruise the French coast, and watch the movements of the enemy. On the morning of the 19th of May, he descried the enemy, and threw out the signal for the line of battle. After several days of close fighting, the French were totally defeated; and with this defeat the last and only hope of James expired, while his friends in England were filled with grief and despair. The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors—caused medals to be struck in commemoration of it, and commanded the bodies of Carter and Hastings, who had fallen in the engagement, to be interred with great funeral pomp. Had not the season been too far advanced; it was contemplated some months afterwards to make a descent on France itself, but it was abandoned. Louis withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy, and James returned to St. Germain, without a single ray of light to cheer his dark and desolate soul.

It is said that the true-hearted band of protestant Vaudois who worshipped God amid their native mountains and valleys, having no christain teachers—none of God's living speakers to proclaim to them the doctrines of the cross, her majesty the queen, established a fund out of her own privy purse, to maintain two preachers, and an equal number of school-masters in the beautiful vales of Piedmont. Nor should it be overlooked that the protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of Hanover. Having renounced his connection with France, and entered heartily into the interest of the allied powers, William used every plea with the emperor to obtain his elevation. Fears were entertained that such a proceeding would materially weaken the catholic influence in the electoral college, and hence it met with no little opposition. Some protestant princes opposed it from motives of jealousy, and the French monarch used all his art and his influence to prevent it. William persevered; and on the 19th of December, the duke of Hanover, was invested with the electorate of Brunswick, and created great marshal of the empire.

SECTION III.—INTERNAL DISQUIETUDE OF THE KINGDOM.

From the day that William was settled on the throne, the two great political parties put themselves in direct antagonism. They came into constant collision, and their collisions more than once threatened the safety of the kingdom. Measures which were deemed indispensable by the Whigs, were obnoxious to the Tories, and schemes prepared by the Tories were rejected by the Whigs. Plots were formed against the government, and the government were too

indifferent to the voice of the opposition. The public were far from being satisfied with many of his majesty's measures, and his majesty did not place too high an estimate on the affection and loyalty of his English subjects. Many of the clergy refused to take the oath of allegiance, and yet the clergy had but little respect for the conscientious scruples of the nonconformists and the dissenters. As had often been the case, the episcopalian had no sympathy with the presbyterian, and the presbyterian looked upon the episcopalian as but little removed from the papist. The catholic anathematized the protestant, and the protestant held the catholic as nothing better than a baptised idolater. The jacobites waged war with the ministry, and the ministry waged war with every one who dared to invade the constitution as it was settled. Conspiracy succeeded conspiracy. The people were disappointed, irritated, distressed. The press teemed with seditious publications. The gaols were filled with the disaffected. Public virtue had fallen to the lowest point. Bribery in parliamentary elections had a most pernicious influence on the morals of the people. There was general corruption in life and manners. Selfishness was the ruling passion of all parties. Every one sought his own private interests at the expense of the public good. The tide of profligacy swept over the land. Ignorance sat enthroned with vice. Mind and morals were trampled in the dust.

About the middle of October, William returned to England, and passed through London to Kensington-palace, amid the acclamations of the people. Parliament met on the 4th of November. The peers were deeply imbued with the spirit of discontent, owing perhaps to some slight quarrel between the queen and her sister, the princess of Denmark, and fomented by the countess of Marlborough, who enjoyed the attachment and the confidence of Anne, and whose husband became the head of a party. Some of the leading members of the aristocracy sided with Marlborough, while the jacobites gladly availed themselves of every incident which had a tendency to embarrass the administration and promote their own views. On meeting the parliament, William, after reviewing the victories, which had been achieved, declared his readiness and his willingness to expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The lords were more deeply engrossed in asserting their own privileges, which they conceived to have been invaded in those of their order who had been imprisoned on suspicion of being leagued against the government. After some angry debate, those peers were discharged, and the resentment of the house having thus been overcome, his majesty's speech was then taken into consideration. The commons, with more grace, presented an address acknowledging the favour of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him on his deliverance from his enemies; and assuring him that they would be always ready to advise and assist him in the support of his government. After advising his majesty as to the filling up of all commissions in the army, as to the expediency of the commander-in-chief being an Englishman, as to the mischief of cabinet councils, and as to the character and principles of the men who should be entrusted with the government, they voted the sum of from two to

three millions for the public service. Having passed a vote of thanks to Admiral Russel, for his gallant conduct and memorable victory, they proceeded to inquire into the reasons why that victory had not been pursued, and why the descent on France had not been made. In this they were joined by the lords, which led to the manifestation of the worst feelings in both departments of the legislature. Russel was exonerated, and even praised, by the commons; but Russel had charged Nottingham with the failure of the descent on France, and Nottingham was a man caressed and flattered by the peers. A conference between the two houses ended the dispute, and all farther inquiry was abandoned.

Nothing, perhaps, tended more to internally disturb the kingdom than the constant grants which William demanded from the treasury for the prosecution of war with France, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe. The sums which he obtained, from time to time, seem to us incredible. To meet his exigencies, not only was the taxation of the country increased, and new imposts laid on, but the very taxes were mortgaged, and the nation involved in a debt which has been ever accumulating, and which has hung like a mill-stone around her neck. It is true that William was a man of noble daring, and never shrunk from danger. It is true that he again embarked for Holland, assembled the confederated troops, and busied himself in making preparation for a grand campaign against France. It is true that while Louis was maturing his designs against Brabant, his English majesty lost no time in covering the places that were exposed; in throwing reinforcements into Maestricht, Lys, Huy, and Charleroi, while he stood prepared for action at the head of sixty thousand men. It is true that the check which a large body of the army sustained at Huy, whence they were dislodged by Luxembourg, whom Louis had left to command his forces in the Netherlands, was more than balanced by the success of the duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry, and twenty squadrons of horse, forced the French lines between the Scheldt and the Lys, and laid the whole country as far as Lisle under contribution. It is true that in the defence of Liege, in which he was unsuccessful, he displayed extraordinary valour, and made prodigious efforts of daring and activity, to retrieve the fortune of the day. But all this was a paltry compensation for the immense resources which had been expended on the campaign. The French were signally successful both by sea and land, though their successes were anything but profitable. Louis would have been content to have purchased a peace on the condition of no very limited concessions. His terms were rejected by William, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified.

His policy was not wise. His people were discontented. And of this discontent the jacobites well knew how to avail themselves. They fostered that spirit of dissatisfaction. The government were forced to measures which no one can justify. Law was administered with tremendous severity. In Scotland the friends of James were defeated in their every scheme; and the Scottish parliament not only assured William of their continued attachment and fidelity, but voted an addition to the standing forces of the kingdom, created a law for

the levying of men to serve in the navy, and granted another supply of money for the public service. William had returned to England, and finding the kingdom internally distracted, resolved to make some change in the composition of his council. He dismissed those ministers which were most obnoxious to the people. Parliament met on the 7th of November, 1693, and an inquiry was instituted into the failures which had attended the recent war. It came out that there had been a fearful misappropriation of the sums granted, that large amounts had been devoted to secret service, and that both parties had partaken in occasional bounties, grants, pensions, and additional salaries. Yet, on the representation of his majesty, men and money were again voted almost without limit; and, to meet his demands, new taxes were imposed, and the old taxes increased. This was more than the malcontents could well bear. They set themselves in direct opposition to the court. They introduced a bill for the more frequent convocation of parliament, and that their proceedings should be free and unfettered. It passed both houses, but the king refused his royal assent. In this he ran no common risk. The house then resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the kingdom. They drew up an address, in which they entreated William rather to hearken to the advice of his parliament than to the councils of particular persons, whose private interests might not correspond with those of his majesty and his people.

The king took little interest in questions of internal polity. His thoughts were all absorbed in the next campaign, for which he knew the enemy was busy in making all necessary preparations; and, as the season was fast advancing, he recommended the despatch of business. The establishment of a national bank had been recommended to the ministry as a thing desirable, not only for the increase of trade and circulation, but for the credit and security of the government. The scheme was founded on the nature of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill on the credit of a large capital. A capital of five hundred thousand pounds was subscribed by fifty merchants, who should be empowered to circulate one million at eight per cent. to be lent to the government, with equal interest for the money subscribed. The scheme having been matured, a bill passed both houses, authorising their majesties to incorporate the subscribers by the name of THE GOVERNORS AND COMPANY OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND. Still the funds were not adequate to the estimates, and stamp-duties were imposed on vellum, parchment, and paper; to which was added a tax on carriages, under the name of a bill for licensing hackney and stage coaches. The East India Company having failed to pay within the time limited by the act, the tax previously imposed on joint-stocks, had in fact forfeited their charter. This company had but little favour with the public; and it was hoped that the present opportunity would be taken to put an end to a monopoly so obnoxious and so hated. Merchants who were favourable to an unfettered commerce undertook to prove that the company had been guilty of transactions, tending to the scandal of religion, the dishonour of the nation, the reproach of the laws, the oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade, and offered to conduct the same kind and degree of commerce

on principles far more advantageous to the interests of the nation. The support of the ministry was secretly purchased by the directors, and in spite of all remonstrance a new charter passed the Great Seal. At the same time the commons resolved that every English subject had an equal right to trade with India, unless prohibited by some act of the legislature.

It being conceived that the strength of a nation is to be estimated in some degree by the extent of its population, and it being acknowledged that great part of the lands of England were still uncultivated, a bill was brought into parliament for the naturalization of all foreign protestants. It was thought that their settlement would introduce new branches of manufacture, promote industry and lower the price of labour at a period when trade was so oppressed and burdened by taxation, and so exposed to hazard by foreign power. It was met with determined opposition; the government were not disposed to provoke a collision, and the bill dropped. William prorogued parliament till the month of September, and set out for Holland to prosecute the war with France. In this both he and the parliament were alike infatuated. In attempting to make a descent on Cambaret-bay, the English were repelled with considerable loss. Though they afterwards bombarded Dieppe, and Havre, and Dunkirk, and Calais; though Russel swept the Mediterranean with his fleet, and maintained the honour of the British flag in their seas; though William, after having consulted with the States-general, ventured on a campaign in Flanders; though he succeeded in reducing Huy, and Barcelona was saved, yet little real advantage flowed from their engagements; and William having settled the affairs of the confederacy, embarked for England, and in about six weeks after his arrival, the queen died, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign. The two houses of parliament waited on his majesty with consolatory addresses. Their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the ministers of religion, and all the great corporate bodies of England.

SECTION IV.—PARLIAMENTARY AND MISCELLANEOUS PROCEEDINGS.

No sooner had the queen breathed her last, than the question was raised whether her death did not operate as a demise of the crown. The object of this was to impair the title of William, and obtain a dissolution of parliament. But Bentinck administered such a rebuke to the factious tories, that the matter dropped. Other matters, and more important, claimed attention. In an inquiry instituted by the commons into the state of the revenue, it came out that a system of cruel bribery had been practised in the camp, the court, the city, and even in the two branches of the legislature. Officers and soldiers exacted money from the people, on pain of military execution; colonels robbed their regiments; army agents robbed both, and bribed Guy, the treasury secretary, to pass their accounts. The speaker of the house of commons took a bribe for his support of THE ORPHAN BILL, which was brought in at the urgent request of the corporation

of London. Trevor lost the speakership, and Guy was committed to the Tower. It farther appeared that the new charter granted to the East India Company had been purchased in a similar manner—the sum of ten thousand pounds having been accepted by the king himself! The corruption extended from the lowest subaltern to the highest step of the throne.

A bill having been passed with the royal assent for triennial parliaments, and his majesty having returned from the siege of Namur, crowned with victory and glory, the new parliament met on the 22nd of November, which, after being addressed by the king on the interests of the protestant religion, the liberty of Europe, and the necessity of increased supplies, distinguished itself by the passing of the well known treason bill. This salutary measure provides that an indictment must be framed within a certain time of the offence—that the prisoner be furnished not only with a copy of the indictment, but with a list of the jury, be challenged to appear, and have the aid of counsel. The country are indebted rather to the Tories than the Whigs for this bill, who looked to it as a shield for themselves against the intrigues of the court, and the power of the crown. It was only by giving his assent to such measures that he obtained those extravagant supplies for which he was ever knocking and ever waiting at the door of the Treasury. To express their gratitude to his majesty, the house voted him upwards of five millions of money to meet the expenses of the war in the succeeding year. And to make up a deficiency of about two millions and a half, occasioned by the fraudulent practice of so clipping the silver coinage, as to render it necessary to recall it, recoin it, and issue it again at the established standard of weight, there was laid upon the people that most unjust and most hated of all imposts—the WINDOW-TAX. It was imposed at first for seven years. It was at a later period renewed, and has been continued to the present day, in which England is lifting her voice loud and unmistakeable for its full and final abolition.

Unhappily for himself, William had his favourites, on whom he lavished with prodigality his bounty. This excited the envy and the opposition of others. Conspiracies were formed. A plot was laid for his assassination, in connection with which James contemplated an invasion of the kingdom. The discovery of the plot saved William, and threw James into an agony. "He saw his hopes blasted, his friends ruined, and his name and cause associated with an odious enterprise." William rose in public esteem. The design upon his life strengthened his government, secured his throne, struck terror into his enemies, and rallied around him the parliament and the people; and to meet the prejudices of parties, a bond of association was drawn up and signed, declaring his majesty to be not "the rightful and lawful king of these realms;" but that "he had a right by law to the crown, and that neither king James, nor the pretended prince of Wales, nor any other person, hath any right whatsoever to the same." After the usual grant of five millions had been voted, the session was closed by the king on the 27th of April, 1696, and was re-opened on the 20th of October, when his majesty informed the houses that, after eight years' war, the enemy had made overtures for a general peace, while he

himself was of opinion that the only way of treating with France was with sword in hand. In this he was confirmed by the temper of the parliament. They promised not only to make up five millions deficiency in the revenue, but to furnish him with all necessary supplies. The chancellor of the exchequer "supported the state by a paper prop, when its silver pillars were removed," and gave decided proof of his abilities as a financier in organizing that method of funding which is now so familiar to every civilized state, and which has reached so stupendous a height in England. After having passed a bill for the attainder of Fenwick, who was engaged in the late assassination plot, and in the carrying of which there was exhibited an unparalleled degree of perfidy and injustice, his majesty closed the session on the 16th day of April, and announced his intention of proceeding to Flanders. Sunderland was made lord chamberlain, and one of the council of inquiry, and Somers was entrusted with the Great Seal. William arrived at the Hague, when it was evident that both parties were resolved on peace. The nine years' war had cost Europe the lives of nearly one million of soldiers and sailors, and nearly five hundred millions of money. A peace was concluded at Ryswick, in September 1697, by which Louis acknowledged the prince of Orange as king of Great Britain, without condition or reserve, and engaged not to disturb or disquiet him in the possession of his realms or government, nor to assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. An end was thus put to the encroachments of the French monarch, who was made to disgorge those acquisitions which he had made in violation of all good faith, justice, and humanity; and a free commerce was restored. William returned to England, and was hailed by the people as their deliverer from a war which threatened their very existence. It had almost drained England of her wealth and her people, had almost ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, entailed the curse of foreign connections, and introduced a national debt, beneath whose crushing weight she continues still to groan. Such is the fruit of war. It is the curse of humanity. Nor is it to be written on the page of history but with regret, that the progress of civilization has rather systematized the evil, than repressed and overcome it.

Conceiving that England was at the mercy of her enemies unless she were on an equality as to the means of attack and defence, William pressed upon the parliament the necessity of a standing army. He could have proposed no measure more repugnant to the public feeling, as the people conceived a standing army in the time of peace wholly inconsistent with the higher and more sacred claims of liberty. The parliament very judiciously passed over the proposal in silence; but parliament was on the point of dissolution. It was prorogued on the 5th and dissolved on the 7th of July, 1698. It was the first parliament under the Triennial Act, and has been pronounced "one of the very best in the annals of English government. Public credit was restored; stability was given to the revolution; and an end was put to the burdens and calamities of war." Alas! how soon did those evils return! Mutual jealousy rankled in the breast of Whig and Tory. Sunderland was assailed on all sides as the evil adviser of

the monarch. Portland's disputes with the French court, whither he had been sent as an ambassador, began to wear a serious aspect. He insisted on a removal of James to Avignon, or to Rome, as a pledge of Louis' desire to maintain the treaty of peace. Louis refused to comply, and William instructed his ambassador not to press it. He was more intent on the partition of the Spanish monarchy, which was to be effected on the death of the sovereign, which was hourly expected. And the fact that he, without the knowledge of any one of his ministers, and through the medium of Portland alone, concluded a treaty touching the succession, in which England was so deeply interested, was as great a stretch of the prerogative in one direction, as it was on the part of James, in another direction, when he published his Declaration of Indulgence.

William sailed for Holland—vested the administration in a council of regency, and left sealed orders for keeping up a land force of sixteen thousand men. Portland joined him at Loo, and the treaty of partition which gave Spain and her dependancies, with a few exceptions to the electoral prince of Bavaria, and which provided that these excepted dependancies, with her possessions in Tuscany, were to pass over to France on condition of her renouncing her pretensions, was signed on the 11th of October, and William, who was bound by the grand alliance to support the emperor's claim to the Spanish succession against France, was thus guilty of an act which no casuistry can defend, and which no morality can justify. He might think it for the peace of Europe, he might think that he was most efficiently preventing the balance of power; but we shall find that it converted Europe into a theatre of war. His majesty returned to England. The parliament was convened, but instead of listening to William's suggestion for the raising of a standing army, they reduced the land forces in the pay of England to seven thousand men, all natural born subjects. The king was indignant, but the commons were firm. By their votes the ministry was disorganized and broken up. William again set out for Holland. The king of Spain was sinking apace. He made a will bequeathing the whole monarchy of Spain in both hemispheres to the infant prince of Bavaria. The infant died in the beginning of the year, and, by a series of unworthy manœuvres, his majesty so altered his will as to leave the duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis, sole heir of his vast dominions. Louis having decided for the will rather than for the treaty, William acknowledged that he had been duped; and was reminded that to establish the treaty and annul the will, he must conquer two kingdoms—that of Spain, which would not submit to be partitioned, and that of France, which would not abandon her right.

On the 10th of February, 1701, a new parliament was convened, with a Tory ministry at the head of affairs. The duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the princess Anne, having died a few months previously, the question of the succession now engaged the thoughts of the legislature and of the nation. If the succession was to be confined to a protestant line, as settled at the revolution, it then lay, after Anne, between the prince of Wales and the electress Sophia of Hanover, grand-daughter of the first James. As might be ex-

pected, the jacobites were in favour of Wales. But an act was passed vesting the crown in the protestant house of Brunswick. The session was closed, by his majesty in person, on the 24th of June.

One chief object of the partition treaty was to exclude France from the possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and so cut off the double facility which she would have of invading both Holland and England. Having closed the parliament, William proceeded almost immediately to Holland, and, on meeting the States, urged them to look to their swords in defence of their liberties against France, and set himself to organize a second grand alliance. The three leading parties were himself, the States-general, and the emperor. As stadtholder, there can be no doubt William was desirous of securing Holland on the frontiers of Flanders; but the interests of Holland and England were not so identified as to justify the latter in taking the lead in European war. James was now no more, having died in the month of September, at St. Germains; and Louis at once declared for the prince of Wales, now in the thirteenth year of his age, yet disclaimed any intention of promoting his restoration to the throne of his father. The state of parties in England was anything but satisfactory. The last parliament of William was convened on the 30th of December, when his majesty appealed with no common eloquence and power to the assembly, and through them to the nation, against the ambition and the arrogance of France. His speech produced a deep impression on Europe, and both branches of the legislature pledged themselves to support him in his defence of their common liberties. An act of attainder was passed against the prince of Wales as a pretender. The lords would have attainted his royal mother also, but the commons prudently laid the bill upon the table. William's course was drawing to a close. Having fallen from his horse, and fractured his collar-bone, the symptoms soon became serious and premonitory. In this state he sent a message to both houses, recommending the union of Scotland with England by an act of incorporation. He sank rapidly; and on Sunday, the 8th of March, 1702, he expired at Kensington, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign—"the greatest prince of his times, and the greatest but one who has yet held sway in England."

In the character of William there is little to admire—little to applaud. As to his administration, his grand aim from first to last was —to save Holland, and to dispute Europe with the king of France. He was too much absorbed in foreign war to render his domestic policy prosperous and popular. He excelled in the camp rather than in the cabinet. It is true that he was entangled in the meshes o party feeling. Besides he was jealous of superiors, and in the election of his favourites he betrayed the weakness of his character. It is true that he kept the throne from a tyrant, and the church from a destroyer. It is true that he was the patron and the protector of all parties. Religious toleration appeared in him as one of the crowning virtues. But while he delivered England from the yoke of popery, it may be questioned whether he was not moved more by selfish ambition than by a supreme regard to the claims of conscience and of truth.

It has been said that it was "characteristic of this reign, that measures not merely popular, but giving further security and extent to the rights and privileges of the people, were carried by the Tories in opposition to the Whigs. This is undeniable, without the sacrifice of fact and candour; which, however, in such matters, is far from rare. But to infer from it that the Tories, as such, are or have been more favourable to popular privileges than their adversaries or rivals, would be a grievous error. The true and useful inference is, that popular measures were supported or opposed by either party, not according to their professed principles, but according to their position and interests." The public welfare was held secondary to party feeling or private interest. And hence the administration of William, conducted as it was by men of corrupt principles and low designs, contributed nothing to the development of the people. Even the church, which was placed on the firm protestant basis on which it has ever stood, made but little impression on the popular mind. It is true that the seventeenth century was rich in good and illustrious men; in divines, whose theological writings are of the most interesting and masculine character. Still the circle of religious life was narrow and confined. We might rather speak of the wide-spread degeneracy and corruption of the age—the licentiousness and profligacy of all classes. So low had society sunk, that a certain organization was proposed, under the auspices of his majesty, for the reformation of manners. The fires of persecution had ceased to burn, yet severe measures were sometimes enacted against the catholics. The governments of this world have been slow to learn that there is no possible connection between mental conviction and penal infliction. Nor will christianity ever obtain her predicted empire over humanity till she is left to act in her own divine and unfettered freedom.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE GLORY OF CONQUEST.

The love of glory may be the last infirmity of noble minds, and yet to despise fame is to despise the virtues which lead to it. It becomes inglorious only when the desire is founded in pride and ambition—in vanity rather than in virtue. "If, to obtain the mere remembrance of his name, the ferocious oppressor of millions can dare to load himself with every crime, and submit to be held in universal execration, that the world may still know, by the very hatred and curses which he continues to call forth, that there was on the earth, at a period of many ages back, some malignant being, who could exist only within a circle of misery, and who passed from kingdom to kingdom, carrying with him that desolation, the principle of which seemed inherent in him, and essential to his very existence; if even this dreadful remembrance be so valuable in the eyes of man, how much more delightful must be the certainty that the name which we leave is never to be forgotten, indeed, but is never to be forgotten only because it is to be an object of eternal love and veneration; and that when we shall be incapable ourselves of benefiting the world, there will be still actions performed for its benefit which would not have been conceived and performed if we had not existed."

A great part of the history of the next reign is made up of battles, which contributed, it may be, to England's glory, but did little to advance her social and moral condition. Of the great triumphs which were then achieved, nothing remains but the names of Blenheim and Ramilies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet, as so many well-fought fields, on which the victory was decreed to the allied army. It was a period brilliant with the lustre of arms; but the glory of conquest was dimmed and darkened by those intrigues and vices which marked the reign of the "weak, bigoted, illiterate, and vulgar" princess, who now came to occupy the throne of England. The age in which she reigned is not to be confounded with her reign. The former was "adorned with every grace of fancy, wit, style, and taste, in literature"—an age worthy of being ranked with the most famed in European history,—while the latter was distinguished by "the weaknesses and vices of an ill-conditioned mind and character"—a reign in which genius and power were debased and prostituted.

SECTION I.—ACCESSION AND POLICY OF QUEEN ANNE.

The second daughter of the second James, by his first wife, the daughter of chancellor Hyde, earl of Clarendon, ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Her accession was cause of satisfaction to all parties. Even Jacobites hailed the event; and, in the hope that she might favour the pretensions of her brother, they remained comparatively quiet during her reign. What precise line of policy she might adopt, no one could yet tell. Fears were entertained that she might abandon the grand alliance, and thus deepen the gloom which now rested on the face of Europe, in consequence of the death of William. But these fears were soon dissipated. She took the same determined attitude as his late majesty against the exorbitant power and encroachments of France. Her chief advisers were my lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and they "consulted their ambition, if not their patriotism, in directing the queen." The former was placed at the head of the army, and the latter advanced to the post of lord treasurer. The Tories now rose into the ascendant; but the government moved in a Whig direction. On the 4th of May war was declared against France, when a similar step was taken by the Dutch and the Germans. The allies were early in the field, and advantageously took up their position on the south of the Alps. Marlborough, who had been appointed generalissimo of the allied army, exhibited rare tact and dauntless courage. Having successfully captured Venloo, Ruremonde, and Liège; and having ordered the army into winter quarters, he returned to England, where he was received amid every demonstration of enthusiasm by the queen, the parliament, and the people. His first campaign made his name and his genius to be known throughout Europe; nor had France ever faced such a formidable enemy since the conquering times of Cressy and Agincourt.

The capture of Vigo, into which the Spanish Armadian fleet had put with a strong convoy and vast treasure, redeemed an ill-projected and badly-executed expedition to the coast of Spain. Marlborough was created a duke, with a pension of five thousand pounds a year for life. He resumed his command in the Low Countries early in the spring of 1703, when he found the French strongly reinforced. His recent campaign in Flanders led to nothing decisive. Her majesty avowed to parliament her purpose to make the conquest of the throne of Spain on behalf of the house of Austria. In this she was encouraged by her commons, who voted the necessary supplies of money and of men. Meanwhile the emperor, threatened by the French and the Bavarians in his capital, implored the interposition and the aid of England. On the 19th of April, Marlborough set out on a campaign memorable for the victory of Blenheim. He passed in rapid succession the Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker; sent a courier to the States to inform them that he was marching by the order of his sovereign to the relief of the empire; and hoped that they would permit their troops to share the glory of the enterprise. Prince Eugene, whom he

now met for the first time, joined his arms with those of Marlborough, and, with about fifty-two thousand men, they marched to attack about sixty thousand Bavarians and French. Then was fought the battle of Blenheim, in which the enemy lost about forty thousand men, and the confederates about twelve thousand, including the killed and the wounded. This battle covered the duke with glory, and the emperor made him a prince of the empire.

Nor was the glory of conquest confined to the military. The arms of England were equally successful at sea. Rooke, who commanded in the Mediterranean, held with Shovel a council of war, on board the fleet, and resolved to make an attempt on Gibraltar, a town which then belonged to the Spaniards. Orders were given to cannonade the place. Troops were landed, who effectually stormed a redoubt between the Mole and the town. The enemy capitulated, and a fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken. Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and is of great service to that portion of our navy which is employed in the Mediterranean. Entering the Mediterranean, Rooke met a French fleet of fifty sail of the line, and resolved to give them battle. It was a severe contest and long, with corresponding loss on both sides; and the combatants had to withdraw, leaving the victory doubtful. Yet the Tories "had the malice and effrontery to couple the name of Rooke and the battle of Malaga, with that of Marlborough and the battle of Blenheim." His services were wholly overlooked by the Whig peers. Such was the strength and working of party feeling. It is true that Marlborough had saved the empire, and obtained for England imperishable renown; and for this he both deserved and obtained unparalleled honours; still the services of Rooke were justly entitled to notice and to reward.

In the spring of 1705 Marlborough resumed his command in Flanders; but the campaign ended in disappointment. The allied arms in Portugal had sustained certain defeat, but this disgrace was redeemed by brilliant success in Spain, and especially by the capture of Barcelona under lord Peterborough, which was followed by the surrender of every other fortified town of Catalonia, with the single exception of the Roses. To his former victories, Marlborough now added that of Ramilies, after which he entered Brussels, the capital of the Spanish Netherlands, in triumph, and having quartered the army for the winter, he returned to England to be adorned with fresh laurels, and to be fanned with the breath of a nation's praise. France reduced to comparative ruin, and in hope of dividing the confederates, made overtures of peace, which were at once rejected at the Hague, in London, and in Vienna, and Europe looked forward to next year's campaign with unutterable suspense.

SECTION II.—THE CHURCH CRY IN THE EAR OF DISSENT.

The attachment of protestant nonconformists to the constitution of England, ever since England had a constitution worthy of the name, cannot be denied. Amid all the pains and penalties—amid all the civil disabilities and all the social degradation to which they have

been subjected for the sake of their sublime principles, they have been most loyal, most dutiful, most patriotic, most conservative of freedom and of truth. But they have all along been a despised, persecuted body. During no previous period had they escaped suffering, and with a Tory government in power, and a Tory sovereign on the throne, it was not to be expected that they would be allowed to remain unmolested. That they were well affected towards her majesty is beyond contradiction. Nor can it be denied that their influence contributed in no little degree to bring about the revolution of 1688; and that the toleration which had been extended to them, on the accession of William, had, in an equal degree, contributed to the security and welfare of the church itself. But as the reign of William began with an act in favour of dissenters, the government were supremely anxious that the reign of Anne should begin with an act in favour of the church. To mortify the Whigs, with whose liberal principles the dissenters sympathized, the commons introduced a bill against occasional conformity. It should seem that there were some who, with all their deep-rooted objections to a national church, found no difficulty in occasionally conforming to the established worship. This was deemed inconsistent, nay, as a hypocritical expedient by which they might insinuate themselves into civil offices. And hence, during the debate on the bill, the dissenters were misrepresented, reviled, and treated with indignity. Though all persecution for conscience' sake was condemned in the preamble of the bill, with marvellous inconsistency it went to enact—that all those who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments, after having been at any such meeting; that they should be considered incapable of holding any other employment till after one whole year's conformity; and that if they should, after that, go back into nonconformity, the penalty and the period of incapacity should both be doubled. Such were the proceedings of her majesty's first parliament against the best and most true-hearted portion of her majesty's subjects. They conceived that the only way to preserve a national church, was to reserve the entire civil power in the hands of those who faithfully adhered to the principles and the practice of the church. In this they were right. But they overlooked the fact that, by taking this ground, they reduced the church to a merely political institution, whose existence depended on the breath of a cabinet minister! How different from the spiritual imperishable structure, whose foundations are laid in the principles of immutable truth, and whose stability is unaffected by evolutions which time may disclose, or eternity conceal!

The bill, whose penalties were more severe than those which the laws had imposed on the papists, met with a very warm opposition in the upper house, in which the Whig interest had still considerable influence. The lords introduced several alterations, which the commons rejected, and the measure was carried. In the next session of parliament the bill was revived, though the Queen, in her opening

speech, admonished the house against those heats and divisions, which might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state. In the new draught the severer clauses had been mitigated, and the penalties reduced. The bill passed by a decided majority. In the lords, when the question was put for a second reading, it was carried in the negative. Again the Tories were defeated in their attempt to nullify the Toleration Act, and to subject the consciences of men to a proud and domineering hierarchy. To heal the wound inflicted by the peers on the body ecclesiastic, her majesty sent a message to her parliament, signifying her wish to assign the whole revenue arising to the crown from the tenths and first-fruits, for increasing the incomes of the poorer clergy. The commons at once brought in a bill sanctioning the alienation of this revenue, and chartering a corporation to direct the application of it to the uses proposed, which was carried with universal applause. The revenue derived from this source amounted, at the time, to about seventeen thousand pounds, but since then it has greatly increased, and is now known by the name of QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY. At the same time the statute of Mortmain was repealed, so that property might be bequeathed by any one towards the augmentation of the ecclesiastical benefices. Grateful addresses were presented to her majesty from the clergy in all parts of her kingdom, and her gracious bounty acknowledged with corresponding feelings.

SECTION III.—THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND.

The only permanent measure of Anne's reign was the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Scotland having been regarded by William as the centre of jacobite and French intrigue, its union with England was an object on which he had set his heart, and for the realization of which he ardently longed. He recommended it more than once to his parliament, and it formed the burden of a message which he sent to them from his dying bed. In her royal course this was the goal to which Anne so eagerly and perseveringly pressed. She had taken the coronation oath of that kingdom, and assured the people of her firm resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the established government of the church; and published a proclamation, ordering all officers of state, councillors, and magistrates, to act in all things conformably to the commissions and instructions of his late majesty, till such time as new commissions should be prepared. The anti-revolution party were not in a mood to comply. With the duke of Hamilton at their head, they protested that the parliament had ceased to be, with the demise of his majesty, and that they had no power either to sit or to act. About eighty members withdrew. Despite of their secession, the commissioners—who had still a majority, and who had received a letter from her majesty, expressing her resolution to maintain the dignity and authority of the parliament against all opposition—proceeded to business. After passing several acts touching the royal authority, the courts of judicature, the legality of parliament, the

protestant religion, and the presbyterian government, they appointed commissioners for the specific effecting of the union between the two kingdoms. The plan was that the two kingdoms should be inseparably united into one monarchy, under her majesty, her heirs, and successors, and under the same limitations, according to the acts of settlement. The commissioners could not agree, and their appointment was cancelled. In England the measure found but little favour. The Jacobite opposed it as a bar to the restoration of the pretender, and the Tory opposed it as an accession of strength to the Whigs. In Scotland it shared no better fate. The jacobites and the revolutionists coalesced against it. The states passed the famous ACT OF SECURITY, which made the succession, not yet settled in Scotland, open, elective, and essentially republican. From this bill, as a matter of course, the royal assent was withheld. "The opposition to the government became furious; the supplies were refused; the supporters of the government were called traitors and slaves; some denied the right of the crown to withhold its assent; others talked of resorting to their swords. This temper was cooled down by peerages, places, and promises, during successive prorogations; and in the next session, the Act of Security, in a modified form, received the royal assent. Godolphin advised this concession, as the only means of obtaining a supply. He doubtless, also, calculated upon the ultimate success of the measure of union to neutralize the Scotch act."

It is true that the Scottish nation still fondly clung to a separate and independent existence—that, in the estimation of many of her first and noblest men, there was nothing which she could receive in exchange for her sovereignty and her independence; but the points of separation daily diminished and disappeared, and everything became increasingly favourable to the contemplated union. To settle terms the commissioners of both kingdoms met in Whitehall on the sixteenth of April, 1706, and the articles were finally adopted on the twenty-third of July. Parliament assembled on the third of December, and in the following month the queen, in an address from the throne, acquainted both houses with the ratification of the articles of union by the Scottish parliament. It was a happy event in the reign of her majesty. At the instance of the primate, the lords introduced a bill for the security of the church of England, which was inserted as a fundamental and essential part of the treaty of union. As if by anticipation, the Scottish parliament had stipulated that the constitution and government of the kirk should not be altered, and even went so far as to declare it unalterable for ever! The day on which the union was ratified was observed with religious solemnities and with festive rejoicings; and on the 24th of April, 1707, her majesty prorogued the parliament in which this memorable treaty was perfected and carried.

Notwithstanding the fierceness and the bitterness with which the union vas opposed, both in Scotland and in England, of its positive advantage both kingdoms are now convinced of its practical fruits. Not only are the two kingdoms so inseparably united that nothing can ever sever the bond except the mutual consent of both, or the successful resistance of either arising out of the infringement of those points which were set forth as fundamental and essential conditions of the

union; not only are the churches of England and Scotland guaranteed in all their respective rights and privileges, so as that no alteration can take place which would interfere with the primary and essential condition of the union; not only are the municipal laws of Scotland preserved so inviolate as that no alteration can be effected but by an act of parliament; but benefits have accrued of a still higher order. National prejudices have been overcome, and national antipathies destroyed; intercourse has been established between the people; intelligence diffused; literature and science enriched; manners improved; commerce enlarged; the tide of social comfort and of political good deepened and widened in its course, and the best and purest influences brought to bear on the moral feelings of the entire community. The two countries are mutually indebted the one to the other, and though there are national peculiarities which no time can destroy, the final effect of the union will be to cement them still closer together, and to inspire both with a truer confidence and a purer good-will.

SECTION IV.—THE FIRST BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

The treaty which converted England and Scotland into THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN came into effect on the first of May, 1707, and the first British parliament was summoned to meet on the twenty-third day of October. At this time Charles XII. of Sweden was in Saxony, making no every-day effort to bring that electorate under contribution. Louis, conscious of impaired strength and exhausted resources, was desirous of entering into an alliance with him that he might proceed with greater purpose against the allied forces. The confederates took fright. Marlborough paid a visit to Charles, and having satisfied himself that his Swedish majesty had no design on the south or centre of Europe, he returned to the Hague, resumed his command, but achieved nothing. We turn to other points in the great theatre of war, and we find something worse than this negative advantage—we find positive disaster. On the plains of Almanza the English, Dutch, and Portuguese allies suffered a defeat which decided the succession to the throne of Spain. The confederated army was all but annihilated. Besides this unprecedented loss, the naval operations of the year were, on the whole, unfortunate; and the English navy lost the gallant Shovel, who was wrecked on the Scilly rocks on his return home from the Mediterranean.

With the new British parliament, in which Scotland was represented by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, came back the Whig ascendancy. The Tories were alarmed, and the Jacobites still looked forward to the succession of the pretender. It was the look of despair. The parliament resolved that there should be but one privy council for the United Kingdom. Marlborough was falling in the confidence of his sovereign and of the parliament. In a debate which took place in the house of peers on the defeat of Almanza, and the failure before Toulon, he was the subject of indirect yet not mistakeable censure. His duchess, who had hitherto been the favourite and

confidant of the queen, was supplanted by Mrs. Masham, whose flexibility and sycophancy offered no opposition to her majesty's prepossessions in favour of the Tories and high church principles. The keen strife of parties now acted like a sharp two-edged sword. The parliament and the body-politic were rent asunder. The schism became wider and daily more threatening. In the midst of such elements the queen first prorogued and then dissolved the parliament.

The great rival of Marlborough was Mr. Secretary Harley, who had insinuated himself into the queen's favour, and whose aim was to undermine the credit of the duke, reconcile the disunited Tories, and displace the Whigs. The Whig ministers had lost much of their popularity. The people looked to them as the authors of those heavy burdens which they were now called to bear, and which had been superinduced by a long and fruitless war. Godolphin and Marlborough absented themselves from the council. Harley and the Tories thought they could do without them. A question relating to foreign affairs was introduced. The council felt that they could not entertain it without the treasurer and the general. They broke up, and the queen had no alternative but to dismiss Harley. He was succeeded by Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer; and Walpole, whose name is familiar to every Englishmen, became secretary of war. Harley had nothing to do with the traitorous correspondence of William Greig, an inferior clerk in his office, with the French court, which referred to an attempt of the pretender on Scotland. On the scaffold the servant wholly exculpated his master.

Scotland, though an integral part of the one kingdom, was far from being settled; and had Louis been a man of deeper sagacity and foresight, he might have made a successful descent on England. All beyond the Tweed was pure combustible; and a single spark would have set the whole country in a flame. It is true that Louis equipped and sent out an armament, under a distinguished naval officer; it is true that the pretender embarked in royal state on the sixth day of March, 1708, and on the thirteenth found himself beyond the Frith of Forth; but the ministry were aware of the expedition, and had made all necessary preparations. The British squadron pursued them to Dunkirk, captured one of the ships, and took all on board as prisoners. So ended this historical farce. Proofs of treason could have been made out against not a few in Scotland; but, to the honour of the queen and the government, no blood was shed—no life was taken.

In the campaign of 1708, fortune at first favoured the French. But Marlborough and Eugene went to the relief of Oudenarde, which they took, pursued the enemy, and routed them, with the loss of nearly fifteen thousand men. The confederates then invested Lille, one of the strongest places in Europe, and the very key of France. Marlborough covered the siege, and Eugene conducted it. The town capitulated; but it cost the allies nearly twenty thousand men. On the Rhine nothing was lost. In the Peninsula nothing was achieved. In the Mediterranean the conquest of Minorca, with its fine harbour of port Mahon, was secured by Stanhope. And, with little resistance, Leake had taken the island of Sardinia. Marlborough passed the winter in the Low Countries. Another campaign was before

him. He had enemies at home as well as abroad, and more formidable. A Whig junto were plotting his overthrow; and it might have been effected but for one of those events which, in the great all-comprehensive plan of infinite wisdom and love, sometimes affect the fate of nations and the destiny of the race. The death of her majesty's husband, prince George of Denmark, took place on the 28th of October, 1708; and lord Pembroke succeeded him in the admiralty. This led to a number of changes in the council, and the ministry became decidedly Whig in its constitution. Her majesty, who, with her Tory prejudices, felt herself restrained by her ministers, was in secret correspondence with Harley and his associates. The new parliament met in November. The royal speech recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war, the consolidation of the union, and provision for a protestant succession. A bill was passed to render the law of treason uniform throughout Great Britain. In consequence of the arrest of the Muscovite ambassador for one hundred pounds, by a laceman in the metropolis, an act was also passed defining and securing the privilege of foreign ministers. The session, which was comparatively fruitless of any great public measure, closed on the 21st of April, 1709.

That there are even in this world breakings out of moral retribution, is attested by the history of individuals no less really than by the history of nations. The God of justice may allow the wicked to prosper, and the innocent to suffer; he may leave these irregularities and apparent discrepancies to exist under his righteous government, till the day of final adjustment and of final retribution; yet there are cases in which the conduct of men acts as a conductor to attract the lightning of divine vengeance. By his ambitious views, and the unrighteous advances of his power, Louis had converted Europe into one great theatre of war, on whose stage were enacted the most tragical and the most bloody scenes. And but for the unhappy lot of suffering millions, we might rejoice in the just punishment which was inflicted on the proud and cruel monarch. Reduced to comparative despair and ruin—his states without resources, and his people without food—at the mercy of a power which he had sought to crush, we now behold him a suppliant at the feet of England. He stands before her sueing for peace. But the cup which he had to drink was not yet full. His proposal and his terms were both rejected. Marlborough again took the field with courage, as fearless, and with resolves as high as ever. The campaign of 1709 opened with the siege and capture of Tournay. The battle of Malplaquet left thirty thousand of the enemy on the field, dying or dead. It was a scene not to be described but with a pen dipped in blood. This was followed by the capitulation of Mons, with which ended the campaign in Flanders. But not so, indeed, the distress of France and the sorrows of Louis. Encompassed with the direst necessities, the wretched monarch pressed and prayed for terms of peace. And again his overtures were rejected. It was not till 1713, that a treaty was finally agreed to and signed at Utrecht, and that hostilities ceased.

SECTION V.—A PROTESTANT SUCCESSION SECURED.

The session of 1710 closed on the fifth of April, in the impeachment and trial of an illiterate and fanatical divine of the name of Sacheverel, for high crimes and misdemeanours committed in his sermons against the revolution, the late king, the queen's title, and the protestant succession. Then we have nothing to present in the type of history but court intrigues and party manœuvres; the sayings and the doings of the royal favourites; the fall of one and the elevation of another in the councils of the state; the turning out of the Whigs and the coming in of the Tories; military operations and continental campaigns; sessions of parliament spent in fruitless debates and party contests; charges against ministers, and ministers standing forward in self-defence; commitments to the Tower, and these commitments followed by release; the existence of assassination plots, and these plots discovered; overtures of peace sought, and these overtures rejected; jacobites cherishing hopes of restoring the pretender, and these hopes blasted; the Tories divided, and their division affecting both the pretender and the succession. Amid all this, we have nothing worthy of the name of national history, except the single fact affecting the accession of the house of Hanover to the throne of England. To secure a protestant succession, on the death of the queen, was an act to which the Whigs directed their undivided mind. In this they were encouraged by knowing that there was a large and influential class who wholly differed from them on many, perhaps most, political questions, and whose fear for the church from a popish succession made them join issue in seeking the same object. "The jacobites appear imbecile or effete in this crisis of their fortunes. They were duped, or they duped themselves, in clandestine correspondence with the pretender or his agents, secret conclaves among themselves, or vague conversations with Tory chiefs, which never proceeded beyond mere words. There appears a sort of political superstition in their party creed, which made them trust to Heaven and their cause, rather than their own efforts. The truth seems to be, that in England the sense, energy, and pervading spirit of the community were arrayed against the jacobites. Country gentlemen, the giddy populace, infatuated partisans, bigoted or intriguing churchmen, are not those who achieve revolutions or restorations. It has been said that the two first princes of the house of Hanover were kings but of half their people. The assertion is very questionable or ambiguous. Jacobitism is not to be confounded with the national disgust for two princes who had not the language, manners, or character of their new subjects, or the capacity or inclination to acquire them. In Scotland only jacobitism had hope and strength. There the philosophy of popular and constitutional government made less progress. National prepossession, the ambition and inclination of party leaders, the sentiments of independence, liberty, and patriotism, were arrayed on the side of the Stuarts."* Under a pretence of his coming to reside in England, a

* Continuation of Mackintosh's History, vol. ix., pp. 306-308.

writ was demanded for the electoral prince of Hanover to sit in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge. The writ was granted with reluctance, and to the deep mortification of the queen, who deprecated the very idea of bringing over the prince, from the apprehension that, in thus attempting to strengthen the protestant succession, her own crown might be made to sit rather uneasily on her fading brow. Anne's health was now greatly impaired. Her life was precarious, and no time was to be lost in securing the succession. It was a question whether that succession was in danger. Wharton, as the leader of the Whigs, concluded that it was not, and in this conclusion he was supported by a section of the Tory party, known as trimmers. The succession was voted safe by a majority of twelve. Thus encouraged, Wharton moved an address to the queen, requesting her to offer, by proclamation, a reward for the seizure of the pretender's person, dead or alive. This barbarous proposition revolted the majority who had voted for the prince's proscription; but with the qualification—"in case of his landing, or attempting to land, in Great Britain,"—it was carried! The queen saw no occasion for such a proclamation, until, some time afterwards, she was made acquainted with the fact of troops having been raised and organized on behalf of the pretender, when she offered a reward of five thousand pounds for his arrest. The commons advised that the sum should be augmented to one hundred thousand pounds. But instead of a reward, a law was enacted, that to "list, or be enlisted, in the service of any foreign prince, state, or potentate, without a licence, under the royal sign-manual," should be held as treason. Meanwhile the princess Sophia, of Hanover, died. She had all along betrayed great indifference to English affairs, and had recommended the prince of Wales in preference to her own son for the crown of England. Nor was her son fired with any strong ambition in the prospect of such a prize. It was offered to him without a struggle—without an effort. He had but to put forth his hand and take it. Though Anne had given birth to six children, not one of them survived: and, the pretender having been proscribed by an act of the legislature, the electoral prince of Hanover, from his affinity to the royal family, was left as the undisputed heir to the throne.

Parties in the state were still greatly divided. Anne's health was rapidly declining. Every day her symptoms became more premonitory and more serious. On the 9th of July, 1714, she closed the parliament with her last speech from the throne, in which she said, with a directness and a force which must have been felt by all parties—"My chief concern is to preserve to you and to your posterity our holy religion, and the liberty of my subjects, and to secure the present and future tranquillity of my kingdom. But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts, unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside, and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people." She then added—"I hope to meet you again early in the winter, and to find you in such a temper as is necessary for the real

improvement of our commerce and of all the other advantages of peace." To her that winter never came. The contests of her court and her cabinet preyed upon her mind, and ate up the very vitals of her system. She expired on Sunday the 31st of August, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign. It may be true that—"she felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved, with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate;" it may be true that "if she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England;" it may be true that she "well deserved the expressive though simple epithet of —THE GOOD QUEEN ANNE;"—we deny nothing, and nothing we affirm.

SECTION VI.—MEN OF GENIUS AND OF LETTERS.

It is refreshing to turn away from the strife of cabinets, and the smoke of the battle-field, and to find a retreat in those shades and groves in which some nobler spirits found their way to the fountain of a purer inspiration, and in which they communed with the world of mind. The reign of Anne formed the Augustan age of England, as the reign of Louis the Fourteenth constituted that of France. In both countries there arose in the hemisphere of letters a constellation of brilliant men—men whose genius and whose works have won for them an immortality of fame. We speak not of their moral principles, nor their moral character, though some of them added to their intellectual might the highest moral excellences. We refer to them simply as men of genius and of letters. If France had a Descartes, England had a Newton, who, in the very height and fulness of his fame, appeared to himself as a child standing on the shore of the vast undiscovered ocean, and playing with a little pebble which the waters had washed to his feet. If France could boast of Fontaine, Moliere, Boileau, and Corneille among her poets, England had Pope and Swift, Congreve and Rowe. If Bossuet and Rapin excelled in history, Steele and Addison had no compeers in periodical literature. If the archbishop of Cambray, and the two Daciers took the precedence in Europe as critics and translators, Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury were in philosophy little inferior to the immortal Locke. If Madame de Sevigné shone in belles lettres, my lady Montague was no less distinguished for her literary attainments, and her letters place her at the head of female epistolary writers in Great Britain. Literature does much for the improvement and the elevation of nations. Without letters no people can attain to any high degree of civilization and refinement. Without literature nations become stationary, or rather, they degenerate and fall lower still in the scale of civilized and social life. At this day India and China are little, if at all, beyond the point at which they stood three thousand years ago. Amid the movements of mind and the march of intellect—amid the most laborious researches and the most brilliant discoveries in other countries, they have been standing still. In vain do we look to them for a single ray of light or

the path of philosophy, on the highway of truth. England, on the contrary, owes much to literature. She has reached her proud elevation chiefly through the mysterious and life-giving power of letters. Anne was neither learned nor accomplished, and yet there grew up around her men of the first eminence. The country was wasting its resources and its life in war, and yet there was a surplus power which took another and more glorious direction. The victories of Marlborough burdened the nation with debt, and converted many of the once happy hearths of England into scenes of grief and woe, while the discoveries of Newton contributed to enrich and bless the world. Men of war have rather retarded civilization and social improvement; but men of letters have given to knowledge its greatest acceleration, and to society its mightiest impulse. The battle-field has ever been a grave to entomb living men; but the utterences of thought have ever been, like the breath of life, quickening the dead soul and introducing it into a world of light and reality. Though literature will not perfect a man's moral nature, it may yet prove the vestibule to that inner sanctuary in which the Godhead dwells, and in which he may hold deeper communion with the one pure, invisible Spirit.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

Of all the princes who have sat on the throne of England, the most uninterruptedly unfortunate were those of the house of Stuart. Infamous to a proverb for deserting their adherents in the hour of extremity, they themselves were abandoned and trodden down. The vicissitudes which they experienced, and the scenes through which they passed, would, in the hands of a second Shakspeare, furnish materials for a drama of deep and powerful interest. The first James, who was king of Scotland, was assassinated by lawless ruffians, who obtained admission to his private chamber, and murdered him in his bed; the second was killed by the splinter of a cannon, which burst near him at the siege of Roxburg; the third was slain in battle, while in the kingly act of attempting to crush a rebellion among his subjects; the fourth fell at the battle of Flodden-field; the fifth died of grief for the loss of a fine army; and the sixth (James I. of England), in open rupture with his parliament, became dependant on a foreign power. The lovely Mary was beheaded under the despotic sway of the masculine and unlovely Elizabeth. Charles I. who was held guilty of having betrayed the interests of the country, and of having perilled both the freedom and the faith of a great people, was brought to the block; the second Charles wandered for many years as an exile and an outcast. James II. was compelled to abdicate the throne at a moment when the sceptre trembled in his hand, and when life was dearer to him than a crown. The treaty of Utrecht made a wanderer of his unfortunate son; while both son and grandson were proclaimed traitors to the throne, and a price put upon their heads. "When we look to some oppressor in the magnificence of his unjust power, surrounded with those inferior tyrants that, while they execute their portion of delegated guilt, tremble at the very glance of him whose frown can make them nothing; with armies whom victory after victory has rendered as illustrious as slaves that carry slavery with them, and spread it wherever their arms prevail, can hope to be; when we enter the chambers of state in which he gives himself to view, and see only the festival, and listen only to voices that are either happy, or seem to be happy, does all this splendour impose upon our heart, as it would half seduce our senses into momentary admiration? Do we think that

God has reserved all punishment for another world, and that wickedness has no feelings but those of triumph in the years of earthly sway which consummate its atrocities? There are hours in which the tyrant is not seen, the very remembrance of which, in the hours in which he is seen, darkens to his gloomy gaze that pomp which is splendour to every eye but his, and that, even on earth, avenge, with awful retribution, the wrongs of the virtuous. The victim of his jealous dread, who, with a frame wasted by disease, and almost about to release his spirit to a liberty which is immortal, is slumbering and dreaming of heaven on the straw that scarcely covers the damp earth of his dungeon,—if he could know, at that very hour, what thoughts are present to the conscience of him who doomed him to this sepulchre, and who is lying sleepless on his bed of state, though for a moment the knowledge of the vengeance might be gratifying, would almost shrink the very moment after from the contemplation of horror so hopeless, and wish that the vengeance were less severe." A house that had flooded England with blood—that had frowned upon the highest manifestations of virtue—that had crushed the noblest spirits of the good and the free—that had treated with contempt the living truth of the living God, and converted the church into an engine of deadly and destructive tyranny, were left to suffer under the righteous retribution of Him by whom actions are weighed, and whose sole prerogative it is to give unto every man according to his work.

Fortunately for England, the succession now took another direction. Though little can be said in favour of the first George, and some other members of the Hanoverian line, it would be equally unjust and ungrateful to deny that England owes much to the house of Brunswick. This illustrious and ancient house owes its origin to Azo, the fourth of the family of Esté, son of Hugo III. marquis of Ferrara, in Italy. Azo left a son, who was great grandfather to Henry the Lyon. This latter prince married Maude, eldest daughter of our second Henry, and is looked upon as the founder of the Brunswick family. Her present majesty, therefore, is descended from a monarch in whom were united the royal Anglo-Saxon and Norman blood. Henry the Lyon died in 1195, and his grandson Otho was in 1235 created duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh by the emperor the second Ferdinand. From him all the succeeding dukes of this family have descended; and no family can boast of a line of princes who have more distinguished themselves, both by their political abilities and their martial achievements; and they are allied to all the principal families in Europe. The house of Brunswick became divided into several branches. From the duke of Brunswick-zell sprung the elector of Hanover, whose son was now invited to wear the crown of England. From the accession of this illustrious house, the development, progress, and prosperity of our country, commanded the admiration of the world. No other nation of Europe, no other empire of the world, has so risen in power and pre-eminence in less than a century and a-half. And the point at which England now stands, gives us the pledge of ever-advancing greatness, of ever-brightening light and glory.

SECTION I.—STATE OF PARTIES AT THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE.

Fearing the Whig ascendancy, the jacobites and the friends of the pretender still cherished the hope that the succession might be so altered as to meet their views. But the degradation of Oxford, the promotion of Shrewsbury to the office of treasurer, and the death of the queen, on whose personal favour Bolingbroke and his party so much depended, so blasted their hopes that they stood before the nation, divided, discontented, and irresolute. Their policy now lay in a quiet submission to measures which they could never hope to oppose with any degree of success. The Whigs were predominant. It is true that Godolphin was no more, and that Marlborough had gone into voluntary banishment; but they had a council whose diligence and activity were not inferior to the manly resolution and conduct of Somerset and Argyle. "In a word, the Whigs were elated and overbearing; the Tories were abashed and humbled; the jacobites were eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture which, with respect to them, was truly critical." George arrived at Greenwich on the 11th of September, 1714. On the day following he held a levee, at which all parties, Tories, jacobites, and Whigs, were seen bending and creeping at his feet, like so many reptiles. Several of Anne's ministers were ungraciously repelled, and the new sovereign gave his confidence exclusively to the Whigs. "William III. ruled England as stadtholder, George I. as elector; but William's policy was European when it ceased to be English. George's was that of a German princeling, embroiling England with foreign states on such alien and petty issues as the annexation of Bremen and Verdun to the electorate of Hanover. In such a reign there is little to detain either the reader or the writer. It has been aptly described as no more than the pröem to the history of England under the house of Brunswick."

The new ministry under the new sovereignty being completed, the coronation of his majesty took place on the 20th of October. On the 15th of January, 1715, a proclamation was issued for the summoning of a new parliament, in which the king desired that "his loving subjects would have a particular regard to such as showed a firmness to the protestant succession when it was in danger." The country well understood to what his majesty referred; and the consequence was, that a parliament was returned in which the whig element greatly predominated. George took for his own maxim never to abandon his friends, to do justice to the world, and to fear no man. To this resolution and perseverance he joined great application in every department of business. Marlborough, who in the preceding year had returned from his voluntary exile, was restored to the command of the army, and Argyle was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. Before the new parliament assembled, the spirit of faction began to show itself. The cry of the church being in danger was revived—seditious libels were printed and circulated—and tumults more or less dangerous to the peace of the kingdom were becoming more numerous and wider-spread. Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich,

and Reading, still remembered the spirit in which they had declared for Sacheverel. The people conceiving that their liberty was being invaded, the popular, or rather party cry was—"Down with the Whigs—Sacheverel for ever!"

The parliament met on the 17th of March, and four days after his majesty appeared in the lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both houses. After thanking his faithful and loving subjects for the zeal and firmness which they had shown in defence of the protestant succession against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it, he desired that no unhappy division of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interests of their country, and declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government—that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people, should be the care of his life—and that with their assistance he was confident that he should disappoint the designs of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued—the affection of his people. His majesty's address was received with divided feeling and divided sentiment, not only in both branches of the legislature, but in the country. There were some forward to vindicate the conduct of the late ministry, and to embody that vindication in addresses to the king. The present administration was attacked. Some members of the commons went so far as to reflect on his majesty's proclamation, and to pronounce it not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of a parliament. All was confusion. The offending members apologised, and were rebuked. The house proceeded to business. The papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms, were referred to a secret committee. The civil list was taken into consideration, when it was agreed that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum should be granted to his majesty during life; and the lords passed a bill for the regulating of the forces. The popular tumult still increased. Rewards were offered for parties supposed to be disaffected to the government. George Jeffries was seized at Dublin with a packet addressed to Dean Swift, in which were found certain treasonable papers. Jeffries had to give bail for his appearance, and Swift thought proper to abscond. On the report of the secret committee being presented, warrants were issued for the apprehension of several members. This was followed by the impeachment of Bolingbroke, Oxford, Ormond, and Strafford. It appears that Bolingbroke and Ormond made their escape to France, and that bills of attainder were passed against them. Oxford was committed to the Tower, and on his way thither a London mob shouted high church jacobitism at his heels. Tumult spread till it brought into existence the RIOT ACT, which as a law of fearful compass is not more severe than salutary. The Whigs, strong in the confidence of their sovereign, though they sustained no common loss in the death of Burnet, Halifax, and Wharton, prosecuted their views and their vengeance with unyielding determination. The session closed on the 21st of September, and the parliament did not meet again for the despatch of business till January in the year following.

SECTION II.—REBELLION IN FAVOUR OF THE PRETENDER.

For some months past, there were those who foresaw that the elements of rebellion were coming into play. The king himself was not ignorant of the fact, and hinted as much to the parliament. The extreme severity of the measures pursued by the government towards the Tories, had forced them to the point of open resistance; and the partizans of the pretender taking advantage of the popular excitement produced by the arrest of so many distinguished members of both houses, resolved on a simultaneous demonstration on both sides the Tweed. The pretender was proclaimed in Scotland by the earl of Mar, under the style and title of James III. while the earl of Derwentwater, crossing the border, proclaimed him at Lancaster, and other places in the south. In the town of Preston they were met by the king's forces, who invested the town, and compelled them to surrender. In Scotland, Mar gave battle to the duke of Argyle, at Sheriffmoor, near Dunblane, but the advantage was decidedly with the royal army; and Argyle followed up his successes to the utter discomfiture of the insurgents. Yet the pretender had the daring to land at Peterhead, near Aberdeen, where he issued sundry proclamations for convening the estates, for raising levies, and for solemnizing his coronation, and having created several peers and knights, sent an order to the lord mayor of London, to have him proclaimed in the capital. He then continued his progress from place to place, and finally took up his residence in the palace of Scone. Argyle was not ignorant of his movements, nor of the movements of the enemy in general. He tracked them so closely that the pretender, thinking his cause hopeless, hastened to embark in a French vessel that lay in the harbour of Montrose, and, accompanied by Mar and Melford, left our shores disappointed and mortified. The rebel army fled, and melted away among the mountains of the north. So ended this rebellion. So perished the hopes of the Tory party. Some of the principal noblemen who took part in the rebellion were brought to trial. Those who were peers were impeached, and their impeachment was carried in due form to the bar of the house of lords, where they all pleaded guilty, under the impression that it would be followed by mercy. On the 19th of February, 1716, sentence was pronounced against them, and, though every means was employed to obtain the royal clemency, they were left to expiate their crime by laying their heads upon the block.

SECTION III.—INTRODUCTION OF THE SEPTENNIAL ACT.

Though the rebellion was put down, the popular dissatisfaction was not abated. Conscious of this fact, and fearing lest the election of a new parliament might wrest the power from their hands, the Whigs proposed the repeal of the Triennial Act, by the introduction of a new law to extend the time of parliament to seven years. On

the 10th of April, the duke of Devonshire undertook the defence of this expedient in the house of peers. On the 14th it was committed by a majority of thirty-five; and though two days afterwards a protest was entered by thirty lords, on the ground that before the end of seven years the reasons for continuing it, and even perpetuating it, might be much stronger than now, and its continuation would then be an express and absolute subversion of the third estate of the legislature, still the bill finally passed by a decided majority! In the commons the opposition was still more determined and resolute. "The debates that took place during its progress were animated by a spirit of patriotism that left ministers nothing to boast of in the result, except a naked victory of force over truth and justice." If, by the introduction of this bill, "the character, powers, and responsibility of the elective branch of the legislature, underwent a fundamental change," then the following remark is no less enlightened than true:—"Were there no other grounds for looking back with suspicion upon this memorable parliamentary operation, the rapidity with which it was accomplished would be sufficient to excite the jealousy of the nation; nor can the parliament ever be expected to enjoy the entire confidence of the people, so long as its duration continues to be regulated by an act, the validity of which is doubtful, since the people literally had no share in it, and the wisdom of which may be questioned, from the want of deliberation that marked its origin, progress, and consummation."

The expediency of the measure was urged on the ground of the expenses connected with frequent elections, as if the question of money, voluntarily raised and voluntarily expended, were to regulate the popular right in the frequent choice of representatives. But frequent elections occasioned divisions and disturbances—as if a septennial election might not be as tumultuous, though not so frequent, as that which was triennial. Frequent parliaments might be essential to the maintenance of public liberty, but frequent parliaments were something different from frequent elections, overlooking the fact that the elections determine the elements and the composition of the parliament. Might not their frequent appeals to the popular will, by encouraging internal feuds and divisions, present so many advantages to an enemy? As if the people would join a foreign enemy against their own country, if there existed no cause of deeper discontent in the domestic government; or, as if an enemy would make the contest of a parliamentary election a ground of hostility, if that enemy was persuaded of the good faith of the government. Besides, parliaments had been called again and again, at the very moment when the country was plunged into the very deepest depth of war. Then it was urged that the bill would give encouragement to our allies to enter into treaties with us. As if England was to give up its constitution to facilitate treaties with other nations! It was well remarked, on the floor of the house, that "those who make use of this argument are strangers to the constitution of England; for, by the known and standing law of the land, the right of making peace and war, treaties and alliances, is undeniably the king's prerogative; and the king may exercise that right as to him seems best,

and most for the good and benefit of his people, without application to parliament either to approve or confirm." The right to elect is, by the constitution, in the people. But this bill was an infringement of that right. It was a subversion of one of the three estates of the realm. It was, virtually, to take away the house of commons, as chosen by the people, and to substitute a house of commons constituted by act of parliament. Yet this was the work of the Whigs. All the argument against the bill—all the defence set up for the rights and the liberties of the people, was with the Tories. "A return to short parliaments, by affording the people frequent opportunities of infusing fresh spirit into popular representation, can alone yield the only certain and permanent means of strengthening the hands of a government that really possesses the confidence of the nation."

SECTION IV.—A NEW CABINET—THE WHIG PARTY BROKEN UP.

Flushed with the triumph which had been achieved over the pretender, no less than with that which his ministers had obtained in carrying the Septennial Act, his majesty prorogued the parliament on the twenty-sixth of June, in a speech full of self-gratulation, and intimated his intention of visiting his German dominions during the recess. The prince of Wales was appointed lieutenant during his absence, and on him devolved the guardianship of the realm. The prince had his favourites, but those who enjoyed the favour of the son fell under the displeasure of the father, among whom were Argyle and his brother, who had rendered the most important service to his majesty. The spirit of discontent so deepened and spread in the provinces, that it was deemed advisable that the king should return with all possible speed, and open the parliament. Before his return, he entered into a treaty of friendship and alliance with France, as a measure of precaution against any aggression on his Hanoverian dominions by the king of Sweden. His Swedish majesty took offence at this treaty, and contemplated an invasion of Britain. The conspiracy was discovered. The Swedish minister was seized, his papers sealed up, and a guard set over his house. The other foreign ministers remonstrated. Other arrests followed. His majesty and the government were resolved on the punishment of the conspirators. On the 20th of February, 1717, the king opened parliament in person. The conduct of the conspirators, and the nature of their correspondence, as learned from the letters and papers which had been seized, formed the all-engrossing business. Early in April, the house received a royal message, asking for a supply to enable his majesty to reduce the king of Sweden. The message awakened no common indignation. It was to them wholly unaccountable that a country not long ago the terror of France and Spain should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden. Yet, despite of the manly opposition which was made to the measure in its whole progress, a grant of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds was voted by a majority of four. This majority was ominous to the ministry. The

following morning Walpole requested an audience of his majesty, and tendered his resignation. It was a critical moment. Ten times the king returned the seals, and ten times Walpole laid them down again on the table. George gave up the contest, and the sovereign and the minister parted in tears. A new administration was constructed, with Stanhope as premier, and Sunderland and Addison as secretaries of state. At the very moment when Walpole resigned, he was engaged in a scheme for the reduction of the national debt, and his retirement from office produced an unutterable sensation both in parliament and out of it. The government passed into comparatively insignificant hands. The Whig party were divided. Some continued to support the government; others followed Walpole; and between Walpole and Stanhope there existed the strongest jealousy and resentment.

It would be a waste of time and space to enter into the strife of parties; the feeble action of the new ministry; the tumults and demonstrations of the jacobite party; the treatment of dissenters; the trial and acquittal of Oxford, after pining for nearly two years within the walls of the Tower; the domestic discomfiture of the sovereign; the differences between the king and the prince of Wales on account of the prince's popularity; the royal intimation to all peers, privy councillors, and their families, not to visit the prince and princess of Wales, on the penalty of being excluded from his majesty's presence and service; the reduction of the army on the one hand, and the increase of the navy on the other; the committal of Shippen to the Tower for proposing the reduction of the army from sixteen to twelve thousand men, and asserting that the king's speech was better adapted to the meridian of Germany than to Great Britain; the secret and extending disaffection of the people; the plots to assassinate the king; the prorogation of the parliament; the end of the Swedish conspiracy by the death of Charles on the field of battle; the ambitious design of Cardinal Alberoni to re-annex to the Spanish monarchy those kingdoms and provinces of which it had been divested by the treaty of Utrecht; the fact that the emperor appealed to the sovereigns of Europe, and that the king of Spain referred the quarrel to the arbitration of England and France; the quadruple alliance in which this arbitration resulted; the unjustifiable interference of the British, to defend, at any hazard, the territories of the empire against the arms of Spain; the proposal of the English admiral for a cessation of arms for two months, so as to give the powers of Europe time to negotiate a peace; the rejection of this proposal on the part of the Spanish general, with the action which ensued, and the victory which the English obtained, in the destruction of the Spanish fleet, which proceeding was deemed, by the court of Madrid, as a flagrant violation of the law of nations; the orders to make reprisals upon England; the consequent interruption of the whole of that lucrative branch of commerce which had been previously carried on with Spanish America, and the declaration of war against his catholic majesty, as the only remedy which remained to England and France;—all this would contribute but little to the real history of our country.

The parliament met on the 16th of November, when the Spanish

business drew down the indignation of Walpole and his party. Several changes having been effected in the ministry, the Whigs were conscious of renewed strength. The address to his majesty was carried, and an ample supply was voted for the necessities of the war. To render themselves popular, and to fortify themselves in the confidence of all parties, they began to relax their measures towards those who dissented from the national faith. The king was decidedly friendly to religious toleration, and "always felt the necessity of abolishing those unjust and invidious distinctions, which excluded the dissenters from their proper share in the advantages and protection of the constitution." Their loyalty to the throne, and their attachment to the protestant interest, could not be disputed. They still laboured under many civil disabilities, and they could not, as subjects of the same crown, but long for the unconditional abrogation of all disqualifying laws. His majesty would have assented to the repeal of the Test Act, but Stanhope assured him it could not be done. There were men, however, who understood the true genius of christianity—the true constitution of the christian church. Bishop Hoadley, preaching before the king in the chapel-royal, distinctly, and without reserve, asserted that "the church, taking the term in its utmost latitude of signification, did not, and could not, possess the slightest degree of authority under any commission, or pretended commission, derived from CHRIST; that the church of England, and all other national churches, were merely civil or human institutions, established for the purposes of diffusing and perpetuating the knowledge and belief of christianity, which contained a system of truths not in their nature different from other truths, excepting by their superior weight and importance, and which were to be inculcated in a manner analogous to other truths, demanding only, from their more interesting import, proportionably higher degrees of care, attention, and assiduity in the promulgation of them." A man of such wide and liberal views was something rare in those days. His teaching was repudiated by the high-church party, and he was accused of a desire to plunge the kingdom into anarchy and confusion. The people sympathized with the prelate. They could appreciate liberty of conscience, and they were resolved to enjoy it. On the 18th of December, my lord Stanhope introduced a bill, entitled—AN ACT FOR STRENGTHENING THE PROTESTANT INTEREST IN THESE KINGDOMS; which proposed the repeal of the Occasional Conforming and Schism Acts, and of such clauses in the Test and Corporation Act as operated to the exclusion of protestant dissenters from civil offices. The introduction of this measure produced a powerful sensation among all parties. If it was supported with great ability, it was denounced with equal severity. In opposing it, my lord Lansdowne exclaimed—"Who is there among us but can tell of some ancestor either sequestered or murdered by them? Who voted the lords useless? The dissenters. Who abolished episcopacy? The dissenters. Who destroyed freedom of parliament? The dissenters. Who introduced government by standing armies? The dissenters. Who washed their hands in the blood of their martyred sovereign? The dissenters. Have they repented? No; they glory in their

wickedness at this day." A man who could rave such nonsense in the British parliament would have found a more appropriate sphere in Bedlam. Nor is the country free from such madmen in our own day. Dissenters have a historic life, and their history is their best vindication and defence. The bill was carried in the upper house, with the omission of the clause respecting the Test and Corporation Act, and in that form it passed the commons. The Irish parliament passed a similar measure in July of the following year, but could not be prevailed upon to extend it to the repeal of the sacramental test. After a vain attempt to bring in a bill to restrain the crown from enlarging the peerage by more than six new creations, and to prevent any farther introductions into the house, except in cases of extinct titles, the parliament was prorogued on the eighteenth of April, 1719. It was a session which had yielded but little fruit. If one link in the chain which fettered conscience was broken, another was forged to bind heavier burdens on a people already oppressed and bowed down under the weight of taxation.

SECTION V.—THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.

The king having gone a second time to Hanover, during his absence Alberoni was busy at Madrid in concerting measures for an attack on England, for her share in the injuries that had been inflicted on Spain. But again the cardinal was defeated in his enterprise, and Spain was under the humbling necessity of submitting to the allies. Sweden, too, was at the mercy of England, and, conscious of impending ruin, signed a provisional treaty by which Bremen and Verdun were ceded to Hanover. The real object of the intervention of Great Britain having been thus secured, Sweden was left prostrate at the feet of Russia, and suffered not a little beneath her iron despotism.

Parliament was opened on the 23rd of November. The peerage bill was again brought forward; and though the greatest bribery and corruption were employed to secure its success, it was lost. Another measure was proposed for securing the dependancy of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain. This measure had its origin in a single incident. An individual had been dispossessed of certain lands in the county of Kildare, by a decree of the house of peers in Ireland. He appealed to the house of peers in England, which had never before been resorted to, as a court of appellate jurisdiction, from the Irish parliament. The English lords reversed the decree of the Irish peers; and the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, in obeying the order, came into collision with the Irish house of lords. An appeal was made to his majesty, and the result was a declaratory bill which confirmed the English house of peers in the supremacy of the appellate jurisdiction, and established the right of the English parliament to make laws for the kingdom of Ireland in all cases whatever. From that moment the Irish constitution became a dead letter.

It appears that a Scotchman, of the name of Law, had, in 1718, induced the French to enter into a commercial speculation, under the

name of the Mississippi Company, which, while it promised that nation great wealth, ultimately ended in her being involved in unlooked-for distress. The king having recommended to his commons the consideration of the reduction of the national debt, Sir John Blunt communicated a scheme to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he offered to relieve the government of large irredeemable annuities and other public incumbrances, which in their distress they had granted for money at ruinous rates. An association was formed, under the designation of THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY, which was first established for commerce with the Spanish American possessions, and for whaling in the South Seas, and which was to bring an inexhaustible amount of wealth to England from the mines of Potosi and Mexico. The proposals of the company were accepted by the government, and an act was passed, on which was based a charter of privileges. In addition to other powers with which it invested them, it enabled them to call in certain uncancelled exchequer-bills, and to make new bills in lieu of the same; which bills were to be circulated and exchanged on demand, in or near the Exchequer. It was no sooner known that the act had passed the legislature, than the stock of the company rose to above three hundred per cent. and the nation, as if universally bewitched, were seized with the spirit of speculation. There was a mania for bubbles. The most extravagant promises were held out, and the most extravagant expectations were entertained. The first sale of stock was made at three hundred per cent. and two millions and a quarter were taken. Though ignorant of the terms on which irredeemable annuities would be received for stock, numbers of annuitants deposited their securities at the South Sea House. Before the first half-yearly dividend became due, in July, such was the frenzy or the infatuation of the public, that the stock was sold at nearly nine hundred per cent. The directors then proposed to create new stock at one thousand per cent. to be paid in ten instalments of one hundred pounds each; and in a few days these instalments were worth four hundred! The bubble was now full blown. And what was the consequence? The price of Bank stock rose to two hundred and sixty, and that of East India stock to about four hundred and fifty per cent. New companies started into existence every day. Manifold schemes were projected. The people became a prey to the grossest delusion. Some of these lesser bubbles were no sooner blown than they burst. Panic struck the nation. The South Sea stock began to decline. It fell rapidly. And though everything was done to prop the scheme and support the reputation of the directors, several eminent bankers and goldsmiths, who had advanced large sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment and abscond. The whole thing went to the ground, involving the ruin of thousands, and nearly dragging the Bank and the East India Company along with it. Parliament, who had been forewarned once again of the fate of the scheme, now interposed. A committee of secresy was chosen to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relating to the execution of the South Sea Act. There were men of both houses deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Aislabie had no alternative but to resign his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower. Others were charged with notorious fraud and breach of trust. Stanhope, who undertook the defence of the government, was suddenly smitten with death. Mr. Secretary Craggs died a few days after. The estates of the directors were confiscated, and some of the stock re-absorbed in the national debt, under the designation of the "South Sea Annuities Stock." "Thus, in the space of eight months, were seen the rise, progress, and fall of that mighty fabric, which, being wound up by mysterious springs to a wonderful height, had fixed the eyes and expectations of all Europe; but whose foundations, being fraud, illusion, credulity, and infatuation, fell to the ground as soon as the artful management of the projectors was discovered. The ebb of this swollen, fluctuating credit, returned with greater violence than it flowed, and carried everything before it with that precipitation, that the application of the ministers of state, and the directors of the great companies, jointly and separately, to stop it, were ineffectual." Nor was this the only evil. In the midst of these gambling speculations, luxury, vice, and profligacy were triumphant. The love of money displaced the love of virtue. The countenance given by a prodigal and profligate government to public gambling—to nefarious speculations and ruinous lotteries—rendered the people an easy prey to the basest schemes of the basest villains. The loss of the nation's credit was as nothing to the wreck and the ruin of the nation's morals.

During the next six years of this reign there were no measures of any great public interest. The church was intolerant. Blasphemy and profaneness would have been made subject to penal infliction but for the manly opposition of the bishop of Peterborough, and other enlightened members of the legislature. An affirmation bill to relieve the Society of Friends from taking oaths was, after a severe struggle, carried by a decisive majority. To repair in some degree the losses and the ruin inflicted on the country by the South Sea scheme, his majesty announced his resolution to diminish his expenses, and proposed to supply a deficiency in the civil list by reducing the salaries connected with the public service. Walpole, who was now at the head of the government, framed a comprehensive commercial code, which not only relieved the nation from a variety of obnoxious burthens, but opened up new channels of trade and commerce, or increased the facilities for their expansion. The treaty of Nystadt, concluded by England and Russia, restored tranquillity to Europe. In 1721 a treaty of peace was signed between Great Britain and Spain. Then an alliance was entered into between England, France, and Spain, with a secret article, by which the latter countries guaranteed to Hanover the possession of Bremen and Verdun.

In 1722 the parliament was dissolved. Sunderland, who was "a jobber in the funds, and a hypocrite in the council; who pawned his honour in the stocks, and sacrificed his country in the senate," died in April. His death was followed by that of Marlborough, in the month of June, whose "victories entitled him to a gorgeous funeral, but whose private vices covered his name with contempt." Meanwhile, the elections proceeded with great zeal all over the kingdom,

and gave a large majority in favour of the court. Another conspiracy was on foot, and parliament met on the ninth of October, when his majesty announced the discovery of a conspiracy against his person and government in favour of the pretender, and asked for corresponding assistance. Proceedings against those who were suspected were at once commenced, and prosecuted with vigour. On the death of the duke of Orleans his majesty received renewed assurances from the French court of their desire to maintain, and even improve, the good understanding so happily established between France and England. On the opening of the parliament in January, 1724, the flourishing state of trade and commerce furnished a prolific topic of congratulation. This improvement was to be ascribed chiefly to the activity and the wisdom of Walpole. Yet Walpole and his colleagues were ever and anon being assailed by the opposition. In fact, the whole of this reign was marked by the strife of party; and the most patriotic men were impeded in the most patriotic course of action. Pulteney, who opposed a grant to discharge the debts of the civil list, was dismissed, and, having joined the opposition, was at once recognised as their leader. The lord chancellor Macclesfield was charged with the crime of bribery and corruption, and was committed to the Tower until he discharged a fine of thirty thousand pounds. In 1725 his majesty proceeded to Hanover. A breach of contract between France and Spain called for the mediation of George. But he declined to act. A defensive alliance was immediately entered into at Hanover between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Prussia, to which Denmark and Holland afterwards acceded. His majesty then returned to England, met his parliament on the ninth of January, 1726, when the new troubles and disturbances in Europe were cautiously touched upon in the royal speech. The house approved the treaty of Hanover, and voted an extraordinary supply for efficiently carrying on the government of the country. An European war was apprehended. The emperor and his catholic majesty of Spain had concluded a treaty known by the name of the treaty of Vienna, one of the secret articles of which was said to be—the placing the pretender on the throne of England. Army and navy were at once increased. Supplies were granted with enthusiastic acclamation. The Spanish monarch attempted to defend himself from all design on the English government, but without success; and then commenced hostilities by a descent upon Gibraltar. The English avoided all reprisals, and the death of the Empress Catherine of Russia paralyzed all the efforts of Charles. Abandoned by other allies, he was compelled to submit, and the emperor, sacrificing Spain to his own security, negotiated a peace with France, England, and Holland, and confirmed all the treaties in force anterior to the year 1725. The session terminated on the fifteenth of May, and, on the third of the following month, his majesty once more set out for Hanover, but never again to return. Though he left our shores in perfect health, he was suddenly seized on his journey, and, before he could reach Osnaburgh, of which his brother was bishop, he had breathed his last. "If his reign conferred no permanent blessings upon the country, it removed some impediments to the diffusion of

liberal principles. He endeavoured to rule England beneficially, but his hands were tied by Hanoverian cords, and whenever he attempted to move, he was dragged in that direction. Thus, treaties were violated, solemn engagements disregarded, and the national honour sullied. Thus England was entangled in continental alliances, ruinous subsidies, and financial troubles, for objects in which she had no interest whatever. But the inherent and resilient life within her rebounded from his grave, and redeemed her ancient glory." The seeds of good government, like the seeds of truth, are incorruptible. In their growth and development they may have to force their way through many opposing influences and agencies, but, sooner or later, they will come into the light of day, and challenge a wider and deeper attention. There is a constant resurrection of the good in this our fallen world. The stone is rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre, and life being conveyed to the inanimate body, it comes forth with renovated form, and with mightier power. Society is ever and anon made conscious of a quickening influence, and, under this vital energy, presses forward to another and still more advanced point of political, social, and moral improvement.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FREEDOM DEPENDANT ON VIRTUE

In a period of extreme luxurious profligacy, of which the last reign remains the monument, it is in vain to call to those who have no virtue, to arm themselves against tyranny and oppression, however cruel, despotic, and crushing. The silent operation of truth and virtue has tended far more effectually to bring about and secure those reforms and improvements which have been sought by an appeal to arms. Physical force can never be employed for such an end, without carrying in its train evils corresponding to the violence put forth. But truth and virtue operating on the mind, in which all real strength resides, calls into play a force before which the most despotic governments of earth tremble and are afraid. A single tyrant may be hurled from his throne by the very ministers who surround him, "while they bow the knee, the very moment after, to some new tyrant of their own number; but it is tyranny which the patriot hates, and if that still subsist, the murder of a thousand tyrants would make tyranny an object only of more sickly loathing." Apart from public virtue, then, it is in vain to look for political freedom or social improvement. In proportion to the morality of a nation, is its elevation in the scale of political life and liberty. And though virtue itself may to a certain extent be dependant, for its freer and more perfect action, on political freedom, it is undeniable that the freedom of a people will always be in proportion to the private and public morality. Universal liberty will come only with universal virtue. "In loving the land of our birth, we love those who inhabit it, who are to us a part, as it were, of the land itself, and the part which brings it most immediately home to our affection and services. It is a greater recommendation to our good-will, indeed, to be a relative, or a friend, or a benefactor; but it is no slight recommendation, even without any of these powerful titles, to be a fellow-countryman, to have breathed the same air, and trod the same soil, and lent vigour to the same political institutions, to which our own aid has actively or passively contributed." Nor must our patriotism be limited to this general interest in the happiness of all who live with us under the same government. "The duties which we owe to our fellow-citizens, as constituting one great community, may be considered as reduceable to three:—first, the duty of obedience to the system of laws under which we live, the benefit of which all enjoy, and according to

which all regulate their plans and expectations: secondly, the duty of defending that social system of which we are a part, from violent aggressions, foreign or internal; and thirdly, the duty of endeavouring, as far as we possess any power that can be beneficially exerted, to increase the means of public prosperity; and above all, where political evils exist, to ameliorate a system of polity, which, though it produces much happiness, may still, by reformation, as far as these are practicable, be capable of producing more."

SECTION I.—THE KING—HIS MINISTERS—AND HIS PARLIAMENT.

George the Second ascended the throne in the forty-fifth year of his age, and enjoying the good opinion of the nation. Having been trained in a military school, he was a strict disciplinarian, and carried his love of system and punctuality into all those multiform affairs, private and public, in which he was engaged. The education of the man had been neglected, and he had no taste for letters, or science, or art. On his accession, he declared his purpose to preserve inviolate the constitution in church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. He was then proclaimed king of Great Britain. Hitherto, the wealth of the nation had been lavished upon foreign connexions, on unnecessary wars, and in fruitless expeditions. The constitution had been invaded. Corruption and vice had infected both the parliament and the country. Nor was this last-named evil rooted out. There were not a few who were still mean enough to sell themselves for a price, and suffer their spirits to be enslaved and defiled. The ministry lacked not the means. The public treasure was at their disposal, and places and pensions could create dependants. "They squandered away the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse; they enlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatize as jacobites and enemies to the government all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration."

The parliament was prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of June. All the great officers of state continued in their places. Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury. He was a man of rare abilities, but not of equal virtue. His influence was almost incredible. His administration was based on his deeper views of human nature, and of the spirit and tendency of the age in which he was called to employ his extraordinary powers. In the preceding reign he had been a leading member in the house of the people, and even first minister of the crown. He had no common warfare to wage with that very house. But his strength rested on a firmer foundation than ever, and the opposition were struck with panic. When the parliament met, the entire produce of the civil list, amounting to above eight hundred thousand pounds, was settled on his majesty during life; and soon after the house was dissolved. The new parliament was composed of almost the same

materials, and their attention was very much confined to questions of war and of treaty. Sums had been voted under the previous reign for restoring the peace of Europe, of which no account had been rendered. This fact provoked an angry debate; but before the session had come to a close, the house passed a discretionary vote of credit. A committee was appointed to bring up a report on the subject of the national debt. Walpole hailed this appointment, and it was proved to a demonstration that the sinking fund had been raised from five to twelve hundred thousand pounds, and that from Christmas, 1716, to Lady-day, 1728, not less than between six and seven millions had been applied to the discharge of the national debt. The preliminaries of a peace with Spain being now ratified, the intelligence diffused universal satisfaction, and greatly contributed to the popularity of ministers.

The session closed on the twenty-first of May, and met again on the twelfth of January, 1729. His majesty was loud, frequent, and imperious, in his demands for money, and Walpole had no little difficulty in extricating himself with credit and with honour. He was reduced to the painful alternative of supporting vote after vote, contrary to his judgment, or of tendering his resignation. His majesty brought the proceedings of the legislature to a speedy close, and leaving the Queen sole regent in his absence, took his departure for Hanover. Walpole's policy was pacific. The courts of Madrid and of London entered into a definitive treaty at Seville in the month of November, by which peace was completely restored, and all former treaties were renewed. By the time the parliament met in January, 1730, the opposition had become a powerful and compact body, and, with Bolingbroke at their head, opened a fierce and continued attack on the administration, and, availing themselves of contentions in the cabinet, endeavoured to turn the tide of popular feeling against the government. Frequent occasions occurred for an open trial of strength between the two parties. In each successive contest the opposition was foiled, if not humbled. Nor could it be denied that Walpole was prosecuting the most comprehensive plans for the improvement of the revenue and the trade of the country, although the political writings of the day had assumed an unusually bold and audacious tone. To these publications his majesty injudiciously alluded in his speech on closing the parliament. The allusion, no doubt, was intended to terminate on Bolingbroke, whose pen had been prolific and unrestrained. That party feeling more than the public welfare influenced men, is evident from the fact, that on the day that parliament was prorogued, Townshend resigned, and several changes became necessary in the cabinet.

The foreign affairs of the kingdom now devolved on the duke of Newcastle and my lord Harrington. In reference to France, Spain, and Austria, the policy of England was threefold. "The first point was to keep out the pretender, and for this purpose it was necessary to preserve the friendship of France; the next was, to preserve the trade with Spain, to which end the treaty of Seville had been entered into; and the third, paramount all throughout in the desires of the king, was to preserve Bremen and Verdun to Hanover, which ren-

dered it imperative to conciliate Austria. But as all these objects could not be prosecuted at the same time, the most urgent were taken into consideration first; and now that the pretender was no longer formidable, and Spain was secured by treaty, the minister resolved to direct his exclusive attention to a negotiation with the court of Vienna." His majesty was in favour of peace. He felt that if the tranquillity of Europe could be settled without the effusion of blood, it would be most happy and desirable; but, if not, then honour, justice, and the sacred faith due to solemn treaties, would justify the employment of arms. The parliament and the country were thus reminded of the probabilities of a war. And for what? As elector of Hanover, his majesty had certain predilections, and to gratify those predilections all christendom was to be plunged into open warfare. This was prevented by a second treaty of Vienna, which was signed both by his Britannic majesty and the emperor, and which not only restored tranquillity to Europe, but disarmed all opposition at home. "Of all countries in the world, England was the last that could exist without alliances and treaties. Her maritime character, her colonial possessions, her extensive and increasing trade, that brought her into direct connection with a great variety of different and incompatible interests, and the constant necessity which her limited surface created for the formation of supplemental settlements, rendered it not only desirable, but unavoidable, to enter into numerous contracts with other powers, modified from time to time by the fluctuating influences of altered circumstances, and assuming an offensive or defensive tone, as those circumstances demanded."

SECTION II.—SCHEME FOR THE REFORM OF THE REVENUE.

The termination, by the treaty of Vienna, of a contest which had, for the space of ten years, divorced England from Austria, gave no common satisfaction. Walpole was in the height of his popularity. Though assailed in public and in private, by the peers and in the senate, he maintained his ground. Parliament was convened on the thirteenth of January, 1732; and the opposition, abandoning the ground of foreign politics, took up domestic grievances. They declared against a standing army, and charged the ministers, in the prosecution of their schemes, with malignant designs against the liberties of the country. Strong objection was taken to A GENERAL EXCISE, as placing in the hands of the government an extensive machinery of corruption, which they could employ as it might suit their purpose. Excise duties were odious to the country. Their first imposition, nearly one hundred years before, led to serious popular tumults, and nothing short of the most consummate wisdom was required to bring the people to acquiesce in such imposts. And in opening the next session of parliament, in January, 1733, his majesty recommended to the house, that in all their deliberations, as well upon raising the annual supplies, as upon the distribution of the annual revenues, they should pursue such measures as would most conduce to the present and future ease of those they represented. Various questions

occupied their attention, into which it is not needful to enter. Under the pressure of a felt necessity, and not to add to the burdens of the people, already groaning beneath the weight of taxation, Walpole proposed to alienate a portion of the sinking fund, which was composed of the surplus of duties and revenues, and which was originally formed by act of parliament, for the liquidation of the national debt, and apply it to the present purposes of the state. To this measure, which has so deeply stained his ministry, Walpole obtained the sanction of the legislature, and it continued ever after to be so appropriated. In 1734, the whole produce of the year was taken from it; in 1735, it was anticipated; and in 1736, it was mortgaged.

But the hour was at hand for the minister to bring out his grand comprehensive scheme of financial reform. The whole country was in expectation. The opposition party were frantic, and put forth every effort to excite the people to riot. Nothing intimidated, Walpole, after exposing the frauds practised by knavish dealers in certain articles of revenue, laid before the house his plan, which, instead of being a general excise, turned out to be the conversion of the customs' duties on wine and tobacco into duties of excise, thus relieving the merchant from the inconvenience of paying the duty on importation, or granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment before he had found a market for the commodity:—Customs being duties paid by the merchant upon importations; excises being duties payable by the retail trades upon consumption. The opposition deemed the measure unnecessary—charged the ministers with miscalculations—predicted the ruin of the planter—pronounced the scheme destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject. The whole nation was alarmed lest it might be the forerunner of a general excise, and clamoured loudly against the bill. Walpole was obliged to abandon it; but the house unanimously resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs, and a committee of twenty-one was chosen for this purpose. Had the minister succeeded in his scheme, the whole of the customs would have been ultimately converted into excise, making London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world.

SECTION III.—A CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

The downfall of Walpole was now deemed certain. The people had expressed the most extravagant joy on his defeat of a measure which promised more than any other for the good of the country, and yet sustained him in his scheme of national spoliation, when he proposed to alienate the sinking fund to the purposes of the state. But the minister enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, and still had the ascendancy in the commons. Nor was his power greater than the peculiar exigencies of the period required. Though in the annual revolution of debates in parliament—debates in which the same arguments perpetually recurred on the same subjects—he had but little difficulty to surmount; yet a tide was setting in which nothing could stem or resist.

With the contest for the throne of Poland—with the declaration of war by France, Spain, and Sardinia, against Austria; or with the campaigns of Germany and Italy, we have little to do. In virtue of the second treaty of Vienna, the emperor claimed succours from England. His majesty would have acceded to the demand, but Walpole was opposed to it. The country was just beginning to enjoy the fruits of peace abroad, and of tranquillity at home. To engage in war, fresh taxes must be imposed, and the people were already burdened beyond what they could well bear. The demand was evaded by a promise on the part of his majesty to consult his allies. Walpole thus obtained time to make his arrangements, and preparations were begun to increase the land forces. Parliament opened on the seventeenth of January, 1734, and the tactics of the opposition were such as indicated consummate ability and courage. The clamour about the excise was revived, the question of the standing army was discussed with unwonted heat and animation—the prerogative was asserted—and a bill for securing the freedom of parliament by limiting the number of officers, civil and military, in the house of commons, was again introduced. It was the last session of the parliament. The country was on the eve of a general election, and the opposition hoped no doubt to damage the ministers in the public estimation. They now proposed the repeal of the septennial act. It was an effort which covered the opposition with disgrace, and the minister obtained a large majority in the elections. Secret intrigues were formed against Walpole. Everything was done by the opposition and by foreign ambassadors to ruin him with his sovereign, but in vain. He pursued his course—was resolved on measures of peace, and but for the insincerity of others, would have secured the emperor's assent to a secret convention which would have terminated the war, and reduced all Europe to peace.

The first session of the new parliament in 1735 is destitute of interest. The interposition of England led to a treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal. Negotiations between the allies and the emperor were brought to a successful issue, and a general pacification restored tranquillity to Europe. This settlement was a subject of universal congratulation in the parliament of 1736, and Walpole now turned his attention to those civil disabilities under which a certain portion of his majesty's subjects were still called to suffer. He supported a bill for the relief of the quakers, who justly complained of the legal persecution to which they were exposed for their conscientious refusal to pay tithes; but, overawed by the clamour of THE CHURCH IN DANGER, he opposed a bill for the repeal of those clauses in the Test Act which excluded protestant dissenters from civil offices. The ancient statutes against conjuration and witchcraft were now blotted from the judicial code. Homage was done to the divine genius of religious toleration. To check the deterioration of social morals, a tax was laid on the consumption of spirituous liquors, but this rather increased the evil which it was meant to remedy.

The opposition of ministers to a bill to enable his majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at a rate of interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards the redemption of the South Sea annuities; their opposition to the motion

that his majesty would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds per annum out of the civil list revenues on the prince of Wales; and then their introduction of a bill, in which it was enacted that all new dramatic pieces should in future be submitted to the inspection of the lord chamberlain, and that none should be allowed to be acted except those that were sanctioned by his express licence, under the plea that the stage had become grossly licentious;—tended much to undermine the popularity of the government, and in part contributed to its fall. A complete estrangement took place between his majesty and the prince of Wales. The opposition sided with the prince, whose popularity was daily rising. The press and the country were against the ministers, and the power of the cabinet rapidly declined. The death of the queen, which took place in November, 1737, was a serious blow to Walpole. The king's capricious and intractable temper he could no longer hope to guide or control. The parliament met early in 1738, when the object of the opposition was manifest. Not only would they have forced the government into a declaration of war, but would have reduced the military strength of the kingdom to a point, which, in any severe contest, must have covered the arms of England with disgrace.

At this crisis there appeared in the political hemisphere the star of William Pitt, otherwise known as the celebrated Lord Chatham. The great distinguishing qualities of Pitt were firmness of purpose, and resolute determination in the pursuit of his objects. "The quickness with which he could ascertain his object, and discover his road to it, was fully commensurate with his perseverance, and his boldness in pursuing it. The firmness of grasp with which he held his advantage was fully equalled by the rapidity of the glance with which he discovered it. Add to this a mind eminently fertile in resources; a courage which nothing could daunt in the choice of his means; a resolution equally indomitable in their application; a genius, in short, original and daring;—which bounded over the petty obstacles raised by ordinary men—their squeamishness and their precedents, and their forms and their regularities—and forced away its path through the entanglements of this base undergrowth to the worthy object ever in view—the prosperity and the renown of his country." Pitt opposed Walpole. He was the last speaker in the debate on a standing army, and his whole argument was to show the urgent necessity of reducing the army, for the sake of reducing the public burthens. Would that his own son's policy had corresponded with this doctrine! The minister triumphed. His fall came not yet.

Some West India merchants having complained of the injury done to the British trade by the capture of their vessels, and the confiscation of their property on the part of Spain, Walpole proposed a convention, by which his Spanish majesty bound himself to make reparation, and by which commissioners were appointed to settle the disputed questions of trade, navigation, and territory. The convention was signed at Madrid, and arrived in London in January, 1739, in the parliament of which year it was furiously but unsuccessfully assailed by the opposition. In the commons the majority was but thirty-two, which greatly emboldened the faction in their present line of action.

Baffled in one scheme, they devised another. Their project was to secede from the parliament, on the ground that they could no longer be of any service to their country in an assembly so servile and so destitute of all public virtue. In a speech which he delivered, Wyndham attacked the government with great vehemence and with great severity, and then resigned his seat. Walpole told him, and those who were disposed to move with him, that it was difficult to guard against secret treaties. A secession having taken place, several measures were brought forward more or less affecting our internal and colonial trade, which the ministers carried without difficulty. But dissension entered the cabinet. Walpole would have resigned, but the king would not accept his resignation. The Tories and the disaffected Whigs made a powerful coalition, and the downfall of Walpole was inevitable. The new parliament assembled on the 4th of December, 1741, in which the minister was accused of the grossest delinquencies in every department of the government. The charge was preferred by Pulteney, and the minister was saved by a majority of three. The house was adjourned to the 18th of February, and on the 9th, Walpole, being created earl of Orford, resigned on the 11th all his official employments. Pulteney constructed a coalition administration, but refused to take office himself. He procured a peerage as earl of Bath, and from that moment he lost all his influence. The two parties, of which the cabinet was composed, could not coalesce or act together, and parliament became an arena of party conflict. "That Walpole was one of the ablest and most sagacious ministers that ever guided the councils of England may now be unhesitatingly asserted. His pacific policy and his financial measures afford, at this distance of time, ample evidence of the comprehensiveness and soundness of his views. Persecuted nearly through his whole life by the bitterest party rancour, entangled in the most complicated foreign intrigues, and thwarted alike by the secret predilections of the sovereign, and by national pride and national prejudice, he eventually succeeded in steering the helm of the state with security into a harbour of repose; and such was the wisdom of his plans, that his enemies who succeeded him, admitted and adopted them."* He died about three years after his elevation to the peerage.

The new ministry contemplated a new scheme of European conquest. In 1744, France declared war against England, on the ground that her sovereign had violated his neutrality, and had dissuaded the court of Vienna against acceding to an accommodation. Europe was soon all in arms. Pitt was now paymaster of the forces, with a seat in the cabinet. "The court party was placed in perfect security beyond the reach of the opposition; and patriotism, a phrase then in common use, went out of fashion in the house of commons." But the ministry could not be trusted. They acted in direct opposition to all their former professed principles. For the real good of the people they cared nothing. When a motion was made for annual parliaments they opposed it. Great praise, however, is due to them for their enlightened administration of Ireland, whose people were no longer

* Continuation of "Mackintosh's History of England"—vol. x., p. 268.

treated as semi-barbarians, but as partakers of our common humanity, clothed with all its attributes, and entitled to all its rights. But, while Ireland was in profound repose, Scotland was convulsed to its very centre, by the claims of Prince Charles. To divert the English army, now in Flanders, the French cabinet invited the son of the pretender to attempt the invasion of Britain. He landed in the western islands, in the month of August, 1745, while the king was in Hanover, and, notwithstanding the means employed to arrest his progress, he advanced upon Edinburgh, which surrendered without resistance. At the head of three thousand Highlanders, he attacked the king's forces near Preston-pans, and routed them in less than ten minutes. Inspired with this victory, he marched southward, but, after taking Carlisle, he was forced to retreat again into the north; and at Culloden he was wholly defeated, in a short, sanguinary, and decisive battle. Having with great difficulty made his escape from the field, and having for some time wandered among the mountains and glens of Scotland, he left the kingdom in a small vessel, which conveyed him to the coast of Bretagne.

The life and the resources of the country were being wasted in foreign war. The progress of the English arms was anything but promising or satisfactory. And but for the treaty of peace which was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, England would soon have been prostrate at the feet of continental powers. This treaty relieved the country from impending danger and disaster; but as a party, the opposition was disunited, and incapable of any great or combined action. Pelham, as chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward a measure of finance, in which he proposed the liquidation of all the redeemable annuities, by an immediate payment of the principal. This proposal, which excited the astonishment of Europe, and which was introduced at the close of a long and exhausting war, held out no common boon to the country.

If we except the death of the prince of Wales, which took place on the 20th of March, 1751, and the appointment of a council of regency:—if we except those measures which were passed, for the importation of wool and of woollen yarn from Ireland,—for the licensing of pawnbrokers, so as effectually to prevent the reception of stolen goods,—for suppressing all places of public entertainment, in and within twenty miles of the metropolis, except such as were licensed by justices of the peace,—for the establishment of the British Museum,—for throwing open the trade with Turkey,—for naturalising, under certain restrictions, persons of the Jewish persuasion, born out of the realm, a measure this which was afterwards repealed, —and for providing against clandestine marriages,—there is but little to engage the historian at this period. "The horizon of Europe was calm and serene." In the session of 1754, the only question that produced an animated discussion in parliament, was the continuation of the land forces; and before the end of the session, Pelham, the chief of the ministry, was no more. Both Pitt and Fox were eager expectants of the vacant office, and both were disappointed. It passed into other hands. The change in the ministry did not, as we shall see, add to its strength. The province of Nova Scotia was ceded to England

by the treaty of Utrecht. But the terms in which this was done were so indefinite as to leave a considerable portion of land open to dispute between the French and the English colonists. This gave rise to the American boundary question. Commissioners were appointed by both nations to adjust those differences; and yet the French were secretly preparing for hostilities. The English minister, hoping to effect a settlement by peaceful negotiations, was unwilling to communicate the state of affairs to parliament. A settlement was not to be expected; and when the commons met in March, 1755, they at once voted a million of money for the defence of the American colonies. War was opened between the two powers, and each sought to strengthen itself by fresh alliances. Four expeditions were undertaken by the English at the same time. One was designed to drive the French from their encroachments upon the province of Nova Scotia; the second was sent against Crown-point; the third was destined to secure the forts on the river Niagara; and the fourth was pointed against Fort-du-quisne. The arms of England sustained repeated defeats, and great loss. The island of Minorca, which had been taken from the Spaniards in the reign of Anne, and which had been secured to Britain by repeated treaties, but which she had neglected to defend, was now called to withstand the force of the French. Admiral Byng was sent with ten ships of war, but having declined to engage the French fleet, was recalled, arrested, tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot. Britain was now opposed to France in America, Asia, and in the ocean. On the coasts of Malabar, hostilities had never ceased, and it was in India under colonel, afterwards lord Clive, that success first began to crown the arms of England. He reduced the province of Arcot; made a prisoner of the French general; and reinstated the Nabob in the government of which he had been deprived. But the Nabob of Bengal declared war against the English, and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, which was not in a state to defend itself. The place was taken, and the garrison, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons, were made prisoners, and being thrust, at night, into a building of about eighteen feet square, called the BLACK-HOLE, only twenty-three of them were found alive in the morning. But the victory of the Nabob was soon converted into defeat. Having achieved the surrender of Gheriah, Clive invested Calcutta, and in less than two hours obliged the enemy to abandon their fortifications. He then turned his arms to the subjugation of the French, and in a short time dispossessed them of all their settlements. Nor was the glory of conquest less brilliant in the west. The Fort-du-quisne, and the fort of Niagara were both taken. When Crown-point, which had hitherto been the reproach of the British army, was attacked, it was found deserted and destroyed, while the surrender of Quebec and the conquest of Canada crowned the signal victory. In Europe, the king of Prussia was engaged in defending Hanover against France, and England stood pledged to assist him both with money and with troops. At first Marlborough was despatched with a small reinforcement to join prince Ferdinand, whose activity began to be crowned with success. The enemy was at last repulsed, and a swift succession of victories ensued. On land and on sea England was triumphant.

Britain stood before the world in a proud and lofty attitude, and the "bells were worn thread-bare with ringing for victories." But soon after and suddenly, the bells sent forth the knell of death. It was the death of the king. Singular were the vicissitudes of his reign; a reign which would have been less memorable and less glorious but for Walpole and Pitt, whose genius and talents increased the power of England to an unprecedented height, and raised the country to the first place among the civilized nations of the earth.

George was not wanting in martial courage. He gained the battle of Detingen in person in favour of the queen of Hungary. And here it may be stated, that it was in this reign that Anson sailed round the world; that the Gregorian or New Style was introduced; that the Latin language was abolished in the courts of law; and that social improvement began to diffuse itself more widely over the face of the whole population.

SECTION IV.—A REVIVED CHRISTIANITY.

The theology of the seventeenth century must ever be regarded as a splendid monument of sanctified genius. It is not more rich and copious in its divinity than it is profound and original in its thought. It is the product of men in whom intellectual greatness and moral excellence were happily combined. Its influence on the age in which these men lived and wrote must have been most quickening and uplifting. The piety of the people must have in some degree corresponded with the lofty and manly teaching which they enjoyed. But with the removal of the teachers religion declined. Churchism was substituted for an evangelical faith and life. Formalism took the place of an active, self-denying, and spirit-stirring christianity. The pulpits of the Establisment were filled by men the majority of whom were strangers to the life of God, and whose inner man had no sympathy with the truths which they were called upon to teach and inculcate. The nonconformists, still subject to civil pains and penalties, had but few opportunities of diffusing the principles and doctrines of the gospel beyond their own limited circle, and even among them the spirit of lukewarmness and inactivity was but too general. The spirit of the people was lulled into sleep. It was the sleep of spiritual death. Nothing could again awake that spirit but the Omnipotence of life. This mighty power came down upon England—and England awoke to life. This was the result of no miraculous force, but of established means and known influences. There is no useless expenditure in the Divine conduct. If means already exist for the accomplishment of any given end, then to those means, and not to anything extraordinary or supernatural, must we look. The miraculous never comes into view, till the natural and the ordinary are found unequal to the desired effect.

In the university of Oxford there were a few young men whose deeper yearnings of soul led them to associate for purposes of mutual spiritual good. Among these youths were WHITFIELD and WESLEY,

whose names are associated with one of the most remarkable revivals of religion in the history of England. Breaking loose from the restraints imposed upon the priesthood of the national church, and putting on the character of itinerant preachers, they travelled over England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and even to America, to proclaim the sublime and saving doctrines of the Cross. They were deemed enthusiasts, and were held as not wholly free from that extravagance which is usually regarded as a type of fanaticism. As now, so then, men were ignorant of the fact that there is an enthusiasm which can be defined and justified. It is only needful that the powers of the mind be fairly balanced and preserve their equilibrium —that the judgment maintain the ascendancy, and that there be no calculations which reason can condemn, and a man's soul may be on fire with the velocity of its own movements. Thus it was with Whitfield and with Wesley, who, with seraphic love and ardour, did spend themselves in the cause of human good. Their preaching fell upon the hearts of the people with all the freshness and the force of inspiration. Mind awoke from its slumbers. Religion was acknowledged to be possessed of paramount claims and importance. The breath of life passed over the church and over the land. A new state of things rose into view. It was as if a second reformation had been effected, and something more. It was an era in the religious life of England, whose influence can be known only by the progressive and ever-multiplying evolutions of time.

While Whitfield and Wesley were expending their energies to revive the religious life of their country, Isaac Watts had composed those sacred odes and spiritual songs in which this revived religious life might more joyfully express itself. Up to this day the psalmody of the christian church had been meagre and inappropriate in the extreme. Watts felt this; and because he could not persuade others to attempt the glorious work of providing suitable compositions for private and public worship, he himself undertook it. Not that he undervalued other compositions, or was disposed to lay aside the inspired psalter. In his preface he says:—"It is true that David has left us a richer variety of holy songs than all that went before him; but, rich as it is, it is still far short of the glorious things that we christians have to sing before the Lord; we and our churches have our own special affairs as well as they; now, if by a little turn of their words, or by the change of a short sentence, we may express our own meditations, joys, and desires, in the verse of those ancient psalmists, why should we be forbidden this sweet privilege? Why should we, under the christian dispensation, be tied up to forms more than the Jews themselves were, and such as are much more improper for our age and state too? Let us remember, that the very power of singing was given to human nature chiefly for this purpose; that our own warmest affections of soul might break out into natural or divine melody, and that the tongue of the worshipper might express his own heart." And how many hearts have kindled into holy rapture, aided by the thoughts and strains of this divine poet? Apart from all other aids, his hymns have done much to preserve, strengthen, and elevate the piety of England.

It is somewhat remarkable that the same University College at Oxford which nourished the piety of Whitfield, and in which he so remarkably developed his religious life, was the Alma Mater of the great English lexicographer—SAMUEL JOHNSON. Though Johnson was not destitute of moral and religious principle, his writings contributed but little to widen the circle of the nation's spiritual life. His works are numerous. His DEBATES IN THE SENATE OF LILLIPUT, were, in fact, the debates of the British parliament under a fictitious name, since the publication would have been deemed a breach of privilege. His LIVES OF THE ENGLISH POETS is a treasure of sound criticism, and a model of literary biography; and his works will be read with veneration for their author, as long as the language in which they are written shall be used and understood.

As at no previous time were there so many conspicuous writers against the leading facts and doctrines of Christianity, so this period is memorable for the production of some of the most enlightened, elaborate, and conclusive defences of our holy religion. It is sufficient to name Lardner, whose CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY is a work of standard excellence;—Butler, whose ANALOGY OF RELIGION, NATURAL AND REVEALED, TO THE COURSE AND CONSTITUTION OF NATURE, will lose none of its force, none of its value, till the world shall be burned up in the great final fire;—Conybeare, whose ABLE DEFENCE OF REVEALED RELIGION against TINDAL'S CHRISTIANITY AS OLD AS CREATION, is an armoury from which the believer may select his weapon and challenge his proudest foe. Little more could have been done than was done in that age to preserve the outworks of Christianity; while the inward power of that Christianity in the hearts of thousands, through the public teaching of the great founders of Methodism, left results on the national character which will terminate only with the existence of the nation itself.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE AGE OF ILLUSTRIOUS STATESMEN.

It has been truly said, that—"the affairs of men, the interests and the history of nations, the relative value of institutions as discovered by their actual working, the merits of different systems of policy, as tried by their effects, are all very imperfectly examined without a thorough knowledge of the individuals who administered the systems and presided over the management of the public concerns. The history of empires is, indeed, the history of men; not only of the nominal rulers of the people, but of all the leading persons who exerted a sensible influence over the destinies of their fellow-creatures, whether the traces of that influence survived themselves, or, as in the case of lesser minds, their power was confined to their own times."

Around George the Third, as a central figure, were grouped the first and most distinguished men in that most eventful period in the history of our common race. Chatham, who, "far superior to the petty objects of a grovelling ambition, and regardless alike of party and of personal considerations, constantly set before his eyes the highest duty of a public man—to further the interests of his species;"—North, whose lot it was "to maintain the conflict in times of unprecedented difficulty, and against antagonists such as no minister ever had to meet," and whose "talents shone with a great and a steady lustre during the singularly-trying period:"—Mansfield, "than whom few men who have sat at the head of state affairs, have in any period of our history filled an exalted station for a longer period with more glory to themselves, or with a larger share of influence over the fortunes of their country:"—Grant, "in some respects the most extraordinary individual of his time—one, certainly, than whom none better ever sustained the judicial office—one than whom none ever descended from the forum into the senate with more extraordinary powers of argumentation, or flourished there with greater renown:"—Burke, whose giant form rises before us as the first and most attractive figure, and to whom, "how much soever men may differ as to the soundness of his doctrines, or the purity of his public conduct, there can be no hesitation in according a station among the most extraordinary persons that had ever appeared:"—Fox, who, as the disciple of Burke, was "one of the greatest statesmen, and, if not

the greatest orator, certainly the most accomplished debater that ever appeared upon the theatre of public affairs in any age of the world:" —PITT, who, "at an age when others are but entering upon the study of state affairs, and the practice of debating, came forth a mature politician, a finished orator—even as if by inspiration—an accomplished debater:"—SHERIDAN, who, "with all his faults, and all his failings, and all his defects, was the first in genius, and the greatest in power:"—WYNDHAM, whose "acquaintance with constitutional history and principle, whose chivalrous spirit, noble figure, and singularly-expressive countenance, all fitted him to shine in debate, though all, when put together, were unequal to the task of raising him to the first rank:"—DUNDAS, who "was a plain, business-like speaker—a man of every-day talents—a clear, easy, fluent, and, from much practice, as well as strong natural sense, a skilful debater:"—ERSKINE, who "had a thorough knowledge of men—of their passions and their feelings—who knew every avenue to the heart, and could, at will, make all its chords vibrate to his touch:"—PERCEVAL, who was "a man of very quick parts, much energy of character, dauntless courage, joined to patient industry, practical fluency as a speaker, great skill and readiness as a debater;" but whose "views upon all things were the most narrow, and upon religious, and even political, questions, the most bigoted and intolerant:"—GRENVILLE, whose "long habits of business had matured his experience, and disciplined his naturally vigorous understanding; whose life, studiously regular, had surrounded him with the respect of his countrymen;" and to whom, more than to any other man, "the great and fundamental question of Irish policy, and the cause of religious liberty in general was indebted:"—GRATTAN, one of the greatest men of his age, and than whom "it would not be easy to point out any statesman or patriot, in any age of the world, whose fame stands higher for his public services, or to name any one, the purity of whose reputation has been stained by so few faults, and the lustre of whose renown is dimmed by so few imperfections:"—WILBERFORCE, "who among the greatest benefactors of the human race, holds an exalted station, whose genius was elevated by his virtues, and exalted by his piety, and whose eloquence was of the highest order, enriched by the thoughts and the spirit that touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire:"—CANNING, whose "principles were throughout those of a liberal Tory, above the prejudices of the bigots who had rendered Toryism ridiculous, and free from the corruption that has sometimes made it hateful;" and yet who, "if ever man was made for the service and the salvation of a party, was raised up for that of the Tories:"—ROMILLY, whose extraordinary reach of thought, whose great powers of attention, and of close reasoning, whose memory quick and retentive, whose fancy eminently brilliant, with his persevering industry, and with the stimulus of a lofty ambition, "rendered him unquestionably the first advocate, and the most profound lawyer of the age he flourished in—placed him high among the ornaments of the senate; and would, in all likelihood, have given him the foremost place among them all:"—ELDON, who "to great legal experience, and the most profound professional learning, united

a thorough knowledge of men;" and who "had a sagacity almost unrivalled—a penetration of mind at once quick and sure—a subtlety so nimble, that it materially impaired the strength of his other qualities by lending his ingenuity an edge sometimes too fine for use:"—HORNE TOOKE, than whom "no man out of office all his life, and out of parliament all but a few months of his later period, ever acted so conspicuous a part in the political warfare of his times; who from his earliest years had devoted himself to the cause of liberty, and who had given up the clerical profession because its duties interfered with secular controversy, which he knew to be his proper element:"—CASTLEREAGH, of "the safe and middling men, meaning very little, nor meaning that little well," was in some respects the least inconsiderable, for "scarce any man of any party bore a more important place in public affairs, or occupied a larger space in the history of his times:"—LIVERPOOL, who, from the age of manhood, passed his whole life in the public service, and whose long and but little interrupted course of official prosperity, was such as was never, perhaps, enjoyed by any other statesman; for "the years during which the helm of the state was entrusted to his hands, were those of the greatest events alike in negotiation, in war, in commerce, and in finance, which ever happened to illustrate or to chequer the annals of Europe:"—KING, with whom must be associated RICARDO and HORNER, who bore "the principal share in the controversy respecting the depreciation, and who may be considered as the guides of the sounder policy which led to a restored currency:" —CURRAN, who was "the greatest orator after Grattan and Plunket, that Ireland ever produced, and in every respect worthy of being placed in a line with those great masters of speech:"—ELLENBOROUGH, who was originally, like the rest of his family, a moderate Whig, and who occasionally suffered the strength of his political feelings to break forth, and to influence the tone and temper of his observations, "but who was never known upon any one occasion to deviate one hair's breadth from justice in the discharge of his office:"—WELLESLEY, the scion of a family "which, like the Gracchi at Rome, peculiarly excelled all others in the virtues and in the renown of its members:" —HOLLAND, "the vigilant enemy of abuses—the staunch supporter of the constitution as established in 1688—the friend of peace abroad, and of liberty all over the world—the champion, especially, of religious liberty and the sacred rights of conscience, and that upon sound principles of universal freedom," and than whom "no man certainly could better deserve the universal affection of which he was the object." With the virtues and the vices of such men before them, it will be a happy day for our England when "those who voluntarily assume the government of nations are taught to regard their duties as paramount to their interests, and made to learn that ignorance of their craft is in their calling criminal, by having placed before their eyes the examples of others—their signal punishment to deter from vice, their glorious reward to stimulate in well-doing. This salutary lesson will be taught, if the friends of mankind, the votaries of duty, of peace, of freedom, be held up to veneration, while their enemies, themselves the slaves of ambition or avarice,

and who would forge fetters for their fellow-creatures, or squander their substance or their blood, are exhibited to the scorn and hatred of after ages."*

SECTION I.—ACCESSION AND ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE III.

When the second George died, his grandson, who was heir to the throne, was in the twenty-third year of his age. He was a man "of a narrow understanding, which no culture had enlarged; of an obstinate disposition, which no education, perhaps, could have humanized; of strong feelings in ordinary things, and a resolute attachment to all his own opinions and predilections." It can be no matter of surprise, then, that he possessed much of that firmness of purpose which is exhibited by men of contracted mind, without any discrimination, and as pertinaciously when they are in the wrong as when they are in the right, and which lends to their characters an appearance of inflexible consistency, which is often mistaken for greatness of mind, and not seldom received as a substitute for honesty. "In all that relates to his kingly office, he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness, and no feeling of a kindly nature ever was allowed access to his bosom, whenever his power was concerned, either in the maintenance, or in the manner of exercising it." Yet his accession to the throne of these realms was welcomed by the whole British empire. This admits of simple and satisfactory explanation. "The difficulties which had thwarted the popularity of his two immediate predecessors were past; the party of the exiled dynasty had been wasted away by time, or alienated by the proverbial selfishness and personal folly of the Stuarts; a war was just closed, in which all the recollections of England were of triumphs and of territories won from the habitual disturber of Europe; commerce was rising from the clouds always thrown around it by war, but rising with a strength and splendour unseen before, shooting over the farthest regions of the world those beams which are at once light and life, brightening and developing regions scarcely known by name, and filling their bosom with the rich and vigorous fertility of European arts, comforts and knowledge."†

The administration of his majesty is to be inferred from the character of the men whom he called to his councils. If his first speeches to his council and his parliament were hailed as ominous of a patriotic regard for the liberties of the people, and embodied sentiments which united republican simplicity with kingly honour, it was not long before the kingly power absorbed the republican simplicity. One of his earliest political measures was the appointment of his early preceptor, the earl of Bute, to be secretary of state—a Scottish nobleman of Tory and Jacobite predilections, who was the favourite and some-

* Croley's life of George the Fourth, page 6.

† See Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III. by Henry, Lord Brougham, F.R.S.; a work of rare interest, and of equal merit.

thing more of his royal mother, and who possessed great influence over his mind. The appointment greatly offended Pitt, whose administration was singularly popular, and who, had he been permitted to pursue the same foreign policy as had crowned the arms of England with glory in the recent war, might soon have laid all Europe at his feet. Having secretly discovered that Spain was about to join France against Britain, his advice was to proclaim war; but being thwarted in his line of policy, and outvoted in the cabinet through the influence of Bute, he immediately resigned, alleging that "as he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct, he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures that he was no longer allowed to guide." He was afterwards raised to the peerage by the name and title of the earl of Chatham. My lord Bute was made prime minister. A negotiation for peace was entered into with France, but the demands of the English were such that the treaty was broken off, and Spain commenced those hostilities which Pitt had foretold. The ministers had no alternative but to fall back on those plans which this illustrious statesman had previously concerted. On the 4th of January, 1762, war was declared with Spain, and in a very few months Spain lost Havanna, Manilla, and all the Philippine Isles. To counteract these dreadful blows, the French and the Spaniards attempted to invade Portugal, which had always been under the special protection of the British, but their forces were forced out and overcome. Nor was victory confined to land. Everywhere the fleet of England swept the sea in triumph—and this at the very moment when the king, who, on the 8th of September of the preceding year, had allied himself in marriage to Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, was receiving the congratulations of the nobility on the birth of the prince of Wales, which took place on August 12th, 1762, the anniversary of the day which brought the house of Hanover to the throne. All was gladness and joy. Never had England occupied such a position. She had fixed on herself the eyes of all Europe—the eyes of the whole civilized world. But how is the glory of this conquest dimmed and darkened by the fact that it added sixty millions to the national debt! In the very height of their intoxication and pride, ministers began to discover that war, with all its fortune, and all its glory, is a losing game; and, though much against the will of the nation, they concluded a peace in February, 1763, by which Britain gave up a certain portion of her conquests, in exchange for others which had been wrested from her, but still leaving the advantage on her side. From France she acquired Canada, Louisiana east of the Mississippi, Cape Breton, Senegal, the islands of Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, with all the acquisitions which the French had made since 1749 upon the Coromandel coast, in the East Indies. The English gave up to the French the islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, and Descada. From Spain she acquired Minorca, East and West Florida, with certain privileges of value. To Spain she gave up Manilla, in return for the liberty of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. In Germany, the military fame of England was

purchased at the cost of thirty millions sterling! Peace was restored between Portugal and Spain, and both parties stood on the same footing as they were before the beginning of hostilities.

SECTION II.—THE PEACE FOLLOWED BY POPULAR TUMULT.

Ever since the accession of the house of Hanover, the government of England had been chiefly and all along in the hands of the Whigs, who formed a very influential section of the aristocracy. Walpole, Pelham, Newcastle, and Pitt, all looked to this party, and relied on their strength. Subsequent to the rebellion of 1745, they became divided into three ranks; and with division among themselves there sprang up a division between the government and the people, which had its own outward manifestations. Bute, who had neither the support of the aristocracy nor of the people, filled the mind of his majesty with the loftiest ideas of the royal prerogative, and his majesty showed no little inclination to shake off the influence of the greater Whig families, and keep the popular will in subjection to kingly authority. A dark cloud darkened the sky, charged with no common elements. The minister was assailed in parliament, through the press, and by the people. The country was kept in continual agitation by political pamphlets and seditious libels. Among those who assailed the ministry, no writer was more virulent than the noted Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, and editor of a paper entitled the NORTH BRITON. Disappointed in all his attempts to obtain promotion, and under pretence of pleading for liberty, he put forth all his efforts to write down and to run down the men in power. Whatever were his political virtues, the vices of his character nothing could countervail. "He became the prime favourite of the mob, and was even admitted by more rational patriots to have deserved well of the constitution, from the courage and skill which he had shown in fighting two severe battles, and gaining for it two important victories. The promotion which he had in vain sought in the purlieus of Whitehall, awaited him in the city; he became alderman; he became lord mayor; and, having obtained the lucrative civic office of chamberlain, which placed him for life in affluent circumstances, he retired, while in the prime of life, from a political warfare, of which he had accomplished all the purposes, by reaping its most valued fruits, passed the rest of his days in the support of the government; never raised his voice for reform, or for peace, or to mitigate the hostility of our court towards the country that had afforded him shelter in his banishment; nor ever quitted the standard of the ministry when it marshalled its followers to assaults on the constitution, compared with which all that he had ever even invented against lord Bute sank into mere insignificance." One effect followed from his manly and spirited contest with the government. General warrants were declared to be illegal, and an end was put as well to them, as to the unlawful seizure of papers by state messengers.

While the storm was expending itself, Bute resigned his office. This took place in April, 1763; and Grenville, who succeeded Bute, commenced his career by prosecuting Wilkes for a libel, which issued in

the offender being committed to the Tower, expelled the house of commons, and his voluntary retirement to the continent. Grenville's policy was not such as to heal the wound in the body-politic. He began his administration by an attempt to tax the American colonies. His AMERICAN STAMP ACT was passed in 1765—an act which the colonists looked upon as extremely dangerous to their liberties, and which, as they had no share in the representation, they not only deemed unjust, but opposed to the last; while the resolutions of the local legislative assemblies wholly defeated the object of the measure. The home government were compelled to repeal the act, only maintaining their right to impose taxes. The consequences were more momentous. The administration passed from the hands of Grenville into the hands of Rockingham, whose party, though they repealed the obnoxious Stamp Act, and introduced several popular measures, could not maintain their ground. The cabinet was broken up in 1766, and the power now passed from the hands of Rockingham into the hands of Grafton, under whom the earl of Chatham again took office; but as there was no true sympathy between him and his colleagues, and being disgusted with certain parts of their conduct, he resigned the privy seal in 1768, and was succeeded by lord Bristol. The aspect of affairs in America became every day more serious—more alarming, and public discontent was at its height, when, at the close of the following year, Junius published his famous letters to the king, in a paper styled the "Public Advertiser," in which he animadverted in the most pointed and virulent manner on both the men and the measures of the government—letters which exhibited an unusual force of intellect and elegance of composition. The publisher was prosecuted, but the author remained concealed; nor to this day, is it known who wrote them. They shook and shattered the cabinet; and the country looked upon the chaos as it curdled into a new creation.

SECTION III.—THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

With the elevation of lord North to the premiership, began those Tory administrations which, with few intervals, conducted the affairs of the nation down to the close of the next reign. Four times was Wilkes returned for Middlesex, and four times was his rival, with only one-fourth of the votes, accepted by the house. This violation of constitutional right and liberty very much tended to incite and widen the popular discontent. Debate followed debate in parliament, and forty-eight peers, including all the great Whig chiefs, made a public declaration that they would not withdraw from the struggle till they had obtained full justice to the electors of Britain. All was dignified silence. Neither the king nor the cabinet opened their mouth, and the agitation of the country gradually subsided.

But loud and unmistakable was the voice which came across the great Atlantic. The American colonists sternly refused to submit to the imposition of taxes. It was not the amount demanded that was the subject of dispute, but the right of the British parliament to tax the colonies at all. The dispute seriously interfered with the trade

and commerce of the mother-country, and British merchants were anxious to bring it to a close. All the duties were taken off, except the duty on tea; and now an act was passed which enabled the East India Company to send their teas, duty free, into all our colonial settlements. The colonists perceived that this was a scheme to draw them into compliance with the law of revenue, and so prepare the way for an unlimited taxation. They were not to be deceived. They resolved to prevent, at all hazard, the landing of the commodity. At Boston, in the year 1773, the cargo of three ships was seized by a number of armed men, and thrown into the sea. Other vessels returned to England without discharging. The officers in the service of the government at New York, had no choice but to consent to the cargoes landed there being locked up from use. So enraged were ministers at home, that on the last day of March, 1774, an act was passed for removing the Custom-house officers from Boston, and shutting up the port. Another act was passed, by which it was proposed to take the whole executive power from the people of Massachussets Bay, and to vest the nomination of councillors, judges, magistrates, and sheriffs, in the crown; and another which empowered the governor of that place to send over parties accused of crime there, to be tried in England. A congress of representatives from the various English colonies met at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, when it was asserted that the exclusive power of legislation in all cases of taxation and internal policy, resided in the provincial legislatures. They drew up a petition to his majesty, in which they set forth their grievances, and begged his majesty to grant peace, liberty, and safety. They published an address to the people of Great Britain, another to the colonies in general, and a third to the inhabitants of Quebec. They also framed a covenant of non-intercourse between the mother-country and themselves, by which the whole utility of the colonies to England, as markets of trading speculation, was at once taken away. They were willing to be reconciled on condition of the repeal of all the obnoxious statutes; but the government had resolved to reduce them by force of arms, and hence every proposal was treated with haughty silence on the part of the monarch and his responsible advisers.

The war opened in 1775; and as the population of the colonies did not exceed three millions, and as they were greatly inferior in discipline and resources to the British troops, it was not expected that the contest would be protracted beyond a single campaign. But the righteousness of their cause inspired them, and they were invincible. At Bunker's-hill, near Boston, in a well-contested fight which took place on the 17th of June, they came off victorious. The government at home were astonished to find that the British troops had effected nothing to reduce the colonies, and were induced to send out a free pardon to them if they would lay down their arms. The proposal was rejected with disdain; and in July of the following year, the congress, in a document remarkable for its deep solemnity and power, published their declaration of independence. Chatham, now venerable for years, rose in his place in the house of lords, and expressed in the strongest terms his disapprobation of the whole system of policy

pursued towards the American colonies, and maintained that measures of conciliation would remove jealousy, and produce the happiest effects both at home and abroad. The peers turned a deaf ear to the voice of the sage councillor. Nor were the commoners in any better mood. Franklin was before refused to be heard at the bar of the house, in favour of a petition from the congress to his majesty, and to a document presented by Penn for putting a stop to the unhappy contest with the colonies. No reply was given. The most extravagant supplies were voted; the forces—naval and military—were augmented; and the government seemed resolved to be masters of the colonies. Washington—a gentleman of large fortune in Virginia—was appointed general and commander-in-chief of the American army. "With none of that brilliant genius which dazzles ordinary minds; with not even any remarkable quickness of apprehension; with knowledge less than almost all persons in the middle ranks, and many well-educated of the humbler classes possess; this eminent person is presented to our observation clothed in attributes as modest, as unpretending, as little calculated to strike or to astonish, as if he had passed unknown through some secluded region of private life. But he had a judgment sure and sound; a steadiness of mind which never suffered any passion, or even any feeling, to ruffle its calm; a strength of understanding which worked rather than forced its way through all obstacles,—removing or avoiding, rather than overleaping them. If profound sagacity, unshaken steadiness of purpose, the entire subjugation of all the passions which carry havoc through ordinary minds, and oftentimes lay waste the fairest prospects of greatness,—nay, the discipline of those feelings which are wont to lull or to seduce genius, and to mar and to cloud over the aspect of virtue herself,—joined with, or rather leading to, the most absolute self-denial, the most habitual and exclusive devotion to principle,—if these things can constitute a great character, without either quickness of apprehension or resources of information, or inventive powers, or any brilliant quality that might dazzle the vulgar, then surely Washington was the greatest man that ever lived in this world uninspired by divine wisdom, and unsustained by supernatural virtue."

During the next two campaigns, the new republic suffered much at the hands of the British; but the Americans were not subdued. It was not till 1777, that the success of the contest became doubtful. Intelligence of the surrender of an army under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga, filled the ministers and the parliament with deep dejection. Fox, the leader of the opposition, moved for the discontinuance of the war; but his motion was lost. Meanwhile, the colonies received considerable supplies of arms and ammunition from France, whose government still cherished a deadly hatred to her old rival, and hoped to diminish her power. Some French officers entered the American service; and, through the diplomacy of Franklin, a treaty of alliance was concluded, at Paris, between Louis and the Thirteen United States. Both the parliament and the country took alarm. Commissioners were sent to Philadelphia to settle disputes. It was too late. Little more than two years before, the British monarch and his ministers had treated the petitions of the colonists with silent con-

tempt; and now the terms, which would at an earlier period of the contest have been gracefully and gratefully accepted, were rejected with indignation—with merited disdain. Referring to the mercenary aid on which the government relied, by driving a bargain with every little, pitiful German prince that would sell his subjects to the shambles of a foreign country, Chatham said—"If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms:—never! never! never!" And, when my lord Suffolk proposed to employ the Indians against the colonists, on the plea "that we are justified in using all the means which GOD and nature have put into our hands," the same venerable and illustrious orator made a speech which will be read with thrilling interest till the last breath of humanity shall have died away. Enfeebled in body, but with his spirit full of life and fire, he rose, and said—

"My lords:—I did not intend to have trespassed again upon your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation:—I feel myself impelled by every duty. My lords, we are called upon, as members of this house—as men—as christian men—to protest against such notions standing near the throne—polluting the ear of majesty. THAT GOD AND NATURE PUT INTO OUR HANDS!—I know not what idea that lord may entertain of GOD and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife—to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating; literally, my lords, eating the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine and natural, and every generous feeling of humanity: and, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

"These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench—those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of the church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their GOD. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn—upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of their ermine to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at THE DISGRACE OF HIS COUNTRY! In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion—the protestant religion of his country against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practises are let loose amongst us, to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connexions, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal,

thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child; to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? Against your protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war—*hell-hounds, I say, of savage war.* Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example of even Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion—endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity. My lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry; and I again call upon your lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion to do away with these iniquities from among us; let them perform a lustration—let them purify this house and this country from this sin.

"My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and my indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, or reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles." It was in the act of speaking in defence of American independence, that his lordship fell on the floor of the house in a convulsive fit, and expired in three days after. "Such was the man whom George III. most feared, most hated, and most exerted his kingscraft to disarm."

France having joined her arms with those of America against England, the hour had come to strike the blow which was to lay her pride in the dust. Spain joined the common enemy; and, in 1780, even Holland was seen in the attitude of hostility. Russia put herself at the head of an armed neutrality, which embraced Sweden and Denmark, and whose real object was a secret undermining of the British power. So compact and so tremendous was the force now arrayed against our country, that it required nearly three hundred thousand armed men, three hundred ships of war, and twenty millions of money annually, merely to protect herself from the common foe! It needed no supernatural light to perceive that this war, upon whatever grounds it was undertaken and prosecuted, had been a great national blunder—a great national misfortune. America was now independent; Britain lay bleeding at her feet; the ministry was disgraced; and the opposition gathered strength, and gained popularity.

SECTION IV.—SUCCESSIVE CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY.

Conceiving that the influence of the crown was being stretched to an undue extent at home, a motion was introduced into the House of Commons and passed, to diminish and limit that power. This was a severe stroke to the government. To regain, in some degree, their popularity, they repealed some of those severer penal statutes

which had been formerly enacted against the Roman catholics. The expedient rather damaged the ministers in the estimation of many. And fearing that a similar measure might be enacted for Scotland, her people formed themselves into associations to oppose it. A great Protestant Association was organized in England, with lord George Gordon at its head, to procure the repeal of the act of relief, whose proceedings gave rise to the most tumultuous demonstrations. In Scotland and England, catholic chapels and houses were destroyed. The mob attacked the prisons, and released the prisoners; kindled bonfires in every part of the metropolis; had uncontrolled possession of the streets, for the magistrates were afraid to interfere; and pillaged, burned, and demolished property without reserve. It was only by the force of arms that they were overcome and quelled, but not till above four hundred had been killed or wounded. Many of the ringleaders were convicted and executed, and Gordon escaped death only on the ground of insanity. If political reform was the aim of the parties involved in these tumults, the means did not correspond with the end. Constitutional changes must ever be sought, and must ever be compassed, by constitutional means. Lawless violence cannot fail to damage and defeat the best intentions. The voice of the people cannot but be heard, if that voice be the deeper utterance of intelligence and of truth. The parliament of England is what the people make it, and the people and the parliament have the destinies of the country in their hand.

In 1781, hostilities between Britain and America may be said to have terminated. In the parliament of the year following, a motion was proposed and carried for the conclusion of the war. The ministry of lord North resigned after twelve years of uninterrupted misfortune and disaster, and after having separated three millions of people from the parent state, to say nothing of one hundred millions of money added to the national debt. A new ministry was formed out of the opposition. Rockingham again became premier, and Fox was nominated one of the secretaries of state. The restoration of peace was the goal to which the new ministry eagerly and at once pressed forward. A signal victory over the French by sea, in the gaining of which Rodney so distinguished himself, enabled the ministers to conclude the war upon honourable terms. Articles of peace were drawn up in November, in which the States of America were acknowledged independent, and the treaty was concluded in February 1783, to the joy of all parties. At his first levee, the king received the American ambassador with manly frankness and with marked expressions of respect. War was soon after concluded with France, Spain, and Holland. The national resources were exhausted; commerce was depressed; distress and suffering were wide-spread; and yet such were the inherent elasticity, and life, and vigour of the body-politic, that no sooner had the country begun to recover the fearful shock which it had sustained, than every department of the state resumed its wonted prosperity; and in the ten years of peace which followed, the national wealth and influence rose to a point almost incredible.

The death of Rockingham led to another change in the ministry. Shelburne was appointed first lord of the treasury. But his views

not being sufficiently wide and liberal for Fox and others, they resigned, and the younger Pitt, son of the earl of Chatham, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The cabinet was a composite —embracing the adherents of the North administration, and the friends of those Whigs who had lately retired. The real design of this coalition it was difficult to divine. The coalition lacked the favour and the support of the people. Nor was it in conformity with the royal will. The king watched his opportunity. Mr. Fox introduced a measure by which he proposed to transfer the ministerial power and patronage possessed by the East India Company to seven directors, to be chosen by the house of commons—in other words, to place it all in the hands of the ministry. Through the secret influence of his majesty, it was rejected by the lords; and, taking advantage of his defeat, the king sent a messenger to demand the seals of office from his over-ambitious ministers. No humiliation could have been greater. Next day, Pitt was appointed prime minister. Parliament was dissolved. An appeal was made to the people. In the new election one hundred and sixty members lost their seats. The new house sympathized with the monarch and the ministry. And everything was favourable to the furtherance of the public service.

On the accession of Mr. Pitt as prime minister, the question of parliamentary reform was taking deeper and wider hold of the public mind. From the close of the reign of George I. a patriotic band in Ireland, composed of catholics and protestants, under the name of THE VOLUNTEER CORPS, not only avowed their determination, at the hazard of life and of fortune, to achieve the independence of the Irish legislature, and a full participation in the commercial rights of the British, and obtained the victory—not only did they secure the repeal of those laws which had given the English parliament a right to interfere with Irish affairs—not only did they obtain specific acts in favour of the Habeas Corpus, and the independence of the judges,—but, at the close of the year 1783, they held a grand convention in Dublin, and took up the question of parliamentary reform like men in earnest. Pitt had already the reins of government in his hand. Though he still avowed his zeal for a reform of the people's house, and brought in a bill for this object in April 1785, he had little, if any, sympathy with the popular movement. His majesty and the government were alike opposed to all organic changes—to all popular innovations; and, had it been left to men in power, nothing would have been done. The genius of the nation's freedom was rising to assert its claim. Associations were formed in England and in Scotland; and the electoral boroughs in both countries gave no mistakeable proof that they had caught the general spirit. Nor has that spirit yet died out. The Reform Bill of a later day was not accepted as a final measure; nor can any measure be received as final, unless we have reached the last development of humanity.

Defeated in his reform scheme, Pitt now turned his attention to reducing the national debt. The revenue, which was at this time about fifteen millions, being about one million more than was required for the public service, he proposed that the excess should be laid out as a SINKING FUND, at compound interest, calculating that

at the end of twenty-eight years, each million would be quadrupled, and thus go a great way towards the object in view. Notwithstanding the fallaciousness of this scheme, it was received with great favour, and added to the popularity of the ministers. We shall discover, later in the history, how this fallacy was detected and laid open.

The parliamentary proceedings against Warren Hastings, for alleged cruelty and robbery, exercised upon the natives of India during his governorship of that remote dependency, and his subsequent acquittal—the alienation which took place between the king and the prince of Wales, whose sympathies were with the opposition party in parliament—the incredible prodigality of that youthful prince—the mental aberration of his majesty—the difficulties connected with the appointment of a regency—the unexpected recovery of the king—the attack upon his life by an insane woman—the petty jealousies of parliamentary parties, must all be passed over as little worthy of occupying our attention, to leave room for the fuller exhibition of an event in which the destinies of Europe—of the world itself, were involved.

SECTION V.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The peace which the country had enjoyed for ten years was suddenly disturbed. The French, who had long been struggling with political grievances, became the objects of English sympathy and solicitude. Into the producing causes of the Revolution, it is not needful that we should inquire. It is a question on which historians, philosophers, and statesmen are alike divided. Nay, the most patriotic men in France, and the most philosophic, have never been fully agreed. If we believe Mounier and his followers, the whole mystery of the revolution was contained in the accidental derangement of the finances, the convocation of the States-general, and the vacillating conduct of the court and the ministers in first suffering the commons to have a double number of representatives, and afterwards allowing the three orders to join in their deliberations, sitting in the same hall;—and was not to be ascribed to any direct attempt by plot and conspiracy to undermine the old French government. According to these men, "the indirect and gradual influence of infidel opinions and revolutionary doctrines propagated through the press, the encyclopædias, the dissertations, the romances, the correspondence, the poems, the epigrams, all the heavy, and all the light artillery of the band so formidable by its numbers, its learning, its genius, and its wit; so indefatigable in its exertions against the established order of things; so incessant in its efforts to undermine all prejudices, to strip all established institutions of the respect with which time, and feeling, and associations, had clothed them; so zealous in converting mankind from settled faith in holy things, in rousing them against abuses as well in the state as the church, in declaring the natural rights of men, in painting their wrongs, in displaying the merits of the people, and in denouncing the crimes of priests and princes—all the teaching of the D'Alemberts, the Condorcets, the sneerings of the Voltaires,

the eloquence of the Rousseaus, the fancy of the Diderots, the social power of the Holbachs and the Grimms—all without influence in preparing the great change; and the press, which, over Paris and over France, had for a century been working with the corruptions of the court and the church, and the sufferings of the people, and had taken its whole tone from the writings of those great men, and the circles of fashion which everywhere concentrated and reflected the light thus shed abroad, were all, according to Mounier, wholly foreign to the purpose, wholly unconcerned in bringing about a change that took precisely the direction to which all those efforts pointed; in overthrowing a system of ecclesiastical and political government, against which all those blows had been aimed; in producing a general movement of that people, to excite whom in this very manner and to this very movement, all those various exertions had so evidently been made. It should seem that those who held such opinions as these were prepared to believe, on seeing a battery erected against a town, and bearing its fire upon the walls for weeks, that the breach which was made had not been caused by bullets, but by an accidental earthquake."* According to a distinguished philosopher of the present age, "the leading and stirring principles of all occurrences and enterprises in the eighteenth century, may be traced, on the one hand, to the system of the balance of power in the internal government and outward relations of states; and, on the other, to the principle of illuminism in the department of morals, though this principle was not confined to the sphere of mind, but exerted a grand practical influence on the real life, and brought about a total revolution in the state." If that grand conflict which sprang out of this revolution is to be looked upon in no other light than as a religious war, then in the same light must we look at the revolution itself. "A formal separation not only from the church, but from all christianity—a total abolition of the christian religion was an object of this revolution." And to the last, the war was carried on in defiance of all that was most sacred to humanity.

In this revolutionary movement, the French had proceeded to the most fearful and revolting extremes. The destruction of the Bastille, the abolition of hereditary privileges, the murder of the sovereign, the open contempt for religion, the encouragement held out to traitors in every country, produced a considerable change in the sentiments of the British people, and led the government of England to adopt somewhat severe and stringent measures. Political associations were sending over addresses of congratulation to the National Convention, in which they most unduly exalted and praised their new constitution; while the press teemed with seditious, revolutionary, and demoralizing publications, and thousands of voices were lifted high for liberty, equality, and the rights of man. The cry of parliamentary reform waxed still louder and more emphatic. It was strongly suspected that the reformers secretly aimed at the subversion of the British government. It was a crisis in the history of our country.

* "Statesmen of the time of George III.," vol. v. pp. 10-12.

And during the crisis the government passed an alien bill, which restricted the landing of foreigners on these shores. Assignats, bonds, or promissory notes, issued under the authority of France, were forbidden to be put in circulation. The exportation of naval stores, ammunition, and other supplies, was prohibited, as well as the shipping of corn to any part of the French coast. Nor did things end here. While England, in its great centre of life and influence, was expressing its deeper agitation in outward tumults and riots, the French were being guilty of a breach of all those sacred treaties which bound together the powers of Europe. This became a ground of quarrel between the two countries, the issue of which was clearly foreseen. His majesty in parliament recommended an increase of the forces both by sea and land, which was, with few exceptions, agreed to by both branches of the legislature. But, as if to anticipate the preparatory movements of England, the National Convention met, and formally declared war against his Britannic majesty and the stadtholder of Holland. An alliance having been formed by the powers hostile to France, the government despatched an army to the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of York, to co-operate in reducing the fortresses in the possession of the French. With the exception of a single victory achieved by lord Howe over the French Brest fleet, in June 1794, the republican troops were everywhere triumphant. They not only drove the allied armies out of the Netherlands, but invaded Holland, and reduced it to a republic under their own control.

The success which attended the French revolution, greatly encouraged the spirit of discontent and disquietude, which was still developing itself in the lower ranks of our own population, and greatly promoted the propagation of Jacobite principles. It was seriously proposed to constitute a general convention of representatives to supersede the house of commons, and thereby secure to the convention the entire legislative power of the country. This led, in consequence of information communicated to the government, to the apprehension of Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, and others, on a charge of high treason. But a trial resulted in their acquittal. But such was the state of public feeling both in England and Scotland, that Mr. Pitt moved for a bill "empowering his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government," which was passed by a large majority.

Campaign succeeded campaign with doubtful success. At one time, the advantage was positively on the side of the enemy; at another time, it was just as decidedly on the side of the allied armies. Nor was there much to encourage the government in the internal state of England. The tide of popular feeling strongly set in against the established order of things. In October 1795, when his majesty was on his way to parliament, an attempt was made to effect his assassination. On his return, he was saluted with a shower of stones, his carriage surrounded and assailed with savage fury, and his life was in imminent danger. Acts were immediately passed for repressing sedition, and putting down all political meetings. The popular clamour for peace, was raised in all parts of the kingdom. The government

commenced a negotiation with the French Directory; but France having refused to restore Belgium to Austria, it was broken off. In the following year, the northern states of Italy were overrun by the French troops, and formed into what was called the Cisalpine republic. Of this expedition, which resulted in Austria submitting to a humiliating peace, Napoleon Bonaparte was the leader. The French fleet, which sailed for Ireland at the close of 1796, was happily defeated in its attempt to revolutionise that unhappy country, and to detach it from Britain; but Britain's enemies still multiplied. Not only did Austria withdraw from the confederacy of her allies, but Spain declared war in 1797, and so added to the force with which she had to contend.

At this crisis, it was very generally believed that France contemplated an invasion of this island, and for the time all party-feeling was lost in the universal zeal for the defence of the country. The credit of the National Bank was so shaken, that a run was made upon it for gold in exchange for its notes; and not being able to meet the demand, it was obliged, in the beginning of 1797, with the sanction of the privy council, to suspend cash payments, which led to a corresponding depreciation in the value of its paper money, and seriously deranged the currency for a number of years. To add to these evils, mutiny succeeded mutiny in the navy; and so far did the revolt proceed, that the seamen moored their vessels across the Thames, and threatened to cut off all communication between London and the open sea. It was with great difficulty, and not without the sacrifice of life, that the fleet was reduced to submission, and the ships restored to their respective owners. Such conduct on the part of the navy, at the moment when France was believed to be putting herself in the attitude of hostility, might have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the interests of the country. The successes of the republicans were truly astonishing. On land, their arms were everywhere victorious. In 1798, they overran, and added to their dominions the ancient republic of Switzerland. They sent Bonaparte, at the head of an expedition, to reduce and colonise Egypt, intending from that point to turn their arms against the British empire in the east; but the fleet was attacked by Nelson in Aboukir bay, and almost totally destroyed. At this juncture, Austria, Naples, and Russia formed a confederacy against the republic; and to supply the necessary funds, England was subjected to an income-tax of nearly ten per cent. in addition to all her previous burdens. In 1799, this confederacy redeemed the greater part of Italy. In the month of August, Britain attempted to expel the French from Holland; but after a series of abortive skirmishes, she was reduced to the necessity of purchasing the liberty of returning from the scene of conflict, by the surrender of eight thousand prisoners from England. Bonaparte, of whose ambition the republic was in no common fear and apprehension, having returned from his Egyptian expedition, overturned the Directory, and caused himself to be appointed the sole depositary of executive power. In the character and the capacity of first consul, he wrote to his Britannic majesty, making overtures of peace; but neither his majesty nor his advisers were prepared to enter into any treaty with France, till the government should be restored to the house of Bourbon. Hos-

tilities were continued. Bonaparte now attracted the attention of Europe, and his movements were such as spread terror and disaster wherever he marched, and soon France became mistress of all continental Europe west of the Rhine and south of the Adige. It was an era in the history of nations, and in which England's destiny was most deeply involved.

SECTION VI.—THE UNION OF IRELAND WITH BRITAIN.

The revolutionary movement in France did not fail of its effect in Ireland. From the hour that the Convention was broken up, the people still continued to agitate for such a reform in their parliament, as might render it more properly and truly a representative body. Mr. Pitt had neither the will nor the power to yield to them on this point, while his most strenuous efforts to enlarge their commercial privileges, were frustrated by the jealousy and opposition of British merchants. The goal to which the Irish now pressed more eagerly than ever, was "a complete reform of the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." Some concessions to the popular feeling were deemed indispensable, and the Irish parliament passed certain acts enabling catholics to intermarry with protestants, to practise at the bar, and to educate their own children! Despairing of effecting any improvement by peaceable means, the patriot party cherished the idea of delivering up Ireland to the French republic. Great secresy was maintained. France failed in all her efforts to obtain a footing in the island; the conspiracy was discovered —the leaders were seized, and the whole plan of the insurrection came into the light of day. Still the body of the conspirators persisted in their design of rising; and sections of them appeared in arms, in various parts of the country. The skirmishes and the conflicts which ensued, were of the most cruel and revolting character. The battle of Vinegar-hill, under General Lake, decided the conquest in the overthrow and ruin of the conspirators, from which time the rebellion languished, till a general amnesty was proclaimed in favour of the rebels.

It was now the aim of the government to effect an union between Ireland and Britain. Notwithstanding the strong national prejudice which existed against such a measure, it was happily brought about; and on the first day of January, 1801, the kingdom of Ireland became an integral part of the empire. This union secured to the Irish most of those commercial privileges, for which they had struggled and prayed. One hundred members were to be sent to the British, now the Imperial parliament; four lords spiritual by rotation, and twenty-eight lords temporal, elected for life by their compeers, were to have seats in the upper house. Still this was no panacea for Ireland's malady. The irritation and derangement of the whole social system could not be mistaken. The symptoms were but too plainly marked, and those symptoms were but too definitely expressed in a feverish excitement and an unrestrained violence. Nor from that day to this, has Ireland found a balm of sufficient efficacy to soothe or heal her wound.

Her disease has baffled all skill, and every successive application has been a substitute rather than a remedy.

It is true, that for some years the British had triumphed gloriously at sea. The memorable action which took place off Cape St. Vincent, in February 1797—succeeded as it was by the battle of the Nile, in the year following, which made the English masters of the Mediterranean, and led to the best effects among the powers of Europe—covered the arms of England with fresh glory. Still her ascendancy was not complete. An indirect blow was aimed at her superior naval force, by a combination of the northern powers, who, contrary to the whole system of maritime jurisprudence acknowledged and practised by the nations of Europe, questioned her right of search. They maintained that if a merchantman was escorted by a ship of war, that was a sufficient security that the convoy contained no contraband goods; and that if England refused to agree to this, they were resolved to assert their privilege by force of arms. Everything was done to conciliate the refractory powers, but the most pacific overtures were treated with contempt. Thus threatened abroad, disunion and distraction were rending asunder the country at home. The Irish union was effected, but Ireland was not satisfied. The subject of catholic emancipation was dividing the cabinet. A resignation of the ministry took place. The health of his majesty was so impaired as to involve the government in new difficulties. A subsequent attempt was made upon his life. The failure of the crops in two successive years, spread distress among the people. In these circumstances, and impressed with the splendid achievements of France through the length and breadth of the continent, England now desired terms of peace. Pitt saved himself by retiring from the cabinet. A treaty was concluded in 1801, which left France in a state of aggrandizement, but which was no security for a continuation of peace. The fact is a striking one, that during the whole of the contest, England lost only two ships of war, while she took or destroyed eighty sail of the line; and that she kept her own national commerce almost intact, while that of France was nearly ruined. Yet how few of the people ever calculated what they were annually expending on this royal game! In eight years, the supplies voted by the house of commons were tripled. Previously to 1793, the grant was fourteen millions sterling; in 1801, it was above forty two millions—a sum nearly double the amount of the whole land-rent of the country.

SECTION VII.—A RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES.

The least sagacious among men perceived that the peace with France, which was ratified at Amiens in 1801, and proclaimed in London in 1802, could not be of long duration. France, having placed herself under the control of her great military chief, Napoleon Bonaparte, had no alternative but to bow to the will of her great dictator, and minister to his personal ambition. In him, the love of conquest was greater than the love of man. He paid a deeper homage to the genius of war, than to the God of peace. Taking advantage of

the indefinite terms of the treaty, his policy was such as to challenge the interference of Britain. Hostilities were renewed in 1803. The naval force of England was employed in seizing the French West India colonies, while France took possession of Hanover, and excluded British commerce from Hamburg. An invasion of Berlin was now contemplated, and preparations were made to carry the design into execution. But such were the precautions of the English government, and so formidable was the English navy with Nelson at its head, that Napoleon paused, and hesitated, and then abandoned his project. In the following year Napoleon was elevated to the dignity of emperor, and Pitt was recalled to the councils of his sovereign. In 1805, Britain succeeded in forcing Russia, Sweden, Austria, and Naples into a confederacy against Bonaparte, who, with Spain upon his side, was resolved to dispute with England the sovereignty of the seas. This led to the memorable engagement off Cape Trafalgar, on the 25th of October, in which Nelson hoisted the signal—"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY," and in which, having done his last duty to a country that he loved with more than Spartan affection, he fell, as the world's greatest naval hero. It was a most decisive victory, and with the victory Britannia rose and ruled the waves. But Nelson was not the only great man over whose loss the country was called to shed a tear. In the midst of these naval glories, and while Napoleon was carrying conquest into almost every European state, Pitt, worn out with labour, solicitude, and opposition, expired on the twenty-sixth of January, 1806, in the full manhood of his life and powers. Without calling in question either his talents or his patriotism, it is without controversy, that his policy, more than that of any other statesman, contributed to that enormous debt under which he left the country to groan as under a national curse. The new cabinet, under lord Grenville, and of which Fox became a conspicuous member, busied itself in efforts to bring about a peace with France. Napoleon, who was concerting extensive plans of aggrandizement, seemed little disposed to come to terms, and the proposal failed of success. The ministry was not destitute of men who could grapple with difficulties, But those men were rapidly passing off the great stage of life. Scarcely had the funeral knell of Pitt died away upon the nation's ear, than Fox was numbered with the dead. He closed his life and labours on the thirteenth of September in the same year. His name was endeared to the British people. Such was his "deep and accurate study of our own history, and the history of other modern states, that it may be questioned if any politician, in any age, ever knew so thoroughly the various interests and the exact position of all the countries with which his own had dealings to conduct or relations to maintain." With a small but steady band of noble-minded associates, he manfully struggled for peace and the constitution, and his warfare for the rights of the people can never be too highly extolled. "On one great subject, his sense of right, no essthan his warm and humane feelings, kept him invariably true to the great principles of justice as well as policy. His attachment was unceasing, and his services invaluable, to the abolition of the slave-trade, which his last accession to office certainly accelerated by

several years. For this, and for his support of lord Erskine, in his amendment of the law of libel, the lasting gratitude of his country and of mankind is due; and to the memory of so great and so amiable a man it is a tribute which will ever be cheerfully paid. But to appreciate the gratitude which England owes him, we must look not to his ministerial life; we must recur to his truly glorious career as leader of the patriot band which, during the almost hopeless struggle from 1793 to 1801, upheld the cause of afflicted freedom. If to the genius and the courage of Erskine we may justly be said to owe the escape from proscription and from arbitrary power, Fox stands next to him as the preserver of that sacred fire of liberty which they saved to blaze forth in happier times. Nor could even Erskine have triumphed as he did, had not the party which Fox so nobly led persevered in maintaining the holy warfare, and in rallying round them whatever was left of the old English spirit to resist oppression."

A new confederacy, which took in Prussia, but left out Austria, was effected by Britain, and was now preparing to act. Prussia, irritated by repeated indignities, declared war against the great oppressor of Europe. Napoleon led his GRAND ARMY, by forced marches, into Prussia, gained the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, which at once deprived that country of her army, her capital, and her fortresses; and then, by his famous BERLIN DECREES, declared Great Britain in a state of blockade, and shut the ports of Europe against her merchandise. His majesty of Prussia, having taken refuge in the dominions of the Czar, to Russia Napoleon now bent his steps, over threw the Russian army, reduced the whole country, and Russia became an ally of France, and entered into the views of the conqueror in relation to Britain, and the exclusion of her commerce from all the continental ports. Napoleon now stood the hero of the nations—the conqueror of Europe. There remained but one power to subdue, and that was the power of England. And to effect this, the hero did not despair. It is true that in Asia, Africa, and America, England was extending her conquests and gathering her laurels; it is true that in the East Indies and in the West, her success was undisputed and signal.

It became evident that the ministry of Grenville could not stand much longer. It had in it the elements of decay. Yet that ministry is not without its history and its memory. Before Fox quitted the world, he obtained a resolution of the people's house, declaring the slave-trade to be contrary to every principle of humanity, justice, and sound policy, and pledging themselves to take every possible measure for its speedy abolition. A bill for its eventual abolition was passed without a division, on the 16th of March, 1807, to the unfeigned delight of every lover of justice, of freedom, and of humanity. Never was there a more cursed traffic carried on under GOD'S bright sky; and never did English statesman, or English philanthropist, labour in a more righteous or a more blessed cause. The act which doomed and abolished the traffic in human flesh and blood, reflected infinite honour on the British legislature.

The ministry resigned, and the parliament was dissolved. The

new administration was headed by the duke of Portland, and included among its members Castlereagh, Canning, and Perceval. The war on the continent was still raging with unabated fury; and his past successes had inspired Napoleon with the idea of universal empire. Nor did this seem a thing impossible. He was a hero; but he was little more. His sympathies were not on the side of freedom and of humanity, and hence he was rather feared than loved. Nay, he was looked upon as the common enemy of humanity and of freedom, and England was resolved on his humiliation. Europe began to marshal her united forces against him. Spain revolted. England sent her forces into Portugal, and repulsed the French. Austria commenced war with France; and while Napoleon was in Austria, the English sent an army into Spain, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley—better known as the duke of Wellington—who immediately drove out marshal Soult, and then made a rapid move upon Madrid. Success attended every step of Wellesley, now created lord Wellington. The French were repulsed with great loss; fortress after fortress in Spain was taken, and the crown of Wellington's glory began to glitter in the light.

SECTION VIII.—THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

The ministry and the country were almost wholly absorbed in foreign affairs. There were but few domestic incidents of any real interest. The fact of Sir Francis Burdett addressing a letter to his constituents, in which he denied the right of the house of commons to imprison without trial, and described that body as called together by means which it was not necessary for him to specify, led to his being committed to the Tower; and so fully did the people sympathize with him, that his committal convulsed both the metropolis and the country, and not a few lives were lost. By the time the tumult was quelled, his majesty had become incapable of transacting business. The symptoms of mental aberration were more decided and more positive than before, and the prince of Wales was appointed regent, under certain restrictions as to the appointment of officers and other branches of the prerogative.

The prince commenced his regency when Napoleon was in the zenith of his power, and when the influence of England was just beginning to be felt and acknowledged among the continental nations. Napoleon had shut all the ports of Europe against Britain, and Britain prohibited all vessels belonging to a neutral power from carrying goods to those ports, unless they previously landed and paid a duty in Britain. Never did a government make a grander mistake. It was surely enough for England to be excluded by a despotic power from every port of Europe, without driving away from her own shores the commerce of those nations which were willing still to trade with her. The only means of relief lay in subduing the conqueror, and setting free the commerce of the world. The genius of national independence began to influence the various states of Europe. Alexander of Russia defied Napoleon of France; and Napoleon marched, with more than

half a million of troops, to give battle to Alexander. But the burning of Moscow, suddenly depriving the French of their winter quarters, interrupted his expedition, and obliged him to retreat, and his men perished in the snow by thousands on thousands. Early in 1810, he opened a campaign in northern Germany, when the emperor of Russia—now joined by the king of Prussia, and various inferior powers—appeared in the field against him. After various successes on both sides, peace was offered to him, but he refused to accept it. The allied forces soon became too numerous, and too powerful, to encourage his hopes of universal empire. Napoleon was driven before them to the very frontiers of France, where they found Wellington resting upon his arms, after two successful campaigns in Spain. In these circumstances, every youth in France who was capable of bearing arms, was pressed into the service of Napoleon; after which he marched to his frontiers, to engage with the confederated armies. Again he was offered conditions of peace, and again he refused them. After two months of skirmishing and of contest, the allies entered Paris in triumph on the 30th of March, 1814, and in a few days ratified a treaty with Napoleon, by which he agreed to resign the government of France, and live for the future as the sovereign of the small island of Elba, situated in the Mediterranean. Britain concurred in the treaty of settlement, and peace was proclaimed in London on the 20th of June. In the same month, the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia visited England, and were hailed as the liberators of Europe. Wellington was created a duke, and received a grant of four hundred thousand pounds. But scarcely had the European powers recovered from the shock of the recent war, before it was rumoured that Napoleon was advancing in triumph to his former capital. The rumour was but too true. He entered Paris on the 20th of March, 1815, and was reinstated in his imperial dignity. His first business was to organize an army, and by the month of June he had nearly six hundred thousand effective men under arms, of whom more than two hundred thousand were ready to take the field. The allied powers were all activity. A Prussian army of above one hundred thousand men, under Blücher, and one of eighty thousand, composed of Britons, Germans, and Belgians, under Wellington, made their rendezvous in the Netherlands, while the myriad forces from Austria and Russia swelled the numbers to hundreds of thousands. They made war, not on France, but against Napoleon, who, by the breach of the late treaty, had placed himself out of the pale of social and civil relations, and incurred the penalty of summary execution. Bonaparte crossed the frontiers on the 14th of June, resolved, if possible, to encounter Blücher and Wellington separately. Such was the rapidity of his movements, that these two generals had no time to concert the mode of their attack. On the 16th, he beat Blücher at Ligny, and having employed every means to cut off all correspondence between the hostile armies, he on the 18th brought up his whole forces to bear against Wellington, who had drawn up his troops near a place called Waterloo. Fearfully bloody was the assault. At the most critical moment, Blücher came up on the left flank of the British, which turned the

fortune against France. The French troops retired before a furious and fatal charge of the Prussian cavalry, who cut them down like grass. Napoleon was not only beaten in the field, but, on his return to Paris, he was rejected by his people He abdicated in favour of his son, and went to Rochefort with the intention of embarking for America, but was doomed by his conquerors to perpetual exile; and on the lonely rock of St. Helena, with the waves of the great Atlantic dashing and breaking at its base, did he pine away a life of solitude and of sorrow, till death released him in the year 1821, and Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France. So died the man, at the sound of whose footstep all Europe had trembled. "But the vaulting ambition of the great conqueror at last overleaped itself. After his most arduous and perhaps most triumphant campaign, undertaken with a profusion of military resources unexampled in the annals of war, the ancient capital of the Russian empire was in his hands; yet, from the refusal of the enemy to make peace, and the sterility of the vast surrounding country, the conquest was bootless to his purpose. He had collected the mightiest army that ever the world saw; from all parts of the continent he had gathered his forces; every diversity of blood, and complexion, and tongue, and garb, and weapon, shone along his line;—the resources of whole provinces moved through the kingdoms which his arms held in awe, the artillery of whole citadels traversed the fields; the cattle on a thousand hills were made the food of the myriads whom he poured into the plains of eastern Europe, where blood flowed in rivers, and the earth was whitened with men's bones; but this gigantic enterprise, uniformly successful, was found to have no object when it had no longer an enemy to overcome, and the victor in vain sued to the vanquished for peace. The conflagration of Moscow in one night began his discomfiture, which the frost of another night completed! Upon the pomp and circumstance of unnumbered warriors—their cavalry, their guns, their magazines, their equipage—descended slowly, flake by flake, the snow of a northern night. The hopes of Napoleon were blighted; the retreat of his armament was cut off; and his doom sealed far more irreversibly than if the conqueror of a hundred fields had been overthrown in battle, and made captive with half his force."

Napoleon being now an exile, Austria, Prussia, and Russia formed a holy alliance, in which they secretly bound themselves to assist each other, on all occasions, when threatened with any danger from their respective subjects. England approved of the bond, but did not enter into it. The last year of these hostilities cost Britain above seventy millions of money; and the national debt, which twenty years before was somewhere about two hundred millions, was now augmented to the almost incredible sum of between eight and nine hundred millions! No wonder that an attempt was made to continue the income and the property taxes. But, happily for the industry of the country, as well as for the landed interest, this attempt was defeated. In the year preceding, an act had been passed for prohibiting the importation of grain from the continent, when the price in this country should be less than eighty shillings per quarter.

SECTION IX.—INCIDENTS AFFECTING THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Nineteen years anterior to this period, the prince of Wales had entered into marriage with the princess Caroline of Brunswick, but for whom he never entertained any real affection. The fruit of this union was the princess Charlotte, who was married to prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, a young officer who had won her heart's first pure love, when attending the allied sovereigns at the court of England. In this lovely and accomplished princess centred the nation's affections and the nation's hopes. But those affections warmed only to be chilled, and those hopes blossomed only to be blighted. In November, 1817, after being delivered of a still-born child, she herself almost immediately expired. Strong suspicions were entertained as to the cause of her death; and never did the death of any merely human being produce so deep a sensation and so universal. "Born to inherit the most illustrious monarchy in the world, and united at an early period to the object of her choice, whose virtues amply justified her preference, she enjoyed—what is not always the privilege of that rank—the highest connubial felicity, and had the prospect of combining all the tranquil enjoyments of private life with the splendour of a royal station. Placed on the summit of society, to her every eye was turned—in her every hope was centred; and nothing was wanting to complete her felicity except perpetuity. To a grandeur of mind suited to her royal birth and lofty destination, she joined an exquisite taste for the beauties of nature and the charms of retirement, where, far from the gaze of the multitude, and the frivolous agitations of fashionable life, she employed her hours in visiting, with her distinguished consort, the cottages of the poor, in improving her virtues, in perfecting her reason, and acquiring the knowledge best adapted to qualify her for the possession of power and the cares of empire. One thing only was wanting to render our satisfaction complete in the prospect of the accession of such a princess;—it was, that she might become the living mother of children. ..... But, alas! what do we now behold but the funeral-pall and shroud, a palace in mourning, a nation in tears, and the shadow of death settled over both like a cloud! Oh, the unspeakable vanity of human hope!—the incurable blindness of man to futurity!—ever doomed to grasp at shadows, to seize with avidity what turns to dust and ashes in his hands, to sow the wind, and reap the whirlwind."

From 1816 to 1820, were years of deep national distress. With the termination of the European war, came the liberation of European commerce, and with this came a proportionate diminution of the trade which England had enjoyed as sole mistress of the seas. During the war, the price of everything had risen far above its real value, and now fell to a point proportionably low, yet the public burdens continued at their former nominal amount, and of course pressed with great severity upon the industry of the people, now less able to bear such a burden. In addition to this, the crops failed, the price of bread was increased, and the spirit of dissatisfaction spread far and wide. Mistaking the source of their misery, the people clamoured for a reformed parliament, and proceeded to tumult and to riot. Such was

the popular excitement, that in 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended—men suspected of conspiracy were apprehended and imprisoned. The feeling of discontent still deepened. The temporary revival of trade in 1818, was followed by corresponding depression and distress in 1819, and in the spirit of frenzy, the working classes rushed to scenes of lawless violence. The political horizon thickened into a deeper gloom. A storm was looming in the distance. The cloud burst, and poured its contents on the nation already distracted, exhausted, and filled with distress. Outrages were committed to the consternation and dismay of the more peaceful portion of the community. There were Birmingham riots, and Manchester mobs. There were retreats for the secret training of men to arms, and men in arms marching with colours and with music to places of appointed rendezvous. The cavalry were called out to quell the people, and the people were resolved to put down the government. A strange infatuation took possession of the popular mind. When the immortal Chatham was employing his most burning eloquence against the continuation of war, the people manifested but little sympathy with him or his views, and thus encouraged the government of his day to drain the national exchequer in fruitless expeditions, and vain-glorious engagements. And now that administration after administration had done what the people encouraged them to do—that is, expended the resources of the country in foreign wars—the people turn round, and curse the very men who had acted in conformity with their will. All authority was set at nought. The press teemed with unstamped political publications. Processions, with banners floating in the light, crowded the public streets. Demagogues and political orators harangued the assembled masses. Magistrates found it difficult to preserve the peace. The ministry were decried and anathematized. Parliament was worthy only of being blown to pieces. The regent, who had passed over from the opposition to the side of the government, had become so unpopular, that his life was endangered, and even aimed at, on his return from the house of peers. Apprehensions followed, and executions were not rare.

After labouring under a lingering illness, the queen expired on the 17th of November, 1818, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. This was followed by the death of his majesty, on the 12th of January, 1820, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. The last ten years of his life and of his government, were passed without a single lucid interval. The prince regent was immediately proclaimed as George IV. and a few days after, the duke of Kent—father of our present beloved sovereign—suddenly departed this life. On the character of George III. we have already pronounced. That during his reign, greater organic changes took place in the politica world, and greater glory was acquired by the country than in any former period of our history, no one will deny. Equally true is it that, by a vigorous prosecution of hostilities in the east, our power in India was completely established, and that our oriental dominions have opened up a distant but unlimited market for the operations of commerce, and the acquisition of wealth. Add to which, that to England is due the glory of having secured the liberties of Europe,

and the emancipation of enslaved humanity. She it is that has given the mightiest impulse to the efforts of universal mind, and her influence it is which is felt at the very ends of the earth.

SECTION X.—EDUCATIONAL, MISSIONARY, AND BENEVOLENT SCHEMES.

Education needs not to be defined. We must look at man in his whole nature, sustaining certain definite relations to the universe of GOD, and to GOD himself, with duties as certain and as definite, arising out of these relations. That it is the duty of each parent to educate his child, is a position which cannot be denied. But how many heads of families are there who, being ignorant of the pleasures of knowledge, have no solicitude for the education of their children! The consequence is, that myriads of those little ones are wholly overlooked and neglected. No mere philanthropy has reached them. No state provision has overtaken them. The progress of education has not kept pace with the increase of the population. Still the present compares favourably with the past. When GEORGE III. ascended the throne, the state of education in England was most deplorable. Nor did the power of letters really begin to affect the masses, till the idea of Sunday-schools took possession of the benevolent and pious mind of ROBERT RAIKES—a gentleman of property and of influence in the city of Gloucester. It was a happy device to call out the more latent talent and piety of the christian church, and bring it to bear on the intellectual and moral condition of the children of the poorer classes; and this, too, on that sacred day whose hours both the teachers and the taught claim as their own. The introduction of this system formed an era in the history of our common country. It was the morning-star telling the approach of day. It was the forerunner of intelligence, of freedom, and of virtue. After Raikes came BELL, the projector and founder of national schools; and after both came LANCASTER, a member of the Society of Friends, at once the author and the equally devoted, persevering, and successful promulgator of the system of mutual instruction, and who, for many years, was actively engaged in delivering lectures and forming schools in various parts of England; and to listen to whose simple but earnest eloquence, rank, wealth, and beauty flocked with eagerness and with interest. It is on his system that THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY is based, to whose operations a large majority of the poorer classes in our country owe the blessings of education. No society has been more successful. No system has been found more efficient. By its means the light of knowledge has beamed on the minds of thousands multiplied by thousands. Its influence has been felt through the length and breadth of the land. Education has taken a higher and a wider range. All other classes have been forced to press forward. And what is the condition of the English mind at this moment? Never was education more generally diffused; never was a higher price put upon it. As in commerce the supply creates the demand, so the spread of knowledge has quickened and increased the desire. Education is one of the great questions of the day; and, going down

as it does to the very depths of human society, is destined to work one of the most signal revolutions in the history of the race.

While the school was quickening the intellect of the child, the Nonconformist pulpit of England was quickening the man into a more practical piety. The field of christian activity at home was wide and unconfined. But the genius of christianity pointed to other lands. Being possessed of universal adaptation, it was now understood to be designed for universal propagation. A few more enlightened and benevolent spirits, from various parts of England, and of various evangelical denominations, met in the metropolis to concert a scheme of FOREIGN MISSIONS. As early as the year 1697, there was formed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, was established the Danish Missionary Society; and in the year 1733, the church of the United Brethren began their labours among the heathen. But it was not till the close of the last century, that the christian churches of England took up the cause of christian missions as their proper work. Among the institutions of that period, the first place is due to THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, whose sole object ever has been "to spread the knowledge of CHRIST among the heathen, and other unenlightened nations;" and whose fundamental principle is, that "as the union of christians of various denominations, in carrying on this great work, is a most desirable object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a *fundamental principle* of the missionary society, that its design is not to send presbyterianism, independency, episcopacy, or any other form of church order and government, about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons, but the glorious gospel of the blessed God to the heathen; and that it shall be left—as it ought to be left—to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of his Son from among them, to assume for themselves such form of church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God." The established church, into whose piety the breath of life was being infused, felt that it was their indispensable duty to promote, by all means in their power, the propagation of the gospel abroad; but they believed, or they at least thought, that the London Missionary Society was not formed upon those principles which were either calculated to produce success or to justify the church in publicly uniting with it; and hence arose THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY. Similar institutions came into existence among other bodies of evangelical christians; and the subjugation of the world to the Saviour was the inspiring motive, and the final end of these wider and nobler doings. The reaction was most salutary. Foreign effort withdrew nothing from the field of home exertion. The spirit of life came down upon the churches. This life had its development. And hence the formation of Bible, Tract, Instruction, and other benevolent societies, by whose operations benefits of incalculable value were conferred, and have continued to be conferred, on our own land, and on the various nations of the earth.

We have spoken of the revived piety of the national church. This, perhaps, needs to be explained. The state of religion in the English

establishment during the reign of George the Third had sunk to a comparatively low point. The great majority of the clergy were men destitute of the life of God; and the people, sunk in profligacy and vice, had a deep-rooted hatred to evangelical practical truth. In proof of this, it is sufficient to refer to the position of the eminently holy and devoted Charles Simeon at Cambridge. When he was presented to the living of Trinity church, in that far-famed seat of learning, so unpalatable were his pure doctrines to the impure minds of the people, that almost all the members of the congregation put locks on their pews, and would neither attend themselves nor suffer others to attend; when he filled up every vacant space with temporary seats, the churchwardens pulled them down, or broke them to pieces; when he devoted his time to the visitation of the people, they were so embittered against him, that scarcely any would admit him within their doors; when he established an evening lecture, the church doors were shut against him, and the keys retained by the wardens. In the midst of persecution, this devoted man continued his labours. For years he suffered, but during all those years he laboured. What was the result? "Contrast the commencement and the close of his course. He stood for many years alone; he was long opposed, ridiculed, shunned; his doctrines were misrepresented; his little peculiarities of voice and manner were satirized; disturbances were frequently raised in his church; he was a person not taken into account, nor considered in the light of a regular clergyman of the church. Such was the beginning of things; but mark the close. For the last portion of his ministry, all was rapidly changing. He was invited repeatedly to take courses of sermons before the university. The same great principles that he preached, were avowed from almost every pulpit in Cambridge. His church was crowded with young students." And at his death, the university paid him more respect than had ever been paid to any merely private individual. It is to the ministry of this one man, that the church of England owes a revived ministry and a revived piety. It was from frequent and familiar intercourse with him, that hundreds of the younger clergy received that mental and moral impression which they, in their turn, again impressed by their ministry on the national mind and character. But for the holy and transforming influence which he exercised upon the youth of the university, and the pulpits of the national church would have continued to be filled by men whose teaching and whose example must have been fatal to the interests of truth and virtue. He was the father of the evangelical party, and to the evangelical party the church owes its preservation and its life.

SECTION XI.—PROGRESS OF SCIENCE AND OF LETTERS.

The scientific and literary position of every point of time, will manifest itself in the discoveries and the works of that time. During the reign of George III. the mind of England started on a new race of improvement. It neither depreciated nor rejected the past, but, taking up all that was valuable in the past, it pressed forward to a

still more advanced point. By certain improvements in the steam-engine, Watt obtained a superior mechanical power for the propelling and the working of machinery, and his perfected steam-engine was patented in 1782. As a civil engineer, he spent a great deal of time in planning and surveying canals, to aid him in which, he invented a new micrometer and a machine for drawing in perspective. Nor was he the only working man who contributed to scientific discovery. Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, which so greatly abridged the use of hand-labour in the cotton manufacture. Upon this Arkwright improved, by the introduction of his spinning-frame, by which the finest threads could be taken up in vast numbers, and spun with but little manual aid. Then came into use Compton's mule-jenny; and, some years later, Cartwright's power-loom, which altogether superseded hand-labour in weaving. By these successive discoveries, the cotton manufacture was soon brought to the highest perfection, and contributed to an almost incredible extent to the wealth of the country. Commerce, which had happily been preserved during the whole of the war, now obtained a deeper, wider, and freer channel. Agriculture was improved and advanced, and the tide of national prosperity set in with a mighty and majestic flow. So that while Britannia with one hand grasped the trident, as mistress of the sea, she might with the other have lifted the horn of plenty, as the symbol of her renewed prosperity.

The application of steam to navigation marks this epoch. A small model vessel was first tried in 1788, by Patrick Miller, in the county of Dumfries. Another was seen plying in perfect action on the Forth and Clyde canal; but it was not till an American, of the name of Fulton, introduced his steam-vessel on the Hudson river, that the idea challenged the attention of the scientific world. The first in Europe was seen on the bosom of the lovely Clyde. After this, steam-vessels became known over the whole civilized world. They soon crossed the Atlantic, and are now forcing their passage to the most distant shores. Nor can it be said that this grand discovery has reached its perfection, while its future development and its future results no merely human reason can calculate.

To say nothing of the discoveries of captain Cook in the Pacific Ocean; to say nothing of canals for internal navigation; to say nothing of the promotion of the Fine Arts by the founding of the Royal Academy; to say nothing of the advancement of astronomy, chemistry, the science of medicine, and the art of healing; to say nothing of physics, and of natural history, how transcendently brilliant was the literary constellation which now shed its glory upon this our England! In poetry, it is sufficient to mention the names of Wordsworth, Byron, and Burns; in fiction and romance, the name of Sir Walter Scott; in history, the names of Robertson and Hume; in philosophy, the names of Reid, Stewart, and Brown; in divinity, the names of Warburton, Lowth, and Blair; while in periodical literature, the "Edinburgh Review" challenged, and still continues to challenge, the first place.

Yet amid all the light and glory by which we are thus surrounded, we cannot look back on this reign but with the most mingled and

the most painful emotions. It was a bloody reign. We can think of no one circumstance that justified the American war. It is an eternal blot on the escutcheon of the country; while the war with France was carried on in a spirit and at an outlay ruinous to the best interests of the people. The glory which crowned the arms of England melts away and disappears before the wide-spread misery which followed. The evils which those wars entailed upon the nation were enough to have effected her ruin. Nor will those evils terminate—just because war will never terminate--till the reign of universal love and brotherhood be established. And this will come only with the universal spread and triumph of that christianity which is the religion of love and of good-will.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE subject of finance is somewhat intricate and difficult, but some knowledge of it is indispensable to the right understanding of the state of the nation. Under THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, the maintenance of the monarch and of the various officers of the state, was not, as now, derived from taxation; the king lived upon his own estates, and from those estates all public functionaries were paid. The barons and the lords of the manor held their land upon a military tenure, nor were holders of land under the church wholly exempt from this service, unless they were included among the clergy or the free burgesses. In case of war or of national exigencies, aids and benevolences were granted; and hence arose the duty of poundage, and tonnage, and ship-money, and a variety of other imposts all and always obnoxious to the people. When the long parliament came into being, the feudal system died away. If we except THE POOR RATES—which were the consequence of the seizure of the church property by Henry VIII. and which were enacted in the time of Elizabeth—the people knew little, if anything at all, of taxation. The long parliament laid "the first corner-stone of that system of taxation which has gone on ever since." Not long after, the excise came into operation, which made duties upon articles of consumption payable by the retail trader.

The revolution of 1688 arose out of a reaction in favour of the old religion. But Charles and James were heartily in favour of the catholic faith. And the dread of the Romish church again attaining the ascendancy, and resuming the ecclesiastical property, led to the fearful struggle which forced James to abdicate his throne, and converted his family into exiles and wanderers. If James, who clung to the right divine of kings, could have claimed the power over the national purse, he would have set the parliament and the country at defiance. But it was now the law of England, that the people could not be taxed without the consent of the people's own house; nor could that house charge the government of the Stuarts as either extravagant or expensive. In the year in which James abdicated, his revenue did not much exceed two millions of money, though we must take into account the fact that money then was much more valuable than it is now. The value of money is in proportion to the quantity of labour which is required to obtain it. If to obtain an ounce of gold, it require twenty times more labour than is required to obtain an ounce of silver, then gold is twenty times more valuable

than silver. But how will this apply to fictitious money? How can a five-pound bank note be equal in value to five sovereigns in gold, since the paper can be produced with less labour than the coin? The only answer to this inquiry is, that it is a principle in political economy that things that will certainly insure or command other things that are valuable, are themselves valuable. In the one case, the value is real; in the other, it is only representative, and is founded upon the good credit of those who issue this sort of money; and it is understood that it will be paid on demand in gold and silver. It stands for something else. The use of money, then, is to measure the value of other things. Being itself always of one and the same value, it becomes a standard by which to determine the value of those commodities which do vary. Nor must it be forgotten, that with the increase or decrease of the precious metals does the price of an article rise or fall. In proportion to the quantity of money in circulation, are its possessors disposed more readily to part with it for any other thing to which they may take a fancy. If the circulation be restricted and scanty, they are the less disposed to part with what they have. The cheapness—or, in other words, the plentifulness—of money, makes things dear; whereas the dearness—that is, the scarcity—of the circulating medium, makes things cheap. Men will not part with their money, and prices fall. Then how does money equalize its value in the countries which have intercourse the one with the other? If one country has an influx of precious metals, the other will find its profit in sending goods into that country, and bringing away the gold and the silver received in exchange; while the country which enjoys an increased circulation, will find her advantage in sending gold and silver into the other, since she can there command more goods in exchange than at home, for the same amount of money. And hence, "to render trade between countries profitable and easy, each must take from the other the same amount in commodities." It is only money in circulation that affects prices. "Locked-up money, so long as it remains so, has no such effect. Hence it may happen, and sometimes does happen, that there may be a superabundance of capital or hoarded money in a country, whilst the circulating money is too little for the wants of the community of that country."

SECTION I.—THE NATIONAL DEBT.

In every well-ordered state, the rights of society must precede the rights of the individual, inasmuch as the individual is of less consequence than society. Hence, all writers agree in saying that the preservation of the social state is the first natural law. And hence, every citizen is bound to contribute to the means necessary for all public purposes. If the revenue of a country be not equal to its exigencies, the supplies must be obtained either by an increased taxation or by loans. If the country can bear it, there can be no doubt that the most just and rational method would be to raise the supplies at once. If the government borrow money, it must borrow at interest, and so increase its responsibilities and its difficulties. What is borrowed does

not go to form a capital—it is spent; and the nation is left to provide for the interest. If the principal be not repaid, the interest becomes a perpetual annuity. It does not terminate with the life of the lender, but is perpetuated to the latest posterity; and hence, in providing for the mere interest of the money borrowed, the entire sum may be paid over and over again, without advancing a single step towards relief. It follows, that the system of borrowing, once commenced by the government of a country, lays the foundation for an indefinite increase of debt. The effect of each loan is to make the want of another loan more certain. It has been said that a government ought never to borrow, without at the same time imposing a tax for the payment of the interest annually, and of the principal within a certain time; and to consider that tax as pledged to the creditors on the public faith. On the other hand, it has been conceived that the taxation arising out of the funded debt has roused energies which might otherwise have lain dormant, and has given a stimulus to industry which had otherwise been wanting; to say nothing of the fact, that by extending it over a succession of generations, we lighten the burden of the present generation. While a third party urge it as a grand and most fatal objection to all the extended systems of national borrowing, that they create a mortgage upon the labour of universal posterity, which is a violation of all law; for "there never was a code on earth which made the children liable for the debts of the parents, unless those parents left their children something wherewith to pay." Nor does the evil terminate here. Those who embark in such a speculation as that of lending money to the government of a country, must have recourse to means not the most worthy, to enhance the value of the stock, so as to allow of corresponding profits upon successive sales, and thus "a state gambling-house is erected, compared with the mischiefs of which, lesser hells dwindle into insignificance." National morality is undermined—the most sacred bonds of society are broken asunder.

The first permanent loan to the English government, was that of twelve hundred thousand pounds by a few London merchants in 1693, five years after the revolution. On the accession of the prince of Orange, the wars which were then agitating Europe, increased in their virulence and their fierceness. The expenses of those wars bore heavily on the treasury of England. To raise the necessary supplies was the grand difficulty of the new government, without estranging from itself the confidence and the support of the middle and commercial classes. In July 1694, the above-named merchants were incorporated by act of parliament into a company, under the designation of THE BANK OF ENGLAND; and with the establishment of the bank, came into existence a fictitious or paper money. At first this system was received with distrust; but, by a series of successful manœuvres, the company gradually raised their credit to the highest point. From this period must be dated the existence of Exchequer Bills. "These bills were and are nothing more than promissory notes due at certain dates, and bearing interest, issued by government when in want of money. These bills the bank undertook to help to circulate, and also to help (if needful) to pay when due; and these bills,

accordingly, took the place of the old tallies and orders which had so shortly before been in the very gulph of discredit and bankruptcy, along with the government, which was party to them."

At the close of 1701, the national debt amounted to something more than sixteen millions sterling, with an interest of above thirteen hundred thousand. And this was contracted in the space of seven years. The bank went on increasing in capital and in credit; and as these increased, so did its advances to the government. The war of succession, consequent upon Anne's accession, and which did not close till the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, involved England in the larger share of the expense. And though the Tories, when in opposition, looked upon the amassing of immense estates by the management of funds, by trafficking in paper, and by all the arts of jobbing, as a scheme of iniquity, yet no sooner had they grasped the reins of government, than they found it much more easy to borrow money than to levy taxes equal to the exigencies of the state. They were caught in the snare. And on the death of her majesty in 1714, the national debt had risen from sixteen to fifty-four millions, and the interest from thirteen hundred thousand to nearly three millions and a-half. Thus, in the space of thirteen short years, the whole amount had become nearly fourfold.

To the South Sea Bubble, in the reign of the first George, we have already devoted sufficient space. The war of succession had exhausted all Europe, and the reign of George was one of comparative peace, and at his demise the debt was a trifle less than it stood at his accession. In 1739, the war with Spain broke out, when it was found that a reduction of five millions had been effected since the death of George the First, through the economic conduct of Walpole. But the war which began with Spain was extended into a war with France, in which England was involved. It was not till 1748, that peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, and by this time the national debt had swelled to more than seventy-eight millions. The peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle lasted seven years, during which the debt was reduced by a sum of nearly four millions. In 1755, another war with France was begun in defence of the American colonies, and the last spark of which survived the second George. This war, which lasted till 1762, almost doubled the debt of the country.

"Walpole held for many years the reins of government in England, under two princes, neither of them born or bred in the country—held them during the troubles of a disputed succession, and held them while European politics were complicated with various embarrassments; and yet he governed at home, without any inroads upon public liberty; he administered the ordinary powers of the constitution without requiring the dangerous help of extreme temporary rigour; he preserved tranquillity at home, without pressing upon the people; and he maintained peace abroad, without any sacrifice either of the interests or the honour of the country. If no brilliant feats of improvement in our laws or in the condition of the state were attempted; if no striking evolutions of external policy were executed; at least all was kept safe and quiet in every quarter, and the irrepressible energies of national industry had the fullest scope afforded them during a

lengthened season of repose, which in those days of foreign war and domestic levy was deemed a fortune hardly to be hoped for, and of which the history of the country had never offered any example." To this man, belongs the honour or the disgrace of having first established THE SINKING FUND, which went to appropriate all the surplus revenue to the discharge of the national debt, and which rendered it inapplicable to any other purpose whatsoever. After paying off five millions, it was given up. When the war in defence of the American colonies was brought to a close in 1763, it was found that the debt of the country was again all but doubled. Still "the wonderful colonial field thus obtained, might have been made the finest acquisition that ever nation won." But the attempt to lay those colonies under taxation against their own consent, and apply the taxes to the purposes of the mother-country, which led to the American war of independence, cost England more than one hundred and twenty millions of money; and this, added to the debt as it stood in 1755, raised the whole to something above two hundred and fifty millions, with an interest of at least nine millions and a-half. This was in 1783, when the states had declared their independence. Bolingbroke's predictions began to be verified. The evils of the sinking system began to be felt, and the country became agitated with schemes of commercial and political reform. The press abounded with publications, in which were set forth the difficulties and the evils in which the country was now involved. In the same year, Pitt became prime minister; and as soon as he felt the reins of power firmly in his grasp, he addressed himself to the Herculean task of arranging the financial affairs of the country. Having arranged and simplified the whole tariff—having new-moulded the regulations of the excise, and having put the whole system of taxation on the best footing, he, too, proposed a sinking fund, to constitute which, the parliament was to appropriate one million annually. In 1792, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds per annum was added to this fund, and another was established of one per cent. on all future loans. By 1793, the minister, by diminished expenditure, and the proper application of the revenue thus set at liberty, had effected a reduction of between four and five millions. In this year, the French revolution broke forth, "in all its lurid splendour, like a volcano in the night, throwing its flashes far and wide, alarming the nations, and arousing men from their sleep." At first, Pitt stood aloof; but the passion of the country was against him, and, in an evil hour, he yielded to the pressure from without, and war was declared between the two nations. A commercial panic followed. Bankruptcies were numerous, and banks stopped payment. The pressure was unparalleled in the commercial history of the country. Towards the close of 1796, the Bank began to experience a scarcity of cash; and in the year following, there being a run upon it for gold, it obtained an order in council, restricting its payments to paper notes. This expedient, which was to have lasted fifty-two days, was continued for twenty-two years! At the end of 1797, the debt had run up to four hundred millions, with seventeen millions of interest!

After the crisis of 1797, which ended in establishing an inconvertible paper money in England, the war with France was carried on

with renewed vigour, and continued, with short intervals of peace, till 1815, when the battle of Waterloo determined the destinies of Europe, and left our country burdened with a debt of nearly nine hundred millions! And at this figure it still stands!

SECTION II.—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE POOR RATE.

When Henry the Eighth seized the whole of the ecclesiastical property of England, he took away the provision which the church had from the earliest time made for the poor. When the tithes came to be appropriated to the monasteries, it became the duty of the monastic order to attend to the relief of their poorer brethren. Nor, till the time of that prince, did any compulsory act exist on their behalf. It was with the destruction of the monasteries, that statutes for this purpose were framed and passed. It was in the reign of Elizabeth, that a legal assessment was made, under the name and designation of THE POOR RATE, which has continued ever since. By this enactment, the churchwardens and the overseers of every parish were empowered to raise, weekly or otherwise, by taxation of every inhabitant, materials for employing the poor, and competent sums for their relief. What amount was raised for the poor in the reign of Elizabeth, we have no means of determining. In 1698, the poor rates reached the sum of eight hundred and nineteen thousand pounds, and up to 1776, they but little exceeded seventeen hundred thousand. But the effects of the funding system and the paper money were soon felt, not only on the ordinary expenditure of the kingdom, but on the poor rates, in a way not to be misunderstood. In the reign of the first George, such was the increase in these rates, that an act of parliament was passed which enabled the overseers of any parish, with the consent of a majority of the parishioners, to purchase or hire buildings to be used as workhouses, and to contract for the board and lodging of the poor therein. If any of the poor refused to enter these houses, it was in the power of the overseer to deny relief. Under this new régime the rates at first fell, but no sooner was the scheme perfected and brought into operation, than they rose higher than before, and the act was soon afterwards repealed. With the future increase of the national debt, the pressure upon the means of the people was most crushing; and, as a natural consequence, the poor rate went on with fearful growth of rapidity. From 1776 to 1783, including a period of only seven years, it was doubled; and from 1783 to 1793, it averaged two millions and a quarter annually! The country was rapidly becoming pauperised; and with the growth of pauperism, came that growth of crime and vice which challenged the most perfect schemes of education, the aids of philanthropy, and all the inimitable appliances of Christianity itself. Had the rate gone on in the same manner from 1793 up to the present period, it must have reached the enormous sum of at least twelve millions sterling. Happily it did not so proceed. In 1815-16 it amounted to about seven millions; and in 1847, to nearly a million more. In the same year, the number of paupers—including

children—who received relief, was a little above one million, seven hundred thousand, or about one in nine of the population. In Scotland, they are only the impotent, or very aged poor, who can legally claim relief from the parish funds, which are managed by parochial boards, subject to the direction and control of a central power. It was not till 1838, that poor-laws were introduced into Ireland, which there give no legal right to relief, but only provide, in the shape of work-houses, for the support of the destitute. Poor-rates have worked badly for the country. "Fear of want is the only effectual motive to industry with the labouring poor: remove that fear, and they cease to be industrious. The ruling passion of those who live by bodily labour, is to save a pittance for their children, and for supporting themselves in old age. Stimulated by desire of accomplishing those ends, they are frugal and industrious; and the prospect of success is a continual feast to them. Now, what worse can malice invent against such a man, under colour of friendship, than to secure bread to him and his children whenever he takes a dislike to work, which effectually deadens his sole ambition, and with it his honest industry? Relying on the certainty of a provision against want, he relaxes gradually till he sinks into idleness; idleness leads to profligacy; profligacy begets diseases; and the wretch becomes an object of public charity before he has run half his course. Wisely, therefore, is it ordered by Providence that charity should, in every instance, be voluntary, to prevent the idle and profligate from depending on it for support."

SECTION III.—THE REVENUE OF THE COUNTRY.

We have seen that the present national debt, inclusive of the interest, amounts to between eight and nine hundred millions sterling, and had its origin in a loan of twelve hundred thousand pounds, which a few London merchants made to the government in 1693. To pay the interest of this debt, and carry on the business of the country, a certain revenue is necessary; and this revenue is derived from certain imposts upon a great variety of different articles. From 1761 to 1774, which was a period of peace, the revenue increased from about nine millions to rather more than ten; and from the latter date to the last twelve years, it has continued to increase. In 1816, it had risen to nearly seventy-seven millions, which was the largest sum raised in one year by taxes. In 1848, THE CUSTOMS, or the duties paid upon articles imported from abroad, amounted to above twenty millions:—THE EXCISE, or the taxes levied on goods of home manufacture, yielded nearly thirteen millions:—THE STAMP DUTIES, or the prices affixed to stamped papers, gave rather more than seven millions and a-half:—THE ASSESSED TAXES, or those which are levied on land, windows, servants, and so forth, produced more than four millions and a quarter:—THE INCOME AND PROPERTY TAX—a tax occasionally resorted to in time of war, or during extraordinary financial depression, yielded nearly five millions and a-half:—THE POST-OFFICE, from the reduction of the postage to one penny per letter not above a certain weight, which involved a change of incalculable benefit to all classes, gave something less than one million:—

the income derived from CROWN PROPERTY, and from MISCELLANIES, was something less than two hundred thousand pounds; the whole making a total of about fifty-one millions and a-half for the year, more than one half of which was derived from the customs and the excise; showing that the greater portion of the taxation is indirect, and that the chief burden falls on the consumers of tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, wines, and spirits. In other words, the chief burden falls on the body of the people. But a change is coming over the national mind. The spirit and tendency of the age is to direct, rather than to indirect, taxation. Against the income of fifty-one millions and a-half, we have to place the expenditure. This, including the interest on the national debt, the navy, the army, the ordnance, miscellaneous services, courts of justice, annuities and pensions, salaries and allowances, miscellaneous charges, and the civil list, amounted in the same year to nearly sixty millions, which shows an excess over the income. To meet this excess, either new taxes must be imposed, and new loans contracted, or a corresponding reduction must be made in the national outlay. It is a reduction which the nation now demands, and a reduction must be made. The expenditure of nations, like that of individuals, must be kept within their income. And till there be an excess of income above the expenditure, it is nothing better than a day-dream to talk about the reduction of the national debt. "All the money borrowed a century ago by the English government, has been repaid five times over in the shape of interest, without one jot of progress towards ultimate relief. Monstrous absurdity! When we reflect that had one per cent. of this interest been held to be repayment of principal—which might, at a slight sacrifice, have been bargained for—the whole would by this time have been redeemed."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ARISTOCRACY OF ENGLAND.

To say that the great root of all our grievances is the aristocracy; or that, in their true history, we have the secret of every national embarrassment, are positions to which we are not prepared, blindly or hastily, to assent. In an earlier part of this history, we have shown that the period from which the English aristocracy dates its origin, is that of the Norman conquest. As soon as William had ascended the throne of England, he began to enrich his followers with territorial possessions. He carried on a war of extermination till he became lord of the soil, and then he disposed of it at pleasure. Hordes of greedy adventurers had followed him from Normandy, and now they clamoured for possession and for territory. All lands gradually passed by confiscation into their hands. The earlier English nobility were trodden down, and treated with every indignity. They conspired once and again to overcome the invader, but were defeated; and "nearly all the great nobles, the sons of the men who had achieved the conquest of England, were driven out of the land as traitors and outlaws, and their estates and honours were given to new men—to the obscure followers of the new court." It was with no common satisfaction that the people beheld them, in the time of the second Henry, quit the kingdom by order of that prince, and again become serfs after having been lords.

SECTION I.—THEIR ORDER ESTABLISHED, AND THEIR RIGHTS SECURED.

The passing of the Magna Charta was a memorable event for England's liberties and for England's progress. In the war of the barons, the nobles demanded a restoration of their ancient privileges, and swore that they would sooner lose their lives than give up their claim. The conference at Runnymede, between them and John, put them in possession of no common power. Not that England is indebted to them for the charter; they could never have obtained it, but for the determination and the force of the classes below them. And when the nobles madly dreamed of making over the kingdom to France, it was the lifted voice and the lifted arm of the people that prevented the enslaving and degrading subjugation. What was the effect? The nobles put themselves in opposition to the men through whom the charter of their liberties had been secured, and a civil war followed. At one time, we find them uniting with the crown against the people; and at another time, uniting with the people against the crown. In

proportion as they grew great by the gifts and the favours of the crown, they treated the people as the merest serfs. Their growing power became a ground of rivalship among themselves. Noble set himself against noble; and each strove for the mastery. Versed in the mysteries of usurpation, they in their turn became usurpers. Even the crown was not beyond their grasp. And hence, from the accession of the first Henry down to the coming in of the House of Tudor, we have nothing in the history of the aristocracy but the record of usurpations and of troubles. When Henry the Seventh ascended the throne, the fate of the feudal aristocracy was sealed. Many of the nobles, and the greatest of them, had fallen in the wars of the Roses; and Henry—having destroyed the last remaining male member of the line of Plantagenet, in the execution of the earl of Warwick—resumed all the grants made since the reign of the fourth Henry, and having obtained full power over the greater portion of the property of the Yorkists, reduced them to a state of absolute dependence.

There were certain characteristics peculiar to the English aristocracy, which must not be overlooked. Previous to the government of the Tudors, they were not a race wholly cut off and separate from the people. There was a relation between them and the community, which was mutually advantageous. The classes below them were not so far down, that there was no possibility of their working their way up to the ranks of the nobility; nor were the nobles so far up, that they might not come into contact and affinity with the people. As has been well observed:—"There was a strong hereditary aristocracy; but it was of all hereditary aristocracies the least insolent and exclusive. It had none of the invidious character of a caste. It was constantly receiving members from the people, and constantly sending down members to mingle with the people. Any gentleman might become a peer. The younger son of a peer was but a gentleman. Grandsons of peers yielded precedence to newly made knights. The dignity of knighthood was not beyond the reach of any man, who could by diligence and thrift realize a good estate, or who could attract notice by his valour in a battle or a siege. It was regarded as no disparagement for the daughter of a duke, nay, of a royal duke, to espouse a distinguished commoner. Thus, Sir John Howard married the daughter of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; Sir Richard Pole married the countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, duke of Clarence. Good blood was indeed held in high respect; but between good blood and the privileges of peerage, there was, most fortunately for our country, no necessary connexion. Pedigrees as long, and escutcheons as old, were to be found out of the House of Lords as in it. There were new men who bore the highest titles. There were untitled men well known to be descended from knights who had broken the Saxon ranks at Hastings, and scaled the walls of Jerusalem. There were Bohuns, Mowbrays, De Veres, nay, kinsmen of the house of Plantagenet, with no higher addition than that of esquire, and with no civil privileges beyond those enjoyed by every farmer and shopkeeper. There was, therefore, here, no line like that which in some other countries divided the patrician from the

plebeian. The yeoman was not inclined to murmur at dignities to which his own children might rise. The grandee was not inclined to insult a class into which his own children must descend.

"After the wars of York and Lancaster, the links which connected the nobility and the commonalty became closer and more numerous than ever. The extent of the destruction which had fallen on the old aristocracy may be inferred from a single circumstance. In the year 1451, Henry VI. summoned fifty-three temporal lords to parliament. The temporal lords summoned by Henry VII. to the parliament of 1485, were only twenty-nine; and of these twenty-nine, several had recently been elevated to the peerage. During the following century, the ranks of the nobility were largely recruited from among the gentry. The constitution of the house of commons tended greatly to promote the salutary intermixture of classes. The knight of the shire was the connecting link between the baron and the shopkeeper. On the same benches on which sat the goldsmiths, drapers, and grocers, who had been returned to parliament by commercial towns, sat also members who, in any other country, would have been called noblemen, hereditary lords of manors, entitled to hold courts and to bear coat armour, and able to trace back an honourable descent through many generations. Some of them were younger sons and brothers of lords, others could boast of even royal blood. At length the eldest son of an earl of Bedford, called in courtesy by the second title of his father, offered himself as candidate for a seat in the house of commons, and his example was followed by others. Seated in that house, the heirs of the great peers naturally became as zealous for its privileges as any of the humble burgesses with whom they were mingled. Thus our democracy was, from an early period, the most aristocratic, and our aristocracy the most democratic, in the world: a peculiarity which has lasted down to the present day, and which has produced many important moral and political effects." *

Henry VIII. made himself master of both the persons and the property of all his subjects. The estates which he wrested from the nobles and the church, were eagerly coveted, and as eagerly sought by a race of sycophants and of slaves; and the moment they became possessed of property, they became clamorous for titles and for power. Out of this new arrangement, sprang many of the present noble families of England. The possession of power led to the workings of ambition. And hence, when the youthful Edward came to the throne, the executors of his father's will proceeded to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue, by the creation of a new nobility, many of whom were endowed with ecclesiastical preferments, and others of whom were enriched with the gathered spoils of the church.

With the close of the Tudor government, came a marked change in the relative position of the aristocracy. Their own power now wholly subordinated to that of the crown, they viewed with apprehension the rising authority of the parliament, and the growing intelligence and influence of the people. To counterbalance this influence of the

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. pp. 37-39.

people, and the power of the people's house, they manifested a striking inclination to side with royalty against all the popular interests. On the accession of the Stuarts, this subserviency of the aristocracy contrasted singularly with the dignity and patriotism of the people. It was this family that set forth the divine right of kings in language so unmistakeable, and who, in asserting that doctrine, were hailed as the specially anointed of God. James then lavished titles with boundless profusion,—sold baronetcies and knighthoods as a speculation, to increase his pecuniary resources—set up government offices to auction —drove a bargain for peerages, and expended the proceeds upon his most servile favourites. The man "who spoke by the inspiration of God," told his parliament that they derived their privileges solely from his grace and favour, and that they were wholly in his power. The faithful commons—faithful to themselves and to the people—entered their manly protest against such language, and declared "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, as the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the English." But where were the barons? They stood tamely and silently by, and suffered one of the greatest fools that ever walked God's green earth, to trample upon the liberties and the happiness of the people. They did nothing to check this excess of the royal prerogative; and it was not till the people rose in their collective might to assert their claims, that they turned from the throne to the nation, and committed themselves to measures which promised the salvation of the country.

The reign of Charles was that of despotism; and yet there was no point of oppression to which he proceeded, at which he was not supported by the aristocracy. There were but few of the nobles that took part in that great struggle which resulted in the condemnation of the sovereign, and the setting up of that Commonwealth which filled the world with the fame of its deeds. Nor can it be denied, that the restoration of the second Charles was effected by an expedient which relieved the aristocracy from all feudal service, and threw the weight of taxation on the people. And when the restoration was secured, did not the scaffold reek with the blood of the brave? Was not the grave opened, and indignity offered to the ashes of the patriot? Did not the nobility and the clergy exhibit the vilest sycophancy to a man who sold himself to the French monarch, revelled in licentiousness, and treated his people as a mere foot-ball? It was not till the house of Stuart had died out, that a change for the better came over the nobility of England. It was after the accession of the Hanoverian line, that they began to identify their own interest with the interest of the people. And yet this was a change of slow growth. Even in his day, Horace Walpole was forced to acknowledge that "the lords are become so much more considerable than at the Revolution, that they are in no danger from the crown; and when they do not fear it themselves, they will always be ready to uphold it. They look upon themselves as distinct from the rest of the nation, and, at best, leave the people to be taken care of by their representatives in the commons. As jealous of, and as fond of, their privileges as the king of his prerogative, they are attentive to

maintain them, and deem the rights of the people rather as encroachments than as a common interest." It may be true, that the aristocracy have always been jealous of the people, and that they have ever supported the crown when they had nothing to fear from its prerogative; still it must be admitted that there have been memorable occasions on which the aristocracy have withstood the power of the crown against the rights of the people, and when they have, with equal determination, withstood the power of the people against the prerogative of the crown.

SECTION II.—BENEFICIAL INFLUENCE OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

It has been said, with equal truth and wisdom, that "in estimating the merits of any government, we must never lose sight of what is the end of all government—the comfort and happiness of the people. It may safely be admitted, that if a scheme could be devised for embodying a legislature of wise, virtuous, and enlightened men, with an executive council of capacity, integrity, firmness, removed from popular control, animated with the desire of furthering the public good, and consulting, in the pursuit of it, no will or authority but their own chastened judgment, a much purer and more noble government would be constituted than any that owes its origin to the public choice, and acts under the people's superintendence. But, unhappily, experience has proved that any legislature and any executive body removed from all control, soon forgets the end of its creation, and, instead of consulting the good of the community at large, confines all its exertions to furthering its own individual interest. So it must ever be, until we are blessed with a descent of angels to undertake the management of our concerns. Till then, there is but one security for the community—a watchful superintendence and an efficient control over its representatives and rulers. The experiment may be coarse and clumsy; it may be attended with evils of a very serious kind; it may give rise to an unfortunate influence being exercised by classes of the people who are neither very refined nor always very honest, nor even very well informed as to their own interests. Nevertheless, as human society is constituted, in the choice of evils, this is the least. It admits of many compensations, it gives the prospect of much diminution as knowledge and as virtue advance; whereas any system that excludes the popular voice must needs lead to a thraldom and to abuses which admit of no compensation, and, instead of wearing out in time, only gather strength, and acquire increased malignity with every year that revolves."*

It may be true, that after the accession of the House of Brunswick the nobility of England felt that their order was then fully established, and that the rights which they claimed as peculiarly their own, were then permanently secured; it may be true, that territorial possession and ecclesiastical property all came into their hands—that crown lands and colonial dependencies—that the army and the navy—that

* "Statesmen of the Time of George III.," vol. vi. pp. 82-3.

the church and the state, were all so many prizes which fell to their lot; it may be true, that they have successfully contrived to shift the burden of taxation from themselves to the people—that they have monopolised power and place, and patronage—that they have but too often set themselves against measures which would have given a freer channel to commerce, and a wider field for the industry of the middle classes—that they have ever turned the tide of public charity to the purposes of corruption, and so have debased the public mind and the public morals; it may be true, that they have urged the plea of hereditary and vested rights against the liberties of the people and the claims of humanity, and so have sunk their own dignity and enfeebled their influence in the state; it may be true, that nearly the whole of the present nobility owe their existence to the creation of the third George, and that the peers who were created during his reign were created chiefly to render abortive measures of a wider and more popular character, and to keep the people in a condition of continued and servile subjection, and so have rendered their whole order obnoxious to an injured and oppressed people. All this may be true, and yet we hesitate not to affirm, that the aristocracy is an essential element in the constitution of England, and could not be abstracted without imminent danger to that constitution. Without being able to claim for themselves an unlimited and arbitrary power, they have often acted as a check on the undue prerogative of the sovereign on the one hand, and on the encroachments of his Commons on the other. As both branches of the legislature are more or less mutually dependent, the one has in its power to act upon the other, and so far control its deliberations and determine its measures. If, like all larger bodies, they move slowly, it may be that their proceedings carry with them greater weight. If sometimes they be a drag on the wheel of the state, and retard its movements, they may in other instances save it from precipitation and catastrophe. If they have been conservative of custom and of privilege, they have not been wholly destitute of sympathy with the people, and the people have made them conscious of their weight and influence. If the aristocracy be an essential element in the constitution, let that aristocracy remember that they are not more essential to the people than the people are to them; and that no one portion of the commonwealth can be independent of another. The stability of the throne, the existence of the aristocracy, the freedom and happiness of the people, depend on the union and co-operation of the three estates. No one of the three must violate the constitution. If in any instance it be violated, then, in the words of the illustrious Chatham, "Until that wound be healed, until the grievances be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to parliament; in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them that their complaints are regarded, that their injuries shall be redressed. On that foundation, I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity; if not, MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER! I know to what

point this doctrine and this language will appear directed, but I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension and reserve. The crisis is, indeed, alarming; so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of the government. If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided according to the forms, and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up—rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister—I hope, my lords, old as I am, I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government."

We would give honour to whom honour is due. We would revere rank and order. But true greatness is not to be found either in a name or in a title. An intelligent, industrious, virtuous people—a people of mental light and of moral worth—constitute at once the strength and the glory of a country. In the words of another, "never let the glorious truth be forgotten, that the good and the salvation of the world always come, and always have come, from the hut. Christ came thence; the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles came thence; the greatest sages and philosophers, the true founders and builders of national wealth and glory, of the power and of the happiness of man, have come thence in all ages."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GRANDEUR OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

We take up the map of the world, and in one of its remoter northern points we find indicated a little island bearing the name of Great Britain. It appears but a single speck on the face of the globe; and yet there is not a continent or a shore where the influence of Britain is not recognised and felt. Her flag is honoured on every sea—her commerce is carried to every clime—her arms are known in every land—her language is all but universal—her literature is enriching every people—her science and her arts are becoming the property of all nations—her religion, simple and spiritual, promises to subjugate the world to her Saviour.

"England is now the actual governor of the earth; if true dominion is to be found in being the common source of appeal in all the injuries and conflicts of rival nations, the common succour against the calamities of nature, the great ally which every power threatened with war labours first to secure or to appease, the centre on which is suspended the peace of nations, the defender of the wronged, and, highest praise of all, the acknowledged origin and example to which every rising nation looks for laws and constitution. For whose opulence and enjoyment are the ends of the earth labouring at this hour? For whom does the Polish peasant run his plough through the ground? For whom does the American, with half a world between, hunt down his cattle, or plant his cotton? For whom does the Chinese gather in his teas, or the Brazilian his gold and precious stones? England is before the eyes of all. To whose market does every merchant of the remotest corners of the world look? To whose cabinet does every power, from America to India, turn with an interest surpassing all other? Whose public feeling does every people, struggling to raise itself in the rank of nations, supplicate? The answer is suggested at once—England's. At this hour a British cannon fired, would be the signal for plunging every kingdom of Europe into war.

"This sovereignty contains all the essentials of the old dominion, without its evils. It is empire, without the charges, the hazards, the profligacy, and the tyranny of empire. Nothing but despotism could have kept together the mass of the Roman state. The nature of its parts was repulsion, and the common band a chain of iron. The supremacy of England is of a more elevated kind—the supremacy of a magnificent central luminary, round which all the rest revolve, urged by impulses suitable to the various frames, and following their common course with a feeling that it is the course of nature."*

* Croly's Life and Times of George the Fourth, pp. 390-304.

There can be no doubt that England is destined, in the arrangements of infinite wisdom and love, to fulfil the highest and mightiest purposes in the future history and development of our race. God has not given to her an empire on which the sun never sets, and whose resources are all but inexhaustible, that she may merely pique and pride herself on the vastness and the glory of her dominions; nor has He given to her a population which is to be numbered by hundreds of millions, as so many vassals obedient to her will. With this grandeur of empire there has come a corresponding duty, and a corresponding responsibility. England has been lifted up to her present high position, and clothed with all the attributes of her present power, that she may affect and impress the world with all that is pure and transforming in piety. She is to be the educator and the regenerator of the nations. Nor will her own destiny be fulfilled in connexion with the plans and purposes of Heaven, till she has impressed her own living Christianity on all people, and sees them enlightened and purified, worshipping at the Eternal Throne, through the mediation of the Cross!

SECTION I.—ACCESSION AND CONDUCT OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

Into the earlier history of this prince it is not needful, neither is it desirable, that we should enter. He was a youth of gaiety, extravagance, and dissipation. His establishment before he came to the throne was one of oriental splendour and luxury. His career was one of unrestrained self-indulgence. He was the creature of impulses, and the slave of passions. His life differed not from the age in which his lot was cast. "There never was a period when the tone of our society was more polished, more animated, or more corrupt. Gaming, horse-racing, and still deeper deviations from the right rule of life, were looked upon as the natural embellishments of rank and fortune. Private theatricals, one of the most dexterous and assured expedients to extinguish, first the delicacy of woman, and then her virtue, were the favourite indulgence; and, by an outrage to English decorum, which completed the likeness to France, women were beginning to mingle in public life, try their influence in party, and entangle their feebleness in the absurdities and abominations of political intrigue. In the midst of this luxurious period, the prince of Wales commenced his public career. His rank alone would have secured him flatterers, but he had higher titles to homage. He was then one of the handsomest men in Europe; his countenance open and manly; his figure tall, and strikingly proportioned; his address remarkable for easy elegance, and his whole air singularly noble. His contemporaries still describe him as the model of a man of fashion, and amusingly lament over the degeneracy of an age which no longer produces such men."

After having run the giddy round of pleasure, he found himself involved in great pecuniary difficulties. His bills were brought in to the country, and the country had the inexpressible satisfaction of discharging them! It was then conceived that the most likely method

of withdrawing him from a course so expensive and ruinous, would be to advise him to form a matrimonial alliance. In the prospect of having his debts paid, he consented, as we have already intimated, to marry the princess Caroline of Brunswick. For this estimable lady, though formed to be "the life, grace, and ornament of polished society," he had no affection. No sooner was the marriage solemnized, than "the first gentleman of his age" began to treat his newly-wedded wife with "every slight which could be given—every outrage which could be offered to the feelings most tyrannical over the female bosom." And no sooner had she given him an heir to the throne in the birth of the princess Charlotte, than this "most amiable prince of his times" intimated to her that it suited his disposition that they should now live apart, and pledged himself never to seek for a nearer connexion, even if their only child should die. The princess then sought a retreat in the consciousness of her own moral rectitude and virtue. Afterwards she went to the continent, and passed several years among the friends and associates of her former days. Intelligence of the death of George the Third, and the accession of her royal husband to the throne, reached her during her travels in Italy. She hastened back to England. Her arrival was the signal for proceedings against her. The king sent a message to parliament to inquire into her conduct during her residence in foreign countries, and to examine certain documents embodying a statement of alleged misdemeanours, that if found guilty she might be deprived of her royal dignities, and be publicly divorced. A GREEN BAG was immediately sent down to the two houses, containing the fruits of inquiries previously made by a commission at Milan, and a bill of pains and penalties was prepared for her destruction. Her trial took place before the house of lords, and lasted five-and-forty days. Brougham, Denman, and others, acted as her counsel. And a noble defence they made. It may be questioned whether forensic eloquence ever rose to such a pitch or force. "The whole case on both sides was exhausted to the very dregs," and the ministers, "too happy to have a pretence for sounding a retreat from their hazardous position," relinquished the main object of the prosecution. Forsaken and broken-hearted, the health of the princess rapidly declined, and she sank into a premature grave. The inscription which, in the article of death, she dictated for her coffin, was—"Caroline of Brunswick, the murdered queen of England!"—while she gave directions for her remains to be carried to her native country, and deposited with those of her illustrious ancestors. The ministers—in the absence of his majesty, who was in Ireland—having prohibited the funeral procession from passing through the metropolis, it was met by the people, who encountered and overcame the military, turned back the procession, and caused it to traverse the whole city. And when the remains reached Harwich, at the point of embarkation, never, perhaps, was there witnessed a more striking or a more touching scene.

This is not the place to enter on a defence of this injured and illustrious woman. Her name and her memory need no defence of ours. But, in the words of her transcendantly eloquent counsel—"By what title shall a husband, who, after swearing on the altar to love, protect,

and cherish his wife, casts her away from him, and throws her into whatever society may beset her in a strange country, pretend to complain of incorrect demeanour, when it is no fault of his that there remains in the bosom of his victim one vestige of honesty, of purity, or of honour? It is not denied, it cannot be denied, that levities little suited to her station marked the conduct of the princess; that unworthy associates sometimes found admittance to her presence; that in the hands of intriguing women she became a tool of their silly, senseless plots; that, surrounded by crafty politicians, she suffered her wrongs to be used as a means of gratifying a place-hunting ambition which rather crawled than climbed; and that a character naturally only distinguished by mere heedless openness, and a frankness that common prudence seems to justify in those who dwell in palaces, became shaded, if not tarnished, by a disposition to join in unjustifiable contrivances for self-defence. But the heavy charges of guilt brought against her in two several investigations, were triumphantly repelled, and by the universal assent of mankind, scattered on the wind, amidst their unanimous indignation; and from the blame of lesser faults and indiscretions into which she is admitted to have been betrayed, the least regard to the treatment she met with must, in the contemplation of all candid minds, altogether set her free.'

George came to the throne at the close of January, 1820, and the coronation—in the attempt to attend which the unhappy Caroline had sustained so signal and mortifying a defeat—took place on the 19th of July, 1821, and formed a scene calculated to raise the country in the opinion of those who witnessed it, and "threw into the shade all scenes of similar magnificence, from the field of the cloth of gold down to the present day." The king afterwards visited Ireland, Hanover, and Scotland, in all which places he was received with the strongest marks of loyalty and affection. His kingdom was in a state of tranquillity. If we except a single engagement with the Algerines in 1816, England had remained in peace from the close of the French war. But the fruits of the war remained yet to be reaped.

SECTION II.—GREAT COMMERCIAL PANIC.

There were those who discovered that after the triumph achieved at Waterloo, our country could have no rival in the arts of peace, but that it would be left to enjoy a monopoly of navigation, commerce, and manufactures. It was a dream. During the war, England had possession of all the seas, but now the seas were equally open to all; and the continent poured its produce into the English market. But "a highly-taxed and tithed country, as England now was, could not possibly carry on cultivation in competition with lightly taxed and untithed continental rivals." Means of protection must be found; and hence, as we have seen, THE CORN BILL came into existence, which went to prevent foreign grain from being imported into any port of Britain or Ireland, so long as the price of wheat averaged under eighty shillings per quarter. Amid the deepest irritation of the

popular mind it was passed. It was obnoxious to the people, and the people's house was not yet reformed. It was then discovered that it was impossible, except in seasons of actual scarcity, that wheat could bring such a price, and "hence it was found necessary to devise means by which the price of grain might be artificially and easily forced up beyond its natural level, as ruled by the seasons and the value of money; and this was found in a sliding scale of duties, which lowering as grain rose in price, acted as a continual premium to speculative persons, exciting them to gamble up these prices to the highest possible figure, by means of false averages, false reports, combinations, false sales, and all that enginery which clever but unprincipled men know how to employ. This cunningly-devised scheme for giving and insuring an almost perpetual false value to English grain, was hit upon in 1823."*

The quantity of paper money at this period in circulation was immense, and the bank was under promise to resume cash payments within a few months after peace was restored. The question, therefore, was, how some portion of the paper might be withdrawn, and a chance be given of paying the remainder in gold and silver on demand. Fearful was the result. No sooner had the Bank resolved to narrow its issues, than within the compass of a single year, thirty-seven country banks stopped payment. In 1819, Peel brought in his famous BILL FOR THE RESTORATION OF CASH PAYMENTS, which owed its existence not only to the extraordinary fall in the price of the precious metals, but to the alarming increase of the forgery of one and two pound notes. Not the forgers only, but in too many instances the circulators of those notes, were apprehended and condemned; and so frequent were the executions that the people were afraid either to accept or to offer those smaller notes. There was no alternative but the total destruction of that species of paper. Peel's Currency Bill passed without opposition. All the one and two pound notes in the kingdom were burned, and those of five pounds and upwards made payable on demand in gold. Thus the question of cash payments was set at rest for ever; for after the first day of May, 1823, there was a repeal of all bank notes on demand for sums of less than five pounds. If the parliament was satisfied, the country was not. Both the justice and the policy of the measure were called in question, and it was predicted that "before the bill could be carried into complete execution, a million of persons, at least, must die of hunger." We have seen that "the crime of uttering forged notes had grown until the juries grew sick of blood." Riot, tumult, and violence spread like wild-fire throughout the kingdom, and infinite injury was done to the social and moral condition of the people. The consequence was, that the liberty of the subject was restricted, and the press put under censorship.

In 1825, "the distresses of the peace became universal. From London to the Andes on the one side, and from London to the wall of China on the other, the cessation of the vivid and violent effort of

* Doubleday's "Financial, Monetary, and Statistical History of England," pp. 228.—A work which deserves to be studied by every Englishman.

folly, ambition, courage, and frenzy, all combined under the name of war, produced a languor scarcely less fatal than the sword." Such was the fall in prices produced by the universal narrowing of the paper circulation, that landed estates sold for barely as much as would pay off the mortgage, and the owners were reduced to comparative beggary. The distress of the country threatened a convulsion, and motions for inquiry followed, one after another, in the British parliament. It was enacted that there should be a respite of the one and two pound notes for eleven years; and the country bankers, filled with exultation, began again to issue their paper in greater profusion than before. Prices rose, and as prices rose, the spirit of speculation revived. Things took on the form of another South Sea Bubble. The parliament had previously passed measures for the repeal of all duties on goods between Britain and Ireland, for an alteration in the duties on silk, for the abolition of the combination laws, and of the law against the emigration of artisans; besides which, commercial treaties on the system of reciprocity were concluded with various countries of Europe, and having acknowledged the independence of the American colonies, drew them as additional customers into the English market. To give capital, which now exceeded the ordinary means of its employment, a wider range, the people were seized with a mania for joint-stock associations. Companies for mining, insuring, building, shipping, colonizing, railway transit, and others of a similar character, were forced into public view. The most visionary schemes, and the most hazardous, were projected, several of which were to be carried out in other and remoter countries. And all classes, and both sexes, were so foolish as to embark their incomes in every species of desperate enterprise. All were borne on the tide of prosperity, until the close of the year, when symptoms manifested themselves that told the nation all was not right. The Bank early took the alarm, and began to draw in their notes. But the crisis was inevitable. Merchants and men of business began to feel the pressure of their pecuniary obligations. There was a run upon the banks, and many of them, both in London and in the country, were obliged to stop payment. The London bankers withdrew from the country bankers, and the country bankers refused all accommodation to their trading customers, and the whole kingdom was on the point of national bankruptcy. Between October, 1825, and February, 1826, about sixty commissions of bankruptcy were issued against English country banks, and four times that number of private compositions took place within the same period! Two hundred and fifty joint-stock companies, which but the week before would "have contracted to throw a bridge across the Atlantic, make a railway round the globe, or dig a tunnel to the Antipodes, were in the *Gazette*, without a solvent subscriber, or an available shilling." Neither merchant nor manufacturer could obtain credit, while the mechanic, the artisan, and the labourer—every inferior and every dependant—were without employment, and the distress deepened into settled gloom, and almost universal despair. Yet the spirit of England was not crushed. In a single year the gloom had risen from the face of the country, and the distress of the millions

was forgotten. Commerce again stretched out "its hundred hands to grasp the wealth of earth and ocean;" and soon turned "the sands of the desert into gold."

SECTION III.—CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

The panic of 1825 led to the dissolution of lord Liverpool's ministry. In 1827 his lordship was smitten with paralysis; and in the following year died, a mere wreck in body and in mind. Canning became premier, and called the Whigs to his side. He had deserted his principles, and his former colleagues had deserted him. Nor could he calculate on the support of the monarch. The political views of George Rex were not the same as the principles of George Wales. "The French revolution had alarmed him in common with most of his order; he quitted the party for many years; he gave the only support he had to give, his vote, to their adversaries. The rest of his political history is soon told. When the alarm had subsided, he gradually came back to the opposition party, and acted with them till his father's illness called him to the Regency, when he shamefully abandoned them; flung himself into the hands of their antagonists, and continued to the end of his days their enemy, with a relentless bitterness—a rancorous malignity—which betokened the spite of his nature, and his consciousness of having injured and betrayed those whom, therefore, he never could forgive. It was indeed the singular and unenviable fate of this prince, that he, who, at various times, had more troops of friends to surround him than any man of any age, changed them so often, and treated them so ill, as to survive, during a short part of his life, every one of his attachments, and to find himself, before its close, in the hands of his enemies, or of mere strangers—the accidental connexions of yesterday."

Canning, disappointed, perplexed, and unhappy, sank beneath the pressure of the difficulties of his new position. He died in the month of August, and was succeeded by lord Goderich, who, finding the burden of affairs too heavy for him to bear, resigned in January, 1828, when the duke of Wellington was appointed first lord of the treasury, with Peel as secretary for the home department. For more than twenty years the claims of the Roman catholics had been a frequent subject of parliamentary discussion; and the converts to emancipation gradually increased, till they could count an actual majority in the house of commons. But the spirit of the country was against it. It was contrary to the views of his majesty; and with his majesty sympathized the aristocracy and the church. In 1824, the Irish catholics had organized themselves into an association for the concealed purpose of pressing the question of emancipation up to the point of physical force, and pledged themselves to have recourse to arms rather than be defeated in their object. Law interposed its authority and its sanctions; but nothing could quench the fire which had been kindled. The catholic population, irritated to the inmost soul, were impatient of the disabilities and the wrongs under which they suffered; and such was the general state of that unhappy country,

that it required but little sagacity to perceive that neither peace nor public order could be looked for until their demands were conceded. The more easily to prepare the way for this act of common justice, the Test and Corporation oaths, imposed so far back as in the reign of the second Charles, were repealed. As prime minister, Wellington professed himself anxious to see the settlement of the Roman catholic question, but admitted that he saw no prospect of such a settlement. His language was:—"Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides—for they are very great—I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy." It had long been thought that the repeal of the Test Act would overthrow the establishment; it was now thought that the emancipation of the catholics would overthrow the constitution.

A sudden change came over the mind of Wellington, Peel, and all the sturdiest opponents of the measure. On the 5th of February, 1829, parliament assembled; but, owing to the state of his majesty's health, it was opened by commission. The royal speech, which was read by the lord chancellor, invited the serious attention of the legislature "to the whole condition of Ireland; to the laws which imposed civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman catholic subjects; and to the question, whether the removal of those disabilities could be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in church and state." From that moment it was no longer doubtful that a bill of relief would be introduced and passed. The public indignation was boundless. Ministers were branded. Parliament was besieged. The country was in a flame. After having passed the commons by a majority of one hundred and seventy-three, the measure obtained a majority of one hundred and five in the house of peers, in which it had been hitherto thrown out with disdain. It was proclaimed with all pomp and ceremonial in the king's speech; and the first Roman catholic who took his seat in the imperial parliament was the celebrated Daniel O'Connell, who shone as one of the most distinguished orators of his age. Thus was broken another link of that chain, which, on account of his religious creed, had for ages fretted the spirit of man. And it will be a sunny day in the dark history of England, when the last link of the chain will fall from oppressed humanity, and man everywhere shall be free.

SECTION IV.—GENERAL OUTLINE.

During the whole of this reign the country was comparatively free from the evils of foreign war, and of intestine commotion. A few domestic outbreaks, which took place almost immediately after the accession of George, were soon repressed by the arm of law, and tranquillity restored. An insurrection among the negro population of the West Indies was no less easily quelled. The Dey of Algiers

was forced to ratify the treaty for the manumission of slaves in his dominion. A tribe of the Ashantees having attempted to disturb our colonists in the north-western coast of Africa, were, by the force of arms, reduced to submission. England was in friendly relation with all the powers of Europe. Her intercourse with the states of America were enlarged, and her trade extended. In the Burmese war her arms was victorious. In the whole of the East her conquest was complete. In the affairs of Spain and Portugal, she succeeded in making Spain withdraw her support from the Portuguese insurgents, and in forcing most of the rebels, who aimed at the destruction of the regency and the elevation of Don Miguel to the throne, to lay down their arms, and avail themselves of the amnesty proclaimed by the regent. In the war between the Turks and the Greeks, the latter appealed to the compassion and the generosity of Christendom; and through the intervention of Britain, in connexion with France and Russia, the Moslem squadron was scattered and destroyed. The British troops, having fulfilled their mission in Portugal, were withdrawn. Peace reigned at home, during which a new corn bill was introduced, and received the sanction of the legislature, whose object was to regulate the importations of foreign grain, on such principles as might at once afford adequate protection to domestic agriculture, and prove advantageous to all classes of the community. A bill was introduced for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland. The Emancipation bill disunited the Tories, and broke up the party. An amalgamation of interests took place. The modern Whigs joined the ministry, and the greater part of the session of 1830 was occupied with the subjects of finance and reform. It was proposed to revise the whole system of taxation, and to place the revenue of the country on an entirely new basis. The opposition directed their efforts to the diminution of the army and navy, the reduction of salaries, and the gradual lessening of the public expenditure. The government wisely addressed themselves to the work of retrenchment, and either reduced or abolished all such offices as were not really necessary for the discharge of the national business. One event fixed the mind of the country. The health of his majesty was in a most precarious state. The progress of the disease—an ossification of the mitral valves of the heart—indicated a speedy dissolution. And on the morning of Saturday the 26th of June, 1830, he breathed his last. Never "was any prince, in any age or country, more universally or more deeply hated than George the Fourth," during the first year of his reign; and seldom has any prince passed off the great stage of life less lamented, or whose loss was less felt in the country. But the grave has closed upon him, and we will not descend to open it.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT.

Treating of the influence of society, the great Roman moralist exclaims—"Make us single and solitary, and what are we? The prey of other animals, and their victim; the prey which it would be most easy for them to seize; the victim which it would be most easy for them to destroy. Those other animals have, in their own strength, sufficient protection. If they be born to live apart, each has its separate arms to defend it. Man has no tusks or talons to make him terrible. He is weak and naked; but weak and naked as he is, society surrounds him and protects him. It is this which submits to his power all other living things, and not the earth merely, which seems in some measure his own by birth, but the very ocean, that is to him like another world of beings of a different nature. Society averts from him the attack of diseases, it mitigates his suffering when he is assailed by them, it gives support and happiness to his old age, it makes him strong in the great combat of human life, because it leaves him not alone to struggle with his fortune." In society every man sustains certain political and social relations, and there is scarcely an action which he performs that is not destined, in a nearer or a remoter degree, to affect the entire mass of those in whose midst he lives and moves. Each individual is in himself a centre of influence, and his influence cannot fail to be felt by those whom he draws around him, either by political sympathy or social affinity, and whose influence will multiply in ever-recurring and ever-widening circles, till society has fulfilled its divinely-appointed destiny, and the world has for ever passed away.

SECTION I.—ACCESSION AND POSITION OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

On Monday, June 28th, 1830, the heralds and the ministers assembled at an early hour at St. James's palace; and surrounded by his illustrious relatives, and all the great officers of state, and amid the booming of guns and the ringing of bells, and the loyal shouts of assembled thousands, was William proclaimed King of England. This prince was born on the twenty-first of August, 1765; and at the age of fourteen entered the navy as a midshipman, and served under Admiral Rodney in the engagement between the English and Spanish fleets, and subsequently saw a good deal of service in the various naval wars, in which our country was then unhappily involved.

He was distinguished for his bravery, his fidelity, his humanity. Having served his full time as a midshipman, he was promoted in due course to the rank of lieutenant, and captain; and, having been created duke of Clarence and St. Andrews, was, in 1790, appointed rear-admiral of the blue. In July, 1818, he married the princess Adelaide, eldest daughter of the duke of Saxe Coburg Meiningen, a lady of rare excellence and virtue. The office of lord high admiral, which, since the death of prince George of Denmark, husband of queen Anne, had been held in commission, was conferred upon Clarence. During the short period in which he filled the office, he visited every naval depot, freely conversed with every commander and officer, based every promotion on pure merit and actual service, and thus endeared himself to the whole British navy. On his accession to the throne, the simplicity of his habits, with the condescending freedom of his manners, made him exceedingly popular. He continued the existing cabinet in office, although the state of parties was such that their existence was very precarious. Parliament was dissolved on the 24th of July—writs were issued for a new election—and the house was to meet in September. The tide of revolution was again passing over France. Charles x. had been compelled to abdicate, and the sceptre passed into the hands of Louis Philippe. The triumph of the French over an armed force and an established government, was hailed by the whole popular party throughout Europe. It affected the elections of England. The question of parliamentary reform was the watchword which passed from lip to lip, till it echoed from John o'Groat's to the Land's-end. The working classes were suffering from low wages and the want of employment. They became restless, turbulent, and rebellious. Scenes of riot were frequent and threatening. When the parliament met in October, the ministers found that the composition of the new house was such as to indicate the strength of the opposition which they would have to encounter. We shall soon discover how this struggle ended. It was a glorious contest for the people of England. Nor had the cradle of Europe yet rocked itself to rest. A civil commotion, originating in political riots at Brussels, terminated in the expulsion of the Dutch sovereign, and the creation of a new kingdom in Europe. The crown of Belgium was first offered to the duke de Nemours, the second son of Louis Philippe; but, being declined by him, it was finally conferred on prince Leopold, the bereaved husband of the lamented princess Charlotte, and who up to this time had continued to reside in England. The heads of our own government were busy in framing an outline of the new parliamentary constitution. And in September, 1831, his majesty and his royal consort were crowned at Westminster Abbey with the usual pomp and splendour. His reign, short as it was, constituted an era in history. It was a period of great political and social development. Nor can we fail to connect with its various movements our own more advanced position, and the events which are coming up with the birth of each successive day.

SECTION II.—THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

As far back as 1823, my lord John Russell brought forward in the house of representatives the subject of parliamentary reform, but without any positive success. In 1830, he renewed his effort to engage the attention of the legislature to a measure which was conceived to be fraught with so much good to the constituency of the kingdom. In a series of resolutions, he set forth that it was expedient to increase the number of representatives in the house—to give members to the large manufacturing towns, and also to give additional members to counties of greater wealth and population. Again he was defeated. His proposals were rejected by a large majority. In his place, the duke of Wellington asserted that "he had never heard or read of any measure, down to the present moment, which could improve the representation, or render it more satisfactory to the country at large; nor would he hesitate unequivocally to declare his opinion, that we possessed a legislature which answered all good purposes better than any which had been ever tried; and if he had to frame a legislature for another country, his aim would be to form one which would produce similar results. Under such circumstances, he concluded, he was not only unprepared to bring forward any measure of reform, but ready at once to declare, that so long as he held a station in the government, he should feel it his duty to resist any such measures when proposed by others." The declaration fell like a spark of burning fire on some combustible mass. All England was in a blaze. The great duke fell in popular esteem, and his fall from office was confidently predicted. His majesty was afraid to enter the city in compliance with the invitation of the chief magistrate. Ministers resigned, and the Whigs came into office with the earl Grey at their head, and Henry Brougham as lord chancellor. Having come into power on the clear understanding that they stood pledged to parliamentary reform, their first measures in March, 1831, were found to involve very extensive constitutional and organic changes. Among these changes were the disfranchisement of boroughs of small population and of inferior influence, and the extension of the right of voting in both boroughs and counties to the middle classes of society. The Tories, who had now taken the new cognomen of Conservatives, opposed the bills with the most pugnacious resistance. It was no vulgar strife. Seldom, if ever, had the houses of legislation presented such an arena for debate. Seldom, if ever, had the country looked on any contest with such deep and thrilling interest. By a dissolution of parliament, the new ministry found themselves possessed of such an accession of strength as enabled them to carry the measure through the house of commons with large majorities. The lords were as irreconcilable and as violent as before. Nor was his majesty much inclined to move with his commons. Ministers were defeated, and they resigned. Popular feeling ran into tumult. In London, and all the larger cities and towns of the kingdom, the most violent proceedings were adopted. Property and life were both sacrificed. The mighty services which the great duke had

rendered to his country were for the time forgotten, and the most daring outrage was committed on his residence. Nay, such was the fury of the populace, that his very life was in danger. We condemn the people for adopting any such line of conduct. The claims of justice and of truth are never advanced by violence and tumult. It is the glory of England, that all great organic changes are effected, not by revolution and bloodshed, but by the force of intelligence and virtue coming up from the middle and the humbler walks of life. Still, the people had cause to complain; and to their complaint a deaf ear had long been turned. Neglected and trodden down, with their feelings irritated and their spirit exasperated, the wonder is that they endured so long and with so much patience. It was evident, from the state of the public mind, that the measure must be carried, or the country would be convulsed and torn asunder. The commons had expressed their undiminished confidence in his majesty's government; so had the corporation of London, and other kindred bodies throughout the empire. His majesty had no alternative but to recall the ministers; and they took office, pledged to reform. Again they were on the point of defeat, when the premier advised the creation of a batch of peers, so as to secure the passing of the bill through the upper house. His majesty consented to this step only when he found that neither Lyndhurst, nor any other Conservative, would accept office on the understanding that an extensive reform in parliament was the condition on which the cabinet must be formed. Clearly it was a compromise. During the future discussions on the bill, many of the peers, in conformity with the royal will, absented themselves from the house, and the majority being such as to render the majority certain, it was carried into law on the seventh of June, 1832, to the unbounded joy of the people. Eighteen years have rolled away since the bill was passed. Its fruits have been neither so rich nor so plentiful as were expected, and for long the voice of the nation has been lifted, and has become loud, for an enlargement of the franchise. This voice is making itself to be heard, and its just demand must be conceded. With the progress of education, intelligence, and social virtue, must the people have a wider share in the representation of the country.

SECTION III.—THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The history of negro slavery forms a dark chapter in the annals of our country. Its history dates as far back as the middle of the fifteenth century, and had its origin with the Portuguese. In 1442, they had seized some Moors off cape Bajador, whom prince Henry ordered to be taken back to Africa, and received in exchange ten blacks and a quantity of gold dust. This was deemed a profitable speculation, and others were forward to embark in such an enterprise. After the discovery of the West India islands, the Spaniards commenced purchasing negroes to supply the place of the natives whom they had destroyed. In 1503, slaves were sent from the Portuguese settlements in Africa into the Spanish colonies in America;

and in 1511, Ferdinand v. of Spain permitted them to be carried thither in greater numbers. In 1517, Charles v. granted a patent for a supply of four thousand negroes, who were transported into the Spanish colonies. And now England touched the accursed thing. Captain Hawkins, having obtained the sanction and support of a few wealthier persons in London, ventured, in 1562, to fit out three ships, sailed to the coast of Africa, and, with sword in hand, fell upon the defenceless negroes, plundered and burned their towns, seized their persons to the number of three hundred, sold them, and this finished robber and murderer returned to England, with the price of blood in his hand. With the veriest naiveté, queen Elizabeth hoped that the negroes were not carried away without their own free consent! What hypocrisy! What an insult to humanity! But our tale is not yet told. In 1654, the English came into possession of Jamaica; and during the reign of the two Charles', the colonists stocked their plantations with slaves. From the year 1700 to 1786, not fewer than six hundred thousand of these wretched creatures were torn away from their native soil, and at the sacrifice of all the ties of nature, to be imported into Jamaica; while the number carried into all the British colonies must be fixed at more than two millions. The barbarities—the horrid and nameless sufferings to which these unhappy creatures were subjected in their passage—the brutal and destructive conduct with which they were treated on our plantations, were such as no force or fire of words can describe. The chain which fettered their limbs, was forged and rivetted in hell;—the miseries to which they were subjected, were nothing less than the device of the most finished and the most fiendish malignity. The sympathy, the compassion, the solicitude, the resolution, the benevolence, the activity of philanthropic men now came into play. Granville Sharp had long since espoused the cause of the oppressed African, and the purest spirits and the most uplifted of the land followed in his steps, till Wilberforce, Buxton, Brougham, Thomas Clarkson, and William Allen, and men of kindred mind, devoted themselves—first to the destruction of the slave trade, and then to the abolition of slavery itself. In the session of 1807, a bill for the abolition of the slave trade passed both houses of parliament, which provided that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port in the British dominions, after the first day of May, 1807, nor land any slave in the colonies, after the first of March, 1808. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1807, this measure received the royal assent. In 1809, Henry Brougham had the singular felicity of laying the axe to the root of such an accursed traffic, by making the slave trade felony, and punishing it as such. The next step was to liberate the slave. Petitions from millions of English men and English women poured into parliament, and were laid at the foot of the throne, asking that the captive might be set free. Great apprehensions were entertained. Dark predictions were uttered. It was said that the colonists would perish, and that the sun of England would soon set in unbroken darkness. Still the people pressed for the liberation of the slave. Then the planters clamoured for compensation; and compensation was offered them. Twenty millions of ster-

ling money were paid down by the nation to men who ought to have clothed themselves with sackcloth, and wept over the wrongs which they and their fathers had inflicted, and for the blood which they had shed. The slave was to pay no part of his redemption, but to be subject to seven years' apprenticeship. A bill was brought into parliament, and it was enacted that, from the first day of August, 1834, slavery should be utterly and for ever abolished throughout the British dominions. The first of August came, and "instead of the fires of rebellion, lit by a feeling of lawless revenge and resistance to oppression, the whole of those islands were like an Arabian scene, illuminated by the light of contentment, joy, peace, and goodwill towards all men. No civilized people, after gaining an unexpected victory, could have shown more delicacy and forbearance than was exhibited by the slaves at the great moral consummation which they had attained. There was not a look or a gesture which could offend the eyes of their masters, not a sound escaped from negro lips which could wound the ears of the most feverish planter in the islands. All was joy, mutual congratulation, and hope.... . Amusements there were none that day —not even those amusements by which the negroes had been accustomed to beguile the hard lot of slaves, and which reminded them of the country of their forefathers; no, for the negroes are eminently a pious race, and they kept as a sacred Sabbath the day of their liberation."

After four years' experiment, the slave had proved himself worthy of freedom. And his freedom was demanded. Before the most august assembly of any country, did lord Brougham stand up and claim for the apprenticed negro, his final and full emancipation. Starting from the point of his earlier observation and knowledge of the cause of African liberty, he thus addressed his fellow peers:—"I watched over its cradle; I marked its growth; I rejoiced in its strength; I witnessed its maturity; I have been spared to ascend the very height of supreme power; directing the councils of the state, accelerating every great improvement; uniting itself with every good work; propping all useful institutions; extirpating abuses in all our systems; passing the bounds of our European dominion, and in the New World, as in the Old, proclaiming that freedom is the birthright of man, that distinction of colour gives no title to oppression, that the chains now loosened must be struck off, and even the marks they have left effaced; proclaiming this by the same eternal law of our nature which makes nations the master of their own destiny, and which in Europe has caused every tyrant's throne to quake! But THEY need feel no alarm at the progress of light who defend a limited monarchy and support popular institutions; who place their chiefest pride, not in ruling over slaves, be they white or be they black; not in protecting the oppressor, but in wearing a constitutional crown; in holding the sword of justice with the hand of mercy; in being the first citizen of a country whose air is too pure for slavery to breathe, and on whose shores, if the captive's foot but touch, his fetters of themselves fall off. To the resistless progress of this great principle, I look with a confidence which nothing can shake; it

makes all improvement certain, it makes all change safe which it produces; for none can be brought about unless prepared in a cautious and salutary spirit. So now the fullness of time is come for at length discharging our duty to the African captive. I have demonstrated to you that everything is ordered; every previous step taken; all safe, by experience shown to be safe, for the long-desired consummation. The time has come; the trial has been made; the hour is striking: you have no longer a pretext for hesitation, or faltering, or delay. The slave has shown, by four years' blameless behaviour and devotion to the pursuits of peaceful industry, that he is as fit for his freedom as any English peasant, ay, and as any lord whom I now address. I demand his rights; I demand his liberty without stint, in the name of justice and of law; in the name of reason; in the name of GOD, who has given you no right to work injustice; I demand that your brother be no longer trampled upon as your slave! I make my appeal to the commons, who represent the free people of England; and I require at their hands the performance of that condition for which they paid so enormous a price; that condition which all their constituents are in breathless anxiety to see fulfilled! I appeal to this house; hereditary judges of the first tribunal in the world, to you I appeal for justice! Patrons of all the arts that humanize mankind; under your protection I place humanity herself! To the merciful sovereign of a free people, I call aloud for mercy; to the hundreds of thousands for whom half a million of her christian sisters have cried aloud, I ask that their cry may not have risen in vain! But first, I turn my eye to the throne of all justice, and devoutly humbling myself before Him who is of purer eyes than to behold such vast iniquities, I implore that the curse hovering over the head of the unjust and the oppressor be averted from us; that your hearts may be turned to mercy; and that over all the earth His will may at length be done!"

Noble sentiments these!—worthy of the man who for so many years was the idol of the people, and worthy of the cause—the cause of oppressed, broken, bleeding humanity! The captive asked not mercy, for he had done no wrong; he claimed but justice, for his rights had been trampled in the dust! And though England paid a costly ransom for the liberty of the African, in his liberation she set an example to all the civilized nations of the earth. Her example must be followed. The blow has been struck which is to rend every fetter, and let the oppressed go free!

SECTION IV.—DISSENTERS AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

It was a grand mistake which was committed at the Reformation, by which the protestant episcopal church was made a national ecclesiastical establishment. The christian church is an institution distinct from, and wholly independent of, the governments of this world. Nor can the secular power intrude into this more sacred domain without doing incalculable mischief to the interests of truth and of piety. To provide for the safety of the person and the property of the subject,

is the appropriate province of a government. As a government, they have nothing to do with either the doctrine or the discipline of the christian church. There were enlightened minds which had all along perceived this, and there were faithful men who had dared to avow it. But those were the few and the despised. Nonconformity had ever been shunned, branded, punished. The Toleration Act brought a partial and a limited relief to the conscientious dissenter. He was tolerated to think for himself! He was tolerated to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, and the teachings of the christian testament. Toleration!—it was rather the perfection of intolerance! And still the nonconformist submitted, till the progress of education and of freedom gave men wider and truer views. In the northern portion of the kingdom, the expediency of national establishments of religion was searched, and sifted to its very depth; and it went forth, with all the force of inspiration, that such institutions were at variance with the genius of christianity, and that the separation of church and state was a thing devoutly to be wished.

From that moment till the present the question has never been at rest. Men of letters and of intellectual might on both sides of the controversy were called into the field, to exhibit their championship and their mastery. Discussion was followed by inquiry, and inquiry by conviction; and the great truth obtained a wider circulation and yet a wider, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and that its separation from the world is identified with the last and the grandest triumphs of his gospel. Hence, the opposition to church-rates in almost every parish in which the rate was claimed. Hence the measures which were adopted for the better government of the Irish church, and for the more equal division of its revenues. It was seen to be of all absurdities one of the most absurd, that in a country containing a population of eight millions of souls, seven-eighths of whom professed the Roman catholic faith, there should be a protestant establishment, supported at an outlay which nothing could justify. It was proposed that the clergy should submit to a reduction of twenty-two and a-half per cent. on their incomes; but this proposal was rejected by the lords. In fact, little was done either for the catholic, or for the protestant nonconformist.

Mighty efforts were now made to prop up the outworks of the national establishments; but there was a dry rot within. And it was discovered that their downfall would come from within, and not from without. Of this, the proof came in the memorable rupture which afterwards took place in the kirk of Scotland, when five hundred of her clergy, and the great body of the Scottish people, left her communion, and formed themselves into a distinct ecclesiastical body. Nor can we think of the present movements in the episcopal church of England, of the tendency of her ministers and her members to the Romish communion, and of the loudly-expressed desire to have the crown put into subjection to the church, without perceiving that she has in herself the elements of decay, and must sooner or later give place to an institution more scriptural in its character, and more vital in its action. Christianity is not dependant on human power, either for its existence or its efficacy. It has in it an inherent life and

power, which has triumphed over all opposition. And whatever may be the battle-field to which she may be called, she will be found more than equal to the contest. Let the government of this world leave religion to itself. If she cannot support herself, she is not worthy of being supported. All the corruptions and all the weaknesses of the christian church are to be dated from the period when christianity was taken into connexion with the state. Nor will the church return to her primitive purity and her primitive power till the bond of union is finally and for ever broken.

SECTION V.—MEASURES OF SOCIAL AMELIORATION.

We have already given the history of the poor-rate from the time of Henry the Eighth down to our own day; and have shown how badly it has worked through all ages, in reducing the population to that state of pauperism which made one in nine a suppliant at the door of the relieving officer. A remedy was required and demanded for this state of things; and, therefore, in 1834, an act was passed for amending the laws for the support of the poor. By this measure, the able-bodied can no longer claim support from the parish, but must either find employment for themselves, or go into the union, and live apart from their families. Such an alteration could not be attempted, and such a provision could not be made, without involving certain hardships. But it was one of the best things which was ever done to restore the independence of the English mind, and to lift the labouring classes from a state of pauperism to self-support and self-respect. Since the passing of the act, the burden of poor-rates, which had latterly exceeded seven millions annually, has been materially lightened. Then followed a reform in the municipal corporations, by which the rate-payers and freemen were constituted the electoral bodies, and to the councillors so elected was given the power to choose the magisterial body.

On the renewal of the charter of the East India Company, the government deprived it of its exclusive mercantile privileges, and extended the right of trading with the East to the whole commercial community. The immunities of the Bank were also modified and restricted. A new ministry came into power, with Sir Robert Peel as its chief. The premier seemed resolved to raise himself in popular esteem by the introduction of successive measures of reform. Defeated in his very first efforts, he was compelled to retire, and gave place to Melbourne. He, too, was thwarted and worsted in his best attempts, but succeeded in passing an act for the commutation of tithes into a rent-charge, payable in money;—a new marriage bill, which enabled the various nonconformist bodies of England to celebrate marriages in their own licensed places of worship; an act for the general registration of marriages, births, and deaths, which was a positive improvement upon the old system; and he greatly facilitated the circulation of newspaper publications by reducing the stamp-duty to one penny. Early in 1837, the ministry again introduced into the house of commons a bill for settling the Irish tithe question; but before this

and other important changes then in contemplation could be carried forward, his majesty was called to quit this earthly stage, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. It may be that he was a man who bestowed on his people that only blessing which rulers can give or withhold,—the wise amendment of the laws, and the well-considered improvement of the institutions of the country;—and auspicious, in the earnest held out in it of the farther improvements—greater they could not be—but improvements that will diffuse more widely blessings among the people:"—all this may be true, but no less true is it that his removal prepared the way for a reign yet more illustrious and yet more happy.

SECTION VI.—THE EMPIRE OF MIND.

George IV. was a man of the highest accomplishments, and of the most refined taste. To his liberal patronage arts owed much of their progress—to his taste the metropolis many of its improvements—and to his own mental culture the intellectual advancement of his people. But William could lay claim to these properties and attributes only in a very inferior degree. Yet, during his reign, the arts and the sciences greatly flourished, and the progress of intellect was most rapid and most positive. His was a reign of peace; and the surplus power of the nation was now employed in the region of culture, and resulted in the widening of the great circle of intellectual life and social happiness. The advanced condition of the people at the death of George IV. became a starting-point in the race of improvement. The energy and the resources which had hitherto been wasted, and worse than wasted, in the wars in which Britain had been involved, were now directed to the higher purposes of education, and the diffusion of social good. Society still needed a deeper and a more perfect regeneration. There were many evils to remove—many ameliorations to introduce; and it was only by going down to the lower walks of life, and mingling with the masses in their own immediate circles and occupations, that their actual state could be known, and the means be discovered for their regeneration and future progress. Philanthropy found a field for her widest and her noblest doings. Patriotism could exhibit her consecration in yet a stronger and a clearer light. Piety was challenged to the most benevolent, unconfined, and untiring activity. Effort was combined to overtake the actual wants and woes of humanity; and it is a fact of no common interest, that from that period are to be dated all those changes which have come over the face of our population, and which are only coming out in their greater perfection at the present hour. The influence which is at work is pressing upwards, and affecting all the higher classes of the community. Nor can we look forward to the consummation of these changes but with feelings of gladness, for with their consummation will come the elevation and the happiness of all England.

CHAPTER XL.

THE PROSPECTS OF BRITAIN.

However lofty may be the eminence which we occupy, however strong the mental vision which we possess, or how pure soever the light which we enjoy, there is a horizon which narrows our view, and beyond which we cannot discern a single object; and it may be that the objects within that horizon bear no proportion to those which lie without and beyond it. But while we are thus, from the very limits of our nature, prohibited from penetrating into the future, and determining what shall, or shall not take place; while a check is thus imposed on our imagination, and our curiosity is rebuked, still there are certain data on which we may proceed, in reference to future time and events, and on which we may rest—not some bolder conjectures or happier guesses—but the highest and the grandest certainties. Connecting the symbols of prophecy with the events which are now transpiring, it is clear that the balance of power still remains to be struck among the nations of the earth. There is, and there will be, a mighty conflict among the princes and potentates of this world, for precedence and supremacy. Each will seek to conquer and subjugate, another. A ground of hostility—and consequently a ground of attack—will be sought and found on the most trivial occasion. It will, therefore, be no strange thing if we "hear of wars, and rumours of wars;" nation rising against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and multitudes returning from the fight with garments rolled in blood, There are states and empires whose calendar of crime is deep and long, and we can easily understand how "He that sitteth in the heavens" may employ other and opposing nations as a scourge to afflict and punish them in righteous retribution. It has been so in the past history of the world, and it may be so in the future. The proudest nations have been made drunk with their own blood, and been entombed in their own ashes. Nor can we say that Europe will not yet become the theatre of the most desolating war, and exhibit the most tragic scenes. Society is convulsed, and more than volcanic force is threatening to upheave and overthrow every system of existing things. Nor will the trump of war be hung, nor the sword of war be sheathed, nor the calamities of war be terminated, till christianity shall have

established her kingdom of peace, and the rebellious will of man been brought into subjection to the controlling will of GOD.

No other nation under heaven has been so favoured as England. Our geographical position, our almost unbounded empire, our commercial relations, our progress in letters and in science, our all but universal language, and above all our moral influence, derived from the knowledge and long possession of a pure Christianity, have given us a proud pre-eminence. Our possessions in India are the most important ever ruled by any European power. "The Archipelago that spreads almost from Ceylon to Japan, the most various, fertile, and lovely zone of islands on the face of our globe—the native country of all the richest products—is traversed by our vigorous adventure." China itself has been thrown open to our commerce, and in part become our possession. Into the central region of Africa we have penetrated, and carried thither English civilization, and English manners, and English inventions, and English piety. In New Holland the British settlements have long since "assumed a vigour and stability which place them beyond the hazards of early colonization;" while our settlements in New South Wales derive additional importance from the fact, that those islands which stud and render lovely the Pacific, are rapidly being converted into seats of civilization. Our West India islands are known for their peculiar productions of sugar and coffee. Of British America we have not much to boast, except in the vastness of its extent; but our connection with the United States is of immense commercial value. Nor can it be denied that "the population of the British Isles is worthy of a great dominion. It probably amounts to thirty millions; and that immense number placed under such fortunate circumstances of rapid communication and easy concentration as to be equal to twice the amount in any other kingdom. Facility of intercourse is one of the first principles of civilized strength. The rapid returns of merchandise are not more indicative of prosperous commerce than the rapid intercourse of human kind is essential to national civilization and safety. In England, for whatever purpose united strength can be demanded, it is forwarded to the spot at once. It makes the whole land a fortress. If England were threatened with invasion, a hundred thousand men could be conveyed to the defence of any point of her coast within a few hours." But it is not in this that we glory. "Never was summer's cloud more completely surcharged with electric fluid, than Great Britain is with moral power." We are not of the number who indulge in gloomy apprehensions and dark forebodings, and think they can discover nothing in the state of the country, but what foretells her coming ruin. Our firm belief is, that the sun of Britain's glory is only ascending to its meridian, that never has there been a more auspicious era in her history than the present, and that the signs of the times are such as to encourage the most lively expectations for the future. Such is her intellectual and moral power that she may make the empire of mind all her own, and to mind universally she may give such a bent and bias as shall bring it to terminate in that virtue which is to fill the earth with purity and peace. She has only to go abroad through the continents and the islands of the world, with the lessons and the authority of a teacher, to disciple

all nations, and soon such an impression will be produced by her simple, living christianity, as shall change the face of universal society.

SECTION I.—THE REIGNING SOVEREIGN.

Never did sovereign ascend the throne of any kingdom so endeared to the affections of the people, nor amid so many prayers and benedictions, as did the youthful VICTORIA. And never was sovereign more deserving of the love and devotion of her subjects. Herself adorned with every virtue which can give grace and dignity to the female character, her court is the purest that has ever been known since England could claim a kingdom or a history. In February, 1840, she allied herself in marriage to her own cousin, the prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, who is not more distinguished by his intellectual vigour than by his moral excellence. Nor is it possible that any man could have sustained his exalted and peculiarly delicate position with greater propriety, or with more satisfaction to all classes of the community. Happy is the sovereign with such a consort, and happy is the country in the virtues and the example of both. Never was life reduced in the royal circle to such a reality. Never were such light and happiness shed over the domestic scenes of a palace. Never did such purity or such excellence look out from beneath the royal purple. Never did the diadem rest on a fairer brow. Never was the sceptre grasped by a purer hand. Never was the throne more radiant with truth and justice. Never had the country a brighter or more perfect example of all the private, domestic, and social virtues. Around the royal pair is there rising up a numerous family, and giving to the nation the pledge of a long succession, and security as well as permanence to the present dynasty. But far distant be the day in which a successor will be needed to occupy England's throne! Her majesty is the sovereign of the people. She goes into all parts of her dominions. She mingles with all classes of her subjects. She is at home no less in the cottage than in the mansion. She can mingle her sympathies and her thoughts with the humblest peasant, no less than with the most peering noble.

During the past years of her majesty's reign, Melbourne, Peel, and Russell, have successively been called to the helm of affairs. But perhaps the ministry of the late and still lamented Sir Robert Peel, may be said to have been the most important, whether we consider his recognition of the principles of free trade, by the abolition of the corn-laws and other restrictive duties;—or his preference of the system of direct taxation, by the imposition of the property and income tax;—or his conviction of the duty and advantage of a peaceful policy by his diplomatic negotiations and arrangements;—or his manly and business like qualifications for office, by the practical ends which he contemplated and pursued;—or his patriotic devotedness to his country, by the various measures which he introduced for its internal management and progress. On this illustrious statesman the grave has but recently closed, and seldom has the death of any public man been so deeply and so universally deplored. Having resigned the

seals of office in 1846, he was succeeded by a member of the illustrious house of Russell, on whom devolved the duty of carrying out the schemes of free trade, parliamentary reform, and national education; and who stands irrevocably pledged to the sacred principles of civil and religious liberty, and who, we doubt not, will prove faithful to those principles amid the conflict of parties, and in every crisis of our national history.

SECTION II.—SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

There is a goal to which the people are pressing forward, and they will reach it. Education is making rapid progress among the masses, and with their advanced intelligence will they come to share in the government of the country. Even now the people are moulding and giving shape to the government of England. It is among the signs of the times that THE WORKING CLASSES are creating a literature of their own, and are pressing into the foremost ranks which are occupied by men of letters and of science. It is by them that many of the facts of science have been evolved, that many of the improvements in the arts have been suggested or effected; and it is to them that the country owes its wealth, its prosperity, and its influence. Nor can the fact be overlooked that they are now recognised as a class in the state. Their existence has been acknowledged amid the festivities of a metropolitan banquet, and that existence represented and expressed by one of the first and most distinguished nobles of the land. They can no longer be set aside, or trodden down. Ignorant they are not; neither uneducated. Intemperate they are not; neither improvident. Look at the establishment of mechanics' institutes for the instruction of the people in mechanical and natural science; at the cheap periodical literature with which the press is supplying them in almost every branch of human knowledge; at the schools of design, and the philosophical associations with which they stand connected; at the building and freehold societies, which are giving them a possession in the soil, or a proprietary in household property; at the fact that they prize intellectual improvement above animal gratification—the virtues and the happiness of domestic life to the vulgar scenes and debasing conduct of the jovial circle; that they prefer good books to bad men, and the inspiration of the poets to the songs of Bacchus.

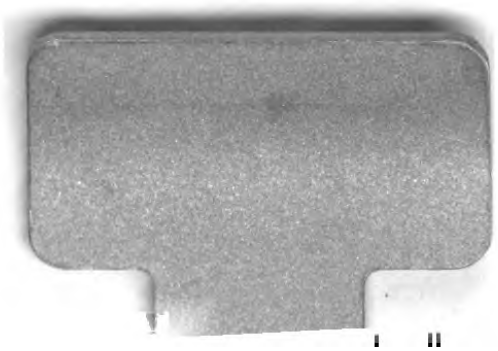
It is among the signs of the times that the country is now studded with schools for the education of the poorest and the most neglected: —that the introduction of sanitary laws, which prohibit underground dwellings, and enforce attention to drainage and ventilation, with the erection of public baths, and the laying out of parks for recreation, are all contributing to the health, comfort, and longevity of the people:—that by the abolition of the corn laws, bread has been reduced in price:—that by the efforts of temperance societies, not only has the amount of vice and crime been diminished, but the circle of individual happiness and of social comfort has been widened: —that the mode and expense of travelling by railway are such as to facilitate intercourse with every part of the country, and with all the

members of a family how far removed soever they may be one from the other:—that the journey from London to Brighton, which at the perfection of stage-coach travelling was performed in five hours, can now be accomplished in sixty minutes, and at one-third less expense:—that the establishment of the penny postage has made it practicable for the poorest subject in her majesty's dominions to avail himself of the pleasures of a written correspondence:—that the daily morning journals which are printed in the metropolis, can be read on the same evening in Scotland; and that the "Times" has been known to be delivered at the Bourse in Paris by half-past one o'clock of the same day:—that the electric telegraph can convey a message from London to Liverpool in a few seconds:—that though agricultural produce has ceased to bring the high prices which it realized during the war, the farmer can still afford to pay nearly the same rent, in consequence of improved drainage, manuring, and the introduction of more scientific modes of culture:—that if the soil of England be unequal to the support of her population, our colonial possessions are opening up boundless fields for the enterprise of industry, while the facilities for emigration are most encouraging:—that the determination with which the question of financial reform is taken up, promises to reduce the burden of taxation, by reducing the army and navy, and by the government of the day addressing itself in earnest to all possible measures of retrenchment:—that the proposal to settle national disputes on the principles of arbitration, and the increasing aversion in the public mind to war, leave the national energies to be applied to the arts of peace, and with the progress of these arts come the advancing prosperity and the rising glory of our country:—that with the reign of peace our commerce is being carried to every shore, and finding a market among every people:—that the improvement in machinery is giving a better and unrivalled manufacture:—that the education and employment of the poor, together with prison discipline and the classification of culprits, has brought about a gradual diminution of crime and juvenile depravity:—that the reform of the judicial code has been attended with the most salutary results:—that the social advancement which has marked the last twenty years is but as the first line of light that fringes the horizon:—that the breaking down of caste, and the demand for the removal of all civil disabilities on the ground of religious belief, are bringing all classes into closer fellowship, and strengthening the bonds of a truer citizenship:—that the struggle for a free and a spiritual christianity is but the forerunner of that regeneration, freedom, and happiness which will make England truly great and truly glorious.

Other signs might be indicated. Nor is it possible that they can be misinterpreted. Not only is England first among the nations of the earth, but she is the model-nation of the world. Her language is all but co-extensive with the globe. Her sons are settling in every clime. Her institutions are taking root in every soil, and are growing up in all their strength and grandeur under every sky. Like some great central orb, she is attracting all nations to herself. Her metropolis is the spot which has been chosen for the Exhibition of the Industry of the world. Mighty consequences are involved in this

project. People of every kindred and of every tongue cannot meet and mingle, as they will do during the period of that great Spectacle, without losing much of their national animosity, and their national prejudice, and again leave our shores without being impressed with the fact that how much soever other causes may have contributed to lift us into our proud pre-eminence, England is chiefly indebted to her simple, practical christianity. Its principles are eminently in favour of all which can go to improve and render great a country. They are never in opposition to the freedom, the elevation, and the happiness of a people. Nor do we shrink from saying, that nothing short of the universal spread and prevalence of these principles, will reconcile the nations, and perfect the brotherhood of man.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.



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