

led to his execution. His general principles had been thus expressed in a paper written before his trial: "Concerning equivocation, this is my opinion; in moral affairs, and in the common intercourse of life, when the truth is asked amongst friends, it is not lawful to use equivocation, for that would cause great mischief in society—wherefore in such cases there is no place for equivocation. But in cases where it becomes necessary to an individual for his defence, or for avoiding any injustice or loss, or for obtaining any important advantage, without danger or mischief to any other person, there equivocation is lawful." In an examination after the trial he goes further, and holds that an oath might be lawfully used to confirm a simple equivocation: "This, I acknowledge to be, according to my opinion, and the opinion of the schoolmen: and our reason is, for that in cases of lawful equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lie, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the sacrament, if just necessity so require." Dr. Lingard, with a candour very different from some apologies for Garnet and his doctrines which were put forth in past times, says, "The man who maintained such opinions could not reasonably complain, if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." Garnet's opinions were not shared by the majority of the Roman Catholics even in his own day; any more than the same body in general approved of the murderous project in which Catesby and his associates were involved. During the struggles between the two Churches in the seventeenth century, the Gunpowder Treason was the standing argument for denying liberty of conscience to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Its traditions lingered through the eighteenth century, to support the same oppression in a mitigated form. They now scarcely survive even in popular prejudice; for, combined with the spread of knowledge has grown up a spirit of charity and justice, in the prevalence of which the State having ceased to persecute or to exclude for religious opinions, has nothing to fear from the fanatic or the casuist.

## CHAPTER XV.

Parliament of 1606.—Statutes against Papists.—Game Laws.—Manners of the Court.—Lavishness of James upon his favourites.—Feudal aid.—Impositions upon merchandise.—First Settlement in Virginia.—Progress of the Colony.—Settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts.—Charter of the East India Company.—First Factory at Surat.—The Mogul Rulers of Hindostan.—Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.—Dissolution of the Parliament.—Murder of Henry IV. of France.—Authorised translation of the Bible.—Ireland.—Plantation of Ulster.—Creation of Baronets.—The New River.—Increase of London.

THE parliament which was to have met on the 5th of November, 1605, was necessarily prorogued to a later period. It assembled on the 21st of January, 1606. It was scarcely to be expected that the discovery of a conspiracy so atrocious as that of the Gunpowder project should have induced a parliament, becoming more and more puritan, to deal with the papists in a spirit of toleration. To the previous severities of the penal code were added various penalties which touched convicted recusants in their domestic and private relations. All Roman Catholics who had been convicted of recusancy, and all who had not received the sacrament twice in twelve months in a Protestant church, were also required to take an oath of allegiance. In this oath the pretended power of the pope to absolve subjects from their obedience was to be expressly renounced; and the Roman Catholic was further to swear that he, from his heart, abhorred, detested, and abjured, as impious and heretical, "the damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects." Looking at the history of the country from the time of the Reformation, it can scarcely be maintained that such an oath was unreasonable. The secular priests in England recommended their brethren so to declare their allegiance. The papal court issued a breve to forbid such a renunciation of the deposing power. Cardinal Bellarmine wrote a book to prove the unlawfulness of the oath. King James, never more happy than when engaged in a theological controversy, published *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*; "by which," says Mr. Hallam, "he

incur the contempt of foreign courts, and of all judicious men." In spite of the threatenings of the pope and the sophistries of the cardinal, many of the Catholic clergy, and all the Catholic peers with one exception, accepted this test of their obedience to the civil government.

In this Session an Act was passed "against unlawful hunting and stealing of deer and conies;" which states that, through the insufficiency of previous statutes, "many riots, manslaughters, mischiefs, and other inconveniences have been daily committed, and are like to be committed, if circumspect remedy be not hereunto provided."\* There was to be fine or imprisonment for those who took or chased game in any grounds without the consent of the owner; and, what must have been a frequent cause of riots and manslaughters, qualified persons, having lands of the clear annual value of 100*l.*, were empowered to seize all guns and sporting implements from unqualified persons, the qualification being as high as 40*l.* a-year. Evils enough have resulted from a harsh administration of the game-laws in our own times; but such a distinction as this law of James made between the great proprietor and the substantial yeoman must have been as odious as it was impracticable. England had now got a sporting king, who told his ministers, when they implored him on their knees to attend to the public business, that his health was the health and welfare of all, and that he never would forego his exercise and relaxation. His brother-in-law, Christian IV., king of Denmark, came over to England in July, 1606; and James, having received a liberal subsidy from the parliament, indulged in every species of disgusting excess, in which the royal example was so encouraging, that, writes Harrington, "the ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication."† He adds, "I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man should blow himself up by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance." The next session an Act was passed "for repressing the odious vice of drunkenness;" which vice it describes as "the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of divers workmen, and the general impoverishing of many good subjects."‡ The Statute was directed against the sins of the humble. James and his profligate court had to bear a severer penalty than

\* 3 Jac. I. c. 13.

† "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 349.

‡ 4 Jac. I. c. 5.

the fine of five shillings to be levied on a convicted drunkard. They had to bear the open exhibition of their follies on the public stage; and the growing contempt of the great body of English gentlemen, such as Harrington, who writes: "I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not the man in quest of exercise or food." Such were the royal sports of Theobalds, where Salisbury was entertaining the two kings; and where king James, according to another authority, got so drunk with king Christian, that his Britannic majesty was obliged to be carried to bed. Salisbury, in another year or two, had made a provident exchange with the king, of Theobalds for Hatfield; and Theobalds became the favourite residence of James, where he dissipated his hereditary revenues, aided by occasional taxation; keeping sometimes a decent state with his family, but more frequently listening to the ribaldry of unworthy favourites, beating his servants, and swearing and cursing habitually, in spite of the statute under which common people could not have that diversion without paying twelve pence to the relief of the poor.\*

Although king James was intensely devoted to his favourite sports, exhibiting himself in Waltham forest and in other Royal Chases, leading his dogs in a grass-green hunting suit, and blowing his hunting-horn with the lungs of a game-keeper,—although he was sometimes lying in bed the whole day, overgorged with the delicacies of the table, and filled with strong wine,—he found time for more intellectual pursuits; and amongst other strange literary performances wrote his famous "Counterblast to Tobacco." He hated the tobacco-smokers as intensely as he hated the Puritans; but nevertheless both the tobacco-consumers and the Puritans went on increasing. His dislike of the Indian weed was probably diminished as he found that it brought a considerable accession to his revenue; for, in addition to his own inordinate expenses, the sums which he bestowed upon his minions would appear incredible if their amount did not rest upon the most trustworthy authority. His early favourites were needy Scotsmen who had followed the court to England. His folly in this costly favouritism provoked the indignation of the House of Commons, and was one of the main causes that his laudable anxiety for a perfect Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland was con-

stantly defeated. In 1607, James delivered a speech to the parliament for hastening the Union—sensible in many points—in which he made a sort of apology for these preferences:—"For my liberality, I have told you of it heretofore. My three first years were to them [the Scots] as a Christmas. I could not then be miserable. Should I have been oversparing to them, they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren; or that the king had been drunk with his new kingdom."\* But he also said, "There is none left for whom I mean extraordinary to strain myself." How well he kept his word may be inferred from the riches which were obtained and lavished by sir James Hay, who was afterwards created earl of Carlisle. He was called the Scottish Heliogabalus: and first won the king's favour by giving him "a most strange and costly feast." Clarendon, who was not likely to speak with exaggeration in such a case, has left this character of Hay:—"He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person of any in the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of clothes and diet than any other man; and was indeed the original of all those inventions from which others did but transcribe copies. He had a great universal understanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleasant and worth his care. But he found business was attended with more rivals and vexations; and, he thought, with much less pleasure, and not more innocence. He left behind him the reputation of a very fine gentleman, and a most accomplished courtier; and, after having spent in a very jovial life about four hundred thousand pounds, which upon a strict computation he received from the crown, he left not a house nor acre of land to be remembered by." † Robert Carr, afterwards earl of Somerset, was another of the brothers of Joseph whom Joseph did not forget. Osborn tells a curious story of the ignorant lavishness of James. He had given Carr an order upon the Lord High Treasurer for twenty thousand pounds; but the Treasurer apprehended "that the king was as ignorant of the worth of what was demanded as of the desert of the person who had begged it;" and knew, "that a pound, upon the Scottish account, would not pay for the shoeing of a horse, by which his master might be farther led out of the way of thrift than in his nature he was willing to go." The wise Cecil, according to this story, placed the twenty

\* Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," vol. 1. p. 1104.

† "History of the Rebellion," book 1.

thousand pounds in specie upon the floor of a room to which the king was coming. "Whose money is this?" said James. "It was your majesty's before you gave it away." The king threw himself upon the heap, and swore that Carr should have no more than a few hundred pounds.

The prodigality of the king was carried to such an extent that the government was precipitated into dangerous courses to find the means of its gratification. According to the practice of the Plantagenets, an aid was asked of the subject when the king's eldest son was knighted. James levied this tax when prince Henry was created prince of Wales in 1610. The prince was justly popular; but this tax was paid with great repinings. A custom which belonged to the feudal organisation of society was revolting to those who lived under a very different political and social condition. But a more strenuous resistance was made to the imposition of heavy duties on all merchandise, not by authority of parliament but under the great seal. In the House of Commons the illegality of such impositions was argued with a thorough constitutional knowledge. The king, with his wonted arrogance, commanded the Commons not to enter upon a question which so touched his prerogative. They presented a strong remonstrance, of which the nervous language proclaimed, with a warning voice, that the liberties of England were not to be thus invaded: "The policy and constitution of this your kingdom appropriates unto the kings of this realm, with the assent of the parliament, as well the sovereign power of making laws, as that of taxing, or imposing upon the subjects' goods or merchandises, as may not, without their consent be altered or changed. This is the cause that the people of this kingdom, as they ever showed themselves faithful and loving to their kings, and ready to aid them in all their just occasions with voluntary contributions, so have they been ever careful to preserve their own liberties and rights when anything hath been done to prejudice or impeach the same. And therefore, when their princes occasioned either by their wars or their over-great bounty, or by any other necessity, have without consent of parliament set impositions, either within the land, or upon commodities either exported or imported by the merchants, they have, in open parliament, complained of it, in that it was done without their consents; and thereupon never failed to obtain a speedy and full redress, without any claim made by the kings of any power or prerogative in that point."\* The commerce of the country had become an important

\* Quoted by Mr. Hallam from Somers' Tracts.

source of its wealth; and if the king could tax merchandise without the consent of parliament, the one great restraint upon despotic power would soon be swept away. At this period there were two events connected with commerce far more important to the England of the future than in their immediate consequences, which require especial notice,—the colonisation of North America, and the Charter to the East India Company.

The attempts to colonise North America in the time of Elizabeth had been failures,—not from any want of energy or of forethought in the originators and conductors of these great schemes, but as a necessary consequence of the difficulties that must always beset the first settlers in an unknown region. The long voyage by the West Indies and through the Gulf of Florida in vessels of small burthen was then attended with real dangers, of which modern navigation has no conception. The adventurers were generally men unaccustomed to labour, and they went to lands where they believed that the fruits of the earth would merely require gathering, as in the golden age, to find that starvation could only be averted by the most incessant toil. Roanok, the island which Grenville planted under the auspices of Raleigh, had been deserted in 1590; and whether the few colonists had perished, or had been received amongst the friendly Indian tribes, was always uncertain, although Raleigh had never lost hope of discovering them, whilst he could reward any mariners for the search. He had spent, it is said, forty thousand pounds in his noble efforts to plant an English colony on the northern coasts of the new world. He was a state-prisoner; he was defrauded of his property by his rapacious sovereign; he was filling his declining years with high contemplation instead of heroic action. But the example of his perseverance survived his misfortunes. The colonisation of North America was still the hope of generous statesmen and bold mariners. Voyage after voyage was undertaken. Bartholomew Gosnold, having been the first to cross the Atlantic by a direct course in 1602, discovered the promontory to which he gave no dignified name, Cape Cod; and he laid the foundation of the first New England colony on Elizabeth island. Martin Pring, in 1603, surveyed the coast of Maine. George Weymouth, in 1605, ascended the western branch of the Penobscot. The undying spirit of enterprise which Raleigh had first fostered received at length some encouragement from the government. In 1606, James granted the first Charters for colonising North America, to a London Com-

pany, and to a Plymouth Company. That same year, the London or South Virginia Company sent out three ships, with one hundred and five men who were to remain as settlers. The sagacity of Raleigh had pointed out the Chesapeake Bay as a favourable place of settlement. A storm drove these adventurers into that magnificent anchorage. The two headlands were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and having ascended a fine river which they named after their king, they planted their colony in a pleasant spot, and called it James Town.

Newport, the commander of the ships, and James Smith, a man whose name will be ever associated with the colonisation of America, ascended the James river, and saw the Indian chieftain, Powhatan. The savages were hostile to the strangers: "the emperor of the country," as Powhatan was styled, protected them. But gradually the colonists, unused to manual labour, perished of want and disease. Newport left for England. Some of the leaders had serious contentions. The evil destiny of Roanok seemed to be coming on James Town. But Smith, who was endowed with many of the high qualities of the Elizabethan age, rallied the hopes of the dispirited, and calmed the jealousies of the quarrelsome. In the winter of 1607 the colonists had secured a supply of food in the abundance of game, and had provided some shelter against the rain and cold. Smith set off upon an expedition to explore the interior. His companions were surprised and butchered by the Indians. He would have perished with them, had not the savages conceived that he was a superior being when he showed them a pocket compass, and told how the wondrous needle always pointed to one quarter. He asked that a letter should be conveyed to James Town; and when it was known that he could so endue a piece of paper with intelligence as to speak to his distant companions from his captivity, he was beheld with superstitious awe. Amongst the tribes was the daughter of Powhatan, named Pocahontas. This maiden saved the life of the Englishman, who had gained her confidence. She hung upon his neck when the tomahawk was raised to destroy him; and she induced her father to receive him in a strict friendship. When Smith returned to his colony, the hundred and five settlers were reduced to forty. Some of these attempted to desert in the pinnace which had been left when Newport sailed to England. The fortitude of Smith never failed. He restored order, and again went forth in the summer of 1608 for new discoveries. In an open boat, with two or three com-

panions, he navigated three thousand miles of the American coasts and rivers. He constructed a map of the country, which is still in existence. He explored the Patapsco and the Potamac. He established a communication with native tribes. He saw the Mohawks, "who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats and many men." On his return a second body of emigrants came to join the Virginian colony. The London Company required that the ship which brought them should return with gold, or laden with commodities. The settlers had accomplished no accumulations. It had been difficult to preserve their own existence. The Company, with the same ignorance of colonial organisation which prevailed for two centuries, had thought that the unskilled and the idle, who would starve at home, might prosper in another hemisphere. Smith wrote to the corporation that when they sent again, they should rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and even diggers up of the roots of trees, than a thousand such as had last come out. But still the energy of the man triumphed. He taught the gentlemen the use of the axe and the spade; and industry slowly achieved its rewards. A new Charter was granted in 1609. The rage for emigration extended. Other ships arrived, with men of broken fortunes and dissolute gallants. Smith still maintained his authority over the useless members of the community. But he was disabled by an accident, and he returned impoverished and enfeebled to England. When he left, there were four hundred and ninety persons in the colony. In six months they were reduced by their idleness and their excesses to sixty. The settlement was about to be abandoned when, in 1610, a new body of emigrants arrived under the leadership of Lord Delaware, who had been appointed governor of Virginia. There was again a glimmering of prosperity; but ill-health compelled the return of the wise governor to England. In 1611 the Council at home exerted itself to prevent the great scheme of American colonisation from utterly failing; and six ships, with three hundred emigrants and abundant supplies, arrived at James Town, under Sir Thomas Gates. A distribution of land to each emigrant as his private property gave a new stimulus to industry. The colony prospered. Indian tribes submitted to the settlers. Pocahontas, the beautiful girl who had saved the life of Smith, was married to John Rolfe, a young Englishman. After four years the Indian wife and mother sailed with her husband to England; and there she died. It was not in the natural

course of God's Providence that there should be many such unions. The savage man gradually melted away as the civilised man occupied his forests, and in a few years the race of Powhatan was extinct. The Virginian colony went on to prosper. Its members found more certain riches than mines of gold in the cultivation of tobacco. Their prosperity was confirmed by their free institutions. In 1621 they obtained a representative constitution, in which the object of government was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression."

Such were the vicissitudes which attended the first settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race on the North American continent. There was another colony formed fourteen years later, whose planters went to their task in a solemn spirit, which recognised the finger of God pointing the way to a pleasant land where they might enjoy liberty of conscience, and be free from the persecution of the great and the ridicule of the licentious. The congregation of separatists from the Church of England, who, with their pastor John Robinson, had become exiles in Holland in 1608, had thought much of the settlements in North America. They desired to live under the English government, if they could be secure of toleration in the strange land which they desired to colonise. They could obtain no such promise from the government; but they were resolved upon their enterprise. They had obtained a patent from the London Company, and they obtained funds, on very hard terms, from London merchants. They purchased the *Speedwell*, a vessel of forty tons; and hired the *Mayflower*, of a hundred and eighty tons. On the 22nd of July, 1620, having left some of the brethren at Leyden, they embarked at Delft-Haven. Robinson, their pastor, did not accompany them; but he knelt on the shore as the emigrants ascended the decks of the *Mayflower*, and gave them his blessings and his prayers. This event, so insignificant as it must have seemed at the time, so all-important in the real history of England, now forms the subject of a fresco in the House of Lords. The Pilgrim Fathers, as they are now affectionately called, reached, after a long and stormy voyage, the northern shores of Virginia in November. Their political constitution was a simple one. Forty-one men, whose families amounted to sixty more persons, formed themselves by deed into a civil body politic, for their better ordering and preservation; and agreed "to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, consti-

tutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony." On the 11th of December, an exploring party landed in Massachusetts Bay, at a spot which they afterwards determined to call Plymouth. "A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions."\*

On the last day of the sixteenth century a Charter was granted by queen Elizabeth to a body of adventurers, styled "The Governor and Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies." This charter was limited, in its exclusive liberty of trading, to the term of fifteen years; and was to be renewed if the privileges so granted were not found "prejudicial or hurtful to this our realm." A direct commercial intercourse with India had been previously carried on by the Turkey Company; but the maritime trade had been in the possession, first of the Portuguese, and afterwards of the Dutch. The English could not compete with these rivals, whilst the merchandise in which they trafficked was burthened with the heavier cost of an overland route. The trade of England with the East Indies was henceforth to be carried on by sea. During the reign of Elizabeth the success of the new company was very doubtful. Their privileges were invaded by James at the beginning of his reign. But in 1609 their Charter was renewed without limitation of time; several voyages were attended with large profits; and in 1612, the Englishman planted his foot in India, having obtained permission from the Great Mogul to establish a factory at Surat. But the prosperity of the Company was not generally held to be beneficial to the nation. Camden doubted "whether it be for the real advantage of the kingdom to have such a mass of money exported, and so many men lost yearly in the voyage." The loss of mariners by sickness and the perils of the sea was held to be the main cause of the decay of England's navigation. To the complaint of the heavy money payments for Indian produce it was answered that the country saved in the cost of spices alone, 70,000*l.* a year; and that we exported cloths to the annual value of 14,000*l.* The intercourse with India had its romantic aspects. The power, the magnificence, the unbounded wealth of the Mogul conquerors

\* Bancroft, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 313, ed. 1839. In this brief outline of the first colonisation of North America, we have followed Mr. Bancroft's lucid narrative.

of Hindostan had long been familiar to the English mind. Thomas Coryat, whom Fuller described in the household of prince Henry, as "the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon," began, in 1608, to satisfy "a very burning desire in him to survey and contemplate some of the choicest parts of this goodly fabric of the world." Having walked over many countries of Europe, and hung up in his parish church as a memorial the one pair of shoes in which he had trudged nine hundred miles, he began a longer march in 1612. He walked from Jerusalem to Agra, the seat of the Great Mogul, having occupied fifteen months in this trip. Being welcomed by the English merchants, he there rode proudly on an elephant, and was represented in his grandeur in his posthumous book. Having obtained an audience of Jehangir, who had succeeded the great Akbar in his mighty sovereignty, the pedestrian, having a competent knowledge of the Persian and other oriental languages, thus addressed the emperor: "Lord Protector of the world, all hail to you. I am a poor traveller and world-seer, which am come hither from a far country, namely England, which ancient historians thought to have been situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the queen of all the islands in the world. The cause of my coming hither is for four respects. First, to see the blessed face of your majesty, whose wonderful fame hath resounded over all Europe and the Mahometan countries. When I heard of the fame of your majesty, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious court. Secondly, to see your majesty's elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seen in any other country. Thirdly, to see your famous river Ganges, which is the captain of all the rivers of the world. The fourth is this, to entreat your majesty that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious pass, that I may travel into the country of Tartaria, to visit the blessed sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners;\* whose fame by reason of his wars and victories is published over the whole world: perhaps he is not altogether so famous in his own country of Tartaria as in England." We give this part of the oration of the eccentric traveller to indicate the vague impression which then prevailed in England of the grandeur of the Mogul rulers of India.† "The Lord of the Corners" had become popularly known by Marlowe's famous tragedy of "Tamburlaine the

\* The Persian title of Tamerlane—Lord of the Corners of the world.

† Coryat's "Commendations to his friends in England," dated from Agra, 1616, in "The Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet," 1630, p. 81.

Great." The successors of the shepherd-king had achieved a more permanent conquest of Hindostan than the remorseless warrior, who, having destroyed Delhi, and carried the terror of his name to the Ganges, was content to recross the Indus in the same year in which he had set out upon his march over the Ghur mountains from Samarkand. In another century, his descendant, Baber, having lost his own inherited dominion, founded a new empire in India. The fourth of that dynasty sat upon the Mogul throne when James granted his charter to the East India Company. In 1615 an English ambassador, sir Thomas Roe, was sent to the court of Agra; and there he was resident till 1619, a favourite with the emperor Jehangir, moving about with the jovial ruler, partaking his pleasures and marvelling at the wealth that presented itself in so many tangible shapes, in the palaces where the disciples of Mohammed ruled as gods over the crouching tribes who lived under the Brahminical law. The ambassador of James came back, to tell the story which others had less authoritatively told, of the riches that industry might win in that region of gold and pearls, of silk and ivory. Any project for conquering that region would then have appeared as wild as the scheme of Tamerlane, to cut a channel to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea,

"That men might quickly sail to India."\*

Sir Thomas Roe had looked upon Jehangir riding upon an elephant in the streets of Agra, with a train of "twenty royal elephants for his own ascending, so rich that in precious stones and furniture they braved the sun;" and had marvelled, when "his greatest elephants were brought up before him, some of which, being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver," how "they all bowed down before the king." He had beheld how the emperor's wives, "on their elephants, were carried like parakitoes half a mile behind him;" and he had seen the closed palanquins of the female slaves, borne on men's shoulders, amidst crowds of mutes and eunuchs. He had been at the great huntings, where sport assumed the pomp of war—very different from the hunting-exercise of James at Royston and Theobalds. He had gazed at the vast cavalcades of armed horsemen, the long files of camels and mules, the thousands of servants, the "numbers numberless" of camp-followers, when the emperor went forth on a progress from one of the imperial cities. More than these bar-

\* "Tamburlaine," part ii. act v. s. 3.

baric splendours, he had looked upon the old gorgeous palaces of the earlier race of Pathan kings, of whose works it is said, "they built like giants, and finished like goldsmiths."\* The palace and mosque of Akbar, near Agra; the mosques and tombs of Delhi; the public buildings in every city where the characteristics of Saracenic and Hindoo architecture were often combined; the tasteful groups of domes and minarets; the open colonnades, the lofty gateways, the terraces,—these were works of art rising up amidst the rich eastern vegetation, which would cause Whitehall and Non-such, St. Paul's and the abbey of Westminster, the old wooden houses of Cheapside and the brick mansions of the Strand, to be remembered as comparatively mean and tasteless. But the contrast must have been almost painful to those who beheld the power and wealth of England represented by a paltry factory at Surat, for the quiet possession even of which her sailors had to fight with the Portuguese. The wildest dream could not have pictured the palaces of the Moguls turned into English arsenals, and their polished marbles and flowered arabesques hidden beneath the whitewash characteristic of English taste.† By no prophetic power could it have been imagined by one who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century had looked upon the glories of the Tartaric emperors, that before the middle of the eighteenth century, the sovereignty which was to be carried forward under one magnificent ruler to an unequalled height of splendour and prosperity, should then fall to pieces by its own weight, and that many princes of the divided empire should become tributaries to "a Company of Christian merchants of a remote island of the Northern sea."‡ Even if a partial conquest of the Mogul tyrant and the Hindoo slave had been thought possible by those who had seen how the Spaniard had subdued and exterminated the descendants of the Incas, what enthusiast could have believed that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the race of the humble settlers of Surat would have obtained a far wider dominion than the greatest of these Moguls;—that not only in their proudest seats, amidst the ruined palaces and the deserted mosques of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, the native races would have been disciplined in the military arts of Europe, but that they would become the instruments of bringing under one foreign dominion the Afghans and the Sikhs, the Rajpoots, and the Mahrattas, who had shaken the foundations of the

\* Fergusson "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 444.

† See Mr. Fergusson, book ix. c. 4.

‡ Gibbon, chap. lxx.

the offender to the secular power, as a blasphemous heretic, the king, "as a zealot of justice, and a defender of the Catholic faith, and willing to maintain and defend the Holy Church and the rights and liberties of the same," holds that the said Bartholomew Legate "ought to be burned with fire." One other atrocity of the same kind was committed—the last of such barbarities which England witnessed. To the "religious" king James is our present translation of the Bible dedicated. That translation was an excellent work, and it was right to dedicate it to the sovereign who had encouraged the undertaking. But it was in the spirit of that dangerous adulation which hid realities from James, as they were hidden from his successor, that he was told in this dedication that his conduct in going forward "with the confidence and resolution of a man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all your majesty's loyal and religious people unto you, that your very name is precious amongst them; their eye doth behold you with comfort, and they bless you in their hearts as that sanctified person, who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness." It might be supposed, the king being herein called "the mover and author of this work," that the Bible had not been previously known in England. The translation of 1611 was founded upon the Bishops' Bible of 1568; and that was founded upon Cranmer's Bible; which was founded upon the translations of the Old and New Testament of the earlier reformers—the Tyndal who was burnt, and the Wycliffe whose ashes were cast into the Avon. In such a work it was the part of true wisdom to deviate as little as possible from the text with which the people had become familiar, and which their forefathers had devoured when it was dangerous to possess the sacred volume. It does not appear to us an objection to this translation that, "in consequence of the principle of adherence to the original versions which had been kept up ever since the time of Henry VIII., it is not the language of the reign of James I.,"\* Nor is it wholly to be deplored that it abounds "with obsolete phraseology, and with single words long since abandoned, or retained only in familiar use."† It will be a national misfortune if, to get rid of some archaisms in this translation which have ceased to be difficult, the noble simplicity of our Anglo-Saxon tongue—"the tongue which Shakspeare spake"—should yield to the refined Gallicisms of a later period; and if the

\* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," vol. III., p. 134.

† *Ibid.*

"obsolete phraseology" of the days of Hooker should be driven out by German idioms and American vulgarities. In this translation, as in every species of contemporary literature, there was no attempt to write down to the understandings of the people. The great preachers at Paul's Cross, in common with the great dramatic poets, employed the most elevated language and the richest imagery, in union with the most homely phrases. If some of their sentences were involved, some of their words unfamiliar, their arguments perplexing in their subtlety, their metaphors beyond the range of ordinary comprehension, the whole tendency of what they uttered was to elevate the minds of their readers. Their doctrine might be abstruse, their illustrations pedantic, but their tone was not cold and passionless. The rudest listener caught something of their excitement; the instructed listener did not retire into his own thoughts, wearied by platitudes and babyisms. The preachers, whether they followed the high-church archbishop Bancroft, or the puritan archbishop Abbot, were in earnest. They had great truths to proclaim to all men alike, and they tasked their abilities and their learning to utter them as if they really felt their grandeur and solemnity.

Whatever were the differences of opinion in the English Church, and however great the increase of non-conformists, the time for any serious attempt to re-establish Roman-Catholicism in England had evidently passed away. It was the same in Scotland. But in Ireland the great bulk of the people still clung to the Roman Catholic worship. At the beginning of the reign of James the people of some cities boldly ejected the Protestant ministers from their churches; and they gave other demonstrations of a general resistance to the statutes of supremacy and uniformity which had been passed in the Irish parliament. They were met by a stricter execution of the laws against recusants and priests, as far as juries could be found to enforce them. In the meantime mucl. had been done to bring the whole of the kingdom under the dominion of one system of law. The king's writ now ran in every part. Old customs which interfered with the administration of justice were abolished. The possession of lands by the chieftains was regulated according to English tenures; and the tenants were relieved from many of the exactions of their lords. The one evil which interfered with the tranquil progress of civilisation was the exclusion from civil privileges and offices which the majority had to endure, on account of their faith, at the hands of the minority. The great



Irish chieftains, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, had submitted to the government of James, and had been graciously received at the English court. But the alterations in the tenure of lands had interfered with what they considered their territorial rights; and the denial of all toleration to the Roman Catholics had led them to conclude that resistance to the government might once more be attempted. In 1607 they suddenly departed from Ireland, with their families. They had embarked in treasonable schemes which they had no power to carry through. Tyrone became a pensioner of Spain and of the pope, and died in 1616 at Rome. The two earls having been attainted of treason and outlawed, their lands, to the extent of five hundred thousand acres, were forfeited to the crown. It is to the honour of the government of James that this opportunity was judiciously employed in accomplishing what is called "the plantation of Ulster." Extraordinary inducements were held out to English capitalists to settle in the north of Ireland; the corporation of London received large grants of lands in the county of Derry, upon their engagement to spend £20,000 upon the colony, and to build two towns. Hence the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine. The lord deputy, sir Arthur Chichester, carried through this project with great energy and prudence. The mistake of granting vast tracts to individuals, as in the time of Elizabeth, was not repeated. The allotments were in portions of 2000 acres, 1500 acres, and 1000 acres, the grantees agreeing to build according to their several proportions. The forfeited lands were divided amongst a hundred and four English and Scots, fifty-six servitors, and two hundred and eighty-six natives. Thus was Ulster to become, but not without its periods of fierce contention and of terrible massacre, the most prosperous and enlightened province of Ireland. Its half a million of acres had offered a precarious existence to a scattered race of half-civilised and marauding natives. It became the seat of agricultural and commercial industry—a model to the rest of Ireland for removing those social evils which were destined for two centuries to press far more heavily upon her than political jealousies or religious disunions.

The plantation of Ulster was a scheme which is attributed to the king and to his able counsellor, Bacon. It soon became mixed up with a manoeuvre to put some ready money into the royal treasury, which the sturdy parliament had refused to fill except upon conditions. Sir Antony Shirley, according to the representation of his son to the king, had the merit of inventing a whole

sale mode of obtaining supplies by the sale of honours: "My father," he says, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device of making baronets, which brought to your majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000." A new title of honour, intermediate between a baron and a knight, was to be bestowed upon two hundred gentlemen possessing lands to the yearly value of £1000; and they were each to pay into the treasury for the patent the sum of £1095, being the estimated cost of thirty soldiers to defend the settlers in Ulster for three years. The project took to a certain extent. In ten years ninety-three patents of baronetcy were sold; but the price paid for them was employed in other purposes than the military protection of the new colony.

King James, to award him no more than justice, was favourably disposed to any large enterprise of public improvement; always provided that it offered him a chance of personal gain. We are indebted to him, in some degree, for a benefit which London enjoys to this day—the supply of pure water by the New River. In the third year of the king's reign was passed "An Act for the bringing in of a fresh stream of running water to the North part of the City of London." It was to be brought from the springs of Chadwell and Amwell, in Hertfordshire; and the Corporation of London were empowered to execute the work. The Corporation in that age,—and the character has not absolutely departed from the body,—was not very energetic in setting about costly enterprises for the public good. They did not undertake this work themselves; and, when a spirited citizen and goldsmith at his own risk engaged in the undertaking,—a mighty work in those days and indeed at any time—the Corporation refused him any pecuniary aid. James, when Hugh Middleton had spent all his private fortune, covenanted with him to bear half the share of the expense. The work was completed in 1613. Before the opening of the New River, London was supplied with water from the public conduits; and by the water works at London Bridge, erected in 1582, by Peter Morris, a Dutchman. London in the reign of James was rapidly increasing. Other supplies were needed. The city had become nearly joined to Westminster; which an intelligent writer chiefly attributes to the union with Scotland under the king: "For the Scots, multiplying themselves here mightily, nestled themselves about the court; so that the Strand, from mud walls and thatched houses, came to that perfection of buildings, as now we see."\* Yet this me-

\* Howell, "Londinopolis," 1657, p. 346.

tropolis of the seventeenth century was very different from the metropolis of the nineteenth. It was a city whose most crowded thoroughfares were in the neighbourhood of pleasant fields. The same writer says, "Go and walk in her fields, you shall see some shooting at long marks, some at butts; some bowling upon dainty pleasant greens." The citizens had only to step out of Moorgate into Finsbury fields, to pursue their archery. The rural occupiers of the "town of St. Giles' in the Fields" were sometimes visited by the urban dwellers of Holborn and the Strand, who went thither to take the air; but the road which led to that village into Holborn, and by Drury Lane, through the growing traffic had become "foul and dangerous to all that pass that way."\* The growth of London had been attempted to be repressed by statutory enactments under Elizabeth. James thought to accomplish the same end by proclamations. He said that the new buildings were "but a shelter for those who, when they had spent their estates in coaches, lacqueys, and fine clothes, like Frenchmen, lived miserably in their houses, like Italians." He commanded all noblemen and gentlemen who had mansions in the country, to return to them, and there abide, till the end of the summer season. He commanded them to go home to celebrate the feast of Christmas and to keep hospitality. The great people little heeded these proclamations; and the House of Commons told him they were illegal. London, from the happy circumstances of her position, was sure to increase with the increase of commerce. The presence of the courts of law at Westminster, the circumstance of the capital being the seat of government, favoured this increase. But one great natural cause was far more important to its prosperity than these incidental advantages. James, having been refused a benevolence by the City, sent for the Corporation; and vowed that he would remove his own court and the courts of Westminster Hall—he would send the Records in the Tower to a more loyal place—he would bring ruin upon the disobedient Londoners. The Lord Mayor replied, "Your majesty hath power to do what you please, and your City of London will obey accordingly; but she humbly desires that when your majesty shall remove your courts you would please to leave the Thames behind you." †

\* Statute, Jac. 3, c. 18.

† "Londinopolis," p. 19.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Arabella Stuart.—Death of Salisbury.—Robert Carr, king's favourite.—Death of Prince Henry.—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth.—The addled Parliament.—George Villiers, the new favourite.—Murder of Overbury.—Trials for the murder.—Somerset and his countess convicted.—Conduct of the King.—Sir Edward Coke dismissed.—Proclamation for Sports. Note on the Secret Communications between the King and Sir George More.

ONE of the overt acts of treason with which sir Walter Raleigh was charged upon his trial, was that he had conferred with lord Cobham for the support of Arabella Stuart's claim to the crown of England.\* The lady herself was present at this trial. It is not at all clear that this design had been seriously entertained; and certainly Arabella herself had given no sanction to it. She was the cousin of king James; being the only child of Charles, earl of Lennox, the grandson of Margaret Tudor. Her parents died young; and she was brought up by her maternal grandmother, the countess of Shrewsbury. If James had died childless, Arabella Stuart would have been the lineal heir to the crown. During the reign of Elizabeth she was occasionally at court; and the queen pointed her out to the wife of the French ambassador, when she was about twelve years old, as a girl of talent, who would one day be a great lady. After the accession of James she appears to have been in much favour. In 1604 she received the grant of an annual pension for life of 1000*l*. † In 1609 she had the profits of a monopoly, in the privilege of nominating the sellers of wines and spirits in Ireland. ‡ In that year she appears to have given offence by listening to some overtures for marriage. In 1610 it was discovered that William Seymour, the second son of lord Beauchamp, was endeavouring to gain the lady Arabella as his wife. They were brought before the Council, and protested that they never intended marrying without the king's consent. In a few months they were privately married. The husband was sent to the Tower; the wife was placed in official custody. On the 3rd of June, 1611,

\* *Ante*, p. 242. † "Calendar of State Papers," p. 121. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 555.