

the allies, on all sides, to the necessity of remaining armed, was the earnest exhortation of William to the Grand Pensionary of Holland. "I wish I could be armed too," he sighed, "but I see little appearance of it."*

The lapse of a century and a-half produces mighty changes in the political aspects of the world. There was a sovereign in 1698 in England, who had no voice in the Congress of the Hague—no interests to assert at the peace of Ryswick. He came here in very humble guise—by no means like a ruler who was to found a mighty empire, whose growth has been the terror of Western Europe. "He is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship-carpenter than a great prince. . . . He is resolute, but understands little of war. . . . He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his passion."† Morevoer, he is given to brandy drinking, and is subject to convulsive motions all over his body. This was Peter I., Czar of Muscovy, who, whatever Bishop Burnet might have thought, had really some notions of government and war—a tall man, with a taint of something savage in his handsome countenance—but one who knew what curbing savages meant. He was a very incomprehensible monarch to the English people. William hired Mr. Evelyn's house at Sayes Court for the czar, that he might see the building of ships in the dockyards at Deptford and Woolwich. Mr. Evelyn's servant writes to his master, "There is a house full of people, and right nasty. . . . The king is expected here this day. The best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in." William paid his visit. "The czar had a favourite monkey, which sat down upon the back of his chair. As soon as the king was set down, the monkey jumped upon him in some wrath, which discomposed the whole ceremonial."‡ Peter ruined Mr. Evelyn's holly-hedge; and after his day's work as a carpenter at Rotherhithe, upon a ship that was building for him, recreated himself with beer and brandy, and smoked his pipe, at an alehouse on Tower Hill. Burnet writes, "After I had seen him often, and conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the Providence of God that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute an authority over a great part of the world." Pieter Timmerman, who worked for wages at Saardam, and cooked his own dinner, became through his extraordinary process of self-education, the instrument of working out designs of Providence of which we are yet far from seeing the full development.

* Grimblot, vol. i. pp. 307-313.

† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 396.

‡ Dartmouth's Note on Burnet, vol. iv. p. 396.

CHAPTER III.

Commercial Policy of England.—System of Prohibition.—Restrictions upon the trade of Ireland.—Restrictions upon the trade of Scotland.—Scotch spirit of Commercial Adventure.—African and Indian Company.—Scotch Colony at Darien.

IN the commercial policy of England, at the period of which we are now treating, there were two words of magical power, which represented the system upon which all industrial operations were conducted. These words were, Prevention—Encouragement. We open the Statute Book. At one page we find "An Act to prevent." We turn a few leaves, and we find "An Act to encourage." There is some home manufacture to be supported; there is some foreign product to be prohibited. To carry out these Statutes required a vigilance of no ordinary nature. Officers of the government were constantly scouring over the sands and marshes of the coast, to embarrass the operators of a most indefatigable race, known by the name of smugglers, with which we are still familiar, and by the name of owlers, which has lost its place in our language. Owling and smuggling were carried on upon a large scale, by considerable capitalists. In the Session of 1698, the Parliament proceeded against some dozen of opulent merchants with foreign names, by impeaching them of high crimes and misdemeanours, for fraudulently importing foreign alamodes and lustrings, and for illegally exporting native wool. They carried on this traffic in vessels regularly passing between France and the English coast, where the smugglers were waiting to bear away the silks to the interior, and the owlers were at hand with a return cargo of wool for Picardy. The delinquent merchants pleaded guilty at the bar of the Lords. One was fined ten thousand pounds; one, three thousand pounds; two, fifteen hundred pounds each; three, a thousand pounds each; and one, five hundred pounds. These sums were applied to the building of Greenwich Hospital.

If the paternal system of prohibition, which all governments are so unwilling to relinquish, had been confined to countries then regarded as natural rivals, if not as natural enemies, a century and a-half might have elapsed before even well-informed Englishmen would have regarded the principle as fallacious and injurious to

the real interests of a country. Not half a century has passed since those who advocated a contrary opinion were denounced as hard-hearted political economists. Logicians of this character still linger in a few provincial towns; and even a grave historian dates the certain ruin of our people from the establishment of commercial freedom. Great States in our own day look upon the vast extension of the trade of these islands, but make very small advances to accomplish the same ends by the same means. The most despotic government in Europe dares not encounter the monopolists of iron. The transatlantic government, that claims to be at the head of free institutions, clings to its exclusive tariff. Nations have their infancy as well as individuals. "When I was a child," says the Apostle of the Gentiles, "I spake as a child, I understood as a child; I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things." Nations, in their apparent manhood, do not readily "put away childish things." The go-cart is still necessary to keep their feet from falling. They still delight to play with straws and feathers.

There is probably no manifestation of commercial jealousy more absurd than the interference of England, after the Restoration of Charles II., with the free course of the industry of Ireland and Scotland. The rural interests of England had prevented the importation of Irish cattle. In the Statute of Charles II. such cattle were called "a nuisance." The Irish farmers took to breeding sheep; and wool being abundant, woollen manufactures were set up. In 1698, the Commons went up with an Address to the king, in which they expressed their great trouble that "Ireland should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture;" and they implored his majesty "that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland—except imported hither—and for discouraging the woollen, and encouraging the linen, manufacture in Ireland." Upon this representation, William wrote to the earl of Galway, "The chief thing that must be tried to be prevented is, that the Irish Parliament takes no notice of what has passed in this, here; and that you make effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and discourage, as far as possible, the woollen." In their Address to the king, the Commons implored him to "find means to secure the trade of England, by making his subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interests of both kingdoms." We can now understand how these joint interests would have been better promoted, by leaving the productive industry and the commercial intercourse of both countries perfectly

free. The reason which the Commons expressed, as to the necessity of the paternal compulsion of the king to make Ireland understand her true interest, was, that the Irish were "dependent on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have."

The king of England was also king of Scotland. But he was king of the Scots, with a distinct Parliament, with a distinct Church, with a people not only indignant at the notion of submission to England, but thoroughly convinced that the day was not yet gone by for a contest for dominion, if the opportunity should arise. Fletcher of Saltoun, who held the necessity of subjecting the indigent and lawless population of Scotland to a condition of feudal slavery, yet believed that England had reached the culminating point of her prosperity; that there was a hardy race in Scotland whose energy would soon outstrip the luxurious nation that had become corrupted by riches. A federal union, between the degenerate race that had nearly run its course, and the vigorous breed that were pressing forward to a nobler goal, was all that the patriotic Scot could consent to—a perfect equality in their several nationalities, but no joint interests. Such were the doctrines that the pride of Scotland eagerly listened to, and which led her to dream of coming struggles with the haughty English for the commerce of the seas and the wealth of colonization. Yet Fletcher had been perfectly right, if he could have gone a step farther, and could have contemplated the period when the "perfidium ingenium Scotorum" should have entered with England into a career of sympathy instead of antipathy. When, having ceased to manifest her peculiar social tendencies by hanging a boy for blasphemy, as she hung the victim of religious intolerance, Thomas Aikenhead, in 1696,—and by putting twenty-two witches upon trial for their lives, as the Scotch Privy Council commanded, at the same period—she had carried forward the enlightenment of her system of parochial school education into the development of her people, to form the most intelligent, the most industrious, and the most accumulating members of a British community. We had each a great deal to learn, and a great deal to endure, before that consummation of the united destinies of two countries, so formed for successful amalgamation out of their very differences, could be accomplished. There is nothing more instructive in the history of the human race than the complete union of England and Scotland into one Great Britain. The most remarkable occurrence of the period before the legislative union of the two countries is that conflict for separate interests, which saw the king of England, certainly wishing well to the prosperity of both the kingdoms that he

had been called upon to govern, hesitating between the jealousies of the one kingdom and the rash assertion of an impossible independence in the other—which saw William embarrassed, even to the point of resigning his great scheme of policy to neutralize the dangerous ambition of France, by a national enthusiasm which utterly set at nought the dangers and difficulties which it involved for him as the sovereign of two disunited realms. Those who have regarded William as the callous enemy, or the cold friend, of Scotland, in the transactions which we associate with the name of Darien, have scarcely made allowance for the peculiar position of the head of this very divided empire. Those who lived in the time of the events which saw Scotland impoverished and humiliated by the results of an enterprise which was rashly undertaken, ignorantly conducted, and ending fatally, were led to the verge of a civil war, by obstinately looking only at one side of a very complicated question.

About six or eight years before the close of the seventeenth century a spirit of commercial activity seems to have sprung up in Scotland, and to have taken a direction somewhat remarkable in a country possessing very little superfluous capital. Yet this direction may be satisfactorily explained. The natural commerce of Scotland was labouring under great disadvantages. The ancient intercourse with France was cut off by the war with Louis XIV. The exchange of commodities with England was interrupted by prohibitions and heavy duties. The trade with the English colonies was absolutely forbidden. The most serious impediment to the commercial progress of Scotland was the Navigation Act of Charles II.—distinctly opposed to the policy of Cromwell, by whose ordinance all goods passing from England to Scotland, from Scotland to England, or from Scotland to any of the English foreign dominions, were to be treated exactly the same as goods passing from port to port in England. The two countries were then regarded essentially as one kingdom in those matters of trade in which the prosperity of each country was involved. Scotland, in the time of William III., could not advantageously trade with the East Indies, in consequence of the monopoly of the East India Company. Nevertheless, it was not legally cut off from that trade, as were English adventurers. It could not trade with the American Plantations, in consequence of the Navigation Act. It is not surprising, therefore, that a kingdom which was beginning to feel the benefits of peaceful industry—a kingdom containing a most energetic and industrious population—should desire to seek new fields of enterprise, under the jealousies which prevented

their fully participating in the commerce of its richer neighbour. This national desire was manifested in the Act of the Parliament of Scotland in 1693 “for encouraging foreign trade.” It declares that nothing has been found more effectual for the improvement and enlargement of trade “than the erecting and encouraging of companies, whereby the same may be carried on by undertakings to the remotest parts, which it is not possible for single persons to undergo.” It accordingly provides that merchants may enter into societies for carrying on trade to any kingdoms or parts of the world, not being at war with our sovereign Lord and Lady. The East Indies were not excepted.* The general powers of this Statute seem to have excited little alarm amongst the jealous merchants and party legislators of England. They probably knew nothing of this attempt to legislate for rival interests. English statesmen were too much accustomed to look with contempt upon the poverty of Scotland to entertain much dread of her commercial competition. It is recorded that Sir Edward Seymour, in a debate in Parliament which touched upon a union with Scotland, applied a coarse proverbial saying about marrying a beggar.†

But at the end of 1695, the favour with which a Scottish commercial project had been received in England stirred up all the national jealousy of the House of Commons. A Scot, who was well known as the originator of the scheme of the Bank of England, had been in London, and under the authority of a Scottish Act of Parliament, passed in the previous June, had in a few days obtained subscriptions to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds, for constituting a Company “for trading from Scotland to Africa and the Indies.” This success was secured by the energy of William Paterson, when the English government was in great financial difficulties. The supporters in London of the project for a Scottish trading company were apprehensive of a parliamentary opposition to the scheme. “They think,” wrote Paterson, on the 9th of July, to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, “that we ought to keep private and close for some months, that no occasion may be given for the Parliament of England, directly or indirectly, to take notice of it in the ensuing Session, which might be of ill consequences, especially when a great many considerable persons are already alarmed at it.” ‡

A new Parliament met in November, and in December the Lords and Commons went up with an Address to the king, to rep-

* “Acts of Parliament of Scotland,” 1693, vol. ix. p. 314.

† See Burton’s “History of Scotland,” vol. i. p. 264.

‡ Bannister’s “Life of Paterson,” p. 133.

resent that an Act which had lately received his royal assent in his kingdom of Scotland, "for erecting a Company trading to Africa and the Indies, was likely to bring many great prejudices and mischiefs to all his majesty's subjects who were concerned in the wealth or trade of this nation." The answer of William was perhaps the only one that he could have given with any regard to prudence: "He had been ill-served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from this Act."* "He had been ill-served in Scotland," Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, had been his principal servant; and for his share in the affair of Glencoe the Scottish Parliament had requested the king to signify his disapprobation at this very period. He had promoted the scheme of the Company trading to Africa and the Indies. When sir Walter Scott affirms that Dalrymple was deprived of his office of Secretary of State to William, not for his share "in the bloody deed of Glencoe," but for "attempting to serve his country in the most innocent and laudable manner, by extending her trade and national importance," † he uses the privileges of the novelist. William had been "ill-served" in both these matters. The House of Commons went farther than the king. They resolved that the directors of the Scottish Company, naming the lord Belhaven, William Paterson, and others, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, upon the ground that under colour of a Scotch Act of Parliament these directors had levied money, and had done other corporate acts in England, which could not be legally done without the sanction of the English Parliament.

With every symptom of a national jealousy unworthy of a people that was becoming commercially great, it could scarcely be expected that in England the very sweeping powers of the "Company trading to Africa and the Indies" should not have excited considerable alarm. The ships of the favoured Company were to be free from all dues; the Company were to be privileged to fit out vessels of war; they were authorized to make settlements and build forts in any uninhabited places in Asia, Africa, or America; they might make alliances with sovereign powers; all other Scotsmen were prohibited from trading within their range, without licence from them. But the English jealousy of commercial rivalry once roused, there could be no compromise which would make the speculation safe for the London capitalists. They forfeited their first instalments upon their shares. The angry mood of the English legislature had also roused the public spirit of Scotland; and

* "Parliamentary History, vol. v. col. 975. † "Tales of a Grandfather."

by a general consent it was resolved that a great opportunity of asserting the national independence should not be lost. In six months from the opening of the subscription books, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was subscribed. This subscription was not accomplished by a few large capitalists, such as those who had come forward in London. "The subscription book is an interesting analysis, as it were, of the realised wealth of Scotland, at a time when it was more difficult to raise five pounds than it is now to raise a hundred." There were a few large subscriptions from the nobility and the higher mercantile classes; but the majority of the subscribers were professional men and shopkeepers. "The list affords little indication of that quiet and comfortable class, deposited in a long-enriched social system like the Britons of the present day, who are seeking a sure investment for disengaged capital."* The available funds of Scotland were devoted to the romantic adventure of founding a great Scottish Colony, in some favoured spot of the new world which was yet shrouded in mysterious anticipations. Not Cortez,—

"Silent upon a peak in Darien," †
stared at the Pacific with more eagle eyes than those entrusted with Paterson's secret. The concealed destination of the Colony was the famous Isthmus of Panama. A Scottish merchant, named Douglas, shrewdly guessed Paterson's design, in September, 1696; and he exposed the perils and uncertainties of the enterprise. This acute reasoner held the amount proposed to be raised as insufficient for the project, and predicted that the Company would have to encounter the determined hostility of the Spaniards. "He" [Paterson] "deceives the Company, and imposes upon them—and indeed the nation, which is generally concerned in it—in that he puts them upon attempting so hazardous and costly an undertaking with so little stock. Whereas it is reasonable to believe that, if they were able at last to accomplish it, after a long war with the Spaniards, and to make themselves masters of both seas, it may cost more millions than they have hundreds of thousands. ‡ Nevertheless the national enthusiasm was at its height, filled with dreams of gold and rubies and copper-mines—of untaxed trade, and the mighty power of joint stocks. "Trade's Release" was the theme of an "excellent new ballad":—

"Come, rouse up your hearts, come rouse up anon!
Think of the wisdom of old Solomon;

And heartily join with our own Paterson,

To fetch home Indian treasures." §

* Burton, vol. i. p. 294.

† Keats.

‡ Bannister, p. 148 to p. 158.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

The four hundred thousand pounds which, on the 1st of August, appeared to have been subscribed, were, to some extent, made up "by a method of fictitious support well known in the stock market." The ledgers of the Company, which still exist, show that some large subscribers were guaranteed by the directors. * Twenty-five per cent. upon the subscriptions was, however, paid up within the year, or very nearly so. With this amount in hand, somewhat less than a hundred thousand pounds, the Company began to engage in magnificent undertakings. They did not leave the trade of Scotland to adapt itself to their enterprise of finding new markets for a profitable exchange, but made contracts in various small seats of manufacture, for iron goods and cutlery, for stockings and gloves, for hats, shoes, linen, periwigs, and tobacco-pipes. The Highlands even were stimulated into the production of home-woven tartan. They issued bank notes; and with this device, and with the general confidence in their credit, they collected stores and built warehouses. But their means were still found inadequate to their ambition. They attempted to dispose of stock at Hamburg, but were interfered with by the English resident. Remonstrances were made to king William, but he afforded no redress to the complaints of his Scottish lieges. "Whether from wisdom," says Mr. Burton, "or the obduracy of his Dutch nature, he long effectively baffled every attempt to extract from him either an act or an opinion." We are inclined to think that if the king had followed the higher wisdom of pointing out to the Scottish legislature that they had sanctioned and stimulated an enterprise fraught with peril, and likely to cause his government serious embarrassment in the difficult and delicate position in which it stood in relation to foreign affairs, he would have brought down upon himself even a greater amount of indignation than was the result of his cold reserve. On the other hand, had he encouraged the project, which many sensible men proclaimed as fallacious, and which the jealousy of his English Parliament had denounced, he would have risked a rupture with that Parliament, which he scrupulously avoided even under the severest mortifications personal to himself. It was more than difficult for him to steer a just and prudent course as the sovereign of two kingdoms having such conflicting interests in their unnatural separation. The embarrassments arising out of the Darien scheme, without doubt gave a stronger impulse to his ardent wish for the union of England and Scotland.

On the 26th of July, 1698, three vessels, purchased from the Dutch, and armed as ships of war, sailed from Leith, with twelve

* Burton, vol. i. p. 297.

hundred men on board. "The whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith, to see the colony depart, amidst the tears, and prayers, and praises of relations and friends."* The destination of the adventurers was unknown to them. Paterson was on board one of the vessels, the Saint Andrew, but in no responsible position. He addressed a Report of his proceedings at the end of the next year to the Court of Directors of the Company. At the first, when he suggested that a Council should be held to inquire how the vessel was provided for the voyage, he was told by the captain not to interfere with business for which there were ample instructions. The passengers were soon reduced to short allowance. Throughout the voyage the projector of the Colony was at issue with the officers of the ship and the Council appointed by the Directors. The sealed orders were opened at Madeira, and then the destination of the twelve hundred colonists ceased to be a secret. On the 4th of November, they landed at a point in the Gulf of Darien. In a letter which Paterson wrote to a friend in Boston, we find that his sanguine spirit had overcome all the unpleasant circumstances of the voyage. "Our situation is about two leagues to the southward of Golden Island (by the Spaniards called Guarda), in one of the best and most defensible harbours, perhaps, in the world. The country is healthful to a wonder, insomuch that our own sick, that were many when we arrived, are now generally cured. The country is exceedingly fertile, and the weather temperate." The riches of the country, he says, are far beyond what he ever thought or conceived. The natives, for fifty leagues on either side, are in entire friendship. The Spaniards, indeed, are much surprised and alarmed,—the news of the arrival of the colony has come like a thunder-clap upon them. "We have written to the President of Panama, giving him account of our good and peaceable intentions, and to procure a good understanding and correspondence. If this is not condescended to, *we are ready for what else he pleases.*"† The spot where the colonists landed was a peninsula united to the mainland, and capable at its narrower junction of being fortified. The colony was to be settled on that mainland, which was to be called New Caledonia. Seven gentlemen had been appointed for the government of the settlement. They were thoroughly ignorant of what they ought to do for the management and profitable employ of twelve hundred men, some of whom were of the old buccaneering stamp, and far readier for plunder than for labour or traffic. It had been ostentatiously proclaimed that the Scottish Colony was to be the great emporium of

* Dalrymple.

† "Life of Paterson," p. 209

free commerce; that the ships of all nations were to exchange in its favoured ports without restriction. The projectors were before their time in their doctrine, as set forth in some verses of the day—

“that trade by sea
Needs little more support than being free.”

The adventurers had little acquaintance with the difficulties of colonization, and knew not the obstacles that would prevent a body of private men, unsupported by the strong arm of the government, from planting themselves on the Isthmus of Panama, and becoming the medium of commercial intercourse between the Atlantic and the Pacific. There had been terrible visitors there before the Scots,—roffians who had carried desolation into the Spanish possessions on the Isthmus—robbers and murderers who hoisted the black flag—the remembrance of whose atrocities was still fresh. The colonists sent civil messages to the governors of the neighbouring Spanish settlements. Their overtures were rejected with disdain. Soon they got into conflict with the Spaniards, in taking part in a dispute between them and some friendly Indians. At Carthagea a vessel of the Company, armed with fourteen guns, running into the bay, the captain and crew were seized and condemned to death as pirates. The English resident interfered and saved the men. The authorities of the Colony now declared war against Spain; attacked the ships of that power; and turned very readily to the same sort of exploits for which captain Morgan, the great buccaneer, had been distinguished. The Court of Spain, by its ambassador, made a formal representation to the government in London, that its territory had been invaded by the subjects of king William. In our narrative of the remaining events of William's reign it will be seen how indispensable a right understanding with Spain was, for the great objects of England's foreign policy. The proceedings in the Gulf of Darien had alarmed the English government previous to this remonstrance; and notice had been sent to the governors of English colonies in the West Indies, and in America, that the objects of the expedition had been unknown to the king, and that the proceedings of the adventurers had not his sanction. The colonists soon found how improvident had been the arrangements for their establishment. They began severely to feel the want of food. No supply from home had reached them, for Scotland itself was suffering from a fearful deficiency of harvest. The Directors of the Company wrote to the unfortunate men, who relied upon a sympathy and foresight that would have left nothing wanting, “We have had scarcity of corn and provisions here since

your departure hence, even to dearth, and poverty of course occasioned thereby; which, to our regret, hath necessarily retarded us in our designs of sending you such recruits as our inclination did prompt us unto.* By “recruits” they do not mean men, which Scotland would have been glad to have shipped off, but provisions that the Company had not the means to purchase. They had wherewithal to exchange for food, thought the Directors of the Company; their cargoes of axes and knives, of shoes and linen, would easily command the necessaries of life. The unhappy settlers could find no exchangers amongst the Indians. They had sent in vain to Jamaica, to obtain supplies. In the huts which they had built pestilence found its seat, side by side with famine. The spring came. Those who remained alive resolved to abandon the land to which they had gone with such eager hopes. They sailed away, sick and feeble, in their three vessels, two of which arrived at New York and one at Jamaica, with the remnant of the colonists in a state of indescribable wretchedness. Paterson, who had opposed the departure, was amongst their number. “I desired them,” says he, “not to design, or so much as talk of going away.” The immediate cause of their despair is thus related by Paterson: “Upon the 3rd day of May we despatched the sloop brought in by Pilkington and Sands, to Jamaica, with money and other effects, in order to purchase provisions and necessaries for the colony. . . . Then we began to expect these two sloops; viz., that of Pilkington's and this from Jamaica; also that other supplies would be dropping in, till a reinforcement should come from our country. When, instead thereof, a periagua of ours returned from the coast of Carthagea, which had met with a Jamaica sloop, by whom she had the surprising news that proclamations were published against us in Jamaica, wherein it was declared that, by our settlement at Darien, we had broken the peace entered into with his majesty's allies, and therefore prohibited all his majesty's subjects from supplying, or holding any sort of correspondence with us, upon the severest penalties. And it seems the governor of Jamaica had been so hasty and precipitant in this matter, that these proclamations were published upon the Sabbath day (the like whereof had not been formerly known). But it was to prevent the going out of two sloops bound out next morning, and fraughted with provisions for Caledonia.”† Certainly, a severe measure. But Defoe states, in the most unqualified terms, that “whoever has the least knowledge of the affairs of that country, and of the trade of the English colonies, must needs know that had the Scots Company, who had

* Burton Note, vol. i. p. 317.

† “Life of Paterson,” p. 195.

placed themselves at Darien, been furnished either with money, or letters of credit, they had never wanted provisions, or come to any other disaster, notwithstanding the proclamations of the English against correspondence."* The whole affair has some resemblance to the expedition of Raleigh to Guiana; more resemblance to the filibustering adventures of our own day. "They," says Scott, "who thus perished for the want of the provisions for which they were willing to pay, were as much murdered by king William's government as if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe." We are not inclined to retort uncourteously upon this ebullition of nationality, but we can scarcely avoid inquiring whether the Court of Directors in the city of Edinburgh,—who had sent out twelve hundred men to a barren country with insufficient supplies, and in reply to their demands for aid had said, "We have had scarcity of corn and provisions here since your departure," which has prevented us doing "what our inclination did prompt us unto"—were not partakers in the alleged murder? †

In the spring and summer of 1699 the Company in Scotland were enabled to do something for their colonists beyond imparting to them their kind intentions. Two vessels with provisions were sent out in May. On the 5th of June Paterson was attacked with the fever of that pestilential region. By the 10th, he says, "all the counsellors and most of the officers were on board the several ships, and I left alone on shore in a weak state." By the 18th of June the fort was abandoned, and the haste to sail away was such that the vigilance of one of the captains alone prevented the guns being left behind. But another expedition had been organized; and in September, thirteen hundred men, ignorant of the unhappy fate of those who had gone before them, set sail from Leith. When the truth became known in Scotland, of their lamentable failure in the scheme which had raised the hopes of the nation to an extravagant height, the Directors assumed the warlike attitude of injured princes; sent out another squadron under military command; and ordered their officers to pay no respect to any authority but that of the Secretary of State for Scotland. Those who had embarked in

* "History of the Union," p. 67.

† Mr. Burton's narrative of the Darien affair, in his excellent "History of Scotland, from the Revolution," is the most candid and impartial account of these transactions that has been given by any Scottish writer; and though, in our view, he scarcely makes adequate allowance for the tremendous difficulties under which William was placed, his account is not coloured by that intense nationality which renders the relation of this unhappy business by sir Walter Scott and others, necessary to be received with a cautious regard to the general politics of that time, and to the condition of society in both kingdoms. Mr. Burton had the advantage of consulting the original documents "connected with this ill-fated company."

May arrived at Darien in the rainy or winter season, to find a scene of desolation where they expected abundance. The expedition which had left in September arrived in the latter part of the winter, when the rains were passing away: the opening of the new year is the beginning of summer, in that climate. This numerous body of men, who had come with ardent expectations, but without any well-defined purpose, found themselves wanting in the immediate means of preserving life, on the barren spot where so many of their countrymen had perished. They, as well as those who had preceded them, had been insufficiently provided with a stock of food. For the most part they kept on board the vessels, quarrelling with each other, and ready for any act of mutiny. Accounts at last reached them, that the Spaniards were preparing to attack the Scottish settlement with an overwhelming force. Then the old spirit of many a foray, and of many a battle, was roused. Campbell of Finab, who had come out with the warlike instructions of the Company, led two hundred men, by a wearisome march of three days, across the Isthmus; and finding a Spanish force on the river Santa Maria, took the post by storm. The Spaniards fled from this fierce onslaught; and Campbell and his band marched triumphantly back with their spoils of war. During their absence five Spanish men of war had arrived. The settlement was blockaded by an overpowering naval squadron. It was surrounded by large bodies of troops by land. A surrender was inevitable. On the 18th of March the settlement was abandoned, upon terms of capitulation which had been agreed upon with the governor of Carthagena.

The incidents which illustrate this text of Burnet—"the nation was roused into a sort of fury upon it"—would be painful, and almost revolting, to look back upon, if we were not sure that such an event as the Darien scheme could never happen again, and if the very calamity had not been productive of the greatest blessing to Scotland and England, their political, commercial, and social union. When the Scottish Parliament took up the whole course of the Darien transactions in a revengeful mood—making no allowance for those trade jealousies which were as rife in Scotland as in England—looking at the position of the king as if he could govern England with his right arm upon one course of policy, and govern Scotland with his left arm upon a totally opposite course,—utterly rejecting the notion that anything in the world could be of more paramount importance than the interests of a body of shareholders who had paid up two hundred thousand pounds capital, to carry forward plans which sober-judging merchants and disinter-

ested politicians considered as symptoms of insanity,—we can scarcely conceive any more effectual remedy for the national fever than the cold reserve of William. The wrongs of the Indian and African Company were echoed from the English border to the remotest North. The Jacobites were active in proclaiming the iniquity of a king who had sacrificed Scotland to preserve the Dutch possessions in the West Indies. Associations were formed to forbid the consumption of articles of English production. The Scottish Parliament was not propitiated by a temperate and conciliatory message from the king, that it had been to him a deep regret that he could not agree to the assertion of the right of the Company's Colony in Darien; that he was fully satisfied that his yielding in this matter would have infallibly disturbed the general peace of Christendom, and have brought on a heavy war, in which he could expect no assistance. The Parliament agreed to a series of resolutions, in which the national grievances of Darien were recapitulated, as if Scotland rejected all considerations of the general peace of Christendom, and stood isolated amongst the nations, proud and defiant. Whoever defended the king was a libeller of the nation; and to the fire of the common hangman were committed the few printed attempts to induce charity and forbearance. Such a fierce crackling of the thorns under the pot was of course soon at an end. The king appears to have been the only one who could see something bright beyond the passing smoke. The House of Lords addressed him in terms of strong condemnation of the proceedings of the colonists at Darien, and of approbation of the means adopted by the colonial governor to discourage and injure them. William, in his reply, declared that "he cannot but have a great concern and tenderness for his kingdom of Scotland, and a desire to advance their welfare and prosperity; and is very sensibly touched with the loss his subjects of that kingdom have sustained by their late unhappy expeditions, in order to a settlement at Darien. His majesty does apprehend that difficulties may too often arise with respect to the different interests of trade between his two kingdoms, unless some way be found out to unite them more nearly and completely, and therefore his majesty takes this opportunity of putting the House of Peers in mind of what he recommended to his Parliament soon after his accession to the throne, that they would consider of an Union between the two kingdoms."

Six or seven years passed over, during which the Darien affair was a constant source of irritation in Scotland against the English government and the English people. The East India Company

had become prosperous beyond expectation, in the amalgamation of the New Company with the Old. The more prosperous that great association, the more jealous and angry were the Scots, who believed that their Company, unless ruined by the tyranny of king William, might have opened the whole commerce of the East to their favoured nation. In the negotiations for the Union in 1706, the Scots Commissioners clung firmly to the principle that the charters, rights, and privileges of the African and Indian Company should be maintained. The English Commissioners as firmly resolved, that the condition of free intercourse, which was the basis of the Union, should not result in "a perfect laying open the East India trade, or at least erecting a new East India Company in Britain."* A compromise was effected, in a manner which smoothed many of the difficulties which the Darien affair presented to the establishment of cordiality between Scotland and England. The Lords Commissioners for England,—“being sensible that the misfortunes of that Company have been the occasion of misunderstandings and unkindnesses between the two kingdoms, and thinking it above all things desirable that upon the union of the kingdoms the subjects of both may be entirely united in affection,”—agreed to purchase the shares of the particular members of that Company. The stock “had been a dead weight upon many families; the sums paid were given over as utterly sunk and lost; and after all this, to find the whole money should come in again, with interest for the time, was a happy surprise to a great many families, and took off the edge of the opposition which some people would otherwise have made to the Union in general.” †

The patriotic aspirations of king William, in the largest sense of patriotism, for the removal of the difficulties with respect to “the different interests of trade in his two kingdoms,” were slowly realised. A way was found out “to unite them more nearly and completely.” In less than a quarter of a century the fatal rivalries were completely at an end. The merchants of Glasgow and the merchants of Liverpool traded upon equal terms. The two kingdoms, thus united, went forward in a career of prosperity beyond the hopes of the most ardent imagination. In a century and a-half, when Great Britain had planted new colonies in regions known only as the lands of savages; when the North American Plantations had amalgamated into a great republic; when the gold discoveries of California and Australia had given a new impulse to the commerce of the world;—over that Isthmus of Panama where Scotland vainly attempted to establish a settlement amidst the hostility of

* “History of the Union,” p. 178.

† *Ibid.*, p. 180.

the Spanish claimants of its territory, was constructed a railway, by which the great highways of North and South America were connected by the wonder-working powers of Science, devoted to the magnificent object of gradually making the human race one great family.

CHAPTER IV.

Question of the Succession to the Crown of Spain.—The Partition Treaties.—Negotiations at Loo.—Correspondence of the king with his ministers.—First Partition Treaty signed.—The new Parliament.—The troops disbanded.—William's mortification.—A rash resolve, and a calmer judgment.—The Dutch guards dismissed.—Penal law against Catholics.—Portland and Albemarle.—Admiral Rooke in the Baltic.—Policy of Louis the Fourteenth.

IN 1698, Charles II., the son of Philip IV., had been for thirty-four years king of Spain and the Indies. He had become the head of that corrupt and decaying monarchy when a child of four years of age. His early life had been spent under the tutelage of his mother, and of his illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria. He had one glimpse of happiness in his affection for his young wife, the princess Louisa of Orleans, whom he soon lost. Under his second wife, a princess related to the emperor, he was governed as in his childish days. His body and mind were equally enfeebled. In June, 1698, Stanhope, the English ambassador, wrote from Madrid, "The name the doctors give to the disease of the king is *alfereyn insensata*, which sounds, in English, a stupid epilepsy." Charles had no issue. The question of the succession was very complicated. Louis XIV. had married Charles's eldest sister; but, upon their marriage, the Infanta of Spain, by a solemn contract, had renounced for herself and her successors all claim to the Spanish Crown. The emperor Leopold had married a younger sister, and she had made a similar renunciation. Her daughter had married the Elector of Bavaria, and their son, the electoral prince, was the inheritor of whatever claim his mother might have upon the Spanish Crown; for her renunciation was considered of none effect from not having been confirmed by the Cortes, as the renunciation of the elder sister had been. The Emperor himself was a claimant to the succession in his own person, for he was the grandson of Philip III. of Spain, and first cousin to Charles II. Thus the legitimate heir, the dauphin of France, was barred by that renunciation of his mother which was considered valid. The next in order of inheritance, the electoral prince of Bavaria, had a less doubtful claim, for his mother's renunciation was held invalid. The emperor, who was farthest removed in blood, was not fettered