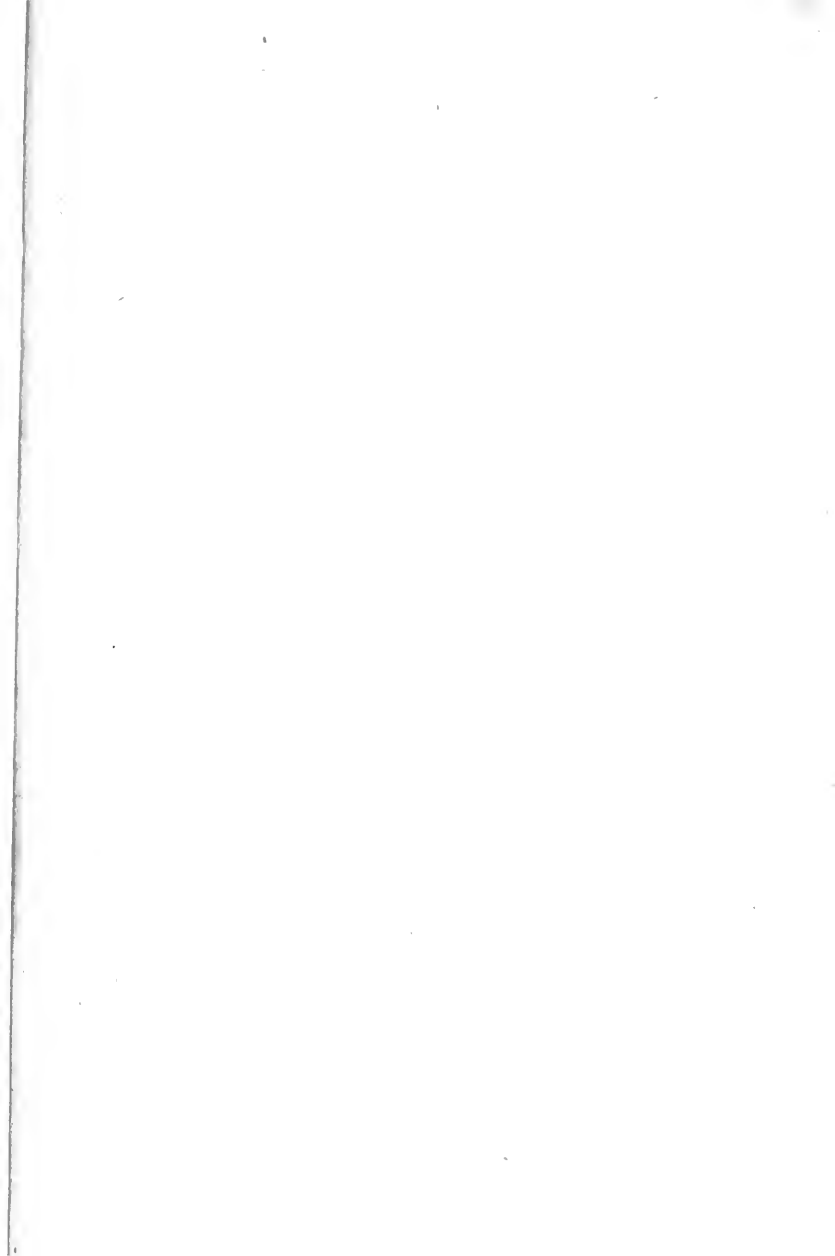


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MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

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THE
WORKS

OF THE LATE

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, &c. &c.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY THE

REV. R. LYNAM, A. M.

ASSISTANT CHAPLAIN TO THE MAGDALEN; AND LATE CLASSICAL
MASTER AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

COMPLETE IN SIX VOLUMES.

WITH MAPS, AND PORTRAITS OF DR. ROBERTSON, MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,
AND THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VI. CONTINUED.

MORTON, to whom none of these particulars were known, thought this the proper juncture for setting to work the instruments which he had been preparing. Having gained the confidence of the earl of Mar, and of the countess his mother, he insinuated to them, that Alexander Erskine had formed a plot to deprive his nephew of the government of Stirling castle, and the custody of the king's person; and easily induced an ambitious woman, and a youth of twenty, to employ force to prevent this supposed injury. The earl repairing suddenly to Stirling, and being admitted as usual into the castle with his attendants, seized the gates early in the morning, and turned out his uncle, who dreaded no danger from his hands. The soldiers of the garrison submitted to him as their governor, and, with little danger and no effusion of blood, he became master both of the king's person and of the fortress.^z

An event so unexpected occasioned great consternation. Though Morton's hand did not appear in the execution, he was universally believed to be the author of the attempt. The new counsellors saw it to be necessary, for their own safety, to change their measures, and, instead of pursuing him with such implacable resentment, to enter into terms of accommodation with an adversary, still so capable of creating them trouble. Four were named, on each side, to adjust their differences. They met not far from Dalkeith; and when they had brought matters near a conclusion,

^z Cald. ii. 535.

Morton, who was too sagacious not to improve the advantage which their security and their attention to the treaty afforded him, set out in the night-time for Stirling, and having gained Murray of Tullibardin, Mar's uncle, May 24. was admitted by him into the castle; and managing matters there with his usual dexterity, he soon had more entirely the command of the fort, than the earl himself. He was likewise admitted to a seat in the privy-council, and acquired as complete an ascendant in it.^a

As the time appointed for the meeting of parliament at Edinburgh now approached, this gave him some anxiety. He was afraid of conducting the young king to a city whose inhabitants were so much at the devotion of the adverse faction. He was no less unwilling to leave James behind at Stirling. In order to avoid this dilemma, he issued a proclamation in the king's name, changing the place of meeting from Edinburgh to Stirling castle. This Athol and his party represented as a step altogether unconstitutional. The king, said they, is Morton's prisoner; the pretended counsellors are his slaves; a parliament, to which all the nobles may repair without fear, and where they may deliberate with freedom, is absolutely necessary for settling the nation, after disorders of such long continuance. But in an assembly, called contrary to all form, held within the walls of a garrison, and overawed by armed men, what safety could members expect? what liberty could prevail in debate? or what benefit result to the public? The parliament met, however, on the day appointed, and, notwithstanding the protestation of the earl of Montrose and lord Lindsay, in the name of their party, proceeded to business. The king's acceptance of the government was confirmed; the act granted to Morton, for his security, ratified; some regulations with regard to the numbers and authority of the privy-council, were agreed upon; and a pension for life granted to the countess of Mar, who had been so instrumental in bringing about the late revolution.^b

^a Cald. ii. 536.

^b Ibid. 547. Parl. 5 Jac. 6.

Argyll and Athol take arms against him. Meanwhile Argyll, Athol, and their followers, took arms, upon the specious pretence of rescuing the king from captivity, and the kingdom from oppression. James himself, impatient of the servitude in which he was held, by a man whom he had long been taught to hate, secretly encouraged their enterprise; though, at the same time, he was obliged not only to disavow them in public, but to levy forces against them, and even to declare, by proclamation, that he was perfectly free from any constraint, either upon his person or his will. Both sides quickly took the field. Argyll and Athol were at the head of seven thousand men; the earl of Angus, Morton's nephew, met them with an army five thousand strong; neither party, however, was eager to engage. Morton distrusted the fidelity of his own troops. The two earls were sensible that a single victory, however complete, would not be decisive; and, as they were in no condition to undertake the siege of Stirling castle, where the king was kept, their strength would soon be exhausted, while Morton's own wealth, and the patronage of the queen of England, might furnish him with endless resources. By the mediation of Bowes, whom Elizabeth had sent into Scotland to negotiate an accommodation between the two factions, a treaty was concluded, in consequence of which, Argyll and Athol were admitted into the king's presence; some of their party were added to the privy-council; and a convention of nobles called, in order to bring all remaining differences to an amicable issue.^c

As soon as James assumed the government into his own hands, he dispatched the abbot of Dunfermling to inform Elizabeth of that event; to offer to renew the alliance between the two kingdoms; and to demand possession of the estate which had lately fallen to him by the death of his grandmother the countess of Lennox. The lady's second son had left one daughter, Arabella Stewart, who was born in England. And as the chief objection against the pre-

^c Crawf. Mem. 307.

tensions of the Scottish line to the crown of England, was that maxim of English law which excludes aliens from any right of inheritance within the kingdom, Elizabeth by granting this demand, would have established a precedent in James's favour that might have been deemed decisive with regard to a point which it had been her constant care to keep undecided. Without suffering this delicate question to be tried, or allowing any new light to be thrown on that which she considered as the great mystery of her reign, she commanded lord Burleigh, master of the wards, to sequester the rents of the estate; and by this method of proceeding, gave the Scottish king early warning how necessary it would be to court her favour, if ever he hoped for success in claims of greater importance, but equally liable to be controverted.^d

1579. After many delays, and with much difficulty, the contending nobles were at last brought to some agreement. But it was followed by a tragical event. Morton, in token of reconciliation, having invited the leaders of the opposite party to a great entertainment, Athol the chancellor was soon after taken ill, and died within a few days. The symptoms and violence of the disease give rise to strong suspicions of his being poisoned; and though the physicians, who opened his body, differed in opinion as to the cause of the distemper, the chancellor's relations publicly accused Morton of that odious crime. The advantage which visibly accrued to him by the removal of a man of great abilities, and averse from all his measures, was deemed a sufficient proof of his guilt by the people, who are ever fond of imputing the death of eminent persons to extraordinary causes.^e

Morton's illegal proceedings against the family of Hamilton. The office of chancellor was bestowed upon Argyll, whom his preferment reconciled, in a great measure, to Morton's administration. He had now recovered all the authority which he possessed during his regency, and had entirely broken, or baffled, the power and cabals of his enemies. None of the great families re-

^d Camd. 461.

^e Spotsw. 306.

mained to be the objects of his jealousy, or to obstruct his designs, but that of Hamilton. The earl of Arran, the eldest brother, had never recovered the shock which he received from the ill success of his passion for the queen, and had now altogether lost his reason. Lord John, the second brother, was in possession of the family estate. Lord Claud was commendator of Paisley; both of them young men, ambitious and enterprising. Morton dreaded their influence in the kingdom; the courtiers hoped to share their spoils among them; and as all princes naturally view their successors with jealousy and hatred, it was easy to infuse these passions into the mind of the young king. A pretence was at hand to justify the most violent proceedings. The pardon, stipulated in the treaty of Perth, did not extend to such as were accessory to the murder of the regents Murray or Lennox. Lord John and his brother were suspected of being the authors of both these crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account. Without summoning them to trial, or examining a single witness to prove the charge, this attainder was now thought sufficient to subject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. The earls of Morton, Mar, and Eglinton, together with the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Cathcart, received a commission to seize their persons and estates. On a few hours' warning, a considerable body of troops was ready, and marched towards Hamilton in hostile array. Happily the two brothers made their escape, though with great difficulty. But their lands were confiscated; the castles of Hamilton and Draffan besieged; those who defended them punished. The earl of Arran, though incapable, from his situation, of committing any crime, was involved, by a shameful abuse of law, in the common ruin of his family; and as if he, too, could have been guilty of rebellion, he was confined a close prisoner. These proceedings, so contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, were all ratified in the subsequent parliament.^f

^f Crawf. Mem. 311. Spotsw. 306.

About this time Mary sent, by Nauè her secretary, a letter to her son, together with some jewels of value, and a vest embroidered with her own hands. But, as she gave him only the title of prince of Scotland, the messenger was dismissed without being admitted into his presence.⁵

Though Elizabeth had, at this time, no particular reason to fear any attempt of the Popish princes in Mary's favour, she still continued to guard her with the same anxious care. The acquisition of Portugal, on the one hand, and the defence of the Netherlands, on the other, fully employed the councils and arms of Spain. France, torn in pieces by intestine commotions, and under a weak and capricious prince, despised and distrusted by his own subjects, was in no condition to disturb its neighbours. Elizabeth

had long amused that court by carrying on a treaty of marriage with the duke of Alençon, the king's brother. But whether, at the age of forty-five, she really intended to marry a prince of twenty; whether the pleasure of being flattered and courted made her listen to the addresses of so young a lover, whom she allowed to visit her at two different times, and treated with the most distinguishing respect; or whether considerations of interest predominated in this as well as in every other transaction of her reign, are problems in history which we are not concerned to resolve. During the progress of this negotiation, which was drawn out to an extraordinary length, Mary could expect no assistance from the French court, and seems to have held little correspondence with it; and there was no period in her reign, wherein Elizabeth enjoyed more perfect security.

Morton seems, at this time, to have been equally secure; but his security was not so well founded. He had weathered out one storm, had crushed his adversaries, and was again in possession of the sole direction of affairs. But as the king was now of an age when the character and dispositions of the mind begin to unfold themselves, and to become visible, the smallest

Negotiations for a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Alençon.

Two favourites gain an ascendancy over James.

attention to these might have convinced him, that there was reason to expect new and more dangerous attacks on his power. James early discovered that excessive attachment to favourites, which accompanied him through his whole life. This passion, which naturally arises from inexperience, and youthful warmth of heart, was, at his age, far from being culpable; nor could it be well expected that the choice of the objects, on whom he placed his affections, should be made with great skill. The most considerable of them was Esme Stewart, a native of France, and son of a second brother of the earl of Lennox. He was distinguished by the title of lord D'Aubignè, an estate in France, which descended to him from his ancestors, on whom it had been conferred, in reward of their valour and services to the French crown. He arrived in Scotland about this time, on purpose to demand the estate and title of Lennox, to which he pretended a legal right. He was received at first by the king with the respect due to so near a relation. The gracefulness of his person, the elegance of his dress, and his courtly behaviour, made a great impression on James, who, even in his more mature years, was little able to resist these frivolous charms; and his affection flowed with its usual rapidity and profusion. Within a few days after Stewart's appearance at court, he was created lord Aberbrothock, soon after earl, and then duke of Lennox, governor of Dumbarton castle, captain of the guard, first lord of the bed-chamber, and lord high chamberlain. At the same time, and without any of the envy or emulation which is usual among candidates for favour, captain James Stewart, the second son of lord Ochiltree, grew into great confidence. But, notwithstanding this union, Lennox and captain Stewart were persons of very opposite characters. The former was naturally gentle, humane, candid; but unacquainted with the state of the country, and misled or misinformed by those whom he trusted; not unworthy to be the companion of the young king in his amusements, but utterly disqualified for acting as a minister in directing his affairs. The

Sept. 8.

latter was remarkable for all the vices which render a man formidable to his country, and a pernicious counsellor to his prince; nor did he possess any one virtue to counter-balance these vices, unless dexterity in conducting his own designs, and an enterprising courage, superior to the sense of danger, may pass by that name. Unrestrained by religion, regardless of decency, and undismayed by opposition, he aimed at objects seemingly unattainable; but, under a prince void of experience, and blind to all the defects of those who had gained his favour, his audacity was successful; and honours, wealth, and power, were the reward of his crimes.

Both the favourites concurred in employing their whole address to undermine Morton's credit, which alone obstructed their full possession of power. As James had been bred up with an aversion for that nobleman, who endeavoured rather to maintain the authority of a tutor, than to act with the obsequiousness of a minister, they found it no difficult matter to accomplish their design. Morton, who could no longer keep the king shut up within the walls of Stirling

Oct. 17.

castle, having called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, brought him thither. James made his entry into the capital with great solemnity; the citizens received him with the loudest acclamations of joy, and with many expensive pageants, according to the mode of that age. After a long period of thirty-seven years, during which Scotland had been subjected to the delegated power of regents, or to the feeble government of a woman; after having suffered all the miseries of civil war, and felt the insolence of foreign armies, the nation rejoiced to see the sceptre once more in the hands of a king. Fond even of that shadow of authority, which a prince of fifteen could possess, the Scots flattered themselves, that union, order, and tranquillity would now be restored to the kingdom. James opened the parliament with extraordinary pomp, but nothing remarkable passed in it.

1580. These demonstrations, however, of the people's

love and attachment to their sovereign, encouraged the favourites to continue their insinuations against Morton; and as the king now resided in the palace of Holyroodhouse, to which all his subjects had access, the cabal against the earl grew daily stronger, and the intrigue, which occasioned his fall, ripened gradually.

Morton endeavoured to prevent them. Morton began to be sensible of his danger, and endeavoured to put a stop to the career of Lennox's preferment, by representing him as a formidable enemy to the reformed religion, a secret agent in favour of Popery, and a known emissary of the house of Guise. The clergy, apt to believe every rumour of this kind, spread the alarm among the people. But Lennox, either out of complaisance to his master, or convinced by the arguments of some learned divines whom the king appointed to instruct him in the principles of the Protestant religion, publicly renounced the errors of Popery, in the church of St. Giles, and declared himself a member of the church of Scotland, by signing her confession of faith. This, though it did not remove all suspicions, nor silence some zealous preachers, abated, in a great degree, the force of the accusation.^b

On the other hand, a rumour prevailed that Morton was preparing to seize the king's person, and to carry him into England. Whether despair of maintaining his power by any other means, had driven him to make any overture of that kind to the English court, or whether it was a calumny invented by his adversaries to render him odious, cannot now be determined with certainty. As he declared at his death that such a design had never entered into his thoughts, the latter seems to be most probable. It afforded a pretence, however, for reviving the office of lord-chamberlain, which had been for some time disused. That honour was conferred on Lennox. Alexander Erskine, Morton's capital enemy, was his deputy; they had under them a band of gentlemen, who were appointed constantly to attend the king, and to guard his person.ⁱ

^b Crawf. Mem. 319. Spotsw. 308.

ⁱ Crawf. Mem. 320.

Elizabeth interposes in his behalf. Morton was not ignorant of what his enemies intended to insinuate by such unusual precautions for the king's safety ; and, as his last resource, applied to Elizabeth, whose protection had often stood him in stead in his greatest difficulties. In consequence of this application, Bowes, her envoy, accused Lennox of practices against the peace of the two kingdoms, and insisted, in her name, that he should instantly be removed from the privy-council. Such an unprecedented demand was considered by the counsellors as an affront to the king, and an encroachment on the independence of the kingdom. They affected to call in question the envoy's powers, and upon that pretence refused him farther audience ; and he retiring in disgust, and without taking leave, Sir Alexander Home was sent to expostulate with Elizabeth on the subject. After the treatment which her envoy had received, Elizabeth thought it below her dignity to admit Home into her presence. Burleigh, to whom he was commanded to impart his commission, reproached him with his master's ingratitude towards a benefactress who had placed the crown on his head, and required him to advise the king to beware of sacrificing the friendship of so necessary an ally to the giddy humours of a young man, without experience, and strongly suspected of principles and attachments incompatible with the happiness of the Scottish nation.

Morton accused of the murder of the late king. This accusation of Lennox hastened, in all probability, Morton's fall. The act of indemnity, which he had obtained when he resigned the regency, was worded with such scrupulous exactness, as almost screened him from any legal prosecution. The murder of the late king was the only crime which could not, with decency, be inserted in a pardon granted by his son. Here Morton still lay open to the penalties of the law, and captain Stewart, who shunned no action, however desperate, if it led to power or to favour, entered the council-chamber while the king and nobles were assembled, and falling on his knees, accused Morton of being accessory, or, according to the language of the Scottish law,

art and part, in the conspiracy against the life of his majesty's father, and offered, under the usual penalties, to verify this charge by legal evidence. Morton, who was present, heard this accusation with firmness; and replied with a disdainful smile, proceeding either from contempt of the infamous character of his accuser, or from consciousness of his own innocence, "that his known zeal in punishing those who were suspected of that detestable crime, might well exempt himself from any suspicion of being accessory to it; nevertheless, he would cheerfully submit to a trial, either in that place or any other court; and doubted not but his own innocence, and the malice of his enemies, would then appear in the clearest light." Stewart, who was still on his knees, began to inquire how he would reconcile his bestowing so many honours on Archibald Douglas, whom he certainly knew to be one of the murderers, with his pretended zeal against that crime. Morton was ready to answer. But the king commanded both to be removed.

1582.
Jan. 2. The earl was confined, first of all to his own house, and then committed to the castle of Edinburgh, of which Alexander Erskine was governor; and, as if it had not been a sufficient indignity to subject him to the power of one of his enemies, he was soon after carried to Jan. 18. Dumbarton, of which Lennox had the command. A warrant was likewise issued for apprehending Archibald Douglas; but he, having received timely intelligence of the approaching danger, fled into England.^k

The earl of Angus, who imputed these violent proceedings, not to hatred against Morton alone, but to the ancient enmity between the houses of Stewart and of Douglas, and who believed that a conspiracy was now formed for the destruction of all who bore that name, was ready to take arms in order to rescue his kinsman. But Morton absolutely forbade any such attempt, and declared that he would rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than bring an imputation upon his own character by seeming to decline a trial.^l

^k Crawf. Mem. 323.

^l Johnst. 64. Spotsw. 311.

Elizabeth's measures in order to save him. Elizabeth did not fail to interpose, with warmth, in behalf of a man who had contributed so much to preserve her influence over Scotland. The late transactions in that kingdom had given her great uneasiness. The power which Lennox had acquired independent of her was dangerous; the treatment her ambassadors had met with differed greatly from the respect with which the Scots were in use to receive her ministers; and the attack now made on Morton, fully convinced her that there was an intention to sow the seeds of discord between the two nations, and to seduce James into a new alliance with France, or into a marriage with some Popish princess. Full of these apprehensions, she ordered a considerable body of troops to be assembled on the borders of Scotland, and dispatched Randolph as her ambassador into that kingdom. He addressed himself not only to James, and to his council, but to a convention of estates, met at that time. He began with enumerating the extraordinary benefits which Elizabeth had conferred on the Scottish nation: that without demanding a single foot of land for herself, without encroaching on the liberties of the kingdom in the smallest article, she had, at the expense of the blood of her subjects and the treasures of her crown, rescued the Scots from the dominion of France, established among them true religion, and put them in possession of their ancient rights: that from the beginning of civil dissensions in the kingdom, she had protected those who had espoused the king's cause, and by her assistance alone, the crown had been preserved on his head, and all the attempts of the adverse faction baffled: that a union, unknown to their ancestors, but equally beneficial to both kingdoms, had subsisted for a long period of years, and though so many Popish princes had combined to disturb this happy state of things; her care, and their constancy, had hitherto defeated all these efforts: that she had observed of late an unusual coldness, distrust, and estrangement in the Scottish council, which she could impute to none but to Lennox, a subject

of France, a retainer to the house of Guise, bred up in the errors of Popery, and still suspected of favouring that superstition. Not satisfied with having mounted so fast to an uncommon height of power, which he exercised with all the rashness of youth, and all the ignorance of a stranger; nor thinking it enough to have deprived the earl of Morton of the authority due to his abilities and experience, he had conspired the ruin of that nobleman, who had often exposed his life in the king's cause, who had contributed more than any other subject to place him on the throne, to resist the encroachments of Popery, and to preserve the union between the two kingdoms. If any zeal for religion remained among the nobles in Scotland, if they wished for the continuance of amity with England, if they valued the privileges of their own order, he called upon them, in the name of his mistress, to remove such a pernicious counsellor as Lennox from the presence of the young king, to rescue Morton out of the hands of his avowed enemy, and secure to him the benefit of a fair and impartial trial: and if force was necessary towards accomplishing a design so salutary to the king and kingdom, he promised them the protection of his mistress in the enterprise, and whatever assistance they should demand, either of men or money.^m

But these extraordinary remonstrances, accompanied with such an unusual appeal from the king to his subjects, were not the only means employed by Elizabeth in favour of Morton, and against Lennox. She persuaded the prince of Orange to send an agent into Scotland, and, under colour of complimenting James on account of the valour which many of his subjects had displayed in the service of the States, to enter into a long detail of the restless enterprises of the Popish princes against the Protestant religion; to beseech him to adhere inviolably to the alliance with England, the only barrier which secured his kingdom against their dangerous cabals; and, above all things, to distrust the insinuations of those who endeavoured to weaken or to dis-

^m Cald. iii. 6. Strype, ii. 621.

solve that union between the British nations, which all the Protestants in Europe beheld with so much pleasure.

"Cald. iii. 9.

Letter of Walsingham's to Randolph, Feb. 3, 1580-1.

SIR,

I have received from my Lord Lieutenant the copy of your letter of the 25th of the last, directed unto his Lordship, containing a report of your negotiation with the King and his council, in your second audience, where-with having made her Majesty acquainted, she seemed somewhat to *mishke* that you should so long *defer to deal for the enlargement of Empedocles*. But I made answer in your behalf, that I thought you were directed by the advice of the said Empedocles's friends, in the soliciting of that cause, who knew what time was fittest for you to take to deal therein, with most effect, and best success; with which answer her Majesty did in the end rest very well satisfied, touching that point.

Your putting of us in hope that D'Aubigny might easily be won at her Majesty's devotion, was at first interpreted to have been ironie spoke by you. But since it seemeth you insist upon it, I could wish you were otherwise persuaded of the man, or at least kept that opinion to yourself; for considering the end and purpose of his coming into Scotland, as may be many ways sufficiently proved, was only to advance the Queen's liberty, and reception into that government, to overthrow religion, and to procure a foreign match with Villenarius, wherein the inclosed copy, which you may use to good purpose there, shall partly give you some light; there is no man here can be persuaded that he will change his purpose for so small advantage as he is likely to find by it, and therefore you shall do well to forbear to harp any more upon that string, as I have already written to you. The Prince of Orange sending, I fear, will not be in time that it may do any good; for besides that these people are in themselves slow in their resolutions, their own affairs are at present so great, their state so confused, and the Prince's authority so small, that he cannot so soon take order in it; and yet, for mine own part, I have not been negligent or careless in the matter, having more than three weeks past sent one about it, from whom, nevertheless, I do yet hear nothing. The letters you desire should be written thither by the French ministers, I have given order to Mr. Killingrew to procure, who, I doubt not, will carefully perform it, so that, I hope, I shall have them to send you by the next. And so I commit you to God. At Whitehall, the 3d of February, 1580.

Your very loving cousin and servant,

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

This letter is an original, and in some parts of it wrote in cyphers and explained by another hand. By Empedocles is understood Morton. By Villenarius, the King of Scots. D'Aubigny is marked thus o 1 o.

3d Feb. 1580.

Sundry notes gathered upon good diligence given, and in time to be better manifested, being now thought meet to be in convenient sort used and laid against D'Aubigny, to prove him abusing the King, the nobility, and that state.

First, it hath been informed by credible means, that D'Aubigny was privy and acquainted with La Navè the King's mother's secretary, coming into Scotland, and of his errand there, tending chiefly to persuade the King to think and esteem it an evil president for Princes that subjects might have power to deprive their lawful sovereigns, as they did his mother, who was not minded, by any mean, to defeat him, either of the present government of that realm, or yet of the possession of the crown and inheritance thereof, but rather to assure the same to him; and that for the accomplishment of that assurance, the King should have been advised and drawn to have governed, for some short time, as Prince, calling D'Aubigny to rule as governor of the Prince, by commission from the Queen his mother, until the King's enemies were suppressed; after which time D'Aubigny should have power given to establish and resign that kingdom to the King, by his mother's voluntary consent, whereby all such, as had before been in action against the Queen or her authority, might be brought to stand in the King's mercy. And for that the King might live in more surety, D'Aubigny should be declared both second person in succession of that crown, and also Lieutenant General of Scotland, and that D'Aubigny before his departure out of France, received commission from the King's

James's counsellors were too intent upon the destruction of their enemy to listen to these remonstrances. The officious interference of the prince of Orange, the haughty tone of Elizabeth's message, and her avowed attempt to excite subjects to rebel against their sovereign, were considered as unexampled insults on the majesty and independence of a crowned head. A general and evasive answer was given to Randolph. James prepared to assert his own dignity with spirit. All those suspected of favouring Morton were turned out of office, some

mother to the effects remembered, or near the same. That in this behalf he had conference with the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, and with Sir James Baford, with which persons, and with the duke of Guise, he had and hath frequent intelligence; and by Sir James Baford he was advised to confer with the Lord John Hamilton before his repair into Scotland, whereunto he agreed, and yet afterwards he sent one John Hamilton to the said Lord John to excuse him in this part, alledging, that he did forbear to come to him, lest thereby he should marr or hinder greater effects to be executed by him in Scotland.

That before his coming into that realm, the nobility and country were well quieted and united in good concord, with great love betwixt the King and nobility, and amongst the noblesse; but he hath both drawn the King against sundry of the chiefest of his nobility, that have been most ready, and have expended their blood and possessions to preserve religion, and defend the King's person, his government and estate, and also have given occasions of great suspicions and offence to be engendered betwixt the King and his nobility, and especially with such as have been in action against the King's mother, and her authority, who, by force and means of the said commission and practice, should have been brought into most dangerous condition; and who also may find themselves in no small perill while he possesses the King's ear, abuseth his presence, and holdeth such of the principal keys and ports of his realm, as he presently enjoyeth.

That he hath drawn the King not only to forget the great benefits done to him and his realme, by the Queen's Majesty of England, but also to requite the same with sundry signs of great unthankfulness, and wounding therewith the honour of her Majesty, and thereby hath adventured to shake the happy amity long time continued betwixt those Princes.

And whereas these griefs were to be repaired by gentle letters and good offers, to have passed and been done betwixt them; in which respect the King and council having resolved to write to her Majesty, for her Highness better satisfaction in the late negotiation of Mr. Alexander Hume of Northberwick, had given order to the King's secretary to frame that letter: he minding to break the bond of amity in sunder, willed the secretary to be sure that nothing should be inserted in that letter whereby the King should crave any thing at her hands, seeking thereby to cut off all loving courtesies betwixt them, as by the declaration of the said secretary may be better learned, and thereupon further approved.

That under the hope and encouragement of D'Aubigny's protection, Alexander King presumed with that boldness to make his lewd harangue, and by his means hath hitherto escaped chastisement and correction due for his offence.

That Sir James Baford, condemned of the slaughter of the King's father, hath been called into the realm by Lennox, without the privity of the King. And whereas the said Sir James found in a green velvet desk, late the Earl of Bothwell's, and saw and had in his hands the principal band of the conspirators in that murder, and can best declare and witness who were authors and executors of the same; he is drawn by Lennox to suppress the truth, and to accuse such as he himself knoweth to be innocent; and as by order of law, will be so found, if they may have due trial, which, contrary to all justice, is by Lennox means denied.

This is the charge against D'Aubigny, mentioned in the foregoing letter by Walsingham; but by Baford they mean Sir James Balfour.

of them were required to surrender themselves prisoners; the men capable of bearing arms throughout the kingdom were commanded to be in readiness to take the field; and troops were levied and posted on the borders. The English ambassador, finding that neither the manifesto which he had delivered to the convention, nor his private cabals with the nobles, could excite them to arms, fled in the night time out of Scotland, where libels against him had been daily published, and even attempts made upon his life. In both kingdoms every thing wore a hostile aspect. But Elizabeth, though she wished to have intimidated the Scottish king by her preparations, had no inclination to enter into a war with him, and the troops on the borders, which had given such umbrage, were soon dispersed.°

The greater solicitude Elizabeth discovered for Morton's safety, the more eagerly did his enemies drive on their schemes for his destruction. Captain Stewart, his accuser, was first appointed *tutor* to the earl of Arran, and soon after both the title and estate of his unhappy ward, to which he advanced some frivolous claim, were conferred upon him. The new-made peer was commanded to conduct Morton from Dumbarton to Edinburgh; and by that choice the earl was not only warned what fate he might expect, but had the cruel mortification of seeing his deadly enemy already loaded with honours, in reward of the malice with which he had contributed to his ruin.

The records of the court of *justiciary* at this period are lost. The account which our historians give of Morton's trial is inaccurate and unsatisfactory. The proceedings against him seem to have been carried on with violence. During the trial, great bodies of armed men were drawn up in different parts of the city. The jury was composed of the earl's known enemies; and though he challenged several of them, his objections were overruled. After a short consultation, his peers found him guilty of concealing, and of being *art and part* in the conspiracy against the life of the late king. The first part of

He is tried
and con-
demned.

° Crawf. Mem. 328. Strype, ii. App. 138.

the verdict did not surprise him, but he twice repeated the words *art and part* with some vehemence, and added, "God knows it is not so." The doom which the law decrees against a traitor was pronounced. The king, however, remitted the cruel and ignominious part of the sentence, and appointed that he should suffer death next day, by being beheaded.^p

^{His death.} During that awful interval, Morton possessed the utmost composure of mind. He supped cheerfully; slept a part of the night in his usual manner, and he employed the rest of his time in religious conferences, and in acts of devotion with some ministers of the city. The clergymen who attended him, dealt freely with his conscience, and pressed his crimes home upon him. What he confessed with regard to the crime for which he suffered, is remarkable, and supplies, in some measure, the imperfection of our records. He acknowledged, that on his return from England, after the death of Rizio, Bothwell had informed him of the conspiracy against the king, which the queen, as he told him, knew of and approved; that he solicited him to concur in the execution of it, which at that time he absolutely declined; that soon after Bothwell himself, and Archibald Douglas, in his name, renewing their solicitations to the same purpose, he had required a warrant under the queen's hand, authorizing the attempt, and as that had never been produced, he had refused to be any farther concerned in the matter. "But," continued he, "as I neither consented to this treasonable act, nor assisted in the committing of it, so it was impossible for me to reveal, or to prevent it. To whom could I make the discovery? The queen was the author of the enterprise. Darnley was such a changeling, that no secret could be safely communicated to him. Huntly and Bothwell, who bore the chief sway in the kingdom, were themselves the perpetrators of the crime." These circumstances, it must be confessed, go some length towards extenuating Morton's guilt; and

^p Spotsw. 314. Johnst. 65. Crawford. Mem. 332. Cald. iii. 45. Arnot's Crimin. Trials, 388.

though his apology for the favour he had shewn to Archibald Douglas, whom he knew to be one of the conspirators, be far less satisfactory, no uneasy reflections seem to have disquieted his own mind on that account.¹ When his keepers told him that the guards were attending, and all things in readiness, "I praise my God," said he, "I am ready likewise." Arran commanded these guards; and even in those moments, when the most implacable hatred is apt to relent, the malice of his enemies could not forbear this insult. On the scaffold, his behaviour was calm; his countenance and voice unaltered; and, after some time spent in devotion, he suffered death with the intrepidity which became the name of Douglas. His head was placed on the public jail of Edinburgh; and his body, after lying till sun-set on the scaffold, covered with a beggarly cloak, was, carried by common porters to the usual burial-place of criminals. None of his friends durst accompany it to the grave, or discover their gratitude and respect by any symptoms of sorrow.[†]

Odious
conduct of
Arran.

Arran, no less profligate in private life, than audacious in his public conduct, soon after drew the attention of his countrymen, by his infamous marriage with the countess of March. Before he grew into favour at court, he had been often entertained in her husband's house, and, without regarding the laws of hospitality or of gratitude, carried on a criminal intrigue with the wife of his benefactor, a woman young and beautiful, but, according to the description of a contemporary historian, "intolerable in all the imperfections incident to her sex." Impatient of any restraint upon their mutual desires, they, with equal ardour, wished to avow their union publicly, and to legitimate, by a marriage, the offspring of their unlawful passion. The countess petitioned to be divorced from her husband, for a reason which no modest woman will ever plead. The judges, overawed by Arran, passed sentence without delay. This infamous

July 6.

¹ Crawf. Mem. App. iii.

[†] Crawf. Mem. 334. Spotsw. 314.

scene was concluded by a marriage, solemnized with great pomp, and beheld by all ranks of men with the utmost horror.^s

Oct. 24. A parliament was held this year, at the opening of which some disputes arose between Arran and the new-created duke of Lennox. Arran, haughty by nature, and pushed on by his wife's ambition, began to affect an equality with the duke, under whose protection he had hitherto been contented to place himself. After various attempts to form a party in the council against Lennox, he found him fixed so firmly in the king's affections, that it was impossible to shake him; and, rather than lose all interest at court, from which he was banished, he made the most humble submissions to the favourite, and again recovered his former credit. This rupture contributed, however, to render the duke still more odious to the nation. During the continuance of it, Arran affected to court the clergy, pretended an extraordinary zeal for the Protestant religion, and laboured to confirm the suspicions which were entertained of his rival, as an emissary of the house of Guise, and a favourer of Popery. As he was supposed to be acquainted with the duke's most secret designs, his calumnies were listened to with greater credit than was due to his character. To this rivalry between Lennox and Arran, during the continuance of which each endeavoured to conciliate the good-will of the clergy, we must ascribe several acts of this parliament uncommonly favourable to the church, particularly one which abolished the practice introduced by Morton, of appointing but one minister to several parishes.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

No notice hath been taken for several years of ecclesiastical affairs. While the civil government underwent so many extraordinary revolutions, the church was not free from convulsions. Two objects chiefly engrossed the attention of the clergy. The one was, the forming a system of discipline, or ecclesiastical polity. After long labour, and many difficulties, this system was

at last brought to some degree of perfection. The assembly solemnly approved of it, and appointed it to be laid before the privy-council in order to obtain the ratification of it in parliament. But Morton, during his administration, and those who, after his fall, governed the king, were equally unwilling to see it carried into execution; and by starting difficulties and throwing in objections, prevented it from receiving a legal sanction. The other point in view was, the abolition of the episcopal order. The bishops were so devoted to the king, to whom they owed their promotion, that the function itself was by some reckoned dangerous to civil liberty. Being allowed a seat in parliament, and distinguished by titles of honour, these not only occasioned many avocations from their spiritual functions, but soon rendered their character and manners extremely different from those of the clergy in that age. The nobles viewed their power with jealousy; the populace considered their lives as profane; and both wished their downfall with equal ardour. The personal emulation between Melvil and Adamson, a man of learning, and eminent for his popular eloquence, who was promoted, on the death of Douglas, to be archbishop of St. Andrew's, mingled itself with the passions on each side, and heightened them. Attacks were made in every assembly on the order of bishops; their privileges were gradually circumscribed; and at last an act was passed, declaring the office of bishop, as it was then exercised within the realm, to have neither foundation nor warrant in the word of God; and requiring, under pain of excommunication, all who now possessed that office, instantly to resign it, and to abstain from preaching or administering the sacraments, until they should receive permission from the general assembly. The court did not acquiesce in this decree. A vacancy happened soon after in the see of Glasgow. Montgomery, minister at Stirling, a man vain, fickle, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes in his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred, made an infamous simoniacal

bargain with Lennox, and on his recommendation was chosen archbishop. The presbytery of Stirling, of which he was a member, the presbytery of Glasgow, whither he was to be translated, the general assembly, vied with each other in prosecuting him on that account. In order to screen Montgomery, James made trial both of gentle and of rigorous measures, and both were equally ineffectual. The general assembly was just ready to pronounce against him the sentence of excommunication, when a herald entered, and commanded them in the king's name, and under pain of rebellion, to stop farther proceedings. Even this injunction they despised; and though Montgomery, by his tears and seeming penitence, procured a short respite, the sentence was at last issued by their appointment, and published in all the churches throughout the kingdom.

The firmness of the clergy in a collective body was not greater than the boldness of some individuals, particularly of the ministers of Edinburgh. They inveighed daily against the corruptions in the administration; and, with the freedom of speech admitted into the pulpit in that age, named Lennox and Arran as the chief authors of the grievances under which the church and kingdom groaned. The courtiers, in their turn, complained to the king of the insolent and seditious spirit of the clergy. In order to check the boldness of their discourses, James issued a proclamation, commanding Dury, one of the most popular ministers, not only to leave the town, but to abstain from preaching in any other place. Dury complained to the judicatories of this encroachment upon the immunities of his office. They approved of the doctrine which he had delivered; and he determined to disregard the royal proclamation. But the magistrates being determined to compel him to leave the city, according to the king's orders, he was obliged to abandon his charge, after protesting publicly, at the cross of Edinburgh, against the violence which was put upon him. The people accompanied him to the gates with tears and lamentations; and the clergy denounced the vengeance of heaven against the authors of this outrage.¹

¹ Cald. Assem. 1576—1582. Spotsw. 277, &c.

In this perilous situation stood the church, the authority of its judicators called in question, and the liberty of the pulpit restrained, when a sudden revolution of the civil government procured them unexpected relief.

His favourites engage the king in unpopular measures.

The two favourites, by their ascendant over the king, possessed uncontrolled power in the kingdom, and exercised it with the utmost wantonness.

James usually resided at Dalkeith, or Kinneil, the seats of Lennox and of Arran, and was attended by such company, and employed in such amusements, as did not suit his dignity. The services of those who had contributed most to place the crown on his head were but little remembered. Mary, who had opposed him with the greatest virulence, enjoyed the rewards and honours to which the others were entitled. Exalted notions of regal prerogative, utterly inconsistent with the constitution of Scotland, being instilled by his favourites into the mind of the young monarch, unfortunately made, at that early age, a deep impression there, and became the source of almost all his subsequent errors in the government of both kingdoms." Courts of justice were held in almost every county, the proprietors of land were called before them, and upon the slightest neglect of any of the numerous forms which are peculiar to the feudal holdings, they were fined with unusual and intolerable rigour. The lord chamberlain revived the obsolete jurisdiction of his office over the boroughs, and they were subjected to actions no less grievous. A design seemed likewise to have been formed to exasperate Elizabeth, and to dissolve the alliance with her, which all good Protestants esteemed the chief security of their religion in Scotland. A close correspondence was carried on between the king and his mother, and considerable progress made towards uniting their titles to the crown, by such a treaty of association as Maitland had projected; which could not fail of endangering or diminishing his authority, and must have proved fatal to those who had acted against her with the greatest vigour.

The nobles conspire All these circumstances irritated the impatient spirit of the Scottish nobles, who resolved to tolerate no

against them longer the insolence of the two minions, or to stand by; while their presumption and inexperience ruined both the king and the kingdom. Elizabeth, who, during the administration of the four regents, had the entire direction of the affairs of Scotland, felt herself deprived of all influence in that kingdom ever since the death of Morton, and was ready to countenance any attempt to rescue the king out of the hands of favourites who were leading him into measures so repugnant to all her views. The earls of Mar and Glencairn, lord Ruthven, lately created earl of Gowrie, lord Lindsay, lord Boyd, the tutor of Glamis, the eldest son of lord Oliphant, with several barons and gentlemen of distinction, entered into a combination for that purpose; and as changes in administration, which, among polished nations, are brought about slowly and silently, by artifice and intrigue, were in that rude age effected suddenly and by violence, the king's situation, and the security of the favourites, encouraged the conspirators to have immediate recourse to force.

Seize the king's person at Ruthven. James, after having resided for some time in Athol, where he enjoyed his favourite amusement of hunting, was now returning towards Edinburgh with a small train. He was invited to Ruthven castle, which lay in his way; and as he suspected no danger, he went thither in hopes of farther sport. The multitude of strangers whom he found there gave him some uneasiness; and as those who were in the secret arrived every moment from different parts, the appearance of so many new faces increased his fears. He concealed his uneasiness, however, with the utmost care; and next morning prepared for the field, expecting to find there some opportunity of making his escape. But just as he was ready to depart, the nobles entered his bed-chamber in a body, and presented a memorial against the illegal and oppressive actions of his two favourites, whom they represented as most dangerous enemies to the religion and liberties of the nation. James, though he received this remonstrance with the complaisance which was necessary in his present situ-

ation, was extremely impatient to be gone; but as he approached the door of his apartment, the tutor of Glamis rudely stopped him. The king complained, expostulated, threatened, and finding all these without effect, burst into tears: "No matter," said Glamis, fiercely, "better children weep than bearded men." These words made a deep impression on the king's mind, and were never forgotten. The conspirators, without regarding his tears or indignation, dismissed such of his followers as they suspected; allowed none but persons of their own party to have access to him; and, though they treated him with great respect, guarded his person with the utmost care. This enterprise is usually called, by our historians, *The Raid of Ruthven.*[†]

Commit
Arran to
prison. Lennox and Arran were astonished to the last degree at an event so unexpected, and so fatal to their power. The former endeavoured, but without success, to excite the inhabitants of Edinburgh to take arms in order to rescue their sovereign from captivity. The latter, with his usual impetuosity, mounted on horseback the moment he heard what had befallen the king, and with a few followers rode towards Ruthven castle; and as a considerable body of the conspirators, under the command of the earl of Mar, lay in his way ready to oppose him, he separated himself from his companions, and with two attendants arrived at the gate of the castle. At the sight of a man so odious to his country, the indignation of the conspirators rose, and instant death must have been the punishment of his rashness, if the friendship of Gowrie, or some other cause not explained by our historians, had not saved a life so pernicious to the kingdom. He was confined, however, to the castle of Stirling, without being admitted into the king's presence.

Command
Lennox to
leave the
kingdom. The king, though really the prisoner of his own subjects, with whose conduct he could not help discovering many symptoms of disgust, was obliged to publish a proclamation, signifying his approbation of their enterprise, declaring that he was at full liberty, with-

[†] Cald. iii. 134. Spotsw. 320. Melv. 357.

out any restraint or violence offered to his person; and forbidding any attempt against those concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven*, under pretence of rescuing him out of their

hands. At the same time, he commanded Lennox to leave Scotland before the 20th of September.²

Aug. 23.

The conspirators countenanced by Elizabeth.

Soon after, Sir George Carey and Robert Bowes arrived as ambassadors from Elizabeth. The pretext of their embassy was to inquire after the king's safety; to encourage and countenance the conspirators was the real motive of it. By their intercession, the earl of Angus, who, ever since the death of his uncle Morton, had lived in exile, obtained leave to return. And the accession of a nobleman so powerful and so popular strengthened the faction.³

Lennox, whose amiable and gentle qualities had procured him many friends, and who received private assurances that the king's favour towards him was in no degree abated, seemed resolved, at first, to pay no regard to a command extorted by violence, and no less disagreeable to James, than it was rigorous with regard to himself. But the power of his enemies, who were masters of the king's person, who were secretly supported by Elizabeth, and openly applauded by the clergy, deterred him from any enterprise, the success of which was dubious, and the danger certain, both to himself and to his sovereign. He put off the time of his departure, however, by various artifices, in expectation either that James might make his escape from the conspirators, or that fortune might present some more favourable opportunity of taking arms for his relief.

On the other hand, the conspirators were extremely solicitous not only to secure the approbation of their countrymen, but to obtain some legal sanction of their enterprise. For this purpose they published a long declaration, containing the motives which had induced them to venture on such an irregular step, and endeavoured to heighten the public indignation against the favourites, by representing, in the strongest

Their conduct approved by an assembly and a convention of estates.

² Cald. iii. 135. 138.

³ Ibid. iii. 152.

colours, their inexperience and insolence, their contempt of the nobles, their violation of the privileges of the church, and their oppression of the people. They obliged the king, who could not with safety refuse any of their demands, to grant them a remission in the most ample form; and not satisfied with that, they applied to the assembly of the church, and easily procured an act, "that they had done good and acceptable service to God, to their sovereign, and to their native country;" and requiring all sincere Protestants to concur with them in carrying forward such a laudable enterprise. In order to add the greater weight to this act, every minister was enjoined to read it in his own pulpit, and to inflict the censures of the church on those who set themselves in opposition to so good a cause. A convention of estates assembled a few days after, passed an act to the same effect, and granted full indemnity to the conspirators for every thing they had done.^b

James was conducted by them, first to Stirling, and afterward to the palace of Holyrood-house; and though he was received every where with the external marks of respect due to his dignity, his motions were carefully observed, and he was under a restraint no less strict than at the first moment when he was seized by the conspirators. Lennox, after eluding many commands to depart out of the kingdom, was at last obliged to begin his journey. He lingered however for some time in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, as if he had still intended to make some effort towards restoring the king to liberty. But either from the gentleness of his own disposition, averse to bloodshed and the disorders of civil war, or from some other cause unknown to us, he abandoned the design, and set out for France by the way of England. The king issued the order for his departure with no less reluctance than the duke obeyed it; and both mourned a separation, which neither of them had power to prevent. Soon after his arrival in France, the fatigue of the journey,

Lennox's
departure
from Scot-
land.

Dec. 30.

or the anguish of his mind, threw him into a fever. In his last moments he discovered such a firm adherence to the Protestant faith, as fully vindicates his memory from the imputation of an attachment to Popery, with which he had been uncharitably loaded in Scotland.^c As he was the earliest, and best beloved, he was, perhaps, the most deserving, though not the most able, of all James's favourites, The warmth and tenderness of his master's affection for him were not abated by death itself. By many acts of kindness and generosity towards his posterity, the king not only did great honour to the memory of Lennox, but set his own character in one of its most favourable points of view.

Mary's anxiety about her son.
 The success of the conspiracy, which deprived James of liberty, made great noise over all Europe, and at last reached the ears of Mary in the prison to which she was confined. As her own experience had taught her what injuries a captive prince is exposed to suffer; and as many of those who were now concerned in the enterprise against her son, were the same persons whom she considered as the chief authors of her own misfortunes, it was natural for the tenderness of a mother to apprehend that the same calamities were ready to fall on his head; and such a prospect did not fail of adding to the distress and horror of her own situation. In the anguish of her heart, she wrote to Elizabeth, complaining in the bitterest terms of the unprecedented rigour with which she herself had been treated, and beseeching her not to abandon her son to the mercy of his rebellious subjects; nor permit him to be involved in the same misfortunes under which she had so long groaned. The peculiar vigour and acrimony of style, for which this letter is remarkable, discover both the high spirit of the Scottish queen, unsubdued by her sufferings, and the violence of her indignation at Elizabeth's artifices and severity. But it was ill adapted to gain the end which she had in view, and accordingly it neither procured any

^c Spotsw. 324. Cald. iii. 172.

mitigation of the rigour of her own confinement, nor any interposition in favour of the king.^d

1583. Henry III. who, though he feared and hated the
 Ambassadors of Guise, was often obliged to court their
 arrive from favour, interposed with warmth, in order to extricate
 France and England. James out of the hands of a party so entirely devoted
 to the English interest. He commanded M. de la
 Motte Fenelon, his ambassador at the court of England, to
 repair to Edinburgh, and to contribute his utmost endeavours towards placing James in a situation more suitable to his dignity. As Elizabeth could not, with decency, refuse him liberty to execute his commission, she appointed Davison to attend him into Scotland as her envoy, under colour of concurring with him in the negotiation, but in reality to be a spy upon his motions, and to obstruct his success. James, whose title to the crown had not hitherto been recognized by any of the princes on the continent, was extremely fond of such an honourable embassy from the French monarch; and, on that account, as well as for the sake of the errand on which he came, received Fenelon
 Jan. 7. with great respect. The nobles, in whose power the king was, did not relish this interposition of the French court, which had long lost its ancient influence over the affairs of Scotland. The clergy were alarmed at the danger to which religion would be exposed, if the princes of Guise should recover any ascendant over the public councils. Though the king tried every method for restraining them within the bounds of decency, they declaimed against the court of France, against the princes of Guise, against the ambassador, against entering into any alliance with such notorious persecutors of the church of God, with a vehemence which no regular government would now tolerate, but which was then extremely common. The ambassador, watched by Davison, distrusted by the nobles, and exposed to the insults of the clergy and of the people, returned into England without procuring any change in the king's situ-

^d Camd. 489.

ation, or receiving any answer to a proposal which he made, that the government should be carried on in the joint names of James and the queen his mother.*

*Cald. iii. 207. Spotsw. 324. Murdin, 372, &c.

The copy of the King of France his directions sent to Scotland with Seigneur de la Motte Fenelon. Translated out of the French.

Calderw.
MS. His-
tory, vol.
3. p. 208.

First, on their Majestys most Christian part, he shall make the most honourable salutation and visiting to the most serene King of Scotland, their good brother and little son, that in him is possible.

To give him their letters that are closed, such and such like as they have written to him with their hands, and to show expressly the perfect friendship and singular affection that their Majestys bear to him, and to bring back the answer.

To take heed to the things which touch near the most serene King, to the effect that his person may be in no danger, but that it may be most surely preserved.

And that he be not hindered in the honest liberty that he ought to have, and that no greater or straiter guards be about him than he had before.

And such like, that he be not impeached in the authority that God hath given to him of King and Prince sovereign above his subjects, to the effect he may as freely ordain and command in his affairs, and in the affairs of his country, with his ordinary council, as he was used to do of before.

That his nobility, barons, and commonalty of his contry, may have their free liberty to resort to his serene Majesty without suspicion of greater guards, or more armed men about his person than the use was, that they be not afraid and hindered to resort; and further, that the Seigneur de la Motte Fenelon shall liberally and freely speak to the said serene King and council, requiring the re-establishing of that that may or hath been changed or altered.

And that he may know if the principalls of the nobility and other men of good behaviour of the towns, and commonalty of the contry, conveens, and are content with the form of government presently with the said serene King, to the end that if their be any discontent he may travaile to agree them together, and that he return not without the certainty of the samine.

And if he may understand that there be any who have not used them so reverently towards the said serene King their sovereign Lord, as the duty of their obedience required, that he may pray on this behalf of his Majesty most Christian, the said serene King his good brother, giving him councill wholly to forget the same, and exhorting them to do their duty towards his Majesty in time coming, in all respects with the obedience and true subjection they ought him.

And if the said Seigneur de la Motte perceives the said serene King to be in any manner constrained of his person, authority, liberty, and disposition of his affairs, than he used to be, and not convenient for his royal dignity, or as the sovereignty of a Prince doth require, that he use all moyen lawful and honest to place him in the samine, and that he employ as much as the credit of his most Christian Majesty may do toward the nobility and subjects of that contry, and as much as may his name with the name of his crown towards the Scottish nation, the which he loves and confides in as much as they were proper Frenchmen.

And that he witness to the said serene King, and his estates, of his consent, and to all the nobility and principall personages of the contry, that his most Christian Majesty will continue on his part in the most ancient alliance and confederacy which he hath had with the said serene King, his good brother, praying his nobility and contry, with his principall subjects, to persevere in the samine, in all good understanding and friendship with him; the which, on his part, he shall do, observing the samine most inviolable.

Further, his most Christian Majesty understanding that the serene King his good brother was contented with the Duke of Lenox, and his servise, the said Seigneur de la Motte had charge to pray his serene Majesty that he might remaine beside him to his contentment, believing that he should more willing entertain the points of love and confederace, betwixt their Majestys and their contrys, because he was a good subject to them both; and if he might not remain without some alteration of the tranquillity of his estate, that he might retire to his own house in the said contry, in surenes, or if he pleased to return to France that he might surely—and if it pleases his serene Majesty, to cause cease and stay the impeachments that are made of new upon the

James es-
capes out
of the
hands of
the con-
spirators.

Meanwhile James, though he dissembled with great art, became every day more uneasy under his confinement; his uneasiness rendered him continually attentive to find out a proper opportunity for making his escape; and to this attention he at last owed his liberty, which the king of France was not able, nor the queen of England willing, to procure for him. As the conspirators had forced Lennox out of the kingdom, and kept Arran at a distance from court, they grew secure; and imagining that time had reconciled the king to them, and to his situation, they watched him with little care. Some occasions of discord had arisen among themselves; and the French ambassador, by fomenting these during the time of his residence in Scotland, had weakened the union, in which alone their safety consisted.^f Colonel William Stewart, the commander of the band of gentlemen who guarded the king's person, being gained by James, had

June 27. the principal merit in the scheme for restoring his master to liberty. Under pretence of paying a visit to the earl of March, his grand-uncle, James was permitted to go from Falkland to St. Andrew's. That he might not create any suspicion, he lodged at first in an open defenceless house in the town, but pretending a curiosity to see the castle, no sooner was he entered with some of his attendants whom he could trust, than Colonel Stewart commanded the gates to be shut, and excluded all the rest of his train. Next morning the earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, Rothes, with others to whom the secret had been communicated, entered the town with their followers; and though Mar, with several of the leaders of the faction, appeared in arms, they found themselves so far outnumbered, that it was in vain to think of recovering possession of the king's person, which had been in their

frontiers, to the effect that the natural Frenchmen may enter as freely into the contry as they were wont to do of before.

And that there may be no purpose of diffamation, nor no speech but honourable of the most Christian King, in that contry, but such like as is spoken most honourably of the serene King of Scotland in France.

He had another head to propose, which he concealed till a little before his departure, to wit, that the Queen, the King's mother, was content to receive her son in association of the kingdom.

^f Camd. 482.

power somewhat longer than ten months. James was naturally of so soft and ductile a temper, that those who were near his person commonly made a deep impression on his heart, which was formed to be under the sway of favourites. As he remained implacable and unreconciled to the conspirators during so long a time, and at a period of life when resentments are rather violent than lasting, they must either have improved the opportunities of insinuating themselves into favour with little dexterity, or the indignation, with which this first insult to his person and authority filled him, must have been very great.

Resolves, however, to treat them with moderation. His joy at his escape was youthful and excessive. He resolved, however, by the advice of Sir James Melvil, and his wisest counsellors, to act with the utmost moderation. Having called into his presence the leaders of both factions, the neighbouring gentry, the deputies of the adjacent boroughs, the ministers, and the heads of colleges, he declared, that although he had been held under restraint for some time by violence, he would not impute that as a crime to any man, but, without remembering the irregularities which had been so frequent during his minority, would pass a general act of oblivion, and govern all his subjects with undistinguishing and equal affection. As an evidence of his sincerity, he visited the earl of Gowrie, at Ruthven castle, and granted him a full pardon of any guilt he had contracted, by the crime committed in that very place.^g

But Arran re-gains his ascendant over him; But James did not adhere long to this prudent and moderate plan. His former favourite, the earl of Arran, had been permitted for some time to reside at Kinneil, one of his country seats. As soon as the king felt himself at liberty, his love for him began to revive, and he expressed a strong desire to see him. The courtiers violently opposed the return of a minion, whose insolent and overbearing temper they dreaded, as much as the nation detested his crimes. James, however, continued his importunity, and promising that he should continue with him

^g Melv. 272.

no longer than one day, they were obliged to yield. This interview rekindled ancient affection; the king forgot his promise; Arran regained his ascendant over him; and within a few days, resumed the exercise of power, with all the arrogance of an undeserving favourite, and all the rashness peculiar to himself.^b

and the king pur-
sues ano-
ther plan. The first effect of his influence was a proclamation with regard to those concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven*. They were required to acknowledge their crime in the humblest manner; and the king promised to grant them a full pardon, provided their future conduct were such as did not oblige him to remember past miscarriages. The tenor of this proclamation was extremely different from an act of oblivion which the conspirators had been encouraged to expect. Nor did any of them reckon it safe to rely on a promise clogged with such an equivocal condition, and granted by a young prince under the dominion of a minister void of faith, regardless of decency, and transported by the desire of revenge even beyond the usual ferocity of his temper. Many of the leaders, who had at first appeared openly at court, retired to their own houses; and, foreseeing the dangerous storm which was gathering, began to look out for a retreat in foreign countries.ⁱ

Elizabeth's
solicita-
tions in
behalf of
the conspi-
rators. Elizabeth, who had all along protected the conspirators, was extremely disgusted with measures which tended so visibly to their destruction, and wrote to the king a harsh and haughty letter, reproaching him, in a style very uncommon among princes, with breach of faith in recalling Arran to court, and with imprudence in proceeding so rigorously against his best and most faithful subjects. James, with a becoming dignity, replied, that promises extorted by violence, and conditions yielded out of fear, were no longer binding, when these were removed; that it belonged to him alone to choose what ministers he would employ in his service; and that though he resolved to treat the conspirators at Ruthven

August 7.

^b Melv. 274.

ⁱ Ibid. 278. Spotsw. 326. Cald. iii. 330.

with the utmost clemency, it was necessary, for the support of his authority, that such an insult on his person should not pass altogether uncensured.^k

Sept. 1. Elizabeth's letter was quickly followed by Walsingham her secretary, whom she appointed her ambassador to James, and who appeared at the Scottish court with a splendour and magnificence well calculated to please and dazzle a young prince. Walsingham was admitted to several conferences with James himself, in which he insisted on the same topics contained in the letter, and the king repeated his former answers.

After suffering several indignities from the arrogance of Arran and his creatures, he returned to England, without concluding any new treaty with the king. Walsingham was, next to Burleigh, the minister on whom the chief weight of the English administration rested; and when a person of his rank step so far out of the ordinary road of business, as to undertake a long journey in his old age, and under a declining state of health, some affair of consequence was supposed to be the cause, or some important event was expected to be the effect of this measure. But as nothing conspicuous either occasioned or followed this embassy, it is probable that Elizabeth had no other intention in employing this sagacious minister, than to discover, with exactness, the capacity and disposition of the Scottish king, who was now arrived at a time of life when, with some degree of certainty, conjectures might be formed concerning his character and future conduct. As James possessed talents of that kind, which make a better figure in conversation than in action, he gained a great deal by this interview with the English secretary, who, notwithstanding the cold reception which he met with, gave such an advantageous representation of his abilities, as determined Elizabeth to treat him, henceforward, with greater decency and respect.^l

Elizabeth's eagerness to protect the conspirators rendered James more violent in his proceedings against them. As

^k Melv. 279.

^l Ibid. 293. Cald. iii. 258. Jeb. ii. 536.

they had all refused to accept of pardon upon the terms which he had offered, they were required, by a new proclamation, to surrender themselves prisoners. The earl of Angus alone complied; the rest either fled into England, or obtained the king's licence to retire into foreign parts. A convention of estates was held, the members of which, Dec. 17. deceived by an unworthy artifice of Arran's, declared those concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven* to have been guilty of high treason; appointed the act passed last year approving of their conduct to be expunged out of the records; and engaged to support the king in prosecuting the fugitives with the utmost rigour of law.

The conspirators, though far from having done anything that was uncommon in that age, among mutinous nobles, and under an unsettled state of government, must be acknowledged to have been guilty of an act of treason against their sovereign; and James, who considered their conduct in this light, had good reason to boast of his clemency, when he offered to pardon them upon their confessing their crime. But on the other hand, it must be allowed that, after the king's voluntary promise of a general oblivion, they had some reason to complain of breach of faith, and without the most unpardonable imprudence, could not have put their lives in Arran's power.

1584. The interest of the church was considerably effected by these contrary revolutions. While the conspirators kept possession of power, the clergy not only recovered, but extended their privileges. As they had formerly declared the hierarchy to be unlawful, they took some bold measures towards exterminating the episcopal order out of the church; and it was owing more to Adamson's dexterity in perplexing and lengthening out the process for that purpose, than to their own want of zeal, that they did not deprive, and perhaps excommunicate, all the bishops in Scotland. When the king recovered his liberty, things put on a very different aspect. The favour bestowed upon Arran, the enemy of every thing decent and sacred, and the rigorous prosecution of those nobles who

The clergy favour the conspirators, and irritate the king.

had been the most zealous defenders of the Protestant cause, were considered as sure presages of the approaching ruin of the church. The clergy could not conceal their apprehensions, nor view this impending danger in silence. Dury, who had been restored to his office as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, openly applauded the *Raid of Ruthven* in the pulpit, at which the king was so enraged, that, notwithstanding some symptoms of his submission, he commanded him to resign his charge in the city. Mr. Andrew Melvil, being summoned before the privy council, to answer for the doctrine which he had uttered in a sermon at St. Andrew's, and accused of comparing the present grievances of the nation with those under James III., and of intimating obliquely that they ought to be redressed in the same manner, thought it incumbent on him to behave with great firmness. He declined the jurisdiction of a civil court in a cause which he maintained to be purely ecclesiastical; the presbytery, of which he was a member, had, as he contended, the sole right to call him to account, for words spoken in the pulpit; and neither the king nor council could judge, in the first instance, of the doctrine delivered by preachers, without violating the immunities of the church. This exemption from civil jurisdiction was a privilege which the Popish ecclesiastics, admirable judges of whatever contributed to increase the lustre or power of their body, had long struggled for, and had at last obtained. If the same plea had now been admitted, the Protestant clergy would have become independent of the civil magistrate; and an order of men extremely useful to society, while they inculcate those duties which tend to promote its happiness and tranquillity, might have become no less pernicious, by teaching, without fear or control, the most dangerous principles, or by exciting their hearers to the most desperate and lawless actions. The king, jealous to excess of his prerogative, was alarmed at this daring encroachment on it; and as Melvil, by his learning and zeal, had acquired the reputation and authority of head of the party, he resolved to punish him with the rigour which that pre-emi-

nence rendered necessary, and to discourage, by a timely severity, the revival of such a dangerous claim. Melvil, however, avoided this rage, by flying into England; and the pulpits resounded with complaints that the king had extinguished the light of learning in the kingdom, and deprived the church of the ablest and most faithful guardian of its liberties and discipline.^m

These violent declamations of the clergy against the measures of the court were extremely acceptable to the people. The conspirators, though driven out of the kingdom, still possessed great influence there: and as they had every thing to fear from the resentment of a young prince, irritated by the furious counsels of Arran, they never ceased soliciting their adherents to take arms in their defence. Gowrie, the only person among them who had submitted to the king, and accepted of a pardon, soon repented of a step which lost him the esteem of one party, without gaining the confidence of the other; and, after suffering many mortifications from the king's neglect and the haughtiness of Arran, he was at last commanded to leave Scotland, and to reside in France. While he waited at Dundee for an opportunity to embark, he was informed that the earls of Angus, Mar, and the tutor of Glamis, had concerted a scheme for surprising the castle of Stirling. In his situation, little persuasion was necessary to draw him to engage in it. Under various pretexts he put off his voyage, and lay ready to take arms on the day fixed by the conspirators for the execution of their enterprise. His lingering so long at Dundee, without any apparent reason, awakened the suspicion of the court, proved fatal to himself, and disappointed the success of the conspiracy. Colonel William Stewart surrounded the house where he lodged with a body of soldiers, and in spite of his resistance, took him prisoner. Two days after, Angus, Mar, and Glamis seized the castle of Stirling, and erecting their standard there, published a manifesto, declaring that they took arms for no other reason but to remove from the king's presence a minion who had acquired power by the

^m Spotsw. 330. Cald. iii. 304.

most unworthy actions, and who exercised it with the most intolerable insolence. The account of Gowrie's imprisonment struck a damp upon their spirits. They imputed it to treachery on his part, and suspected, that as he had formerly deserted, he had now betrayed them. At the same time Elizabeth having neglected to supply them in good time with a sum of money, which she had promised to them, and their friends and vassals coming in slowly, they appeared irresolute and disheartened; and as the king, who acted with great vigour, advanced towards them at the head of twenty thousand men, they fled precipitately towards England, and with difficulty made their escape.ⁿ This rash and feeble attempt produced such effects as usually follow disappointed conspiracies. It not only hurt the cause for which it was undertaken, but added strength and reputation to the king; confirmed Arran's power; and enabled them to pursue their measures with more boldness and greater success. Gowrie was the first victim of their resentment. After a very informal trial, a jury of peers found him guilty of treason, and he was publicly beheaded at Stirling.

May 22.
A parliament held.

To humble the church was the king's next step. But as it became necessary, for this purpose, to call in the aid of the legislative authority, a parliament was hastily summoned: and while so many of the nobles were banished out of the kingdom, or forbidden to appear in the king's presence; while Arran's haughtiness kept some at a distance, and intimidated others; the meeting consisted only of such as were absolutely at the devotion of the court. In order to conceal the laws which were framing from the knowledge of the clergy, the lords of the articles were sworn to secrecy; and when some of the ministers, who either suspected or were informed of the danger, deputed one of their number to declare their apprehensions to the king, he was seized at the palace-gate, and carried to a distant prison. Others, attempting to enter the parliament-house, were re-

ⁿ Home's Hist. of House of Dougl. 376. Spotsw. 330. Cald. iii. 324, &c.

fused admittance;° and such laws were passed, as totally overturned the constitution and discipline of the church. The refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy-council; the pretending an exemption from the authority of the civil courts; the attempting to diminish the rights and privileges of any of the three estates in parliament, were declared to be high treason. The holding assemblies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, without the king's permission or appointment; the uttering, either privately or publicly, in sermons or in declamations, any false and scandalous reports against the king, his ancestors, or ministers, were pronounced capital crimes.ᵑ

When these laws were published at the cross of Edinburgh, according to the ancient custom, Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, and one of the lords of session, solemnly protested against them, in the name of his brethren, because they had been passed without the knowledge or consent of the church. Ever since the Reformation, the pulpits and ecclesiastical judicatories had both been esteemed sacred. In the former, the clergy had been accustomed to censure and admonish with unbounded liberty. In the latter, they exercised an uncontrolled and independent jurisdiction. The blow was now aimed at both these privileges. These new statutes were calculated to render churchmen as inconsiderable as they were indigent; and as the avarice of the nobles had stripped them of the wealth, the king's ambition was about to deprive them of the power, which once belonged to their order. No wonder the alarm was universal, and the complaints loud. All the ministers of Edinburgh forsook their charge, and fled into England. The most eminent clergymen throughout the kingdom imitated their example. Desolation and astonishment appeared in every part of the Scottish church; the people bewailed the loss of pastors whom they esteemed; and, full of consternation at an event so unexpected, openly expressed their rage against Arran, and began to suspect the king himself to be an enemy to the reformed religion.ᶚ

° Cald. iii. 365.

ᵑ Parl. 8. Jac. VI.

ᶚ Spotw. 333

BOOK VII.

1584. **TH**ILE Scotland was torn by intestine factions, Elizabeth was alarmed with the rumour of a project in agitation for setting Mary at liberty. Francis Throk Morton's conspiracy against Elizabeth. Throk Morton, a Cheshire gentleman, was suspected of being deeply concerned in the design, and on that suspicion he was taken into custody. Among his papers were found two lists; one, of the principal harbours in the kingdom, with an account of their situation, and of the depth of water in each; the other, of all the eminent Roman Catholics in England. This circumstance confirmed the suspicion against him, and some dark and desperate conspiracy was supposed just ready to break out. At first he boldly avowed his innocence, and declared that the two papers were forged by the queen's ministers, in order to intimidate or ensnare him; and he even endured the rack with the utmost fortitude. But being brought a second time to the place of torture, his resolution failed him, and he not only acknowledged that he had held a secret correspondence with the queen of Scots, but discovered a design that was formed to invade England. The duke of Guise, he said, undertook to furnish troops, and to conduct the enterprise. The pope and king of Spain were to supply the money necessary for carrying it on; all the English exiles were ready to take arms; many of the Catholics at home would be ready to join them at their landing; Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who was the life of the conspiracy, spared no pains in fomenting the spirit of disaffection among the English, or in hastening the preparations on the continent; and by his command, he made the two lists, the copies whereof had been found in his possession. This confession he retracted at his trial; returned to it again after sentence was passed upon him; and retracted it once more at the place of execution.^a

To us in the present age who are assisted in forming our

^a Hollingshed, 1370.

opinion of this matter by the light which time and history have thrown upon the designs and characters of the princes of Guise, many circumstances of Throkmorton's confession appear to be extremely remote from truth, or even from probability. The duke of Guise was, at that juncture, far from being in a situation to undertake foreign conquests. Without either power or office at court; hated by the king, and persecuted by the favourites; he had no leisure for any thoughts of disturbing the quiet of neighbouring states; his vast and ambitious mind was wholly occupied in laying the foundation of that famous league which shook the throne of France. But at the time when Elizabeth detected this conspiracy, the close union between the house of Guise and Philip was remarkable to all Europe; and as their great enterprise against Henry III. was not yet disclosed, as they endeavoured to conceal that under their threatenings to invade England, Throkmorton's discovery appeared to be extremely probable; and Elizabeth, who knew how ardently all the parties mentioned by him wished her downfall, thought that she could not guard her kingdom with too much care. The indiscreet zeal of the English exiles increased her fears. Not satisfied with incessant outcries against her severity towards the Scottish queen, and her cruel persecution of her Catholic subjects, not thinking it enough that one pope had threatened her with the sentence of excommunication, and another had actually pronounced it, they now began to disperse books and writings, in which they endeavoured to persuade their disciples, that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life; they openly exhorted the maids of honour to treat her as Judith did Holofernes, and, by such an illustrious deed, to render their own names honourable and sacred in the church throughout all future ages.^b For all these reasons, Elizabeth not only inflicted the punishment of a traitor on Throkmorton, but commanded the Spanish ambassador instantly to leave England; and that she might be in no danger of being attacked within the island,

Designs of
Mary's ad-
herents
against
Elizabeth.

much care. The indiscreet zeal of the English exiles increased her fears. Not satisfied with incessant outcries against her severity towards the Scottish queen, and her cruel persecution of her Catholic

^b Camb. 497.

she determined to use her utmost efforts, in order to recover that influence over the Scottish councils which she had for some time entirely lost.

She endeavours to re-establish her influence in Scotland by gaining Arran.

There were three different methods by which Elizabeth might hope to accomplish this; either by furnishing such effectual aid to the banished nobles, as would enable them to resume the chief direction of affairs; or by entering into such a treaty with Mary, as might intimidate her son, who being now accustomed to govern, would not be averse from agreeing to any terms rather than resign the sceptre, or admit an associate in the throne; or by gaining the earl of Arran, to secure the direction of the king his master. The last was not only the easiest and speediest, but most likely to be successful. This Elizabeth resolved to pursue; but without laying the other two altogether aside. With this view she sent Davison, one of her principal secretaries, a man of abilities and address, into Scotland. A minister so venal as Arran, hated by his own countrymen, and holding his power by the most precarious of all tenures, the favour of a young prince, accepted Elizabeth's offers without hesitation, and deemed the acquisition of her protection to be the most solid foundation of his own greatness. Soon after he

Aug. 13.

consented to an interview with lord Hunsdon, the governor of Berwick, and being honoured with the pompous title of lieutenant-general for the king, he appeared at the place appointed with a splendid train. In Hunsdon's presence he renewed his promises of an inviolable and faithful attachment to the English interest, and assured him that James should enter into no negotiation which might tend to interrupt the peace between the two kingdoms; and as Elizabeth began to entertain the same fears and jealousies concerning the king's marriage, which had formerly disquieted her with regard to his mother's, he undertook to prevent James from listening to any overture of that kind, until he had previously obtained the queen of England's consent.^c

^c Cald. iii. 491. Melv. 315.

Severe proceedings against the banished lords ;

The banished lords and their adherents soon felt the effects of Arran's friendship with England. As Elizabeth had permitted them to take refuge in her dominions, and several of her ministers were

Lord Hunsdane to Sir Francis Walsingham, the 14th of August, 1584, from Berwick.

SIR,

Calderw.
MS. His-
tory, vol. 3.
p. 374.

According to my former letters, touching my meeting with the Earle of Arran upon Wednesday last, there came hither to me from the Earle, the Justice-clerk, and Sir William Stuart, Captain of Dumbarton, both of the Kinge's privie council, to treat with me about the order of our meeting, referring wholly to me to appoint the hour, and the number we should meet withal ; so as we concluded the place to be Foulden, the hour to be ten o'clock, and the number with ourselves to be thirteen of a side ; and the rest of our troops to stand each of them a mile from the town ; the one on the one side, the other on the other side, so as our troops were two miles asunder ; I was not many horsemen, but I supplied it with footmen, where I had one hundred shot on horse, but they were very near five hundred horse well appointed : According to which appointment, we met yesterday, and after some congratulations, the Earle fell in the like protestations of his good will and readiness to serve the Queen's Majesty, before any Prince in the world, next his sovereign, as he had done heretofore by his letters, and rather more ; with such earnest vows, as, unless he be worse than a devil, her Majesty may dispose of him at her pleasure. This being ended, I entered with him touching the cause I had to deal with him, and so near as I could, left nothing unrehearsed that I had to charge the King or him with any unkind dealing toward her Majesty, according to my instructions, which, without any delay, he answered presently, as ye shall perceive by the said answers sent herewith ; but I replying unto him, he amplified them with many more circumstances, but to this effect. Then I dealt with him touching the point of her Majesty's satisfaction, for the uttering of such practices as has been lately set on foot for the disquieting of her Majesty and her estate, who thereof made sundry discourses, what marriages have been offered to his Majestie by sundrie Princes, and by what means the Earle has sought to divert them, and for what causes ; the one, for that be marriage with Spain or France, he must also alter his religion, which as he is sure the King will never doe, so will he never suffer him to hearken unto it, so long as he hath any credit with him. He denys not but the King has been dealt withal be practices to deal against her Majesty, which has so far denied and refused to enter into, as they have left dealing therein ; but whatsoever the King or he knoweth therein, there shall be nothing hidden from her Majesty, as her Majesty shall know very shortly : surely it seems by his speeches, that if the King would have yielded thereunto there had been no small company of French in Scotland ere now to disquiet her Majesty.— This being ended, I dealt with him earnestly for the stay of this Parliament which now approacheth ; or at the least that there may be nothing done therein, to the prejudice of these noblemen and others now in England, for the forfaiting of their livings and goods : hereupon he made a long discourse to me, first of the Earle of Angus dealing about the Earle of Morton, then of his going out notwithstanding of sundrie gracious offers the King had made him ; then of the road of Ruthven, how that presently after they had the King's Majesty in their hands, they imprisoned himself, dealt with the King for putting of the Duke out of the realme ; the King refused so to do ; they told him plainly that if he would not, he should have the Earle of Arran's head in a dish ; the King asked what offence the Earle had made ? and they answered it must be so and should be so ; hereupon for the safeguard of Arran's life, the King was content to send away the Duke, and yet Arran afterwards sundrie times in danger of his life ; I alledged unto him the King's letter to the Queen's Majesty, and his acts in council, that they had done nothing for his servise, and with his good liking and contentment, who answered me, he durst do no otherwise, nor could do any thing but that which pleased them, with such a number of other their dealings with the King whilest he was in their hands as are too long to be written, and too bad if they were true. I said the King might have let the Queen's Majesty's ambassador have known his mind secretly, and her Majesty would have relieved him ; he answered, that the King was not ignorant that the apprehensions in that matter proceeded from Mr. Bow's practice, and thereby durst not impart so much to him, and yet the King was content, and did give remission to as many as would acknowledge their faults, and ask remission,

of opinion that she ought to employ her arms in defence of their cause, the fear of this was the only thing which restrained James and his favourite from proceeding to such extremities against them, as might have excited the pity or

and such as would not, he thought fit to banish, to try their further loyalty, in which time they conspired the King's second apprehension, and the killing of the Earle and others, and seduced the ministers to their faction; and yet not satisfied with these conspiracies and treasonable dealings (as he terms them), are entered into a third, being in England under her Majesty's protection, to dishonour her Majesty as far as in them lieth, or at least to cause the King conceive some unkindness in her Majesty, for harbouring of them; I wrote to yow what the conspiracy was, the taking of the King, the killing of the Earle of Arran, and some others, the taking of the castle of Edin^r, and bringing home the Earles to take the charge of the King; all which (says he) is by Drummond confessed, and by the Provost of Glencudden not greatly denied, and the Constable of the Castle thereupon fled. The Earl brought Drummond with him as far as Langton, where he lay, to have confessed the conspiracy before me, but having at his lighting received a blow on his leg with a horse, so as he could bring him no further, I replied that I thought verily they would not work any such practices in respect of the Queen's Majesty, abiding within her realme, and if there be any such practices, they have proceeded from others, and they not privie unto them: and that if it be not apparently proved against them, that it will be thought to be some practice to aggravate the fault, and to make them the more odious to the King. He answered me, that it should be proved so sufficiently, that they should not be able with truth to deny it, for their own hands is to be showed to part of it, and therefore concluded, that if her Majesty should so press the King for them at this time, that would rather hinder this matter of the amity nor further it, and that since they seek chiefly his life, he could not, in any reason, seek to do them any good; and besides he assured me, that if he would, he dare not, this last matter being fallen out as it is; and surely if this matter had not fallen out, I would not have doubted the restoring of the Earl of Mar very shortly, if her Majesty would have employed me therein; but for the Earl of Angus, I perceive the King is persuaded that both he, and the rest of the Douglasses, have conceived so mortal an hatred against him and the Earl of Arran, about the death of the Earl of Morton, as if they were at home to-morrow next, they would not leave to practise and conspire the death of them both, and therefore a hard matter to do any thing for him: finally, he concluded and required me to assure her Majesty from the King, that there shall nothing be hid from her, nor any thing left undone that may satisfie her Majesty with reason, and that the King shall never do any thing, nor consent to have any thing done in her prejudice, so long as he had any credit with him, or authority under him. Having thus far proceeded, he desired to shew me his commission, which is under the great seal, to himself only, which is as large as may be, and yet sundrie of the privie council there with him, but not one in commission, nor present, nor near us all this time, having spent almost five hours in these matters; he presented to me the Master of Gray, who delivered to me a letter from the King in his commendation, whom I perceive the King means to send to her Majesty, and therefore requires a safe-conduct for his passage, which I pray yow procure, and to send it so soon as you may. I let him understand of the Lord Seaton's negotiation with the French King. He swore to me, that Seaton was but a knave, and that it was partly against his will that he should be sent thither. But his commission and instruction being of no great importance, he yielded the sooner; and if Seaton has gone beyond his instructions, which Arran drew himself, he will make Seaton smart for it. Touching William Newgate and Mark Golgan, he protested he never heard of any such; he says there was a little poor soul, with a black beard, come thither a-begging, who said he was an enemy to Desmond, to which he gave a croun, but never heard of him since; and for any Scotsman going into Ireland, he says there is no such matter; if there be, there may be some few raskals that he knows not of: and touching the coming of any Jesuits into Scotland, he says it is but the slanderous devise of the King's enemys, and such as would have the world believe the King were ready to revolt in religion, who the world shall well see will continue as constaut therein as what Prince soever professed it most; and the Earle himself does protest to me, that to his knowledge he never saw a Jesuit in his life, and did assure me if there was any in Scotland, they should not do so much harm in Scotland, as their ministers would do, if they preach such doctrine as they did in Scotland; and touching one Ballanden, of whom I wrote

indignation of the English, and have prompted them to exert themselves with vigour in their behalf. But Aug. 22; every apprehension of this kind being now removed, they ventured to call a parliament, in which an act was passed, attainting Angus, Mar, Glamis, and a great number of their followers. Their estates devolved to the crown, and according to the practice of the Scottish monarchs, who were obliged to reward the faction which adhered to them, by dividing with it the spoils of the vanquished, James dealt out the greater part of these to Arran and his associates.^d

to yow, I heard from Mr. Colvil, the Earle avows constantly that he knows not, nor hath not heard of any such man, but he would inquire at the justice-clerk, and would inform me what he could learn of that. Thus I have made you as short a discourse as I can of so many matters, so long discoursed upon, but these are the principal points of all our talk, so near as I can remember it, and for this time I commit you to the Almighty. At Berwick, the 14th of August, 1584.

The King is very desirous to have my son Robert Carrie to come to him. I pray yow know her Majesty's pleasure.

Arran's Answer to the Grieffs or Articles proponed to the Lord Hunsdane, set down in another form.

As to the strait and severe persecution of all such as have been noted to have been well affected to the Queen's Majesty, it cannot appear they were either for that cause punished, or hardly dealt with, since his Majesty of late has been so careful and diligent to choice out good instruments to deal betwixt her Majesty and him, as his Majesty has done in electing of your Lordship and me; besides that, in all their accusations, their good will and affection born to her Majesty was, at no time, laid to their charge, but capital actions of treason many way tried now be the whole three estates, and more than manifest to the world.

As for his Majesty inhibiting, by public proclamation, such as were banished, not to repair in England; the bruits and whisperings that came to his Majesty's ears of their conspiracies and treasons, which since syn they accomplished, so far as in them lay, moved his Majesty to inhibit them to repair to any place, so near his Majesty's realm, lest they should have attempted these things, which shortly they did attempt, being farther off, and more distant both by sea and land.

As for reception of Jesuits, and others, her Majesty's fugitives, and not delivering them according to his promise, as your Lordship propones, his Majesty would be most glad, that so it might fall out by your Lordship's traviles, that no fugitive of either realme should be received of either, and when so shall be, it shall not fail on his Majesty's part, albeit in very deed this time bygone his Majesty has been constrained to receipt her Majesty's mean rebells and fugitives, contrar his good naturall, since her Majesty hath receipt, in effect, the whole and greatest rebells and traitors his Majesty in his own blood ever had. As for the agreement with which his Majesty's mother ament their association, his Majesty has commanded me, in presence of your Lordship's servant, to assure her Majesty and your Lordship, in his Majesty's name, that it is altogether false, and an untruth, nor any such like matter done yet.

His Majesty has also commanded me to assure your Lordship, that it is also false and untrue, that his Majesty has, by any means direct or indirect, sent any message to the Pope, or received any from him; or that his Majesty has dealt with Spain or any foreigners to harm her Majesty or her realm, which his Majesty could have no honour to do, this good intelligence taking place, as I hope in God it shall.

As concerning the contemptuous usage of her Majesty's ministers sent unto his Majesty, his Majesty used none of them so, and if his Majesty had, sufficient cause was given by them, as some of their own writs do yet testify, as I more particularly showed your Lordship at Foulden at our late meeting.

^d Cald. iii. 527.

Nor was the treatment of the clergy less rigorous. All against the ministers, readers, and professors in colleges, were clergy. enjoined to subscribe, within forty days, a paper testifying their approbation of the laws concerning the church enacted in last parliament. Many, overawed or corrupted by the court, yielded obedience; others stood out. The stipends of the latter were sequestered, some of the more active committed to prison, and numbers compelled to fly the kingdom. Such as complied, fell under the suspicion of acting from mercenary or ambitious motives. Such as adhered to their principles, and suffered in consequence of it, acquired a high reputation, by giving this convincing evidence of their firmness and sincerity. The judicatories of the church were almost entirely suppressed. In some places scarce as many ministers remained, as to perform the duties of religious worship; they soon sunk in reputation among the people, and being prohibited not only from discoursing of public affairs, but obliged, by the jealousy of the administration, to frame every sentiment and expression in such a manner as to give the court no offence, their sermons were deemed languid, insipid, and contemptible; and it became the general opinion, that together with the most virtuous of the nobles and the most faithful of the clergy, the power and vigour of religion were now banished out of the kingdom.^e

Meanwhile, Elizabeth was carrying on one of those fruitless negotiations with the queen of Scots, which it had become almost matter of form to renew every year. They served not only to amuse that unhappy princess with some prospect of liberty; but furnished an apology for eluding the solicitations of foreign powers on her behalf; and were of use to overawe James, by shewing him that she could at any time set free a dangerous rival to dispute his authority. These treaties she suffered to proceed to what length she pleased, and never wanted a pretence for breaking them off, when they became no longer necessary. The treaty now on foot was not, perhaps, more sincere than

^e Cald. iii. 589.

many which preceded it; the reasons, however, which rendered it ineffectual were far from being frivolous.

New con-
spiracy
against
Elizabeth. As Crichton, a Jesuit, was sailing from Flanders towards Scotland, the ship on board of which he was a passenger happened to be chased by pirates, who, in that age, often infested the narrow seas. Crichton, in great confusion, tore in pieces some papers in his custody, and threw them away; but, by a very extraordinary accident, the wind blew them back into the ship, and they were immediately taken up by some of the passengers, who carried them to Wade, the clerk of the privy-council. He, with great industry and patience, joined them together, and they were found to contain the account of a plot, said to have been formed by the king of Spain and the duke of Guise, for invading England. The people were not yet recovered from the fear and anxiety occasioned by the conspiracy in which Throkmorton had been engaged, and as his discoveries appeared now to be confirmed by additional evidence, not only all their former apprehensions recurred, but the consternation became general and excessive. As all the dangers with which England had been threatened for some years, flowed either immediately from Mary herself, or from such as made use of her name to justify their insurrections and conspiracies, this gradually diminished the compassion due to her situation, and the English, instead of pitying, began to fear and to hate her. Elizabeth, under whose wise and pacific reign the English enjoyed tranquillity, and had opened sources of wealth unknown to their ancestors, was extremely beloved by all her people; and regard to her safety, not less than to their own interest, animated them against the Scottish queen. In order to discourage her adherents, it was thought necessary to convince them, by some public deed, of the attachment of the English to their own sovereign, and that any attempt against her life would prove fatal to her rival. With this view an *association* was framed, the subscribers of which bound themselves by the most solemn oaths, “to defend the queen against all

Occasions
an associa-
tion in op-
position to
Mary;

Oct. 19.

her enemies, foreign and domestic ; and if violence should be offered to her life, in order to favour the title of any pretender to the crown, they not only engaged never to allow or acknowledge the person or persons by whom, or for whom, such a detestable act should be committed, but vowed, in the presence of the eternal God, to prosecute such person or persons to the death, and to pursue them, with their utmost vengeance, to their utter overthrow and extirpation.”^f Persons of all ranks subscribed this combination with the greatest eagerness and unanimity.^g

which
greatly
alarms
her.

Mary considered this association, not only as an avowed design to exclude her from all right of succession, but as the certain and immediate forerunner of her destruction. In order to avert this, she made such feeble efforts as were still in her power, and sent Naué, her secretary, to court, with offers of more entire resignation to the will of Elizabeth, in every point, which had been the occasion of their long enmity, than all her sufferings hitherto had been able to extort.^h But whether Mary adhered inflexibly to her privileges as an independent sovereign, or, yielding to the necessity of her situation, endeavoured, by concessions, to sooth her rival, she was equally unsuccessful. Her firmness was imputed to obstinacy, or to the secret hope of foreign assistance ; her concessions were either believed to be insincere, or to flow from the fear of some imminent danger. Her present willingness, however, to comply with any terms was so great, that Walsingham warmly urged his mistress to come to a final agreement with her.ⁱ But Elizabeth was persuaded, that it was

^f State Trials, i. 122.

^g Camd. 499.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ *The Scottish Queen's offers upon the effect of her liberty, propounded by her Secretary Naw, November, 1584.*

Cott. Lib. The Queen my mistress being once well assured of your Majesty's amity,
Calig.C.8. 1. Will declare openly that she will (as it is sincerely her meaning) straitly
A Copy. to join unto your Majesty, and to the same to yield and bear the chief honour and respect, before all other Kings and Princes in Christendom.

2. She will swear, and protest solemnly, a sincere forgetfulness of all wrongs which she may pretend to have been done unto her in this realm, and will never in any sort or manner whatsoever, shew offence for the same.

3. She will avow and acknowledge, as well in her own particular name, as also for her heirs and others descending of her for ever, your Majesty, for just, true, and lawful Queen of England.

4. And consequently, will renounce, as well for herself as for her said heirs, all

the spirit raised by the association which had rendered her so passive and compliant. She always imagined that there was something mysterious and deceitful in all Mary's

rights and pretences which she may claim to the crown of England, during her Majesty's life, and other prejudice.

5. She will revoke all acts and shews, by her heretofore made, of pretence to this said crown to the prejudice of your Majesty, as may be the taking of the arms and stile of Queen of England, by the commandment of King Francis her late lord and husband.

6. She will renounce the Pope's bull for so much as may be expounded to turn in her favour, or for her behoof, touching the deprivation of your Majesty, and will declare that she will never help and serve herself with it.

7. She will not prosecute, during your Majesty's life, by open force or otherways, any public declaration of her right in the succession of this realm, so as secret assurance be given unto her, or at the least public promise, that no deciding thereof shall be made in the prejudice of her, or of the King her son, during your Majesty's life, nor after your decease, until such time as they have been heard thereupon, in publick, free, and general assembly of the Parliament of the said realm.

8. She will not practise, directly or indirectly, with any of your Majesty's subjects, neither within nor out of your realm, any thing tending to war, civil or foreign, against your Majesty and your estate, be it under pretext of religion, or for civil and politic government.

9. She will not maintain or support any of your subjects declared rebels, and convicted of treason against you.

10. She will enter into the association, which was shewed her at Wingfield for the surety of your Majesty's life, so as there be mended or right explicated some clauses which I will shew to your Majesty, when I shall have the copy thereof, as I have before time required.

11. She will not treat with foreign Kings and Princes for any war or trouble against this state, and will renounce, from this time, all enterprises made or to be made in her favour for that respect.

12. Furthermore, this realm being assailed by any civil or foreign war, she will take part with your Majesty, and will assist you in your defence with all her forces and means, depending of herself and with all her friends of Christendom.

13. And to that effect, for the mutual defence and maintenance of your Majesty, and the two realms of this isle, she will enter with your Majesty in a league defensive as shall be more particularly advised, and will perswade as much as in her, the King her son to do the like. The leagues with all parts abroad remaining firm, and especially the antient league between France and Scotland, in that which shall not be against this present.

14. She will enter into a league offensive, having good assurance or secret declaration and acknowledgment of her right in the succession of this crown, and promise that, happening any breach betwixt France and this realm (which she prayeth to God never to happen), the just value of her dowry shall be placed for her in lands of the revenue of the crown.

15. For assurance of her promises and covenants, she doth offer to abide herself in this realm for a certain time (better hostage can she not give than her own person), which, so as she be kept in the liberty here before propounded, is not in case to escape secretly out of this country, in the sickly state she is in, and with the good order which your Majesty can take therein.

16. And in case your Majesty do agree to her full and whole deliverance, to retire herself at her will out of this realm, the said Queen of Scots she will give sufficient hostage for such time as will be advised.

17. If she abide in this realm, she will promise not to depart out of it without your licence, so as it be promised unto her that her state, in such liberty as shall be accorded unto her, shall not be in any sort altered, untill after tryall to have attempted against your life, or other trouble of your estate.

18. If she go into Scotland, she will promise to alter nothing there in the religion which is now used there, she being suffered to have free exercise of hers for her and her household, as it was at her return out of France; and further, to pull out every root of new division between the subjects, that none of the subjects of Scotland shall be sifted for his conscience, nor constrained to go to the service of the contrary religion.

actions, and suspected her of carrying on a dangerous correspondence with the English Catholics, both within and without the kingdom. Nor were her suspicions altogether

19. She will grant a general abolition of all offences done against her in Scotland, and things shall remain there as they are at this present, for that respect, saving that which hath been done against her honour, which she meaneth to have revoked and annulled.

20. She will travel to settle a sure and general reconciliation between the nobility of the country, and to cause to be appointed about the King her son, and in his council, such as shall be fit for the entertainment of the peace and quiet of the country, and the amity of the realm.

21. She will do her best to content your Majesty, in favour of the Scots lords banished and refuged hither, upon their due submission to their Princes, and your Majesty's promise to assist the said Queen and King of Scotland against them, if they happen to fall into their former faults.

22. She will proceed to the marriage of the King her son, with the advice and good council of your Majesty.

23. As she will pass nothing without the King her son, so doth she desire that he intervene conjointly with her in this treaty, for the greater and perfecter assurance thereof; for otherwise any thing can hardly be established to be sound and continue.

24. The said Scotch Queen trusteth, that the French King, her good brother, according to the good affection which he hath always shewed her, and hath been afresh testified unto me by Mons^r. de Mannissiere for this said treaty, will very willingly intervene, and will assist her for the surety of her promises.

25. And so will the Princes of the House of Lorrain, following the will of the said King, will bind themselves thereunto.

26. For other Kings and Princes of Christendom, she will assay to obtain the like of them, if for greater solemnity and approbation of the treaty it be found to be necessary.

27. She doth desire a speedy answer, and final conclusion of the premises, to the end to meet in time with all inconveniences.

28. And in the mean time, the more to strengthen the said treaty, as made by her of a pure and frank will, she desireth that demonstration be made of some release-ment of her captivity.

*Objections against the Scottish Queen, under Secretary Walsingham's hand,
November, 1584.*

The Queen of Scots is ambitious, and standeth ill affected to her Majesty, and therefore it cannot be but that her liberty should bring peril unto her Majesty.

That her enlargement will give comfort to Papists, and other ill affected subjects, and greatly advance the opinion had of her title as successor.

That as long as she shall be continued in her Majesty's possession, she may serve as it were a gage of her Majesty's surety, for that her friends, for fear of the danger she may be thrown into, in case any thing should be done in her favour, dare not attempt any thing in the offence of her Majesty.

November, 1584. } *What course were fit to be taken with the Queen of Scots, either to be enlarged or not.*

Cott. Lib. The course to be taken with the said Queen may be considered of in three
Cal. 8. degrees; either,

1. To continue her under custody in that state she now is.

2. To restrain her of the present liberty she now hath.

3. Or to set her at liberty upon caution.

1. Touching the first, to continue her under custody in that state she now is; it is to be considered, that the Princes that favour that Queen, upon the complaint she maketh of hard usage, are greatly moved with commiseration towards her, and promise to do their endeavour for her liberty, for which purpose her ministers solicit them daily.

And to move them the more to pity her case, she acquainteth them with her offers made to her Majesty, which appeared to be no less profitable than reasonable for her Majesty, so as the refusal and rejecting giveth her friends and favourers cause to think her hardly dealt withal, and therefore may, with the better ground and reason, attempt somewhat for the setting of her at liberty.

void of foundation. Mary had, about this time, written a letter to Sir Francis Inglesfield, urging him to hasten the execution of what she calls the *Great Plot or Designment*,

It is also likely that the said Queen, upon this refusal, finding her case desperate, will continue her practice under hand, both at home and abroad, not only for her delivery, but to obtain to the present possession of this crown upon her pretended title, as she hath hitherto done, as appeareth, and is most manifest by letters and plots intercepted, and chiefly by that late alteration of Scotland, which hath proceeded altogether by her direction, whereby a gap is laid open for the malice of all her Majesty's enemies, so as it appeareth that this manner of keeping her, with such number of persons as she now hath, and with liberty to write and receive letters (being duly considered), is offensive to the Princes, the said Queen's friends rather chargeable than profitable to her Majesty; and subject to all such practices as may peril her Majesty's person or estate, without any provision for her Majesty's safety, and therefore no way to be liked of.

2. Touching the second, to restrain her in a more straighter degree of the liberty she hath hitherto enjoyed.

It may at first sight be thought a remedy very apt to stop the course of the dangerous practices fostered heretofore by her; for true it is, that this remedy might prove very profitable, if the realm of Scotland stood in that sort devoted to her Majesty, as few years past it did, and if the King of that realm were not likely, as well for the release of his mother, as for the advancement of both their pretended titles, to attempt somewhat against this realm and her Majesty, wherein he should neither lack foreign assistance, nor a party here within this realm: But the King and that realm standing affected as they do, this restraint, instead of remedying, is likely to breed these inconveniences following:

First, It will increase the offence, both in him and in the rest of the Princes her friends, that misliked of her restraint.

Secondly, It will give them just cause to take some way of redress.

Lastly, It is to be doubted, that it may provoke some desperate ill-disposed person, all hope of her liberty removed, to attempt somewhat against her Majesty's own person (a matter above all others to be weighed), which inconveniency being duly considered, it will appear manifestly, that the restraint, in a straighter degree, is likely to prove a remedy subject to very hard events.

The latter degree, whether it were fit to set the said Queen at liberty, ministereth some cause of doubt, touching the manner of the liberty, in what sort the same is to be performed, whether to be continued here within the realm, or to be restored into her own country.

But first, this proposition, before the particularities be weighed, is to be considered in generality.

For it is very hard for a well affected subject, that tendereth her Majesty's surety, and weigheth either the nature of the Scottish Queen, being inclined to ambition and revenge, or her former actions, what practices she hath set on foot most dangerous for her Majesty and this realm, to allow of her liberty, being not made acquainted with such causes, as time hath wrought, to make it less perilous than it hath been, nor with such cautions as may, in some sort, be devised to prevent both her ambition and malice; and therefore, to make this apparent.

It is to be considered, that the danger that was in the mother, is now grown to be in the son. He pretendeth the same title she doth: Such as do affect her, both at home and abroad, do affect him (and he is the more dangerous for that he is unmarried, which may greatly advance his fortune; and that he is a man, whereby he may enter into action in his own person); where she is restrained, he is at liberty; his own realm is now altogether at his devotion, and the party affected to this crown abased; so as the matter duly considered, neither her liberty nor restraint doth greatly alter the case for perils towards her Majesty, unless by such promises as may be made by way of treaty with her, the danger likely to grow from the King her son be provided for.

But in this behalf it may be objected, that so long as the mother remains in her Majesty's hands, the King will attempt nothing for fear of his mother's peril.

To this objection it may be answered, first, That they hope that her Majesty, being a Prince of justice, and inclined to mercy, will not punish the mother for the son's offence, unless she shall be found, by good proof, culpable. Secondly, That men will not be over hasty, considering in what predicament the King standeth touching his

without hesitating on account of any danger in which it might involve her life, which she would most willingly part with, if by that sacrifice, she could procure relief for

expectation of this crown, to advise any thing that in time future may be dangerous to the giver of such council as may reach to his mother's peril.

And lastly, The taking away of his mother, he being strong in the field through both foreign assistance, and a party here within the realm, will appear so weak a remedy (which may rather exasperate both him and her party, to proceed with more courage and heat to revenge, if any such hard measure should be offered unto her), as they will suppose, for the reason above specified, that no such extremity will be used.

It may also be objected, that the setting of her at liberty will greatly encourage the Papists both at home and abroad; but herein, if the provision be duly considered, that may be made by Parliament, both here and there, they shall rather find cause of discomfort than otherwise.

These two doubts being resolved, and the perils that was in the mother appearing most manifestly to be seen in the son, accompanied with more danger, with due consideration had also of such remedies as may be provided for the preventing of the dangers that her liberty may minister just cause to doubt of; there will be good cause of hope found, that the same will rather breed benefit than perils.

Now it resteth, in what sort the said liberty shall be performed; if it shall be thought meet she shall be continued within the realm with some limitation, especially in that place where she now resideth, the country round about being so infected in religion as it is, it is greatly to be doubted that will very much increase the corruption, and falling away in that behalf. Besides, she should have commodity, with much more ease and speed, to entertain practices within this realm, than by being in her own country.

If abroad freely without limitation either in Scotland or France, then shall her Majesty lose the gages of her safety, then shall she be at hand to give advice in furtherance of such practices as have been laid for to stir trouble in this realm, wherein she hath been a principal party.

For the first, it is answered before, that the respect of any perils that may befall unto her, will in no sort restrain her son. For the other, if it be considered what harm her advice will work unto herself, in respect of the violation of the treaty, and the provision that may be made in Parliament here, it is to be thought, that she will then be well advised, before she attempt any such matter, which now she may do without peril. Besides, such Princes as have interposed their faith and promise for her, cannot with honour assist her, wherein the French King will not be found very forward, who, in most friendly sort, hath lately rejected all such requests, propounded either by her, or her son's ministers, that might any way offend her Majesty. And so to conclude, seeing the cause of her grief shall be taken away; the French King gratified, who is a mediator for her, and will mislike that, by any Spanish practice, she should be drawn to violate her faith, that the rest of the Princes shall have no just cause of offence, but rather to think honourably of her Majesty, considering the Scottish Queen's carriage towards her, which hath deserved no way any such favour; the noblemen of Scotland shall be restored, who will be a good stay of such counsells as may tend to the troubling of this realm, especially having so good a ground of warrant as the Parliament to stand unto; the charges and perills which her practices might have bred to this realm shall be avoided; and lastly, the hope of the Papists shall be taken away, by such good provisions as in both the realms may be made, whereby the perills that might fall into her Majesty's own person (a matter of all others to be weighed) shall be avoided, when by the change that may grow by any such wicked and ungodly practice, they shall see their case no way relieved in point of religion.

Reasons to induce her Majesty to proceed in the treaty under Secretary Walsingham's hand.

Cott. Lib. That such plots as have of late years been devised (tending to the raising of trouble within this realm) have grown from the Scots Queen's ministers
Cal. C. 8. and favourers, not without her allowance and seeking: Or,

That the means used by the said ministers, to induce Princes to give ear to the said plots, is principally grounded upon some commiseration had of her restraint.

That the stay why the said plots have not been put in execution, hath proceeded, for that the said Princes have, for the most part, been entertained with home and domestic troubles.

That it is greatly to be doubted, that now their realms begin to be quiet, that somewhat will be attempted in her favours by the said Princes.

so great a number of the oppressed children of the church.^k

She is Instead, therefore, of hearkening to the overtures treated with great- which the Scottish queen made, or granting any er rigour. mitigation of the hardships of which she complained, Elizabeth resolved to take her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury, and to appoint Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury to be her keepers. Shrewsbury had discharged his trust with great fidelity, during fifteen years, but, at the same time, had treated Mary with gentleness and respect, and had always sweetened harsh commands by the humanity with which he put them in execution. The same politeness was not to be expected from men of an inferior rank, whose severe vigilance perhaps was their chief recommendation to that employment, and the only merit by which they could pretend to gain favour or preferment.^l

Gray, a As James was no less eager than ever to deprive new fa- the banished nobles of Elizabeth's protection, he vourite of the king's. appointed the master of Gray his ambassador to the court of England, and intrusted him with the conduct of a negotiation for that purpose. For this honour he was indebted to the envy and jealousy of the earl of Arran. Gray possessed all the talents of a courtier; a graceful person, and an insinuating address, boundless ambition, and a restless and intriguing spirit. During his residence in France, he had been admitted into the most intimate familiarity with the duke of Guise, and, in order to gain his favour, had renounced the Protestant religion, and professed the utmost zeal for the captive queen, who carried on a secret correspondence with him, from which she expected great advantages. On his return into Scotland, he paid court to James with extraordinary assiduity, and his accomplishments did not fail to make their usual impression on the king's heart. Arran, who had introduced him, began

^k That it is also to be doubted, that somewhat may be attempted by some of her factors in an extraordinary sort, to the peril of her Majesty.

^l That for the preservation thereof, it shall be convenient for her Majesty to proceed to the finishing of the treaty, not long sithence begun between her and the said Queen.

^k Strype, iii. 246.

^l Camd. 509.

quickly to dread his growing favour; and flattering himself, that absence would efface any sentiments of tenderness which were forming in the mind of a young prince, pointed him out by his malicious praises, as the most proper person in the kingdom for an embassy of such importance; and contributed to raise him to that high dignity, in order to hasten his fall. Elizabeth, who had an admirable dexterity in discovering the proper instruments for carrying on her designs, endeavoured, by caresses, and by presents to secure Gray to her interest. The former flattered his vanity, which was great; the latter supplied his profuseness, which was still greater. He abandoned himself without reserve to Elizabeth's direction, and not only undertook to retain the king under the influence of England, but acted as a spy upon the Scottish queen, and betrayed to her rival every secret that he could draw from her by his high pretensions of zeal in her service.^m

His interest with the court of England.

Dec. 31.

Gray's credit with the English court was extremely galling to the banished nobles. Elizabeth no longer thought of employing her power to restore them; she found it easier to govern Scotland by corrupting the king's favourites; and in compliance with Gray's solicitations, she commanded the exiles to leave the north of England, and to remove into the heart of the kingdom. This rendered it difficult for them to hold any correspondence with their partisans in Scotland, and almost impossible to return thither without her permission. Gray, by gaining a point which James had so much at heart, rivetted himself more firmly than ever in his favour; and, by acquiring greater reputation, became capable of serving Elizabeth with greater success.ⁿ

1585.
Arran's corruption and insolence.

Arran had now possessed for some time all the power, the riches, and the honours, that his immoderate ambition could desire, or the fondness of a prince, who set no limits to his liberality towards his favourites, could bestow. The office of lord-chancellor, the highest and most important in the kingdom, was con-

^m Strype, iii. 303. Melv. 316.

ⁿ Cald. iii. 643.

ferred upon him, even during the life of the earl of Argyll, who succeeded Athol in that dignity;^o and the public beheld, with astonishment and indignation, a man educated as a soldier of fortune, ignorant of law, and a contemner of justice, appointed to preside in parliament, in the privy-council, in the court of session, and intrusted with the supreme disposal of the property of his fellow-subjects. He was, at the same time, governor of the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh, the two principal forts in Scotland; provost of the city of Edinburgh; and as if by all these accumulated dignities his merits were not sufficiently recompensed, he had been created lieutenant-general over the whole kingdom. No person was admitted into the king's presence without his permission; no favour could be obtained but by his mediation. James, occupied with youthful amusements, devolved upon him the whole regal authority. Such unmerited elevation increased his natural arrogance, and rendered it intolerable. He was no longer content with the condition of a subject, but pretended to derive his pedigree from Murdo duke of Albany; and boasted openly, that his title to the crown was preferable to that of the king himself. But, together with these thoughts of royalty, he retained the meanness suitable to his primitive indigence. His venality as a judge was scandalous, and was exceeded only by that of his wife, who, in defiance of decency, made herself a party in almost every suit which came to be decided, employed her influence to corrupt or overawe the judges, and almost openly dictated their decisions.^p His rapaciousness as a minister was insatiable. Not satisfied with the revenues of so many offices; with the estate and honours which belonged to the family of Hamilton; or with the greater part of Gowrie's lands, which had fallen to his share; he grasped at the possessions of several of the nobles. He required lord Maxwell to exchange part of his estate, for the forfeited lands of Kinneil; and because he was unwilling to quit an ancient

^o Crawford. *Office of State*, App. 447.

^p Cald. iii. 331. Scotstarvet's *Staggering State*, 7.

inheritance for a possession so precarious, he stirred up against him his hereditary rival, the laird of Johnston, and involved that corner of the kingdom in a civil war. He committed to prison the earl of Athol, lord Home, and the master of Cassils; the first, because he would not divorce his wife, the daughter of the earl of Gowrie, and entail his estate on him; the second, because he was unwilling to part with some lands adjacent to one of Arran's estates; and the third, for refusing to lend him money. His spies and informers filled the whole country, and intruded themselves into every company. The nearest neighbours distrusted and feared each other. All familiar society was at an end. Even the common intercourses of humanity were interrupted, no man knowing in whom to confide, or where to utter his complaints. There is not perhaps in history an example of a minister so universally detestable to a nation, or who more justly deserved its detestation.^q

Arran, notwithstanding, regardless of the sentiments and despising the murmurs of the people, gave a loose to his natural temper, and proceeded to acts still more violent. David Home of Argaty, and Patrick his brother, having received letters from one of the banished lords about private business, were condemned and put to death, for holding correspondence with rebels. Cunninghame of Drumwhasel, and Douglas of Mains, two gentlemen of honour and reputation, were accused of having conspired with the exiled nobles to seize the king's person; a single witness only appeared; the evidence they produced of their innocence was unanswerable; their accuser himself not long after acknowledged that he had been suborned by Arran: and all men believed the charge against them to be groundless; they were found guilty, notwithstanding, and suffered the death of traitors.^r

Feb. 9.

Parry's
conspiracy
against
Elizabeth.

About the same time that these gentlemen were punished for a pretended conspiracy, Elizabeth's life was endangered by a real one. Parry, a doc-

^q Spotsw. 337, 338.

^r Spotsw. 338. Cald. iii. 794.

tor of laws, and a member of the house of commons, a man vain and fantastic, but of a resolute spirit, had lately been reconciled to the church of Rome; and fraught with the zeal of a new convert, he offered to demonstrate the sincerity of his attachment to the religion which he had embraced, by killing Elizabeth. Cardinal Allen had published a book, to prove the murder of an excommunicated prince to be not only lawful, but a meritorious action. The pope's nuncio at Venice, the Jesuits both there and at Paris, the English exiles, all approved of the design. The pope himself exhorted him to persevere; and granted him for his encouragement a plenary indulgence, and remission of his sins. Cardinal di Como wrote to him a letter to the same purpose; but though he often got access to the queen, fear, or some remaining sense of duty, restrained him from perpetrating the crime. Happily his intention was at last discovered by Nevil, the only person in England to whom

March 2. he had communicated it; and having himself voluntarily confessed his guilt, he suffered the punishment which it deserved.*

A severe statute, which proved fatal to Mary. These repeated conspiracies against their sovereign awakened the indignation of the English parliament, and produced a very extraordinary statute, which, in the end, proved fatal to the queen of Scots. By this law the association in defence of Elizabeth's life was ratified, and it was farther enacted, "That if any rebellion shall be excited in the kingdom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of her majesty's person, *by or for* any person pretending a title to the crown, the queen shall empower twenty-four persons, by a commission under the great seal, to examine into, and pass sentence upon, such offences; and after judgment given, a proclamation shall be issued, declaring the persons whom they find guilty excluded from any right to the crown; and her majesty's subjects may lawfully pursue every one of them to the death, with all their aiders and abettors; and if any design against the life of the queen take effect, the persons *by or for* whom such

* State Trials, i. 103.

a detestable act is executed, and *their issues*, being in any ways assenting or privy to the same, shall be disabled for ever from pretending to the crown, and be pursued to death in the like manner."^t This act was plainly levelled at the queen of Scots; and, whether we consider it as a voluntary expression of the zeal and concern of the nation for Elizabeth's safety, or whether we impute it to the influence which that artful princess preserved over her parliaments, it is no easy matter to reconcile it with the general principles of justice or humanity. Mary was thereby rendered accountable not only for her own actions, but for those of others; in consequence of which she might forfeit her right of succession, and even her life itself.

The ri-
gour with
which she
was treat-
ed in-
creased.

Mary justly considered this act as a warning to prepare for the worst extremities. Elizabeth's ministers, it is probable, had resolved by this time to take away her life; and suffered books to be published, in order to persuade the nation that this cruel and unprecedented measure was not only necessary, but just." Even that short period of her days which remained, they rendered uncomfortable, by every hardship and indignity which it was in their power to inflict. Almost all her servants were dismissed, she was treated no longer with the respect due to a queen; and, though the rigour of seventeen years' imprisonment had broken her constitution, she was confined to two ruinous chambers, scarcely habitable, even in the middle of summer, by reason of cold. Notwithstanding the scantiness of her revenue, she had been accustomed to distribute regularly some alms among the poor in the village adjoining to the castle. Paulet now refused her liberty to perform this pious and humane office, which had afforded her great consolation amidst her own sufferings. The castle in which she resided was converted into a common prison; and a young man, suspected of Popery, was confined there, and treated under her eye with such rigour, that he died of the ill usage. She often complained to Elizabeth of these multiplied injuries,

^t State Trials, vol. i. 123.

^u Strype, iii. 299.

and expostulated as became a woman and a queen ; but as no political reason now obliged that princess to amuse her any longer with fallacious hopes, far from granting her any redress, she did not even deign to give her any answer. The king of France, closely allied to Elizabeth, on whom he depended for assistance against his rebellious subjects, was afraid of espousing Mary's cause with any warmth ; and all his solicitations in her behalf were feeble, formal, and inefficacious. But Castelnau, the French ambassador, whose compassion and zeal for the unhappy queen supplied the defects in his instructions, remonstrated with such vigour against the indignities to which she was exposed, that by his importunity, he prevailed at length to have her removed to Tutbury ; though she was confined the greater part of another winter in her present wretched habitation.*

A breach
between
Mary and
her son. Neither the insults of her enemies, nor the neglect of her friends, made such an impression on Mary, as the ingratitude of her son. James had hitherto treated his mother with filial respect, and had even entered into negotiations with her, which gave umbrage to Elizabeth. But as it was not the interest of the English queen that his good correspondence should continue, Gray, who, on his return to Scotland, found his favour with the king greatly increased by the success of his embassy, persuaded him to write a harsh and undutiful letter to his mother, in which he expressly refused to acknowledge her to be queen of Scotland, or to consider his affairs as connected in any wise with hers. This cruel requital of her maternal tenderness overwhelmed Mary with sorrow and despair. “Was it for this,” said she in a letter to the French ambassador, “that I have endured so much, in order to preserve for him the inheritance to which I have a just right? I am far from envying his authority in Scotland. I desire no power there ; nor wish to set my foot in that kingdom, if it were not for the pleasure of once embracing a son, whom I have hitherto loved with too tender affection. Whatever he either enjoys or expects, he de-

March 24.

rived it from me. From him I never received assistance, supply, or benefit of any kind. Let not my allies treat him any longer as a king : he holds that dignity by my consent ; and if a speedy repentance does not appease my just resentment, I will load him with a parent's curse, and surrender my crown, with all my pretensions, to one who will receive them with gratitude, and defend them with vigour."y
The love which James bore to his mother, whom he had never known, and whom he had been early taught to con-

† Murdin, 566. Jebb. ii. 571.

Letter of Q. Mary to Q. Elizabeth.

Madame ma bonne Seur,

M'ASSEURANT que vous avez eu communication d'une lettre de Gray que
Cott. Lib. votre homme Semer me livra hier soubz le nom de mon filz, y recognois-
Col. B. sant quasi de mot a la mot mesmes raisons que le dit Gray m'escrivit en
VIII. Fol. chiffre estant dernièrement pres de vous demonstrant la suffisance & bonne
147. intention du personnage, je vous prieray seulement suivant ce que si
An origi- devant je vous ay tant instantement importuné, que vous me permettiez
nal. desclaircir librement & ouvertement ce point de l'association d'entre moy
& mon filz & me dessier les mains pour proceder avec lui comme je jugeray estre
requis pour son bien & le mien. Et j'entreprenz quoy que l'on vous die & puisse
en rapporter de faire mentir ce petit brouillon, qui persuadé par aucuns de vos mi-
nistres a entrepris cette separation entre moy & mon enfant, & pour y commencer
je vous supplie m'octroyer qui je puisse parler a ce justice-clerk qui vous a este
nouvelement envoyé pour mander par luy a mon filz mon intention sur cela, ce
qui je me promis que ne me refuserez, quant ce ne seroit que pour demontrer en
effect la bonne intention que vous m'avez asseurée avoir a l'accord & entretien de
naturel devoir entre la mere & l'enfant qui dit en bonnes termes estre empesche pour
vous me tenant captive en un desert ce que vous ne pourrez mieux desmentir & faire
paraître vostre bon desir a notre union que me donnant les moyens d'y proceder, &
non m'en retenir et empescher comme aucune des vos ministres pretendent a fin de
laisser toujours lieu a leur mauvais & sinistres practiques entre nous. La lettre porte
que l'association n'est pas passée, aussi ne luy ai je jamais dit, bien que mon filz avoit
accepté ; & que nous en avions convenu ensemble, comme l'acte signé de sa main, &
ces lettres tant a moy, que en France en font foy, ayant donné ce meme temoignage
de sa bouche propre a plusieurs ambassadeurs & personnes de credit s'excusant de ne
l'oser faire publier par craint de vous soulement, demandant forces pourvous resister
d'avant de ce declarer si ouvertement estant journellement persuadé au contraire par
vos ministres, qui luy prometoyent avecque une entreire a Yorck le faire declairer votre
heretier. Au surplus, Madame, quand mon enfant seroit si malheureux que de s'opi-
niastre en cette extreme impieté & ingratitude vers moy, je ne puis penser que vous
non plus qu'aucun aultre Prince de la Chretienté, le voulissiez eu cela applaudir ou
meinténir pour luy faire acquerir ma malediction ains que plutost *introviendrez* pour
luy faire reconnoître la raison trop juste & evident devant Dieu & les hommes.
Helas & encores ne luy vouloier jen offer, mays donner avec droit ce qu'il tient par
usurpation. Je me suis du tout commise a vous, & fidelement faites si il vous plect
que je ne en soye pis qu'aupravant, & que le faulsete des uns ne prevale devant
la verité des vous, pour bien recevant mal, & la plus grande affliction que me scauroit
arriver a sçavoir la perte de mon filz. Je vous supplie de me mander en cas qu'il
persiste en cette m'escunnoissance de son devoir, que de luy ou de moy il vous plaist
advouer pour legittime Roy ou Reyne d'Ecosse, & si vous aves agreable de
poursuivre avec moy a part la traité commencé entre nous de quoy je vous requiers
sans plus attendre [de] response de ce mal gouverné enfant vous en requerrant avec
autant d'affection que je scns mon cœur oppressé d'ennuy. Pour Dieu souvenez
vous de la promesse que m'avez faites de me prendre en votre protection merap-
portant de tout a vous & sur ce prian Dieu qu'il vous viueille preserver de tous
vos ennemys & dissimulez amys, comme je le desire de me consoler & de me
venger de ceulz qui pourchassent un tel malheur entre la mere & l'enfant. Je ces-

sider as one of the most abandoned persons of her sex, cannot be supposed ever to have been ardent; and he did not now take any pains to regain her favour. But whether her indignation at his undutiful behaviour, added to her bigoted attachment to Popery, prompted Mary at any time to think seriously of disinheriting her son; or whether these threatenings were uttered in a sudden sally of disappointed affection, it is now no easy matter to determine. Some papers which are still extant seem to render the former not improbable.^z

seray de vous troubler, mais non a m'ennuier que je ne receive quelque consolation de vous, & de Dieu encore un coup je le supplie de vous garder de tout peril. Futhbery xii. Mars.

Votre fidelement vouée sœur
& obeissant cousine,
MARIE Q.

A la Reyne d'Angleterre, Madame
ma bonne sœur & cousine.

^z *A Testament of Q. Mary.*

N. B. The following paper was transcribed by the Rev. Mr. Crawford, late Regius Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh. Part of this paper, according to him, is written by Naué, Mary's Secretary, the rest with the Queen's own hand. What is marked (") is in the Queen's hand.

Cott. Lib. CONSIDERANT par ma condition presente l'estat de vie humaine, si in-
Vespas. certain, que personne ne s'en peüst, ou doit asseurer, sinon soubz la
L. 16. grande et infinie misericorde de Dieu. Et me voulant preualoir d'icelle
P. 415. contre tous les dangers et accidens, qui me pourroient inopinément survenir
en cette captivité, mesmes a cause des grandes et longues maladies, ou j'ay
été detenué jusques a present; j'ay advisé tandis que j'ay la commodité, ou raison en
jugement, de pourvoir apres ma mort la salut de mon ame, enterrement de mon
corps, et disposition de mon bien, estat, & affaires, par ce present mon testament et
ordonnance de mon dernier volonté, qui 'ensuyt.

Au nom du Pere, du Filz, et du benoite St. Esprit. Premièrement, me reconnois-
sant indigne pecheresse avec plus d'offences envers mon Dieu, que de satisfaction par
toutes les adversités que j'ay souffert; dont je la loue sa bonté. Et m'appuyant sur la
croix de mon Sauveur et Redempteur Jesus Christ. Je recommande mon ame a la be-
noiste et individue Trinité, et aux prieres de la glorieuse Vierge Marie, et de tous les
anges saints & saintes de paradis, esperant par leur merites & intercession, estre
aydée a obtenir de estre faicte participante avec eux de felicité eternelle. Et pour m'y
acheminer de cueur plus net et entier, despoillant des a present tout resentiment des
injures, calomnies, rebellions, et aultres offenses, qui me pourroient avoir esté factes
durant ma vie, par mes sujets rebelles et aultres ennemis; J'en retrié la vengeance
a Dieu, & le supplie leur pardonner, de mesme affection que je luy requiers pardons
a mes faultes, et a tous ceuls et celles que je puis avoir offensé defaicts ou de parolles.

Je veulx et ordonne, &c. [*The two following paragraphs contain directions concerning the place and circumstance of her burial.*]

Pour ne contrevenir a la gloire, honneur, et conservation de l'Eglise catholique,
apostolique, et Romaine, en la quelle je veulx vivre et mourir, si le Prince d'Escosse
mon filz y puest estre reduiet contre la mauvaïse nourriture, qu'il a prise a mon tres
grand regret en l'heresie de Calvin entre mes rebelles, je le laisse seul et unique
heretier de mon royaume d'Escosse, de droict que je pretende justement end la cou-
ronne d'Angleterre et pays qui en dependent, et generalmente de tous et chacun mes
meubles et immeubles qui resteront apres ma mort, et execution de ce present
testament.

Si non, et que mon dit filz continue a vivre en la dite hereïsse, Je cede, transporte,

Dangerous situation of Elizabeth, Cares of another kind, and no less disquieting, occupied Elizabeth's thoughts. The calm which she had long enjoyed, seemed now to be at an end; and such storms were gathering in every quarter as filled

et faite don " de tous et chacuns mes droicts, que je pretende & puis pretendre a la couronne d'Angleterre, et aultres droicts, seigneuries, ou royaumes en dependantz, au roy catholique, ou aultre de siens qu'il luy plaira, a vesques advis, consentement de sa Sainteté; tant pour le voyr aujourd'hui le seul seurs appui de la religion catholique, que pour reconnoissance de gratuites faveurs que moy, et les miens recommandez par moy, ont avous receu de luy en ma plus grande necessité; et resguard aussi au droict que luy mesme peut pretendre a ces ditz royaumes et pays, j'ele supplie qu'en recompense il preign alliance, de la maison de Lorraine, et si il ce pleut de celle de Guise, pour memoire de la race de laquelle je suis sortie au coste de Mere, n'a ayant de celuy de mon pere que mon seul enfant, lequel estant Catholique j'ay tousjours voué pour une des ses filles, si il luy plaisoit de l'accepter, ou faillant une de ses nieces mariée comme sa fille.

" Je layse mon filz a la protection du Roy, de Prince, et Ducs de Lorraine et de Guise, et du Mayne, aux quelz je recommande et son estat en Escosse, et mon droict en Angleterre, si il est catholique, et quelle le parlie de ceste royne."

Je faitz don au " Comté de Lenox" de Comté de Lenox tenu par feu son pere, et commande mon filz, comme mon heretier et successeur, d'obeyr en cest en droit a mon volenté.

Je veulx et ordonne toutes les sommes et deniers, qui se troveront par moys deues, tien mis cause de droict estre faits " a Lohliven" etre promptement payée et acquittés, et tout tort et griefs reparés par lesdits executeurs desquelz J'en charge la conscience. Oultre, &c. [*Follow two or three paragraphs concerning particular legacies, and then is added*] Faict au manoir de Sheffield en Angleterre le jour de — Mil cinq cens soixant & dix sept.

After a large blank page follows in the Queen's hand:

" Si mon filz meurt, au Comte de Lenox, au Claude Hamilton lequel se montrera le plus fidelle vers moy, et plus constant en religion, au jugement de — Ducs de Lorraine et de Guyse, ou je le rapport sur ce de ceulx a qui j'auray donnay la charge de trayter a vesque eux de par moy et ceulx, a condition de ce marrier ou allier en la dite mayson ou par leur advis."

Follow near two pages of particular legacies.

" Et le remets ma tante de Lenox au droict qu'elle peut pretendre a la Conté d'Angous avant l'acort fait par mon commandement entre ma dite tante de Lenox et le Comte de Morton, veu quil a esté fait & par le feu Roy mon Mary et moy, sur la promesse de sa fidelle assistance, si luy et moy encourions dangier et besiong d'ayde, ce qu'il rompit, s'entendant secretement au les nos ennemis rebelles, qu'attemptrient contre sa vie, et pour cest effect pris les armes, et ont porté les banieres desployées, contre nous, je revoque aussi toute autre don que je luy ay fait de Conté de Morton sur promesses de ses bons services a advenir, et entends que la dite Conté soit reunie a la couronne, si ell se trouve y partenir, comme ses trahisons tant en la mort de mon feu Mary, que en mon banissement, et poursuit de la mien ne l'ont merité. Et defends a mon filz de ce jamais servire de luy, pour de luy pour la hayne qu'il aye a ses parents, la quelle je crains ne s'estende jusques a luy, le connoissant du tout affectionné aux ennemis de mon droite en ce royaume, du quel il es penconnaire.

" Je recommande mon nepveu Francois Stuart a mon filz, et luy commande detenir pres de luy et s'enservit, et je luy laisse le bien du Conte de Boduel son oncle, en respect qu'il est de mon sang, mon filleul, et ma esté laisse en lutelle par son pere.

" Je declare que mon frere bastard Robert Abbé de St. Croix n'a en que par convention Orkenay, et que le ne fut jamais mon intention, comme il apret par la revocation que j'ay fayte depuys, et été aussi faite d'avant la asge de xxv ans, ce que j'amaiois deliberer si il ne m'eussent prenner par prison de se defayre aux estats je veulx done que Orkenay soit reune a la couronne comme une de plus necessaires pour mon filz, & sans mayson ne pourra etre bien tenue.

" Les filles de Morra ne parvient accessi heriter, ains revient la Conté a la Couronne, si il luy plect luy donner sa ou fille en marriasse, et il nome l'en sienne ligné."

her with just alarm. All the neighbouring nations had undergone revolutions extremely to her disadvantage. The great qualities which Henry III. had displayed in his youth, and which raised the expectation of his subjects so high, vanished on his ascending the throne; and his acquiring supreme power seems not only to have corrupted his heart, but to have impaired his understanding. He soon lost the esteem and affection of the nation; and a life divided between the austerities of a superstitious devotion, and the extravagancies of the most dissolute debauchery, rendered him as contemptible as he was odious on account of his rapaciousness, his profusion, and the fondness with which he doated on many unworthy minions. On the death of his only brother, those sentiments of the people burst out with violence. Henry had no children, and though but thirty-two years of age, the succession of the crown was already considered as open. The king of Navarre, a distant descendant of the royal family, but the undoubted heir to the crown, was a zealous Protestant. The prospect of an event so fatal to their religion, as his ascending the throne of France, alarmed all the Catholics of Europe; and induced the duke of Guise, countenanced by the pope, and aided by the king of Spain, to appear as the defender of the Romish faith, and the asserter of the cardinal of Bourbon's right to the crown. In order to unite the party, a bond of confederacy was formed, distinguished by the name of the *Holy League*. All ranks of men joined in it with emulation. The spirit spread with the irresistible rapidity which was natural to religious passions in that age. The destruction of the Reformation, not only in France, but all over Europe, seemed to be the object and wish of the whole party; and the duke of Guise, the head of this mighty and zealous body, acquired authority in the kingdom, far superior to that which the king himself possessed.

Philip II. by the conquest of Portugal, had greatly increased the naval power of Spain, and had at last reduced under his dominion all that portion of the

from the
power of
Philip II.

continent which lies beyond the Pyrenean mountains, and which nature seems to have destined to form one great monarchy. William, prince of Orange, who first encouraged the inhabitants of the Netherlands to assert their liberties, and whose wisdom and valour formed and protected the rising commonwealth, had fallen by the hands of an assassin. The superior genius of the prince of Parma had given an entire turn to the fate of war in the Low-Countries; all his enterprises, concerted with consummate skill, and executed with equal bravery, had been attended with success; and the Dutch, reduced to the last extremity, were on the point of falling under the dominion of their ancient master.

None of those circumstances, to which Elizabeth had hitherto owed her security, existed any longer.

She could derive no advantage from the jealousy

which had subsisted between France and Spain;

Philip, by means of his confederacy with the duke of Guise, had an equal sway in the councils of both kingdoms. The Hugonots were unable to contend with the

power of the league; and little could be expected from any diversion which they might create. Nor was it probable

that the Netherlands could long employ the arms, or divide the strength of Spain. In this situation of the affairs

of Europe, it became necessary for Elizabeth to form a new plan of conduct; and her wisdom in forming it was

not greater than the vigour with which she carried it on. The measures most suitable to her natural temper, and

which she had hitherto pursued, were cautious and safe; those which she now adopted were enterprising and hazardous.

She preferred peace, but was not afraid of war; and was capable, when compelled by necessity, not only of

defending herself with spirit, but of attacking her enemies with a boldness which averted danger from her own dominions.

She immediately furnished the Hugonots with a considerable supply in money. She carried on a private

negotiation with Henry III., who, though compelled to join the league, hated the leaders of it, and wished for their

Her wise
and vigor-
ous con-
duct.

destruction. She openly undertook the protection of the Dutch commonwealth, and sent a powerful army to its assistance. She endeavoured to form a general confederacy of the Protestant princes, in opposition to the Popish league. She determined to proceed with the utmost rigour against the queen of Scots, whose sufferings and rights afforded her enemies a specious pretence for invading her dominions. She resolved to redouble her endeavours in order to effect a closer union with Scotland, and to extend and perpetuate her influence over the councils of that nation.

She found it no difficult matter to induce most of the Scottish courtiers to promote all her designs. Gray, Sir John Maitland, who had been advanced to the office of secretary, which his brother formerly held, Sir Lewis Bellenden, the justice-clerk, who had succeeded Gray as the king's resident at London, were the persons in whom she chiefly confided. In order to direct and quicken their motions, she despatched Sir Edward Wotton along with Bellenden into Scotland. This man was gay, well-bred, and entertaining; he excelled in all the exercises for which James had a passion, and amused the young king by relating the adventures which he had met with, and the observations he had made during a long residence in foreign countries; but, under the veil of these superficial qualities, he concealed a dangerous and intriguing spirit. He soon grew into high favour with James, and while he was seemingly attentive only to pleasure and diversions, he acquired influence over the public councils, to a degree which was indecent for a stranger to possess.^a

Nothing, however, could be more acceptable to the nation, than the proposal which he made of a strict alliance between the two kingdoms, in defence of the reformed religion. The rapid and alarming progress of the Popish league seemed to call on all Protestant princes to unite for the preservation of their common faith. James

Resolves
to punish
Mary,
and to
gain the
king.

May 29.

Proposes
a league
with Scot-
land.

July 29. embraced the overture with warmth, and a convention of estates empowered him to conclude such a treaty, and engaged to ratify it in parliament.^b The alacrity with which James concurred in this measure must not be wholly ascribed either to his own zeal, or to Wotton's address; it was owing in part to Elizabeth's liberality. As a mark of her motherly affection for the young king, she settled on him an annual pension of 5,000*l.*; the same sum which her father had allotted her before she ascended the throne. This circumstance, which she took care to mention, rendered a sum, which in that age was far from being inconsiderable, a very acceptable present to the king, whose revenues, during a long minority, had been almost totally dissipated.^c

Under-
mines
Arran's
power. But the chief object of Wotton's intrigues was to ruin Arran. While a minion so odious to the nation continued to govern the king, his assistance could be of little advantage to Elizabeth. And though Arran, ever since his interview with Hunsdon, had appeared extremely for her interest, she could place no great confidence in a man whose conduct was so capricious and irregular, and who, notwithstanding his protestations to the contrary, still continued a secret correspondence both with Mary and with the Duke of Guise. The banished lords were attached to England from affection as well as principle, and were the only persons among the Scots whom, in any dangerous exigency, she could thoroughly trust. Before Bellenden left London, they had been summoned thither, under colour of vindicating themselves from his accusations, but, in reality, to concert with him the most proper measures for restoring them to their country. Wotton pursued this plan, and endeavoured to ripen it for execution; and it was greatly facilitated by an event neither uncommon nor considerable. Sir John Forster, and Ker of Fernihurst, the English and Scottish wardens of the middle marches, having met, according to the custom of the borders, about midsummer, a fray arose, and lord Russel, the earl of Bed-

^b Spotsw. 339.

^c Cald. iii. 505.

ford's eldest son, happened to be killed. This scuffle was purely accidental, but Elizabeth chose to consider it as a design formed by Ker, at the instigation of Arran, to involve the two kingdoms in war. She insisted that both should be delivered up to her; and though James eluded that demand, he was obliged to confine Arran in St. Andrew's, and Ker in Aberdeen. During his absence from court, Wotton and his associates carried on their intrigues without interruption. By their advice, the banished nobles endeavoured to accommodate their differences with lord John and lord Claud, the duke of Chatelherault's two sons, whom Morton's violence had driven out of the kingdom. Their common sufferings, and common interest, induced both parties to bury in oblivion the ancient discord which had subsisted between the houses of Hamilton and Douglas. By Elizabeth's permission, they returned in a body to the borders of Scotland. Arran, who had again recovered favour, insisted on putting the kingdom in a posture of defence; but Gray, Bellenden, and Maitland, secretly thwarted all his measures. Some necessary orders they prevented from being issued; others they rendered ineffectual by the manner of execution; and all of them were obeyed slowly, and with reluctance.^d

Wotton's fertile brain was, at the same time, big with another and more dangerous plot. He had contrived to seize the king, and to carry him by force into England. But the design was happily discovered; and, in order to avoid the punishment which his treachery merited, he departed without taking leave.^e

Meanwhile the banished lords hastened the execution of their enterprise; and, as their friends and vassals were now ready to join them, they entered Scotland. Wherever they came, they were welcomed as the deliverers of their country, and the most fervent prayers were addressed to heaven for the success of their arms. They advanced, without losing a moment, towards Stirling, at the head of ten thousand men.

Assists
the ba-
nished
nobles.
Oct. 16.

They re-
turn into
Scotland,
and are
reconciled
to the
king.

^d Spotsw. 340.

^e Melv. 335.

The king, though he had assembled an army superior in number, could not venture to meet them in the field, with troops whose loyalty was extremely dubious, and who at best were far from being hearty in the cause; nor was either the town or castle provided for a siege. The gates, however, of both were shut, and the nobles encamped at St. Ninian's. That same night they surprised the town, or, more probably, it was betrayed into their hands; and Arran, who had undertaken to defend it, was obliged to save himself by a precipitate flight. Next morning they invested the castle, in which there were not provisions for twenty-four hours; and James was necessitated immediately to hearken to terms of accommodation. They were not so elated with success as to urge extravagant demands, nor was the king unwilling to make every reasonable concession. They obtained a pardon in the most ample form, of all the offences which they had committed; the principal forts in the kingdom were, by way of security, put into their hands; Crawford, Montrose, and colonel Stewart, were removed from the king's presence; and a parliament was called, in order to establish tranquillity in the nation.^f

A parliament.
Dec. 10. Though a great majority in this parliament consisted of the confederate nobles and their adherents, they were far from discovering a vindictive spirit. Satisfied with procuring an act, restoring them to their ancient honours and estates, and ratifying the pardon granted by the king, they seemed willing to forget all past errors in the administration, and spared James the mortification of seeing his ministers branded with any public note of infamy. Arran alone, deprived of all his honours, stripped of his borrowed spoils, and declared an enemy to his country by public proclamation, sunk back into obscurity, and must henceforth be mentioned by his primitive title of captain James Stewart. As he had been, during his unmerited prosperity, the object of the hatred and indignation of his coun-

^f Cald. iii. 795.

trymen, they beheld his fall without pity; nor did all his sufferings mitigate their resentment in the least degree.

Church The clergy were the only body of men who ob-
affairs. tained no redress of their grievances by this revolu-
tion. The confederate nobles had all along affected to be considered as guardians of the privileges and discipline of the church. In all their manifestos they had declared their resolution to restore these, and by that popular pre-
tence had gained many friends. It was now natural to expect some fruit of these promises, and some returns of gratitude towards many of the most eminent preachers who had suffered in their cause, and who demanded the repeal of the laws passed the preceding year. The king, however, was resolute to maintain these laws in full authority; and as the nobles were extremely solicitous not to disgust him, by insisting on any disagreeable request, the claims of the church in this, as well as in many other instances, were sacrificed to the interests of the laity. The ministers gave vent to their indignation in the pulpit, and their impatience under the disappointment broke out in some expressions extremely disrespectful even towards the king himself.⁵

^{1586.} The archbishop of St. Andrew's, too, felt the effects of their anger. The provincial synod of Fife summoned him to appear, and to answer for his contempt of the decrees of former assemblies, in presuming to exercise the functions of a bishop. Though he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, and appealed from it to the king, a sentence of excommunication, equally indecent and irregular, was pronounced against him. Adamson, with no less indecency, thundered his archiepiscopal excommunication against Melvil, and some other of his opponents.

April 13. Soon after, a general assembly was held, in which the king, with some difficulty, obtained an act, permitting the name and office of bishop still to continue in the church. The power of the order, however, was con-

siderably retrenched. The exercise of discipline, and the inspection of the life and doctrine of the clergy, were committed to presbyteries, in which bishops should be allowed no other pre-eminence but that of presiding as perpetual moderators. They themselves were declared to be subject, in the same manner as other pastors, to the jurisdiction of the general assembly. As the discussion of the archbishop's appeal might have kindled unusual heats in the assembly, that affair was terminated by a compromise. He renounced any claim of supremacy over the church, and promised to demean himself suitably to the character of a bishop, as described by St. Paul. The assembly, without examining the foundations of the sentence of excommunication, declared that it should be held of no effect, and restored him to all the privileges which he enjoyed before it was pronounced. Notwithstanding the extraordinary tenderness shewn for the honour of this synod, and the delicacy and respect, with which its jurisdiction was treated, several members were so zealous as to protest against this decision.^h

A league with England concluded. The court of Scotland was now filled with persons so warmly attached to Elizabeth, that the league between the two kingdoms, which had been proposed last year, met with no interruption, but from D'Esneval, the French envoy. James himself first offered to renew the negotiations. Elizabeth did not suffer such a favourable opportunity to slip, and instantly despatched Randolph to conclude a treaty, which she so much desired. The danger to which the Protestant religion was exposed, by the late combination of the Popish powers for its destruction, and the necessity of a strict confederacy among those who had embraced the Reformation, in order to obstruct their pernicious designs, were mentioned as the foundation of the league. The chief articles in it were, that both parties should bind themselves to defend the Evangelical religion; that the league should be offensive and defensive against all who

July 5.

^h Cald. iii. 394. Spots. 346.

shall endeavour to disturb the exercise of religion in either kingdom; that if one of the two parties be invaded, the other, notwithstanding any former alliance, should not, directly or indirectly, assist the invader: that if England be invaded in any part remote from Scotland, James should assist the queen with two thousand horse and five thousand foot: that if the enemy landed or approached within sixty miles of Scotland, the king should take the field with his whole forces, in the same manner as he would do in defence of his own kingdom. Elizabeth, in return, undertook to act in defence of Scotland, if it should be invaded. At the same time she assured the king that no step should be taken, which might derogate in any degree from his pretensions to the English crown.ⁱ Elizabeth expressed great satisfaction with a treaty which rendered Scotland a useful ally, instead of a dangerous neighbour, and afforded her a degree of security on that side, which all her ancestors had aimed at, but none of them had been able to obtain. Zeal for religion, together with the blessings of peace which both kingdoms had enjoyed during a considerable period, had so far abated the violence of national antipathy, that the king's conduct was universally acceptable to his own people.^k

The acquittal of Archibald Douglas, at this time, exposed James to much and deserved censure. This man was deeply engaged in the conspiracy against the life of the king his father. Both Morton, and Binny, one of his own servants, who suffered for that crime, had accused him of being present at the murder.^l He had escaped punish-

ⁱ Spotsw. 351.

^k Camd. 513.

^l Arnot. Crim. Trials, 7, &c.

A Letter from Mr. Archibald Douglas to the Queen of Scots.

April—
Harl. Lib.
37. B. 9.
fol. 126.

Please your Majesty, I received your letter of the date of the 12th of Novr, and in like manner has seen some part of the contents of one other of the same date, directed to Mons^r. de Movisir, ambassador for his Majesty the most Christian King, both which are agreeable to your princely dignity. As by the one your Highness desires to know the true cause of my banishment, and offers unto me all favour if I shall be innocent of the heinous facts committed in the person of your husband of good memory, so by the other the said ambassador is willet to declare unto me, if your husband's murder could be laid justly against me, that you could not solicit in my cause, neither yet for any person that was participante of that execrable fact, but would seek the revenge thereof, when you should have any means to do it; your Majesty's offer, if I be innocent of that crime,

ment by flying into England, and James had often required Elizabeth to deliver up a person so unworthy of her pro-

is most favourable, and your desire to know the truth of the same is most equitable; and therefore that I should with all my simplicity, sincerity, and truth, answer thereunto is most reasonable, to the end that your princely dignity may be my help, if my innocence shall sufficiently appear, and procure my condemnation if I be culpable in any matter, except in the knowledge of the evil disposed minds of the most part of your nobility, against your said husband, and not revealing of it; which I am assured was sufficiently known to himself, and to all that had judgment never so little in that realm; which also I was constrained to understand, as he that was specially employed betwixt the Earl Morton, and a good number of your nobility, that they might with all humility intercede at your Majesty's hand for his relief, in such matters as are more specially contained in the declaration following, which I am constrained, for my own justification, by this letter to call to your Majesty's remembrance. Notwithstanding that I am assured, to my grief, the reading thereof will not smally offend your princely mind. It may please your Majesty to remember, that in the year of God, 1566, the said Earl of Morton, with divers other nobility and gent. were declared rebels to your Majesty, and banished your realm for insolent murder committed in your Majesty's own chamber, which they alledged was done by command of your husband, who notwithstanding affirmed that he was compelled by them to subscribe the warrant given for that effect; howsoever the truth of that matter remains amongst them, it appertains not to me at this time to be curious; true it is that I was one of that number, that heavily offended against your Majesty, and passed in France the time of our banishment, at the desire of the rest, to humbly pray your brother, the most Christian King, to intercede that our offences might be pardoned, and your Majesty's clemency extended towards us, albeit divers of no small reputation, in that realm, was of the opinion, that the said fact merited neither to be requisite for, nor yet pardoned. Always such was the careful mind of his Majesty towards the quietness of that realm, that the dealing in that cause was committed to Mons^r. de Movisir, who was directed at that time to go into Scotland, to congratulate the happy birth of your son, whom Almighty God of his goodness may long preserve in happy estate, and perpetual felicity. The careful travail of the said de Movisir was so effectual, and your Majesty's mind so inclined to mercy, that within short space thereafter, I was permitted to repair in Scotland, to deal with Earls Murray, Athol, Bodwel, Arguile, and Secretary Ledington, in the name and behalf of the said Earl Morton, Lords Reven, Lindsay, and remanent complotis, that they might make offer in the names of the said Earl of any matter that might satisfy your Majesty's wrath, and procure your clemency to be extended in their favours; at my coming to them, after I had opened the effect of my message, they declared that the marriage betwixt you and your husband had been the occasion already of great evil in that realm; and if your husband should be suffered to follow the appetite and mind of such as was about him, that kind of dealing might produce with time worse effects; for helping of such inconvenience that might fall out by that kind of dealing, they had thought it convenient to join themselves in league and band with some other noblemen, resolved to obey your Majesty as their natural sovereign, and have nothing to do with your husband's command whatsoever, if the said Earl would for himself enter into that band and confederacy with them, they could be content to humbly request and travel by all means with your Majesty for his pardon, but before they could any farther proceed, they desired to know the said Earl's mind herein; when I had answered, that he nor his friends, at my departure, could not know that any such like matter would be proponit, and therefore was not instructed what to answer therein, they desired that I should return sufficiently instructed in this matter to Sterling, before the baptism of your son, whom God might preserve; this message was faithfully delivered to me at Newcastle in England, where the said Earl then remained, in presence of his friends and company, where they all condescended to have no farther dealing with your husband, and to enter into the said band. With this deliberation I returned to Sterling, where, at the request of the most Christian King and the Queen's Majesty of England, by their ambassadors present, your Majesty's gracious pardon was granted unto them all, under condition always that they should remain banished forth of the realm, the space of two years, and farther during your Majesty's pleasure, which limitation was after mitigated at the humble request of your own nobility, so that immediately after the said Earl of Morton repaired into Scotland to Quhittingaime, where the Earl of Bodvell and Secretary Ledington come to him; what speech passed there amongst them, as God shall be my judge, I knew nothing at that time, but at their departure I was requested by the said

tection. He now obtained a licence, from the king himself, to return into Scotland; and after undergoing a mock trial, calculated to conceal, rather than to detect his guilt,

Earl Morton to accompany the Earl Bodvell and Secretary to Edinburgh, and to return with such answer as they should obtain of your Majesty, which being given to me by the said persons, as God shall be my judge, was no other than these words, "Schaw to the Earl Morton that the Queen will hear no speech of that matter appointed unto him:" when I craift that the answer might be made more sensible, Secretary Ledington said, that the Earl would sufficiently understand it, albeit few or none at that time understand what passed amongst them. It is known to all men, als veill be railing letters passed betwixt the said Earl and Ledington when they become in divers factions, as also ane buck sett furth by the ministers, wherein they affirm that the Earl of Morton has confessed to them, before his death, that the Earl Bodvell come to Quittin-gaime to prepone the calling away off the King your husband, to the which proposition the said Earl of Morton affirms that he could give no answer unto such time he might know your Majesty's mind therein, which he never received. As to the abominable murder, it is known too by the depositions of many persons that were executed to the death for the committing thereof, that the same was executed by them, and at the command of such of the nobility as had subscrivit band for that effect. By this unpleasant declaration, the most part thereof known to yourself, and the remainder may be understood by the aforesaid witnesses that was examined in torture, and that are extant in the custody of the ordinary judges in Scotland, my innocency, so far as may concern any fact, does appear sufficiently to your Majesty. And as for my dealing aforesaid, I can be no otherwise charged therein, but as what would accuse the vessel that preserves the vine from harm, for the intemperancy of such as immoderately use the same. As for the special cause of my banishment, I think the same has proceeded upon ane opinion conceived, that I was able to accuse the Earl of Morton of so much matter as they alledge himself to have confessed before he died, and would not be induced, for loss of reputation, to perform any part thereof. If this be the occasion of my trouble, as I suppose it is, what punishment I should deserve I remit me to your Majesty's better judgment, who well knows how careful ever ilk gentleman should be of his fame, reputation, and honour, and how far ever ilk man should abhor the name of a pultroun, and how indecent it would have been to me to accuse the Earl of Morton, being so near of his kin, notwithstanding all the injuries I was constrained to receive at his hand all the time of his government, and for no other cause, but for shewing of particular friendship to particular friends in the time of the last cruel troubles in Scotland. Sorry I be now to accuse him in any matter being dead, and more sorry that being on lyff, be such kind of dealing obtained that name of Ingrate. Always for my own part I have been banished my native country those three years and four months, living in anxiety of mind, my holl guds in Scotland, which were not small, intermittit and disponit upon, and has continually since the time I was relieved out of my last troubles at the desire of Mons^r. de Movisir, attended to know your Majesty's pleasure, and to wait upon what service it should please your Majesty for to command. Upon the 8th of April inst. your good friend Secretary Walsinghame has declared unto me, that her Highness tho't it expedient that I should retire myself where I pleased, I declared unto him I had no means whereby I might perform that desire, until such time as I should receive it from your Majesty. Neither knew I where it would please your Highness to direct me, until such time as I should have received further information from you. Upon this occasion, and partly by permission, I have taken the hardress to write this present letter, whereby your Majesty may understand any part of my troubles past, and straight present. As to my intention future, I will never deny that I am fully resolved to spend the rest of my days in your Majesty's service, and the King your son's, wheresoever I shall be directed by your Majesty, and for the better performing thereof, if so shall be her Majesty's pleasure, to recommend the tryal of my innocency, and examination of the verity of the preceding narration, to the King your son, with request that I may be pardoned for such offences as concerned your Majesty's service, and var common to all men the time of his les aige and perdonit to all, except to me, I should be the bearer thereof myself, and be directed in whatsoever service it should please your Majesty for to command. Most humbly I beseech your Majesty to consider hereof, and to be so gracious as to give order, that I may have means to serve your Majesty according to the sincerity of my meaning, and so expecting your Majesty's answer, after the kissing your hand with all humility, I take leave from London.

he was not only taken into favour by the king, but sent back to the court of England, with the honourable character of his ambassador. James was now of such an age, that his youth and inexperience cannot be pleaded in excuse for this indecent transaction. It must be imputed to the excessive facility of his temper, which often led him to gratify his courtiers at the expense of his own dignity and reputation.^m

Rise of Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth. Not long after, the inconsiderate affection of the English Catholics towards Mary, and their implacable resentment against Elizabeth, gave rise to a conspiracy which proved fatal to the one queen, left an indelible stain on the reputation of the other, and presented a spectacle to Europe, of which there had been hitherto no example in the history of mankind.

Doctor Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodgson, priests educated in the seminary at Rheims, had adopted an extravagant and enthusiastic notion, that the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth was dictated immediately by the Holy Ghost. This wild opinion they instilled into Savage, an officer in the Spanish army, noted for his furious zeal and daring courage; and persuaded him that no service could be so acceptable to heaven, as to take away the life of an excommunicated heretic. Savage, eager to obtain the crown of martyrdom, bound himself by a solemn vow to kill Elizabeth. Ballard, a pragmatist priest of that seminary, had at that time come over to Paris, and solicited Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador there, to procure an invasion of England, while the affairs of the league were so prosperous, and the kingdom left naked by sending so many of the queen's best troops into the Netherlands. Paget and the English exiles demonstrated the fruitlessness of such an attempt, unless Elizabeth were first cut off, or the invaders secured of a powerful concurrence on their landing. If it could be hoped that either of these events would happen, effectual aid was promised; and in the mean time Ballard was sent back to renew his intrigues.

^m Spots. 348. Cald. iii. 917.

May 15. He communicated his designs to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman in Derbyshire, of a large fortune and many amiable qualities, who having contracted, during his residence in France, a familiarity with the archbishop of Glasgow, had been recommended by him to the queen of Scots. He concurred with Paget, in considering the death of Elizabeth as a necessary preliminary to any invasion. Ballard gave him hopes that an end would soon be put to her days, and imparted to him Savage's vow, who was now in London waiting for an opportunity to strike the blow. But Babington thought the attempt of too much importance, to rely on a single hand for the execution of it, and proposed that five resolute gentlemen should be joined with Savage in an enterprise, the success of which was the foundation of all their hopes. He offered to find out persons willing to undertake the service, whose honour, secrecy, and courage, they might safely trust. He accordingly opened the matter to Edward Windsor, Thomas Salisbury, Charles Tinley, Chidioc Tichbourne, Robert Gage, John Travers, Robert Barnwell, John Charnock, Henry Dun, John Jones, and Robert Polly; all of them, except Polly, whose bustling forward zeal introduced him into their society, gentlemen of good families, united together in the bonds of private friendship, strengthened by the more powerful tie of religious zeal.

June. Many consultations were held; their plan of operations was at last settled; and their different parts assigned. Babington himself was appointed to rescue the queen of Scots: Salisbury, with some others, undertook to excite several counties to take arms; the murder of the queen, the most dangerous and important service of all, fell to Tichbourne and Savage, with four associates. So totally had their bigoted prejudices extinguished the principles of honour, and the sentiments of humanity suitable to their rank, that, without scruple or compunction, they undertook an action which is viewed with horror even when committed by the meanest and most profligate of mankind. This attempt, on the contrary, ap-

The
scheme of
the con-
spirators.

peared to them no less honourable than it was desperate ; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of it, they had a picture drawn, containing the portraits of the six assassins, with that of Babington in the middle, and a motto intimating that they were jointly embarked in some hazardous design.

Discovered by Walsingham. The conspirators, as appears by this wanton and imprudent instance of vanity, seem to have thought a discovery hardly possible, and neither distrusted the fidelity of their companions, nor doubted the success of their undertaking. But while they believed that their machinations were carried on with the most profound and impenetrable secrecy, every step they took was fully known to Walsingham. Polly was one of his spies, and had entered into the conspiracy, with no other design than to betray his associates. Gilbert Gifford, too, having been sent over to England to quicken the motions of the conspirators, had been gained by Walsingham, and gave him sure intelligence of all their projects. That vigilant minister immediately imparted the discoveries which he had made to Elizabeth ; and, without communicating the matter to any other of the counsellors, they agreed, in order to understand the plot more perfectly, to wait until it was ripened into some form, and brought near the point of execution.

They are seized and punished. Aug. 4. At last, Elizabeth thought it dangerous and criminal to expose her own life, and to tempt Providence any farther. Ballard, the prime mover in the whole conspiracy, was arrested. His associates, disconcerted and struck with astonishment, endeavoured to save themselves by flight. But within a few days, all of them, except Windsor, were seized in different places of the kingdom, and committed to the Tower. Though they had undertaken the part, they wanted the firm and determined spirit of assassins ; and influenced by fear or by hope, at once confessed all that they knew. The indignation of the people, and their impatience to revenge such an execrable combination against the life of their sovereign,

Sep. 20. hastened their trial, and all of them suffered the death of traitors.^a

Mary is accused of being an accomplice in the conspiracy.

Thus far Elizabeth's conduct may be pronounced both prudent and laudable, nor can she be accused of violating any law of humanity, or of taking any precautions beyond what were necessary for her own safety. But a tragical scene followed, with regard to which posterity will pass a very different judgment.

The frantic zeal of a few rash young men accounts sufficiently for all the wild and wicked designs which they had formed. But this was not the light in which Elizabeth and her ministers chose to place the conspiracy. They wished to persuade the nation, that Babington and his associates should be considered merely as instruments employed by the queen of Scots, the real though secret author of so many attempts against the life of Elizabeth, and the peace of her kingdoms. They produced letters, which they ascribed to her in support of this charge. These, as they gave out, had come into their hands by the following singular and mysterious method of conveyance. Gifford, on his return into England, had been trusted by some of the exiles with letters to Mary; but, in order to make a trial of his fidelity and address, they were only blank papers made up in that form. These being safely delivered by him, he was afterward employed without farther scruple. Walsingham having found means to gain this man, he, by the permission of that minister, and the connivance of Paulet, bribed a tradesman in the neighbourhood of Chartley, whither Mary had been conveyed, who deposited the letters in hole in the wall of the castle, covered with a loose stone. Thence they were taken by the queen, and in the same manner her answers returned. All these were carried to Walsingham, opened by him, deciphered, sealed again so dexterously that the fraud could not be perceived, and then transmitted to the persons to whom they were directed. Two letters to Babington, with several to Mendoza, Paget,

^a Camd. 515. State Trials, vol. i. 110.

Englefield, and the English fugitives, were procured by this artifice. It was given out, that in these letters Mary approved of the conspiracy, and even of the assassination; that she directed them to proceed with the utmost circumspection, and not to take arms until foreign auxiliaries were ready to join them; that she recommended the earl of Arundel, his brothers, and the young earl of Northumberland, as proper persons to conduct and to add reputation to their enterprise; that she advised them, if possible, to excite at the same time some commotion in Ireland; and, above all, besought them to concert with care the means of her own escape, suggesting to them several expedients for that purpose.

The indignation of the English against her on that account. All these circumstances were opened at the trial of the conspirators; and while the nation was under the influence of those terrors which the association had raised, and the late danger had augmented, they were believed without hesitation or inquiry, and spread a general alarm. Mary's zeal for her religion was well known; and in that age, examples of the violent and sanguinary spirit which it inspired were numerous. All the cabals against the peace of the kingdom for many years had been carried on in her name; and it now appears evidently, said the English, that the safety of the one queen is incompatible with that of the other. Why then, added they, should the tranquillity of England be sacrificed for the sake of a stranger? Why is a life so dear to the nation, exposed to the repeated assaults of an exasperated rival? The case supposed in the association has now happened, the sacred person of our sovereign has been threatened, and why should not an injured people execute that just vengeance which they had vowed?

Elizabeth resolves to proceed to the utmost extremities against her. No sentiments could be more agreeable than these to Elizabeth and her ministers. They themselves had at first propagated them among the people, and they now served both as an apology and a motive for their proceeding to such extremities against the Scottish queen as they had long meditated.

The more numerous the injuries were which Elizabeth had heaped on Mary, the more she feared and hated that unhappy queen, and came at last to be persuaded that there could be no other security for her own life, but the death of her rival. Burleigh and Walsingham had promoted so zealously all Elizabeth's measures with regard to Scottish affairs, and had acted with so little reserve in opposition to Mary, that they had reason to dread the most violent effects of her resentment, if ever she should mount the throne of England. From this additional consideration they endeavoured, with the utmost earnestness, to hinder an event so fatal to themselves, by confirming their mistress's fear and hatred of the Scottish queen.

Meanwhile, Mary was guarded with unusual vigilance, and great care was taken to keep her ignorant of the discovery of the conspiracy. Sir Thomas

Gorges was at last sent from court to acquaint her both of it, and of the imputation with which she was loaded as accessory to that crime, and he surprised her with the account just as she had got on horseback to ride out along with her keepers. She was struck with astonishment, and would have returned to her apartment, but she was not permitted; and, in her absence, her private closet was broken open, her cabinet and papers were seized, sealed, and sent up to court. Her principal domestics too were arrested, and committed to different keepers. Naué and Curle, her two secretaries, the one a native of France, the other of Scotland, were carried prisoners to London. All the money in her custody, amounting to little more than

° A Letter from Sir Amius Pawlet.

SIR,

I DID forbear, according to your direction signified in your letters of the fourth of this present, to proceed to the execution of the contents of Mr. Cal. C. 9. Waade's letters unto you, for the dispersing of this lady's unnecessary servants, and for the ceasing of her money, wherein I was bold to write unto you my simple opinion (although in vain as it now falleth out), by my letters of the 7th of this instant, which I doubt not, are with you before this time; but upon the receipt of your letters of the 5th, which came not into my hand until the 8th in the evening, by reason, as it did appear by indorsement, that they had been mistaken, and were sent back to Windsor, after they were entered into the way towards me, I considered, that being accompanied only with my own servants, it might be thought that they would be intreated to say as I would command them; and therefore I thought good for my better discharge in these money matters, to crave the assistance of Mr. Richard Bagott, who

two thousand pounds, was secured. And, after leading her about for some days, from one gentleman's house to another

repairing unto me the next morning, we had access to this Queen, whom we found in her bed, troubled after the old manner with a defluxion, which was fallen down into the side of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands, unto whom I declared, that upon occasion of her former practices, doubting lest she would persist therein by corrupting underhand some bad members of this state, I was expressly commanded to take her money into my hands, and to rest answerable for it, when it shall be required; advising her to deliver the said money unto me with quietness. After many denials, many exclamations, and many bitter words against you (I say nothing of her railing against myself), with flat affirmation that her Majesty might have her body, but her heart she should never have, refusing to deliver the key of the cabinet, I called my servants, and sent for barrs to break open the door, whereupon she yielded, and causing the door to be opened, I found there, in the coffers mentioned in Mr. Waade's remembrance, five rolls of canvass, containing five thousand French crowns, and two leather bags, whereof the one had, in gold, one hundred and four pounds two shillings, and the other had three pounds in silver, which bag of silver was left with her, affirming that she had no more money in this house, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages. Mr. Waade's note maketh mention of three

Curle can rolls left in Curle's chamber, wherein, no doubt, he was misreckoned, tell you which is evident as well by the testimonies and oaths of diverse persons, the truth as also by probable conjectures; so as in truth we found only two rolls, of this matter. every of which containeth one thousand crowns, which was this Queen's guifte to Curle's wife at her marriage. There is found in Naw's chamber, in a cabinet, a chain worth by estimation one hundred pounds, and in

money, in one bag nine hundred pounds, in a second bag two hundred fourscore and six pounds eighteen shillings. All the foresaid parcels of money are bestowed in bags, and sealed by Mr. Richard Bagot, saving five hundred pounds of Naw's money, which I reserve in my hands for the use of this household, and may be repayed at London, where her Majesty shall appoint, out of the money received lately by one of my servants out of the exchequer. I feared lest the people might have dispersed this money in all this time, or have hidden the same in some secret corners; for doubt whereof I had caused all this Queen's family, from the highest to the lowest, to be guarded in the several places where I found them, so as yf I had not found the money with quietness, I had been forced to have searched first all their lodgings, and then their own persons. I thank God with all my heart, as for a singular blessing, that that falleth out so well, fearing lest a contrary success might have moved some hard conceits in her Majesty.

Touching the dispersion of this Queen's servants, I trust I have done so much as may suffice to satisfy her Majesty for the time, wherein I could not take any absolute course, until I heard again from you, partly because her Majesty, by Mr. Waade's letter, doth refer to your consideration to return such as shall be discharged to their several dwellings and countries, wherein as it seemeth, you have forgotten to deliver your opinion; partly, for that, as yet I have received no answer from you of your resolution, upon the view of the Scottish family sent unto you, what persons you will appoint to be dismist; only this I have done, I have bestowed all such as are mentioned in this bill, inclosed in three or four several rooms, as the same may suffice to contain them, and that their meat and drink shall be brought unto them by my servants. It may please you, to advertise me by your next letters, in what sort, and for what course, I

This lady shall make their passports, as also, if they shall say that they are unpaid of their wages, what I shall do therein. Yt is said that they have been accustomed to be paid of their wages at Christmas for the whole year. Her Majesty's charge will be somewhat diminished by the departure of this people, and my charge by this occasion will be the more easy. But the persons all, save Bastian, are such silly and simple souls, as there was no great cause to fear their practices, and upon this ground, I was of opinion, in my former letters, that all this dismissed train should have followed their mistress until the next remove, and there to have been discharged upon the sudden, for doubt that the said remove might be delayed, yf she did fear, or expect any hard measure.

Others shall excuse their foolish pity as they may: but, for my part, I renounce my part of the joys of heaven, yf in any thing that I have said, written, or done, I have had any other respect than the furtherance of her Majesty's service; and so I shall most earnestly pray you to affirm for me, as likewise for the not seasing of the money by

other, she was conveyed to Fotheringay, a strong castle in Northamptonshire.^p

Deliberates concerning the method of proceeding. No farther evidence could now be expected against Mary, and nothing remained but to decide what should be her fate. With regard to this, Elizabeth, and those ministers in whom she chiefly confided, seem to have taken their resolution; but there was still great variety of sentiments among her other counsellors. Some thought it sufficient to dismiss all Mary's attendants, and to keep her under such close restraint, as would cut off all possibility of corresponding with the enemies of the kingdom; and as her constitution, broken by long confinement, and her spirit, dejected with so many sorrows, could not long support such an additional load, the queen and nation would soon be delivered from all their fears. But though it might be easy to secure Mary's own person, it was impossible to diminish the reverence which the Roman Catholics had for her name, or to extinguish the compassion with which they viewed her sufferings: while such sentiments continued, insurrections and invasions would never be wanting for her relief, and the only effect of any new rigour would be to render these attempts more frequent and more dangerous. For this reason the expedient was rejected.

Determines to try her publicly. A public and legal trial, though the most unexampled, was judged the most unexceptionable method of proceeding; and it had, at the same time, a semblance of justice, accompanied with an air of dignity. It was in vain to search the ancient records for any statute or precedent to justify such an uncommon step, as the trial

Mr. Manners, the other commissioners, and myself. I trust Mr. Waade hath answered, in all humble duties, for the whole company, that no one of us did so much as think that our commission reaching only to the papers, we might be bold to touch the money, so as there was no speech of that all to my knowledge, and as you know I was no commissioner in this search, but had my hands full at Tyxall, discreet servants are not hastily to deal in great matters without warrant, and especially where the cause is such as the delay of it carrieth no danger.

Your advertisement of that happy remove hath been greatly comfortable unto me. I will not say, in respect of myself, because my private interest hath no measure of comparison with her Majesty's safety, and with the quiet of this realm. God grant a happy and speedy issue to these good and godly counsels; and so I commit you to his merciful protection. From Chartley, the 10th of September, 1586.

of a foreign prince, who had not entered the kingdom in arms, but had fled thither for refuge. The proceedings against her were founded on the act of last parliament, and by applying it in this manner, the intention of those who had framed that severe statute became more apparent.⁹

Elizabeth resolved that no circumstance of pomp or solemnity should be wanting, which could render this transaction such as became the dignity of the person to be tried. She appointed, by a commission under the great seal, forty persons, the most illustrious in the kingdom by their birth or offices, together with five of the judges, to hear and decide this great cause. Many difficulties were started by the lawyers about the name and title by which Mary should be arraigned; and, while the essentials of justice were so grossly violated, the empty forms of it were the objects of their care. They at length agreed that she should be styled “Mary, daughter and heir of James V. late king of Scots, commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France.”^r

After the many indignities which she had lately suffered, Mary could no longer doubt but that her destruction was determined. She expected every moment to end her days by poison, or by some of those secret means usually employed against captive princes. Lest the malice of her enemies, at the same time that it deprived her of life, should endeavour likewise to blast her reputation, she wrote to the duke of Guise, and vindicated herself, in the strongest terms, from the imputation of encouraging or of being accessory to the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth.^s In the solitude of her prison, the strange resolution of bringing her to a public trial had not reached her ears, nor did the idea of any thing so unprecedented, and so repugnant to regal majesty, once enter into her thoughts.

On the eleventh of October, the commissioners appointed by Elizabeth arrived at Fotheringay. Next morning they delivered a letter from their sovereign to Mary, in which, after the bitterest reproaches and accu-

The trial at Fotheringay.

⁹ Camd. 519. Johnst. Hist. 113.

^r Strype, iii. 362.

^s Jebb, ii. 283.

sations, she informed her, that regard for the happiness of the nation had at last rendered it necessary to make a public inquiry into her conduct, and therefore required her, as she had lived so long under the protection of the laws of England, to submit now to the trial which they ordained to be taken of her crimes. Mary, though surprised at this message, was neither appalled at the danger, nor unmindful of her own dignity. She protested, in the most solemn manner, that she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and had never countenanced any attempt against the life of the queen of England; but at the same time, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came into the kingdom," said she, "an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority. Nor is my spirit so broken by its past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The queen of England's subjects, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me any protection. Let them not now be perverted in order to take away my life."

The commissioners employed arguments and entreaties to overcome Mary's resolution. They even threatened to proceed according to the forms of law, and to pass sentence against her on account of her contumacy in refusing to plead; she persisted, however, for two days, to decline their jurisdiction. An argument, used by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, at last prevailed. He told her, that by avoiding a trial, she injured her own reputation, and deprived herself of the only opportunity of setting her innocence in a clear light: and that nothing would be more agreeable to them, or more acceptable to the queen their mistress, than to be convinced, by undoubted evidence, that she had been unjustly loaded with foul aspersions.

No wonder pretexts so plausible should impose ^{Consents} however ^{to do so.} on the unwary queen, or that she, unassisted at that time by any friend or counsellor, should not be able to detect and elude all the artifices of Elizabeth's ablest ministers. In a situation equally melancholy, and under circumstances nearly similar, her grandson, Charles I. refused, with the utmost firmness, to acknowledge the usurped jurisdiction of the high court of justice; and posterity has approved his conduct, as suitable to the dignity of a king. If Mary was less constant in her resolution, it must be imputed solely to her anxious desire of vindicating her own honour.

^{Oct. 14.} At her appearance before the judges, who were seated in the great hall of the castle, where they received her with much ceremony, she took care to protest that by condescending to hear and to give an answer to the accusations which should be brought against her, she neither acknowledged the jurisdiction of the court, nor admitted the validity and justice of those acts by which they pretended to try her.

The chancellor, by a counter-protestation, endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court.

^{The accusation against her.} Then Elizabeth's attorney and solicitor opened the charge against her, with all the circumstances of the late conspiracy. Copies of Mary's letters to Mendoza, Babington, Englefield, and Paget, were produced. Babington's confession, those of Ballard, Savage, and the other conspirators, together with the declarations of Naué and Curle, her secretaries, were read; and the whole ranged in the most specious order which the art of the lawyers could devise, and heightened by every colour their eloquence could add.

Mary listened to their harangues attentively, and without emotion. But at the mention of the earl of Arundel's name, who was then confined in the Tower, she broke out into this tender and generous exclamation; "Alas, how much has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!"

When the queen's counsel had finished, Mary stood

Her defence. up, and with great magnanimity, and equal presence of mind, began her defence. She bewailed the unhappiness of her own situation, that after a captivity of nineteen years, during which she had suffered treatment no less cruel than unmerited, she was at last loaded with an accusation, which tended not only to rob her of her right of succession, and to deprive her of life itself, but to transmit her name with infamy to future ages: that, without regarding the sacred rights of sovereignty, she was now subjected to laws framed against private persons; though an anointed queen, commanded to appear before the tribunal of subjects: and, like a common criminal, her honour exposed to the petulant tongues of lawyers, capable of wresting her words, and of misrepresenting her actions: that, even in this dishonourable situation, she was denied the privileges usually granted to criminals, and obliged to undertake her own defence, without the presence of any friend with whom to advise, without the aid of counsel, and without the use of her own papers.

She then proceeded to the particular articles in the accusation. She absolutely denied any correspondence with Babington or Ballard: copies only of her pretended letters to them were produced; though nothing less than her hand-writing or subscription was sufficient to convict her of such an odious crime; no proof could be brought that their letters were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction; the confessions of wretches condemned and executed for such a detestable action, were of little weight; fear or hope might extort from them many things inconsistent with truth, nor ought the honour of a queen to be stained by such vile testimony. The declaration of her secretaries was not more conclusive; promises and threats might easily overcome the resolution of two strangers; in order to screen themselves, they might throw the blame on her; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice, without violating, in the first place, the oath of fidelity which they had sworn to her; and their perjury, in one instance, rendered them un-

worthy of credit in another : the letters to the Spanish ambassador were either nothing more than copies, or contained only what was perfectly innocent : “ I have often,” continued she, “ made such efforts for the recovery of my liberty, as are natural to a human creature. Convinced, by the sad experience of so many years, that it was vain to expect it from the justice or generosity of the queen of England, I have frequently solicited foreign princes, and called upon all my friends to employ their whole interest for my relief. I have likewise endeavoured to procure for the English Catholics some mitigation of the rigour with which they are now treated ; and if I could hope, by my death, to deliver them from oppression, I am willing to die for their sake. I wish, however, to imitate the example of Esther, not of Judith, and would rather make intercession for my people, than shed the blood of the meanest creature, in order to save them. I have often checked the intemperate zeal of my adherents, when either the severity of their own persecutions, or indignation at the unheard-of injuries which I have endured, were apt to precipitate them into violent counsels. I have even warned the queen of dangers to which these harsh proceedings exposed herself. And worn out, as I now am, with cares and sufferings, the prospect of a crown is not so inviting, that I should ruin my soul in order to obtain it. I am no stranger to the feelings of humanity, nor unacquainted with the duties of religion, and abhor the detestable crime of assassination, as equally repugnant to both. And, if ever I have given consent by my words, or even by my thoughts, to any attempt against the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of men, I shall not even pray for the mercy of God.”

Two different days did Mary appear before the judges, and in every part of her behaviour maintained the magnanimity of a queen, tempered with the gentleness and modesty of a woman.

The commissioners, by Elizabeth's express command, adjourned, without pronouncing any sen-

Sentence
against
her.

Oct. 25. ^{ad} tence, to the Star-chamber, in Westminster. When assembled in that place, Naué and Curle were brought into court, and confirmed their former declaration upon oath; and after reviewing all their proceedings, the commissioners unanimously declared Mary "to be necessary to Babington's conspiracy, and to have imagined divers matter tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the express words of the statute made for the security of the queen's life."^u

^{Irregularities in the trial.} It is no easy matter to determine whether the injustice in appointing this trial, or the irregularity in conducting it, were greatest and most flagrant. By what right did Elizabeth claim authority over an independent queen? Was Mary bound to comply with the laws of a foreign kingdom? How could the subjects of another prince become her judges? or if such an insult on royalty were allowed, ought not the common forms of justice to have been observed? If the testimony of Babington and his associates were so explicit, why did not Elizabeth spare them for a few weeks, and by confronting them with Mary, overwhelm her with the full conviction of her crimes? Naué and Curle were both alive: wherefore did not they appear at Fotheringay, and for what reason were they produced in the Star-chamber, where Mary was not present to hear what they deposed? Was this suspicious evidence enough to condemn a queen? Ought the meanest criminal to have been found guilty upon such feeble and inconclusive proofs?

It was not, however, on the evidence produced at her trial, that the sentence against Mary was founded. That served as a pretence to justify, but was not the cause of the violent steps taken by Elizabeth and her ministers towards her destruction; and was employed to give some appearance of justice to what was the offspring of jealousy and fear. The nation, blinded with resentment against Mary, and solicitous to secure the life of its own sovereign from every danger, observed no irregularities in the proceedings;

and attended to no defects in the proof, but grasped at the suspicions and probabilities, as if they had been irrefragable demonstrations.

The parliament confirmed the sentence. The parliament met a few days after sentence was pronounced against Mary. In that illustrious assembly more temper and discernment than are to be found among the people, might have been expected. Both lords and commons, however, were equally under the dominion of popular prejudices and passions, and the same excess of zeal, or of fear, which prevailed in the nation, are apparent in all their proceedings. They entered with impatience upon an inquiry into the conspiracy; and the danger which threatened the queen's life as well as the peace of the kingdom. All the papers which had been produced at Fotheringay were laid before them; and, after many violent invectives against the queen of Scots, both houses unanimously ratified the proceedings of the commissioners by whom she had been tried, and declared the sentence against her to be just and well founded. Not satisfied with this, they presented a joint address to the queen, beseeching her, as she regarded her own safety, the preservation of the Protestant religion, the welfare and wishes of her people, to publish the sentence; and without farther delay to inflict on a rival, no less irreclaimable than dangerous, the punishment which she had merited by so many crimes. This request, dictated by fears unworthy of that great assembly, was enforced by reasons still more unworthy. They were drawn not from justice but from conveniency. The most rigorous confinement, it was pretended, could not curb Mary's intriguing spirit; her address was found, by long experience, to be an overmatch for the vigilance and jealousy of all her keepers; the severest penal laws could not restrain her adherents, who, while they believed her person to be sacred, would despise any danger to which themselves alone were exposed: several foreign princes were ready to second their attempts, and waited only a proper opportunity for invading the kingdom, and asserting the

Scottish queen's title to the crown. Her life, they contended, was, for these reasons, incompatible with Elizabeth's safety; and if she were spared out of a false clemency, the queen's person, the religion and liberties of the kingdom, could not be one moment secure. Necessity required that she should be sacrificed in order to preserve these; and to prove this sacrifice to be no less just than necessary, several examples in history were produced, and many texts of scripture quoted; but both the one and the other were misapplied, and distorted from their true meaning.

Eliza-
beth's
dissimu-
lation.

Nothing, however, could be more acceptable to Elizabeth, than an address in this strain. It extricated her out of a situation extremely embarrassing; and, without depriving her of the power of sparing, it enabled her to punish her rival with less appearance of blame. If she chose the former, the whole honour would redound to her own clemency. If she determined on the latter, whatever was rigorous might now seem to be extorted by the solicitations of her people, rather than to flow from her own inclination. Her answer, however, was in a style which she often used, ambiguous and evasive, under the appearance of openness and candour; full of such professions of regard for her people, as served to heighten their loyalty; of such complaints of Mary's ingratitude, as were calculated to excite their indignation; and of such insinuations that her own life was in danger, as could not fail to keep alive their fears. In the end, she besought them to save her the infamy and the pain of delivering up a queen, her nearest kinswoman, to punishment; and to consider whether it might not still be possible to provide for the public security, without forcing her to imbrue her hands in royal blood.

The true meaning of this reply was easily understood. The lords and commons renewed their former request with additional importunity, which was far from being either unexpected or offensive. Elizabeth did not return any answer more explicit; and having obtained such a public sanction of her proceedings, there was no longer any reason

for protracting this scene of dissimulation ; there was even some danger that her feigned difficulties might at last be treated as real ones ; she therefore prorogued the parliament, and reserved in her own hands the sole disposal of her rival's fate.*

France interposes feebly in behalf of Mary. All the princes in Europe observed the proceedings against Mary with astonishment and honour ; and even Henry III., notwithstanding his known aversion to the house of Guise, was obliged to interpose in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty. Aubespine, his resident ambassador, and Bellievre, who was sent with an extraordinary commission to the same purpose, interceded for Mary with great appearance of warmth. They employed all the arguments which the cause naturally suggested ; they pleaded from justice, from generosity, and humanity ; they intermingled reproaches and threats ; but to all these Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable ; and having received some intimation of Henry's real unconcern about the fate of the Scottish queen, and knowing his antipathy to all the race of Guise, she trusted that these loud remonstrances would be followed by no violent resentment.†

James endeavours to save his mother's life. She paid no greater regard to the solicitations of the Scottish king, which, as they were urged with greater sincerity, merited more attention. Though her commissioners had been extremely careful to soothe James, by publishing a declaration that their sentence against Mary did, in no degree, derogate from his honour, or invalidate any title which he formerly possessed ; he beheld the indignities to which his mother had been exposed with filial concern, and with the sentiments which became a king. The pride of the Scottish nation was roused, by the insult offered to the blood of their monarchs, and called upon him to employ the most vigorous efforts, in order to prevent or to revenge the queen's death.

At first, he could hardly believe that Elizabeth would venture upon an action so unprecedented, which tended so

* Camd. 526. D'Ewes, 375.

† Camd. 531.

visibly to render the persons of princes less sacred in the eyes of the people, and which degraded the regal dignity, of which, at other times, she was so remarkably jealous. But as soon as the extraordinary steps which she took discovered her intention, he dispatched Sir William Keith to London; who, together with Douglas, his ambassador in ordinary, remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the injury done to an independent queen, in subjecting her to be tried like a private person, and by laws to which she owed no obedience; and besought Elizabeth not to add to this injury by suffering a sentence unjust in itself, as well as dishonourable to the king of Scots, to be put into execution.²

² Murdin, 573, &c. Birch. Mem. i. 52.

Letter from the King of Scots to Mr. Archibald Douglas, his ambassador in England, October, 1586.

Cott. Lib.
Calig.
C. 9.
An original in the King's hand.

Reserve up yourself na langer in the earnest dealing for my mother, for ye have done it too long; and think not that any your travellis can do good if hir lyfe be takin, for then adeu with my dealing with thaim that are the special instrumentis thair of; and, theirfore, gif ye look for the continueance of my favour towartis you, spair na pains nor plainnes in this case, but reade my letter writtin to Williame Keith, and conform yourself quhollie to the contentis thair of, and in this request let me reap the fructis of youre great credit there, aither now or never. Fairwell. October, 1586.

Letter to Sir William Keith, ambassador in England, probably from Secretary Maitland, November 27, 1586.

A copy in the Collect. of Sir A. Dick. Vol. A. fol. 219.

By your letters sent by this bearer (albeit concerning no pleasant subject), his Majesty conceives well of your earnestness and fidelity in your negotiations, as also of Mr. Archibald's activity and diligence, whom you so greatly praise and recommend, I wish the issue correspond to his Majesty's opinion, your care and travell, and his great diligence as you write. His Majesty takes this rigorous proceeding against his mother deeply in heart, as a matter greatly concerning him both in honour and otherwise. His Highnesses actions and behaviour utter plainly not only how far nature prevails, but also how he apprehends of the sequel of that process, and of what moment he esteems it. There is an ambassade shortly to be directed, wherein will be employed an Earl and two counsellors, on whose answer will depend the continuance or dissolution of the amity and good intelligence between the Princes of this sle. In the mean season, if farther extremity be used, and his Majesty's suit and request disdained, his Highness will think himself dishonoured and contemned far besides his expectations and deserts. Ye may perceive his Majesty's disposition by his letter to you, which you shall impart to Mr. Archibald, and both deal according thereto. I need not to recommend to you care, concerning your master's service both in weill and in honour. As you and your colleague shall behave yourself in this behalf, so for my part will I interpret your affection to your master. I am glad of that I hear of yourself, and I do fully credit that you write of Mr. Archibald, whose friends here do make great account of his professed devotion to the Queen, besides the duty he owes to the King's Majesty, her son. Farther I am constrained to remit to next occasion, having scarce time to scribble these few lines (which of themselves may bear witness of my haste). Wishing you a prosperous issue of your negotiation, I commit you, &c. Halyrudhouse, Nov^r. 27th, 1586.

The people, and all estates here are so far moved by the rigorous proceedings against the Queen, that his Majesty, and all that have credit are importuned, and may not go abroad for exclamations against them, and imprecations against the Queen of England.

Elizabeth returning no answer to these remonstrances of his ambassador, James wrote to her with his own hand, complaining in the bitterest terms of her conduct, not without threats that both his duty and his honour would oblige him to renounce her friendship, and act as became a son when called to revenge his mother's wrongs.^a At the same time he assembled the nobles, who promised to stand by him in so good a cause. He appointed ambassadors to France, Spain, and Denmark, in order to implore the aid of these courts; and took other steps towards executing his threats with vigour. The high strain of his letter enraged Elizabeth to such a degree, that she was ready to dismiss his ambassadors without any reply. But his preparations alarmed and embarrassed her ministers, and at their entreaty she returned a soft and evasive answer, promising to listen to any overture from the king, that tended to his mother's safety; and to suspend the execution of the sentence, until the arrival of new ambassadors from Scotland.^b

Dec. 6. The sentence against Mary published. Meanwhile, she commanded the sentence against Mary to be published, and forgot not to inform the people, that this was extorted from her by the repeated entreaty of both houses of parliament. At the same time she dispatched lord Buckhurst and Beale to acquaint Mary with the sentence, and how importunately the nation demanded the execution of it; and though she had not hitherto yielded to these solicitations, she advised her to prepare for an event which might become necessary for securing the Protestant religion, as well as quieting the minds of the people. Mary received the message not only without symptoms of fear, but with expressions of triumph. "No wonder," said she, "the English should now thirst for the blood of a foreign prince, they have often offered violence to their own monarchs. But after so many sufferings, death comes to me as a welcome deliverer. I am proud to think that my life is deemed of importance to the

^a Birch. Mem. i. 52.

^b Spotsw. 551. Cald. iv. 5.

Catholic religion, and as a martyr for it I am now willing to die."^c

She is treated with the utmost rigour.

After the publication of the sentence Mary was stripped of every remaining mark of royalty. The canopy of state in her apartment was pulled down; Paulet entered her chamber, and approached her person without any ceremony; and even appeared covered in her presence. Shocked with these indignities, and offended at this gross familiarity, to which she had never been accustomed, Mary once more complained to Elizabeth; and at the same time, as her last request, entreated that she would permit her servants to carry her dead body into France, to be laid among her ancestors in hallowed ground; that some of her domestics might be present at her death, to bear witness of her innocence, and firm adherence to the Catholic faith; that all her servants might be suffered to leave the kingdom, and to enjoy those small legacies which she should bestow on them, as testimonies of her affection; and that, in the mean time, her almoner, or some other Catholic priest, might be allowed to attend her, and to assist her in preparing for an eternal world. She besought her, in the name of Jesus, by the soul and memory of Henry VII., their common progenitor, by their near consanguinity, and the royal dignity with which they were both invested, to gratify her in these particulars, and to indulge her so far as to signify her compliance by a letter under her own hand. Whether Mary's letter was ever delivered to Elizabeth is uncertain. No answer was returned, and no regard paid to her requests. She was offered a Protestant bishop or dean to attend her. Them she rejected, and without any clergyman to direct her devotions, she prepared, in great tranquillity, for the approach of death, which she now believed to be at no great distance.^d

1587. James, without losing a moment, sent new ambassadors to London. These were the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvil. In order to remove

James renews his solicita-

^c Camd. 528. Jebb, 291.

^d Camd. 528. Jebb, ii. 295.

tions in her behalf. Jan. 1. Elizabeth's fears, they offered that their master would become bound that no conspiracy should be undertaken against her person, or the peace of the kingdom, with Mary's consent; and for the faithful performance of this, would deliver some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles as hostages. If this were not thought sufficient, they proposed that Mary should resign all her rights and pretensions to her son, from whom nothing injurious to the Protestant religion, or inconsistent with Elizabeth's safety, could be feared. The former proposal Elizabeth rejected as insecure; the latter, as dangerous. The ambassadors were then instructed to talk in a higher tone; and Melvil executed the commission with fidelity and with zeal. But Gray, with his usual perfidy, deceived his master, who trusted him with a negotiation of so much importance, and betrayed the queen whom he was employed to save. He encouraged and urged Elizabeth to execute the sentence against her rival. He often repeated the old proverbial sentence, "The dead cannot bite." And whatever should happen, he undertook to pacify the king's rage, or at least to prevent any violent effects of his resentment.^e

^e Spotsw. 352. Murdin, 568.

To the King's Majesty, from Mr. Archibald Douglas.

16 Oct. 1586.
From the original in the Collect. of Sir A. Dick. Vol. B. fol. 324.

PLEASE your Majesty, I received your letter of the date of the 28th of September, the 5th of October, which was the same day that I directed W^m. Murray towards your Highness. By such letters as he carried, and others of several dates, your Majesty may perceive that I had omitted nothing so far as my travel might reach unto, anent the performing of the two chief points contained in the said letter before the receipt thereof, which by these presents I must repeat for answering of the saidis. As to the first, so far as may concern the interceding for the Queen your Majesty's mother her life, I have divers times, and in every audience travelled with this Queen in that matter, specially to know what her full determination must be in that point, and could never bring her to any further answer, but that this proceeding against her by order of justice was no less against her mind, than against their will that loved her best; as towards her life she could give no answers thereunto, untill such time as the law hath declared whether she was innocent or guilty. Here withal it was her pleasure thus far to inform me, that it was a number of the associants that earnestly pressed her that the law might proceed against her, giving reasons that so long as she was suffered to deal in matters, so long would never this realm be in quiet, neither her life, neither this state in assurance; and in the end they used this protestation, that if she would not in this matter follow their advice, that they should remain without all blame, whatsoever should fall out; whereupon she had granted them liberty to proceed, lest such as had made the request might hereafter have charged herself with inconvenience if any should happen.

And by myself I know this her speech to be true, because both Papist and Protestant has behaved them, as it hath been her pleasure to declare, but upon divers respects, the one to avoid suspicion that otherwise was conceived against them, the other

Elizabeth's
anxiety
and dis-
simula-
tion.

Elizabeth, meanwhile, discovered all the symptoms of the most violent agitation and disquietude of mind. She shunned society, she was often found in a melancholy and musing posture, and repeating

upon zeal, and care that they will be known to have for preservation of their sovereign's life, and state in this perilous time; upon consideration whereof, I have been constrained to enter into some dealing with both, wherewith I made her Majesty acquainted; the Protestants, and such as in other matters will be known to bear no small favour unto your Majesty's service, hath prayed that they may be excused from any dealing in the contrary of that, which by their oath they have avowed, and by their speech to their sovereign requested for, and that before my coming in this country; if they should now otherwise do, it would produce no better effect but to make them subject to the accusation of their sovereign, when it should please her to do it, of their inconstancy, in giving counsell whereby they might incur the danger of ill counsellors and be consequent worthy of punishment. Such of the Papists as I did deal with, went immediately and told her Majesty what I had spoken to them, who albeit she understood the matter of before, sent for me, and declared to me my own speech that I had uttered to them, willing me for the weill of my maister's service to abstain from dealing with such as were not yet sufficiently moved to think of my master as she did. I craved leave of her Majesty, that I might inform them of your Majesty's late behaviour towards her, and the state of this realm, whereunto with some difficulty she gave her consent. At my late departure from court, which was upon the 5th of this instant, and the day after that the lords of this grand jury had taken their leaves of her Majesty to go northward to Fotheringham, it was her pleasure to promise to have further speech in this matter at the returning of the said lords, and to give full answer according to your Majesty's contentment to the remainder matters, that I had proponit in name of your Majesty. As to the 2d part concerning the association, and desire that the promise made to the Master of Gray concerning your Majesty's title may be fulfilled, it appears by the said letter, that the very point whereupon the question that may bring your Majesty's title in doubt, hath not been rightly at the writing of the said letter considered, which I take to have proceeded for lack of reading of the act of parliament, wherein is fulfilled all the promise made by the Queen to the said Master, and nothing may now cause any doubt to arise against your said title, except that an opinion should be conceived by these lords of this Parliament that are so vehement at this time against the Queen your Majesty's mother, that your Majesty is, or may be proved hereafter assenting to her proceedings, and some that love your Majesty's service were of that opinion, that too earnest request might move a ground whereupon suspicions might grow in men so ill affected in that matter, which I tho't might be helped by obtaining of a declaration in parliament of your Majesty's innocence at this time, and by reason that good nature and public honesty would constrain you to intercede for the Queen your mother, which would carry with itself, without any further, some suspicion that might move ill affected men to doubt. In my former letters I humbly craved of your Majesty that some learned men in the laws might be moved to advise with the words of the association, and the mitigation contained in the act of parliament, and withall to advise what suspicious effects your Majesty's request might work in these choleric men at this time, and how their minds might be best moved to receive reason; and upon all these considerations they might have formed the words of a declarator of your Majesty's innocence to be obtained in this parliament, and failing thereof, the very words of a protestation for the same effect that might best serve for your Majesty's service, and for my better information. Albeit this was my simple opinion, I shall be contented to follow any direction it shall please your Majesty to give. I have already opened the substance hereof to the Queen of this realm, who seems not to be offended herewith, and hath granted liberty to deal therein with such of the parliament as may remain in any doubt of mind. This being the sum of my proceedings in this matter, besides the remainder, contained in other letters of several dates, I am constrained to lay the whole open before your Majesty, and to humbly pray that full information may be sent unto me what further to do herein; in this middle time, while I receive more ample direction, I shall proceed and be doing according to such direction as I have already received. And so, most gracious sovereign, wishing unto your Majesty all happy success in your affairs, I humbly take my leave from London, the 16th of October, 1586. Your Majesty's most humble subject and obed^t. servant.

with much emphasis these sentences, which she borrowed from some of the devices then in vogue; *Aut fer aut feri; ne feriare, feri.* Much, no doubt, of this apparent uneasiness must be imputed to dissimulation; it was impos-

A Memorial for his Majesty by the Master of Gray.

It will please your Majesty I have tho't meete to set down all things as they occur, and all advertisements as they come to my ears, then jointly in a lettre.

12th Jan. 1586. An original in his own hand in Collect of Sir A. Dick. Vol. A. fol. 222.

I came to Vare the 24th of Dec^r. and sent to W^m. Keith and Mr. Archibald Douglas to advertise the Queen of it, like as they did at their audience. She promised the Queen your Majesty's mother's life should be spared till we were heard. The 27th they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Rob^t. came to Vare, where they shewed us how far they had already gone in their negotiation, but for that the discourse of it is

set down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will testify unto your Majesty, that W^m. Keith hath used himself right honestly and wisely till our coming, respecting all circumstances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your Majesty knows already.

The 29th day of Dec^r. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honest sort it had pleased your Majesty to use her ambassadors; never man sent to welcome or convey us. The same day we understood of Mr. de Bellievre his leave taking; and for that the custom permitted not, we sent our excuses by Mr. George Young.

The 1st day of Jan^y. W^m. Keith and his colleague, according to the custom, sent to crave our audience. We received the answer contained in the general letter, and could not have answer until the 6th day; what was done that day your Majesty has it in the general, yet we was not out of esperance at that time, albeit we received hard answers.

The 8th day we speak with the Earl of Leicester, where our conference was, as is set down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day said plainly the detaining of the Queen of Scotland prisoner was for that she pretended a succession to this crown. Judge then by this what is tho't of your Majesty, as ye shall hear a little after.

The 9th day we speak with the French ambassador, whom we find very plain in making to us a wise discourse of all his proceedings, and Mr. de Bellievre we thanked him in your Majesty's name, and opened such things as we had to treat with this Queen, save the last point as more largely set down by our general.

It is tho't here, and some friends of your Majesty's advised me, that Bellievre his negotiation was not effectual, and that the resident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true; for since Bellievre his perting, there is a talk of this Chasteauneuf his servants taken with his whole papers and pacquets, which he was sending in France. for that they charge him with a conspiracy of late against the Queen here her life. It is alledged his servant has confessed the matter, but whom I shall trust I know not, but till I see proof I shall account him an honest man, for indeed so he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very instant in this matter. I shew him that the Queen and Earl of Leicester had desired to speak with me in private, and craved his opinion; he gave it freely that he tho't it meeetest I shew him the reason why I communicate that to him, for that I had been suspected by some of her Majesty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her service, that he should be my witness that my earnest dealing in this should be a sufficient testimony that all was lies, and that this Naué who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices: he desired me, seeing she saw only with other folks eyes, that I should no ways impute it to her, for the like she had done to herself by Naué his persuasion. I answered, he should be my witness in that.

The 9th day we sent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day; at the first, she said a thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes, I would now see your master's offers. I answered, no man makes offers but for some cause; we would, and like your Majesty, first know the cause to be extant for which we offer, and likewise that it be extant till your Majesty has heard us. I think it to be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour; but you think to shift in that sort. I answered, we mind not to shift, but to offer from our sovereign all things that with reason may be; and in special, we offered as is set down in our general; all was refused and tho't nothing. She called on the three that were in the house, the Earl

sible, however, that a princess, naturally so cautious as Elizabeth, should venture on an action, which might expose her memory to infamy, and her life and kingdom to danger, without reflecting deeply and hesitating long.

of Leicester, my Lord Admiral, and Chamberlain, and very despitefully repeated all our offers in presence of them all. I opened the last part, and said, Madam, for what respect is it that men deal against your person or estate for her cause? She answered, because they think she shall succeed to me, and for that she is a Papist; appearingly said I, both the causes may be removed: she said she would be glad to understand it. If, Madam, said I, all that she has of right of succession were in the King our sovereign's person, were not all hope of Papists removed? She answered, I hope so. Then, Madam, I think the Queen his mother shall willingly demit all her rights in his person. She answered, she hath no right, for she is declared unhabil. Then I said, if she have no right, appearingly the hope ceases already, so that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The Queen answered, but the Papists allow not our declaration; then let it fall, says I, in the King's person by her assignation. The Earl of Leicester answered, she is a prisoner, how can she demit? I answered, the demission is to her son, by the advice of all the friends she has in Europe, and in case, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttis the Queen here away, who shall party with her to prove the demission or assignation to be ineffectual, her son being opposite party, and having all the Princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his Majesty of before. The Queen made as she could not comprehend my meaning, and Sir Robt. opened the matter again, she yet made as tho' she understood not. So the Earl of Leicester answered, that our meaning was, that the king should be put in his mother's place. Is it so, the Queen answered, that I put myself in a worse case than of before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat; and for a dutchy or an earldom to yourself, you or such of you would cause some of your desperate knaves kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place. I answered, he craves nothing of your Majesty but only of his mother. The Earl of Leicester answered, that were to make him party to the Queen my mistress. I said, he will be far more party, if he be in her place through her death. She would stay no longer, but said she would not have a worse in his mother's place; and said, tell your King what good I have done for him in holding the crown on his head since he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now stands between us, and if he break it shall be a double fault, and with this minded to have bidden us a farewell; but we achevit [i. e. finished arguing upon this point]. And I spake craving of her that her life may be spared for 15 days; she refused. Sir Robt. craved for only eight days; she said, not for an hour; and so geid her away. Your Majesty sees we have delivered all we had for offers, but all is for nothing, for she and her council has laid a determination that they mind to follow forth, and I see it comes rather of her council than herself, which I like the worse; for without doubt, Sir, it shall cut off all friendship ye had here. Altho' it were that once they had meant well to your Majesty, yet remembring themselves, that they have medled with your mother's blood, good faith they cannot hope great good of yourself, a thing in truth I am sorry for; further, your Majesty may perceive by this last discourse of that I proponit, if they had meant well to your Majesty, they had used it otherwise than they have done, for reason has bound them. But I dare not write all. I mind something to speak in this matter, because we look shurly our letters will be trussit by the way.

For that I see private credit nor no means can alter their determination, altho' the Queen again and the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me in particular: I mind not to speak, nor shall not; but assuredly shall let all men see that I in particular was no ways tyed to England, but for the respect of your Majesty's service. So albeit, at this time I could not effectuate that I desired, yet my upright dealing in shall be manifested to the world. We are, God willing, then to crave audience, where we mind to use sharply our instructions, which hitherto we have used very calmly; for we can, for your honour's cause, say no less for your Majesty than the French ambassador has said for his master.

So I pray your Majesty consider my upright dealing in your service, and not the effect; for had it been doable [i. e. possible to be done] by any I might have here had credit; but being I came only for that cause, I will not my credit shall serve here to any further purpose. I pray God preserve your Majesty, and send you a true and sincere friendship. From London this 12th of Jan, 1586.

I understand the Queen is to send one of her own to your Majesty.

The people waited her determination in suspense and anxiety; and lest their fear or their zeal should subside, rumours of danger were artfully invented and propagated with the utmost industry. Aubespine, the French am-

To the Right Hon. my Lord Vice-chancellor and Secretary to his Majesty, from the Master of Gray.

12th Jan. 1586. An original in the Collect. of Sir A. Dick. Vol. A. fol. 179.

My Lord, I send you these lines with this inclosed to his Majesty, whereby your Lordship shall understand how matters goes here. And before all things I pray your Lordship move his Majesty to respect my diligence, and not the effect in this negotiation, for I swear if it had been for the crown of England to myself I could do no more, and let not unfriends have advantage of me, for the world shall see that I loved England for his Majesty's service only. I look shortly to find your Lordship friend as ye made promise, and by God I shall be to you if I can.

W^m. Keith and I devyset, if matters had gone well, to have run a course that your Lordship might have here been in credit and others disappointed, but now I will do for you as for myself; which is to care for no credit here, for in conscience they mean not honestly to the King our sovereign, and if they may, he will go the get his mother is gone, or shortly to go, therefore, my Lord, without all kind of scruple, I pray you to advise him the best is not this way. They say here, that it has been said by one who heard it from you, that ye desired not the King and England to agree, because it would rack the noblemen, and gave an example of it by King James the Fourth: I answered in your name, that I was assured you never had spoken it. Mr. Archibald is the speaker of it, who I assure your Lordship has been a poison, in this matter, for they lean very mickle to his opinion. He cares not, he says, for at length the King will be faint to deal this way either by fair means or necessity, so that when he deals this course he is assured to be welcome; to set down all that is past of the like purposes, it would consume more paper than I have here, so I defer it to meeting. There is a new conspiracy alledged against the Queen to have been intended, for the French ambassador resident three of his men taken, but I think in the end it shall prove nothing. Mr. Stafford, who is ambassador for this Queen in France, is touched with it, his brother is taken here, always it has done this harm in our negotiation, that all this council would not move this Queen to meddle with the Queen of Scotland's blood, till this invention was found forth. I remit all other things to the inclosed. We minded to have sent to his Majesty a discourse, which we have set down of all our proceedings since our hither coming, but we are surely advertized that the bearer is to be trussed by the way for our pacquets, so that we defer it till our own coming; this I have put in a privy part beside the packet. We shall, I think, take leave on Fryday the 13th day, where we mind exactly to follow the rigour of our instructions, for it cannot stand with the King's honour that we say less than the French ambassador, which was, *Le roy mon maistre ne peult moins faire que se resentir*. So that about the 24th I think we shall, God willing, be at home, except that some stay come which we look not for. The Queen and the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me. I refused save in presence of my colleagues, by reason I see a determination which particular credit cannot help, and I crave no credit but for that cause. It will please your Lordship retire the inclosed from his Majesty and keep it. So after my service commended to yourself and bedfellow, I commit you to God. From London the 12th of Jan. 1586.

To the King's Majesty, from Sir Robert Melvil.

20th Jan. 1586. An original in his own hand, in the Collect. of Sir A. Dick. Vol. A. fol. 181.

It may please your Majesty, since the direction of our former letters, we had audience, and her Majesty appeared to take our overtures in good part in presence of her council; albeit no offers could take place with them, having taken resolution to proceed with extremity, not the less it pleased her Majesty to desire us to stay for two days on taking our leave, until she had advised upon our propositions; since which time her Majesty is become more hard by some letters (as we are informed) has come from Scotland, making some hope to believe that your Majesty takes not this matter to heart, as we know the contrary in effect, and had of before removed the like opinion out of her Majesty's mind, which by sinister information was credited, their reports has hindered our commis-

bassador, was accused of having suborned an assassin to murder the queen. The Spanish fleet was said by some to be already arrived at Milford-haven. Others affirmed that the duke of Guise had landed with a strong army in Sussex. Now, it was reported that the northern counties were up in arms; next day, that the Scots had entered England with all their forces; and a conspiracy, it was

sion, and abused this Queen, fearing in like manner we shall be stayed until answer come from Scotland by such person as they have intelligence of. And albeit that it will be well enough known to all men how heavily your Majesty takes this proceeding to heart; the truth is, that they have by this occasion so persuaded the Queen, that it is like to hinder our negotiation. As also Alchinder (i. e. Alexander) Steward is to be directed in their party, by our knowledge, who has awantyt more of his credit, than I believe he may perform, and we willed him to desist from this dealing, saying it does harm, and he is not meet for that purpose, remitting to your Majesty's good discretion to take order herein as we shall be answerable to your Majesty not to omit any point we have in charge, as the truth is, the Master of Grhaye has behaved himself very uprightly and discreetly in this charge, and evil tayne with be divers in these parts who were of before his friends. We have been behalden to the menstrals who has born us best company, but has not been troubled with others. Wylzeme Kethe hath left nothing undone that he had in charge. As for Master Archibald he has promised at all times to do his dewoyr, wherein he shall find true report made to your Majesty, craving pardon of your Majesty that I have been so tedious, after I have kissed your Majesty's hand I humbly take my leave. Praying God to grant your Majesty many good days and happy, in whose protection I commit your Majesty. At London the 20th of Jan. 1586.

SIR,

ALBEIT Master George has not been in commission, he is not inferior in his service to any of us, as well by his good advice and diligent care he takes for the advancement of your service, wherein we have not been a little furthered.

To the King's Majesty, from the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil.

21st Jan. 1586. An original in the Collect. of Sir A. Dick. Vol. A. fol. 180.

PLEASE it your Majesty in the last audience we had, since our last advertisement by W^m. Murray, we find her Majesty at the resuming our offers something mitigated, and inclined to consider more deeply of them, before we got our leave. At our reasoning, certain of the council, namely, my Lord of Leicester, Sir Christopher Haton, my Lord Hunsdon, and my Lord Hawart being present in the chamber, gave little shew of any great contentment to have her from her former resolution, now cassin in perplexitie what she should do always we left her in that state, and since have daily pressed conference with the whole council, which to this hour we have not yet obtained. This day we have sent down to crave our leave. The greatest hinder which our negotiation has found hitherto is a persuasion they have here, that either your Majesty deals superficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digest it, which when with great difficulty we had expugnit, we find anew that certain letters written to them of late from Scotland has found some place of credit with them in our contrare. So that resolving now to clear them of that doubt by a special message, they have made choice of Sir Alexander Stewart to try your Highness's meaning in it, and to persuade your Majesty to like of their proceedings, wherefrom no terror we can say out unto him is able to divert him; he has given out that he has credit with your Majesty, and that he doubts not to help this matter at your Highness's hand. If he come there that errand, we think your Majesty will not oversee the great disgrace that his attempts shall give us here, if he be not tane order with before that he be further heard; and if so be that any other be directed (as our intelligence gives us there shall) our humble suit is to her Majesty, that it may please your Highness to hear of us what we find here, and at what point we leave this matter with her Majesty, before that they find accidence, the causes whereof, remitting to our private letters. We commit your Majesty for the present to God's eternal protection. From London this 21st of Jan. 1586.

whispered, was on foot for seizing the queen and burning the city. The panic grew every day more violent; and the people, astonished and enraged, called for the execution of the sentence against Mary, as the only thing which could restore tranquillity to the kingdom.^f

While these sentiments prevailed among her subjects, Elizabeth thought she might safely venture to strike the blow which she had so long meditated.

She commanded Davison, one of the secretaries of state, to bring to her the fatal warrant; and her behaviour on that occasion plainly shewed, that it is not to humanity that we must ascribe her forbearance hitherto. At the very moment she was signing the writ which gave up a woman, a queen, and her own nearest relation, into the hands of the executioner, she was capable of jesting. "Go," says she to Davison, "and tell Walsingham what I have now done, though I am afraid he will die for grief when he hears it." Her chief anxiety was how to secure the advantages which would arise from Mary's death, without appearing to have given her consent to a deed so odious. She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time to discover the sincerity of their concern for her safety, and that she expected their zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity. But they were wise enough to seem not to understand her meaning. Even after the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet in less ambiguous terms, complaining of his remissness in sparing so long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him to remember at last what was incumbent on him as an affectionate subject, as well as what he was bound to do by the oath of association, and to deliver his sovereign from continual fear and danger, by shortening the days of his prisoner. Paulet, though rigorous and harsh, and often brutal in the discharge of what he thought his duty, as Mary's keeper, was nevertheless a man of honour and integrity. He rejected the proposal with disdain; and la-

^f Camd. 533, 534.

menting that he should ever have been deemed capable of acting the part of an assassin, he declared that the queen might dispose of his life at her pleasure, but that he would never stain his own honour, nor leave an everlasting mark of infamy on his posterity, by lending his hand to perpetrate so foul a crime. On the receipt of this answer, Elizabeth became extremely peevish; and calling him a *dainty* and *precise fellow*, who would promise much but perform nothing, she proposed to employ one Wingfield, who had both courage and inclination to strike the blow.^g But Davison remonstrating against this, as a deed dishonourable in itself, and of dangerous example, she again declared her intention that the sentence pronounced by the commissioners should be executed according to law; and as she had already signed the warrant, she begged that no farther application might be made to her on that head. By this, the privy counsellors thought themselves sufficiently authorized to proceed; and prompted, as they pretended, by zeal for the queen's safety, or instigated, as is more probable, by the apprehension of the danger to which they would themselves be exposed, if the life of the queen of Scots were spared, they assembled in the council-chamber; and by a letter under all their hands, empowered the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, together with the high sheriff of the county, to see the sentence put in execution.^h

Mary's
behaviour
at her
death. On Tuesday the seventh of February, the two earls arrived at Fotheringay, and demanded access to the queen, read in her presence the warrant for execution, and required her to prepare to die next morning. Mary heard them to the end without emotion, and crossing herself in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, "That soul," said she, "is not worthy the joys of Heaven, which repines because the body must endure the stroke of the executioner; and though I did not expect that the queen of England would set the first example of violating the sacred person of a sovereign prince, I willingly submit to that which Providence has

^g Biog. Britan. article *Davison*.

^h *Camd.* 534. *Stryce*, iii. 361. 364.

decreed to be my lot ;” and laying her hand on a Bible, which happened to be near her, she solemnly protested that she was innocent of that conspiracy which Babington had carried on against Elizabeth’s life.¹ She then mentioned the requests contained in her letter, but obtained no satisfactory answer. She entreated, with particular earnestness, that now in her last moments her almoner might be suffered to attend her, and that she might enjoy the consolation of those pious institutions prescribed by her religion. Even this favour, which is usually granted to the vilest criminal, was absolutely denied.

Her attendants, during this conversation, were bathed in tears, and though overawed by the presence of the two earls, with difficulty suppressed their anguish ; but no sooner did Kent and Shrewsbury withdraw, than they ran to their mistress, and burst out into the most passionate expressions of tenderness and sorrow. Mary, however, not only retained perfect composure of mind herself, but endeavoured to moderate their excessive grief ; and falling on her knees with all her domestics round her, she thanked Heaven that her sufferings were now so near an end, and prayed that she might be enabled to endure what still remained with decency and with fortitude. The greater part of the evening she employed in settling her worldly affairs. She wrote her testament with her own hand. Her money, her jewels, and her clothes, she distributed among her servants, according to their rank or merit. She wrote a short letter to the king of France, and another to the duke of Guise, full of tender but magnanimous sentiments, and recommended her soul to their prayers, and her afflicted servants to their protection. At supper she ate temperately, as usual, and conversed not only with ease, but with cheerfulness ; she drank to every one of her servants, and asked their forgiveness, if ever she had failed in any part of her duty towards them. At her wonted time she went to bed, and slept calmly a few hours. Early in the morning she retired into her closet, and employed a

¹ Jebb, ii. 301.

considerable time in devotion. At eight o'clock the high sheriff and his officers entered her chamber, and found her still kneeling at the altar. She immediately started up, and with a majestic mien, and a countenance undismayed, and even cheerful, advanced towards the place of execution, leaning on two of Paulet's attendants. She was dressed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and splendour which she had long laid aside except on a few festival days. An *Agnus Dei* hung by a pomander chain at her neck; her beads at her girdle; and in her hand she carried a crucifix of ivory. At the bottom of the stairs, the two earls, attended by several gentlemen from the neighbouring counties, received her; and there Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been secluded for some weeks from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewell. At the sight of a mistress whom he tenderly loved, in such a situation, he melted into tears; and as he was bewailing her condition, and complaining of his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry the account of such a mournful event into Scotland, Mary replied, "Weep not, good Melvil, there is at present great cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings, as she has long expected. Bear witness that I die constant in my religion; firm in my fidelity towards Scotland; and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; and God forgive all those who have thirsted without cause for my blood."

With much difficulty, and after many entreaties, she prevailed on the two earls to allow Melvil, together with three of her men-servants and two of her maids, to attend her to the scaffold. It was erected in the same hall where she had been tried, raised a little above the floor, and covered, as well as a chair, the cushion, and block, with black cloth. Mary mounted the steps with alacrity, beheld all this apparatus of death with an unaltered counte-

nance, and signing herself with the cross, she sat down in the chair. Beale read the warrant for execution with a loud voice, to which she listened with a careless air, and like one occupied in other thoughts. Then the dean of Peterborough began a devout discourse, suitable to her present condition, and offered up prayers to Heaven in her behalf; but she declared that she could not in conscience hearken to the one, nor join with the other; and kneeling down, repeated a Latin prayer. When the dean had finished his devotions, she, with an audible voice, and in the English tongue, recommended unto God the afflicted state of the church, and prayed for prosperity to her son, and for a long life and peaceable reign to Elizabeth. She declared that she hoped for mercy only through the death of Christ, at the foot of whose image she now willingly shed her blood; and lifting up and kissing the crucifix, she thus addressed it: "As thy arms, O Jesus, were extended on the cross; so with the outstretched arms of thy mercy receive me, and forgive my sins."

She then prepared for the block, by taking off her veil and upper garments; and one of the executioners rudely endeavouring to assist, she gently checked him, and said with a smile, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. With calm but undaunted fortitude, she laid her neck on the block; and while one executioner held her hands, the other, at the second stroke, cut off her head, which falling out of its attire, discovered her hair already grown quite grey with cares and sorrows. The executioner held it up still streaming with blood, and the dean crying out, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies," the earl of Kent alone answered "Amen." The rest of the spectators continued silent, and drowned in tears; being incapable, at that moment, of any other sentiments but those of pity or admiration.^k

^k Camd. 534. Spotsw. 355. Jebb, ii. 300. Strype, iii. 383.

Copy of a letter from the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, &c. touching their proceedings with regard to the death of the Scottish Queen, to her Majesty's council.

It may please your Hon^{ble}. good Lordships to be advertised, that, on Saturday, the 4th of this present, I Robert Beale came to the house of me the Earl of Kent, in the

Such was the tragical death of Mary, queen of Scots, after a life of forty-four years and two months, almost nineteen years of which she passed in captivity. The political parties which were formed in the kingdom during her reign, have subsisted

Sentiments of historians concerning her.

county of —, to whom your Lordships' letter and message was delivered, and her Majesty's commission shewn; whereupon I the Earl forthwith sent precepts for the staying of such hues and cries as had troubled the country, requiring the officers to make stay of all such persons as should bring any such warrants without names, as before had been done, and to bring them to the next justice of peace, to the intent that upon their examination, the occasion and causes of such seditious brutes might be bolted out and known. It was also resolved that I the said Earl of Kent should, on the Monday following, come to Lylford to Mr. Elmes, to be the nearer and readier to confer with my Lord of Shrewsbury. Sunday at night, I Robert Beale came to Fotheringay, where, after the communicating the commission, &c. unto us Sir Amice Pawlet and Sir Drue Drury, by reason that Sir A. Pawlet was but late recovered and not able to repair to the Earl of Shrewsbury, being then at Orton, six miles off; it was thought good that we Sir Drue Drury and Robert Beale should go unto him, which we did on — morning; and together with the delivery of her Majesty's commission, and your Lordships' letter, imparted unto him what both the Earl of Kent and we thought meet to be done in the cause, praying his Lordship hither the day following, to confer with me the said Earl concerning the same; which his Lordship promised. And for the better colouring of the matter, I the said Earl of Shrewsbury sent to Mr. Beale, a justice of peace of the county of Huntingdon next adjoining, to whom I communicated that warrant, which Robert Beale had under your Lordships' hands for the staying of the hues and cries, requiring him to give notice thereof to the town of Peterborough, and especially unto the justices of peace of Huntingdonshire, and to cause the pursuers and bringers of such warrants to be stayed, and brought to the next justice of peace; and to bring us word to Fotheringay Castle on Wednesday morning what he had done, and what he should in the mean time understand of the authors of such brutes. Which like order, I also Sir Amias Pawlet had taken on Monday morning in this town, and other places adjoining. The same night the sheriff of the county of Northampton, upon the receipt of your Lordships' letter, came to Arundel, and letters were sent to me the Earl of Kent of the Earl of Shrewsbury's intention and meeting here on Tuesday by noon; and other letters were also sent with their Lordships' assent to Sir Edward Montagu, Sir Richard Knightly, Mr. Tho. Brundenell, &c. to be here on Wednesday by eight of the clock in the morning, at which time it was thought meet that the execution should be. So upon Tuesday, we the Earls came hither, where the sheriff met us; and upon conference between us it was resolved, that the care for the sending for the surgeons, and other necessary provision should be committed unto him against the time. And we forthwith repaired unto her, and first in the presence of herself and her folks, to the intent that they might see and report hereafter that she was not otherwise proceeded with than according to law, and the form of the statute made in the 27th year of her Majesty's reign, it was thought convenient that her Majesty's commission should be read unto her, and afterwards she was by sundry speeches willed to prepare herself against the next morning. She was also put in remembrance of her fault, the honourable manner of proceeding with her, and the necessity that was imposed upon her Majesty to proceed to execution, for that otherwise it was found that they could not both stand together; and however, sithence the Lord Buckhurst his being here new conspiracies were attempted, and so would be still; wherefore since she had now a good while since waruing, by the said Lord and Robert Beale, to think upon and prepare herself to die, we doubted not but that she was, before this, settled, and therefore would accept this message in good part. And to the effect that no Christian duty might be said to be omitted, that might be for her comfort, and tend to the salvation both of her body and soul in the world to come, we offered unto her that if it would please her to confer with the Bishop and Dean of Peterborough, she might; which Dean, we had, for that purpose, appointed to be lodged within one mile of that place. Hereto she replied, crossing herself in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, saying that she was ready to die in the Catholic Roman faith, which her ancestors had professed, from which she would not be removed. And albeit we used many persuasions to the contrary, yet we prevailed nothing; and therefore, when she demanded the admittance of her priest, we utterly denied that unto her. Hereupon, she demanded to understand what answer

under various denominations, ever since that time. The rancour with which they were at first animated, hath de-

we had touching her former petition to her Majesty, concerning her papers of accounts, and the bestowing of her body. To the first we had none other answer to make, but that we thought if they were not sent before, the same might be in Mr. Waade's custody, who was now in France, and seeing her papers could not any wise pleasure her Majesty, we doubted not but that the same would be delivered unto such as she should appoint. For, for our own parts, we undoubtedly thought that her Majesty would not make any profit of her things, and therefore (in our opinions) she might set down what she would have done, and the same should be imparted unto her Majesty, of whom both she and others might expect all courtesy. Touching her body, we know not her Majesty's pleasure, and therefore could neither say that her petition should be denied, or granted. For the practice of Babington, she utterly denied it, and would have inferred it that her death was for her religion, whereunto it was eftsoons by us replied, that for many years she was not touched for her religion, nor should have been now, but that this proceeding against her was for treason, in that she was culpable of that horrible conspiracy for destroying her Majesty's person; which she again denied, adding further, that albeit she for herself forgave them that were the procurers of her death, yet she doubted not, but that God would take vengeance thereof. And being charged with the depositions of Naué and Curle to prove it against her, she replied, that she accused none, but that hereafter when she shall be dead and they remain alive, it shall be seen how indifferently she had been dealt with, and what measure had been used unto her; and asked whether it had been heard before this, that servants had been practised to accuse their mistress? and hereupon also required what was become of them, and where they remained.

Upon our departure from her, for that it seemed by the commission that the charge of her was in the disposition of us the Earls, we required S. Amias Pawlet and S. Druce Drurie, to receive for that night the charge which they had before, and to cause the whole number of soldiers to watch that night, and that her folks should be put up, and take order that only four of them should be at the execution, remaining aloof off and guarded with certain persons so as they should not come near unto her, which were Melvil her steward, the physician, surgeon, and apothecary.

Wednesday morning, after that we the Earls were repaired unto the castle, and the sheriff had prepared all things in the hall for the execution, he was commanded to go into her chamber, and to bring her down to the place where were present, we which have signed this letter, Mr. Henry Talbot, Esq., Sir Edward Montague, Knt. his son and heir-apparent, and William Montague his brother, Sir Richard Knichtly, Knt., Mr. Thomas Brudenell, Mr. Beuill, Mr. Robert and John Wingefield, Mr. Forrest, and Rayner, Benjamin Piggott, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, and others.

At the stairfild she paused to speak to Melvil in our hearing, which was to this effect, "Melvil, as thou hast been an honest servant to me, so I pray thee continue to my son, and commend me unto him. I have not impugn'd his religion, nor the religion of others, but wish him well. And as I forgive all that have offended me in Scotland, so I would that he should also; and beseech God, that he would send him his Holy Spirit, and illuminate him." Melvil's answer was, that he would do so, and at that instant he would beseech God to assist him with his spirit. Then she demanded to speak with her priest, which was denied unto her, the rather for that she came with a superstitious pair of beads and a crucifix. She then desired to have her women to help her, and upon her earnest request, and saying that when other gentlewomen were executed, she had read in chronicles that they had women allowed unto them, it was permitted that she should have two named by herself, which were Mrs. Curle and Kennedy. After she came to the scaffold, first in presence of them all, her Majesty's commission was openly read; and afterwards Mr. Dean of Peterborough, according to a direction which he had received the night before from us the Earls, would have made a godly admonition to her, to repent and die well in the fear of God and charity to the world. But at the first entry, she utterly refused it, saying that she was a Catholique, and that it were a folly to move her, being so resolutely minded, and that our prayers would little avail her. Whereupon, to the intent it might appear that we, and the whole assembly, had a Christian desire to have her die well, a godly prayer conceived by Mr. Dean, was read and pronounced by us all. "That it would please Almighty God to send her his Holy Spirit and grace, and also, if it were his will, to pardon all her offences, and of his mercy to receive her into his heavenly and everlasting kingdom, and finally to bless her Majesty, and confound all her enemies:" whercof Mr. Dean, minding to repair up shortly, can shew your Lordships a copy.

scended to succeeding ages, and their prejudices, as well as their rage, have been perpetuated, and even augmented. Among historians, who were under the dominion of all these passions, and who have either ascribed to her every virtuous and amiable quality, or have imputed to her all the vices of which the human heart is susceptible, we search in vain for Mary's real character. She neither merited the exaggerated praises of the one, nor the undistinguished censure of the other.

Her cha- To all the charms of beauty, and the utmost ele-
racter. gance of external form, she added those accom-
plishments which render their impression irresistible. Polite, affable, insinuating, sprightly, and capable of speaking and of writing with equal ease and dignity. Sudden, however, and violent in all her attachments; because her heart was warm and unsuspecting. Impatient of contradiction; because she had been accustomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen. No stranger, on

This done, she pronounced a prayer upon her knees to this effect, "to beseech God to send her his Holy Spirit, and that she trusted to receive her salvation in his blood, and of his grace to be received into his kingdom; besought God to forgive her enemies, as she forgave them; and to turn his wrath from this land; to bless the Queen's Majesty, that she might serve him. Likewise to be merciful to her son, to have compassion of his church, and altho' she was not worthy to be heard, yet she had a confidence in his mercy, and prayed all the saints to pray unto her Saviour to receive her." After this (turning towards her servants) she desired them to pray for her, that her Saviour would receive her. Then, upon petition made by the executioners, she pardoned them; and said, she was glad that the end of all her sorrows was so near. Then she misliked the whinnying and weeping of her women, saying that they rather ought to thank God for her resolution, and kissing them, willed them to depart from the scaffold, and farewell. And so resolutely kneeled down, and having a kerchief banded about her eyes, laid down her neck, whereupon the executioner proceeded. Her servants were incontinently removed, and order taken that none should approach unto her corps, but that it should be embalmed by the surgeon appointed. And further, her crosse, apparel, and other things are retained here, and not yielded unto the executioner for inconveniences that might follow; but he is remitted to be rewarded by such as sent him hither.

This hath been the manner of our dealings in this service, whereof we have thought good to advertise your Lordships, as particularly as we could for the time, and further have thought good to signify unto your Lordships besides, that for the avoiding of all sinister and slanderous reports that may be raised to the contrary, we have caused a note thereof to be conceived to the same effect in writing, which we the said Lords have subscribed, with the hands of such other there the knights and gentlemen above named that were present at the action. And so beseeching Almighty God long to bless her Majesty with a most prosperous reign, and to confound all his and her enemies, we take our leaves. From Fotheringay-castle, the 3th of February 1586, in hast.

Your Lordships' at commandment.

N. B. This, as well as several other papers inserted in the Notes, is taken from a collection made by Mr. Crawford of Drumsoy, historiographer to Queen Anne, now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. Mr. Crawford's transcriber has omitted to mention the book in the Cott. Lib. where it is to be found.

some occasions, to dissimulation ; which, in that perfidious court where she received her education, was reckoned among the necessary arts of government. Not insensible of flattery, or unconscious of that pleasure with which almost every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty. Formed with the qualities which we love, not with the talents that we admire ; she was an agreeable woman, rather than an illustrious queen. The vivacity of her spirit, not sufficiently tempered with sound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not at all times under the restraint of discretion, betrayed her both into errors and into crimes. To say that she was always unfortunate will not account for that long and almost uninterrupted succession of calamities which befel her ; we must likewise add, that she was often imprudent. Her passion for Darnley was rash, youthful, and excessive ; and though the sudden transition to the opposite extreme, was the natural effect of her ill-requited love, and of his ingratitude, insolence, and brutality ; yet neither these, nor Bothwell's artful address and important services, can justify her attachment to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy passion ; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous scene which followed upon it, with less abhorrence. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character which it cannot approve, and may, perhaps, prompt some to impute some of her actions to her situation, more than to her disposition ; and to lament the unhappiness of the former, rather than excuse the perverseness of the latter. Mary's sufferings exceed, both in degree and duration, those tragical distresses which fancy has feigned to excite sorrow and commiseration ; and while we survey them, we are apt altogether to forget her frailties, we think of her faults with less indignation, and approve of our tears, as if they were shed for a person who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the queen's person, a circumstance not to be omitted in writing the history of a female reign, all

contemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance, and elegance of shape, of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black, though, according to the fashion of that age, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her complexion was exquisitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of a height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taste for music was just, and she both sung and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Towards the end of her life, long confinement, and the coldness of the houses in which she had been imprisoned, brought on a rheumatism, which often deprived her of the use of her limbs. No man, says Brantome, ever beheld her person without admiration and love, or will read her history without sorrow.

None of her women were suffered to come near her dead body, which was carried into a room adjoining to the place of execution, where it lay for some days, covered with a coarse cloth torn from a billiard table. The block, the scaffold, the aprons of the executioners, and every thing stained with her blood, were reduced to ashes. Not long after, Elizabeth appointed her body to be buried in the cathedral of Peterborough with royal magnificence. But this vulgar artifice was employed in vain; the pageantry of a pompous funeral did not efface the memory of those injuries which laid Mary in her grave. James, soon after his accession to the English throne, ordered her body to be removed to Westminster-abbey, and to be deposited among the monarchs of England.

Elizabeth affected to receive the accounts of Mary's death with the most violent emotions of surprise and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and mourning, were all employed to display the reality and greatness of her sorrow. Evident marks of dissimulation and artifice may be traced through every period of Elizabeth's proceedings against the life of the Scottish

Elizabeth
affects to
lament
Mary's
death.

queen. The commission for bringing Mary to a public trial was seemingly extorted from her by the entreaties of her privy-counsellors. She delayed publishing the sentence against her till she was twice solicited by both houses of parliament. Nor did she sign the warrant for execution without the utmost apparent reluctance. One scene more of the boldest and most solemn deceit remained to be exhibited. She undertook to make the world believe that Mary had been put to death without her knowledge, and against her will. Davison, who neither suspected her intention nor his own danger, was her instrument in carrying on this artifice, and fell a victim to it.

It was his duty, as secretary of state, to lay before her the warrant for execution, in order to be signed; and, by her command, he carried it to the great seal. She pretended, however, that she had charged him not to communicate what she had done to any person, nor to suffer the warrant to go out of his hands, without her express permission; that, in contempt of this order, he had not only revealed the matter to several of her ministers, but had, in concert with them, assembled her privy-counsellors, by whom, without her consent or knowledge, the warrant was issued, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent empowered to put it in execution. Though Davison denied all this, and with circumstances which bear the strongest marks of truth and credibility; though it can scarcely be conceived that her privy-council, composed of the persons in whom she most confided, of her ministers and favourites, would assemble within the walls of her palace, and venture to transact a matter of so much importance without her privity, and contrary to her inclination; yet so far did she carry her dissimulation, that with all the signs of displeasure and of rage, she banished most of her counsellors out of her presence; and treated Burleigh, in particular, so harshly, and with such marks of disgust, that he gave himself up for lost, and in the deepest affliction wrote to the queen, begging leave to resign all his places, that he might retire to his own estate. Davison she instantly deprived of his office, and committed him a close prisoner to the

March. Tower. He was soon after brought to a solemn trial in the Star-chamber, condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. He languished several years in confinement, and never recovered any degree of favour or of power. As her jealousy and fear had bereaved the queen of Scots of life, in order to palliate this part of her conduct, Elizabeth made no scruple of sacrificing the reputation and happiness of one of the most virtuous and able men in her kingdom.¹

¹ Camd. 536. Strype, iii. 370. Cab. 229, &c.

The objections against Mr. Davison, in the cause of the late Scottish Queen, must concern things done, either, 1. Before her trial at Fotheringay. 2. During that session. 3. After the same.

Cott. Lib. 1. Before her trial, he neither is, nor can be charged to have had any hand at all in the cause of the said Queen, or done any thing whatsoever concerning the same directly or indirectly.

Cal. c. 1. 2. During that session, he remained at court, where the only interest he had therein was as her Majesty's secretary, to receive the letters from the commissioners, impart them to her Highness, and return them her answers.

3. After the return thence of the said commissioners, it is well known to all her council,

1. That he never was at any deliberation or meeting whatsoever, in parliament or council, concerning the cause of the said Queen, till the sending down of her Majesty's warrant unto the commissioners, by the Lords and others of her council.

2. That he was no party in signing the sentence passed against her.

3. That he never penned either the proclamation publishing the same, the warrant after her death, nor any other letter or thing whatsoever concerning the same.—And, That the only thing which can be specially and truly imputed to him, is the carrying up the said warrant unto her Majesty to be signed. She sending a great counsellor unto him, with her pleasure to that end, and carrying it to the great seal of England, by her own special direction and commandment.

For the better clearing of which truth, it is evident,

1. That the letter, being penned by the Lord Treasurer, was delivered by him unto Mr. Davison, with her Majesty's own privy, to be ready for to sign, when she should be pleased to call for it.

2. That being in his hands, he retained it at the least five or six weeks unrepresented, nor once offering to carry it up, till she sent a great counsellor unto him for the same, and was sharply reproved therefor by a great peer, in her Majesty's own presence.

3. That having signed it, she gave him an express commandment to carry it to the seal, and being sealed to send it immediately away unto the commissioners, according to the direction. Herself appointing the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution, misliking the court-yard in divers respects; and, in conclusion, absolutely forbade him to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more hereof, till it was done; she, for her part, having (as she said) performed all that, in law or reason, could be required of her.

4. Which directions notwithstanding, he kept the warrant sealed all that night, and the greatest part of the next day in his hands, brought it back with him to the court, acquainted her Majesty withal, and finding her Majesty resolved to proceed therein, according to her former directions, and yet desirous to carry the matter so, as she might throw the burthen from herself, he absolutely resolved to quit his hands thereof.

5. And hereupon went over unto the Lord Treasurer's chamber, together with Mr. Vice-chamberlain Hatton, and in his presence restored the same into the hands of the said Lord Treasurer, of whom he had before received it, who from thenceforth kept it, till himself and the rest of the council sent it away.

Elizabeth endeavours to soothe James. This solemn farce, for it deserves no better name, furnished Elizabeth, however, with an apology to the king of Scots. As the prospect of his mother's danger had excited the king's filial care and concern, the account of her death filled him with grief and resentment. His subjects felt the dishonour done to him and to the nation. In order to soothe both, Elizabeth instantly dispatched Robert Cary, one of lord Hunsdon's sons, with a letter, expressing her extreme affliction on account of that miserable accident, which, as she pretended, had happened far contrary to her appointment or intention. James would not permit her messenger to enter Scotland, and with some difficulty received a memorial which he sent from Berwick. It contained the tale concerning Davison, dressed up with all the circumstances which tended to exculpate Elizabeth, and to throw the whole blame on his rashness or treachery. Such a defence gave little satisfaction, and was considered

Which, in substance and truth, is all the part and interest the said Davison had in this cause, whatsoever is, or may be pretended to the contrary.

Touching the sending down thereof unto the commissioners, that it was the general act of her Majesty's council (as is before-mentioned), and not any private act of his, may appear by,

1. Their own confession.
2. Their own letters sent down therewith to the commissioners.
3. The testimonies of the Lords and others to whom they were directed.
- As also, 4. of Mr. Beale, by whom they were sent.
5. The tenor of her Majesty's first commission for their calling to the star-chamber for the same, and private appearance and submission afterward instead thereof before the Lord Chancellor Brouley.
6. The confession of Mr. Attorney-general in open court confirmed.
7. By the sentence itself upon record.
8. Besides a common act of council, containing an answer to be verbally delivered to the Scottish ambassador then remaining here, avowing and justifying the same.

Now, where some suppose him to have given some extraordinary furtherance thereunto, the contrary may evidently appear by,

1. His former absolute refusal to sign the hand of association, being earnestly pressed thereunto by her Majesty's self.

2. His excusing of himself from being used as a commissioner, in the examination of Babinoton and his complices, and avoiding the same by a journey to the Bath.

3. His being a mean to stay the commissioners from pronouncing of the sentence at Fotheringay, and deferring it till they should return to her Majesty's presence.

4. His keeping the warrant in his hands six weeks unpresented, without once offering to carry it up, till her Majesty sent expressly for the same to sign.

5. His deferring to send it away after it was sealed unto the commissioners, as he was specially commanded, staying it all that night, and the greatest part of the next day, in his hands.

6. And finally, his restoring thereof into the hands of the Lord Treasurer, of whom he had before received the same.

Which are clear and evident proofs, that the said Davison did nothing in this cause whatsoever, contrary to the duty of the place he then held in her Majesty's service.

Cal. C. 9.

This seems to be an original. On the back is this title: *The innocency of Mr. Davidson in the cause of the late Scottish Queen.*

as mockery added to insult; and many of the nobles, as well as the king, breathed nothing but revenge. Elizabeth was extremely solicitous to pacify them, and she wanted neither able instruments nor plausible reasons, in order to accomplish this. Leicester wrote to the king, and Walsingham to secretary Maitland. They represented the certain destruction to which James would expose himself, if, with the forces of Scotland alone, he should venture to attack a kingdom so far superior in power; that the history of past ages, as well as his mother's sad experience, might convince him, that nothing could be more dangerous, or deceitful, than dependance on foreign aid; that the king of France would never wish to see the British kingdoms united under one monarch, nor contribute to invest a prince so nearly allied to the house of Guise with such formidable power; that Philip might be a more active ally, but would certainly prove a more dangerous one; and, under pretence of assisting him, would assert his own right to the English crown, which he already began openly to claim; that the same statute, on which the sentence of death against his mother had been founded, would justify the excluding him from the succession to the crown; that the English, naturally averse from the dominion of strangers, would not fail, if exasperated by his hostilities, to apply it in that manner; that Elizabeth was disposed to repair the wrongs which the mother had suffered, by her tenderness and affection towards the son; and that, by engaging in a fruitless war, he would deprive himself of a noble inheritance, which, by cultivating her friendship, he must infallibly obtain. These representations, added to the consciousness of his own weakness, to the smallness of his revenues, to the mutinous spirit of some of the nobles, to the dubious fidelity of others, and to the influence of that faction which was entirely at Elizabeth's devotion, convinced James that a war with England, however just, would, in the present juncture, be altogether impolitical. All these considerations induced him to stifle his resentment; to appear satisfied with the punishment inflicted on

Davison; and to preserve all the semblances of friendship with the English court.^m In this manner did the cloud which threatened such a storm pass away. Mary's death, like that of a common criminal, remained unavenged by any prince; and, whatever infamy Elizabeth might incur, she was exposed to no new danger on that account.

Disgrace of
the master
of Gray. Mary's death, however, proved fatal to the master of Gray, and lost him the king's favour, which he had for some time possessed. He was become as odious to the nation as favourites, who acquire power without merit, and exercise it without discretion, usually are. The treacherous part which he had acted during his late embassy was no secret, and filled James, who at length came to the knowledge of it, with astonishment. The courtiers observed the symptoms of disgust arising in the king's mind, his enemies seized the opportunity, and Sir William Stewart, in revenge of the perfidy with which

May 10. Gray had betrayed his brother captain James, publicly accused him before a convention of nobles, not only of having contributed, by his advice and suggestions, to take away the life of the queen, but of holding correspondence with Popish princes, in order to subvert the religion established in the kingdom. Gray, unsupported by the king, deserted by all, and conscious of his own guilt; made a feeble defence. He was condemned to perpetual banishment, a punishment very unequal to his crimes. But the king was unwilling to abandon one whom he had once favoured so highly, to the rigour of justice, and lord Hamilton, his near relation, and the other nobles who had lately returned from exile, in gratitude for the zeal with which he had served them, interceded warmly in his behalf.

Having thus accomplished the destruction of one of his enemies, captain James Stewart thought the juncture favourable for prosecuting his revenge on them all. He singled out secretary Maitland, the most eminent both for abilities and enmity to him; and offered to prove that he

^m Spotsw. 362. Cald. iv. 13, 14. Strype, 377.

was no less necessary than Gray to the queen's death, and had even formed a design of delivering up the king himself into the hands of the English. But time and absence had, in a great measure, extinguished the king's affection for a minion who so little deserved it. All the courtiers combined against him as a common enemy; and, instead of gaining his point, he had the mortification to see the office of chancellor conferred upon Maitland, who, together with that dignity, enjoyed all the power and influence of a prime minister.

In the assembly of the church, which met this year, the same hatred to the order of bishops, and the same jealousy and fear of their encroachments, appeared. But as the king was now of full age, and a parliament was summoned on that occasion, the clergy remained satisfied with appointing some of their number to represent their grievances to that court, from which great things were expected.

The king attempts to unite the nobles. Previous to this meeting of parliament, James attempted a work worthy of a king. The deadly feuds which subsisted between many of the great families, and which were transmitted from one generation to another, weakened the strength of the kingdom; contributed, more than any other circumstance, to preserve a fierce and barbarous spirit among the nobles; and proved the occasion of many disasters to themselves and to their country. After many preparatory negotiations, he invited the contending parties to a royal entertainment in the palace of Holyrood-house, and partly by his authority, partly by his entreaties, obtained their promise to bury their dissensions in perpetual oblivion. From thence he conducted them, in solemn procession, through the streets of Edinburgh, marching by pairs, each hand in hand with his enemy. A collation of wine and sweetmeats was prepared at the public cross, and there they drank to each other with all the signs of reciprocal forgiveness and of future friendship. The people, who were present at a spectacle so unusual, conceived the most sanguine hopes

of seeing concord and tranquillity established in every part of the kingdom, and testified their satisfaction by repeated acclamations.ⁿ Unhappily, the effects of this reconciliation were not correspondent either to the pious endeavours of the king, or to the fond wishes of the people.

The first care of the parliament was the security of the Protestant religion. All the laws passed in its favour, since the Reformation, were ratified; and a new and severe one was enacted against seminary priests and Jesuits, whose restless industry in making proselytes, brought many of them into Scotland about this time. Two acts of this parliament deserve more particular notice on account of the consequences with which they were followed.

General annexations of church-lands. The one respected the lands of the church. As the public revenues were not sufficient for defraying the king's ordinary charges; as the administration of the government became more complicated and more expensive; as James was naturally profuse, and a stranger to economy; it was necessary, on all these accounts, to provide some fund proportioned to his exigencies. But no considerable sum could be levied on the commons, who did not enjoy the benefit of an extensive commerce. The nobles were unaccustomed to bear the burden of heavy taxes. The revenues of the church were the only source whence a proper supply could be drawn. Notwithstanding all the depredations of the laity since the Reformation, and the various devices which they had employed to seize the church-lands, some considerable portion of them remained still unalienated, and were held either by the bishops who possessed the benefices, or were granted to laymen during pleasure. All these lands were, in this parliament, annexed, by one general law,^o to the crown, and the king was empowered to apply the rents of them to his own use. The tithes alone were reserved for the maintenance of the persons who served the cure, and the principal mansion-house, with a few acres of land, by way of glebe, allotted for their residence. By this great

ⁿ Spotsw. 164. Cald. iv. 13.

^o Par. 11 Jac. VI. c. 29.

accession of property, it is natural to conclude that the king must have acquired a vast increase of power, and the influence of the nobles have suffered a proportional diminution. The very reverse of this seems, however, to have been the case. Almost all grants of church-lands, prior to this act, were thereby confirmed; and titles, which were formerly reckoned precarious, derived thence the sanction of parliamentary authority. James was likewise authorized, during a limited time, to make new alienations; and such was the facility of his temper, ever ready to yield to the solicitations of his servants, and to gratify their most extravagant demands, that not only during the time limited, but throughout his whole reign, he was continually employed in bestowing, and his parliament in ratifying, grants of this kind to his nobles; hence little advantage accrued to the crown from that which might have been so valuable an addition to its revenues. The bishops, however, were great sufferers by the law. But at this juncture neither the king nor his ministers were solicitous about the interests of an order of men, odious to the people, and persecuted by the clergy. Their enemies promoted the law with the utmost zeal. The prospect of sharing in their spoils induced all parties to consent to it; and after a step so fatal to the wealth and power of the dignified clergy, it was no difficult matter to introduce that change in the government of the church which soon after took place.^p

Lesser barons admitted into parliament by their representatives.

The change which the other statute produced in the civil constitution was no less remarkable. Under the feudal system, every freeholder, or immediate vassal of the crown, had a right to be present in parliament. These freeholders were originally few in number, but possessed of great and extensive property. By degrees these vast possessions were divided by the proprietors themselves, or parcelled out by the prince, or split by other accidents. The number of freeholders became greater, and their condition more unequal; besides the ancient barons, who preserved their

estates and their power unimpaired, there arose another order, whose rights were the same, though their wealth and influence were far inferior. But, in rude ages, when the art of government was extremely imperfect, when parliaments were seldom assembled, and deliberated on matters little interesting to a martial people, few of the *lesser barons* took their seats, and the whole parliamentary jurisdiction was exercised by the *greater barons*, in conjunction with the ecclesiastical order. James I, fond of imitating the forms of the English constitution, to which he had been long accustomed, and desirous of providing a counterpoise to the power of the great nobles, procured an act in the year 1427, dispensing with the personal attendance of the lesser barons, and empowering those in each county to choose two commissioners to represent them in parliament. This law, like many other regulations of that wise prince, produced little effect. All the king's vassals continued, as formerly, possessed of a right to be present in parliament; but, unless in some extraordinary conjunctures, the greater barons alone attended. But, by means of the Reformation, the constitution had undergone a great change. The aristocratical power of the nobles had been much increased, and the influence of the ecclesiastical order, which the crown usually employed to check their usurpation, and to balance their authority, had diminished in proportion. Many of the abbeys and priories had been erected into temporal peerages; and the Protestant bishops, an indigent race of men, and odious to the nation, were far from possessing the weight and credit which their predecessors derived from their own exorbitant wealth and the superstitious reverence of the people. In this situation, the king had recourse to the expedient employed by James I., and obtained a law reviving the statute of 1427; and from that time the commons of Scotland have sent their representatives to parliament. An act, which tended so visibly to abridge their authority, did not pass without opposition from many of the nobles. But as the king had a right to summon the lesser barons to attend in person,

others were apprehensive of seeing the house filled with a multitude of his dependants, and consented the more willingly to a law which laid them under the restriction of appearing only by their representatives.

1588. The year 1588 began with a universal expectation throughout all Europe, that it was to be distinguished by wonderful events and revolutions. Several astrologers, according to the accounts of contemporary historians, had predicted this; and the situation of affairs in the two principal kingdoms of Europe was such, that a sagacious observer, without any supernatural intelligence, might have hazarded the prediction, and have foreseen the approach, of some grand crisis. In France, it was evident, from the astonishing progress of the league, conducted by a leader whose ambition was restrained by no scruples, and whose genius had hitherto surmounted all difficulties; as well as from the timid, variable, and impolitic councils of Henry III., that either that monarch must submit to abandon the throne, of which he was unworthy, or by some sudden and daring blow cut off his formidable rival. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year, the duke of Guise drove his master out of his capital city, and forced him to conclude a peace, which left him only the shadow of royalty; and before the year expired, he himself fell a victim to the resentment and fear of Henry, and to his own security. In Spain the operations were such as promised something still more uncommon. During three years Philip had employed all the power of his European dominions, and exhausted the treasures of the Indies, in vast preparations for war. A fleet, the greatest that had ever appeared in the ocean, was ready to sail from Lisbon, and a numerous land army was assembled to embark on board of it. Its destination was still unknown, though many circumstances made it probable that the blow was aimed, in the first place, against England. Elizabeth had long given secret aid to the revolted provinces in the Low-Countries, and now openly afforded them her protection. A numerous body of her

troops was in their service; the earl of Leicester commanded their armies; she had great sway in the civil government of the republic; and some of its most considerable towns were in her possession. Her fleets had insulted the coasts of Spain, intercepted the galleons from the West Indies, and threatened the colonies there. Roused by so many injuries, allured by views of ambition, and animated by a superstitious zeal for propagating the Romish religion, Philip resolved not only to invade, but to conquer England, to which his descent from the house of Lancaster, and the donation of pope Sixtus V. gave him, in his own opinion, a double title.

Elizabeth saw the danger approach, and prepared to encounter it. The measures for the defence of her kingdom were concerted and carried on with the wisdom and vigour which distinguished her reign. Her chief care was to secure the friendship of the king of Scots. She had treated the queen his mother with a rigour unknown among princes; she had often used himself harshly, and with contempt; and though he had hitherto prudently suppressed his resentment of these injuries, she did not believe it to be altogether extinguished, and was afraid that, in her present situation, it might burst out with fatal violence. Philip, sensible how much an alliance with Scotland would facilitate his enterprise, courted James with the utmost assiduity. He excited him to revenge his mother's wrong; he flattered him with the hopes of sharing his conquests; and offered him in marriage his daughter the infanta Isabella. At the same time, Scotland swarmed with priests, his emissaries, who seduced some of the nobles to Popery, and corrupted others with bribes and promises. Huntly, Errol, Crawford, were the heads of a faction which openly espoused the interest of Spain. Lord Maxwell, arriving from that court, began to assemble his followers, and to take arms, that he might be ready to join the Spaniards. In order to counterbalance all these, Elizabeth made the warmest professions of friendship to the king; and Ashby, her ambassador, entertained him with

Conduct
of James
on that oc-
casion.

magnificent hopes and promises. He assured him, that his right of succession to the crown should be publicly acknowledged in England; that he should be created a duke in that kingdom; that he should be admitted to some share in the government; and receive a considerable pension annually. James, it is probable, was too well acquainted with Elizabeth's arts, to rely entirely on these promises. But he understood his own interest in the present juncture, and pursued it with much steadiness. He rejected an alliance with Spain, as dangerous. He refused to admit into his presence an ambassador from the pope. He seized colonel Semple, an agent of the prince of Parma. He drove many of the seminary priests out of the kingdom. He marched suddenly to Dumfries, dispersed Maxwell's followers, and took him prisoner. In a convention of the nobles, he declared his resolution to adhere inviolably to the league with England; and without listening to the suggestions of revenge, determined to act in concert with Elizabeth, against the common enemy of the Protestant faith. He put the kingdom in a posture of defence, and levied troops to obstruct the landing of the Spaniards. He offered to send an army to Elizabeth's assistance, and told her ambassador that he expected no other favour from the king of Spain, but that which Polyphemus had promised to Ulysses, that when he had devoured all his companions, he would make him his last morsel.⁹

A national covenant in defence of religion. The zeal of the people, on this occasion, was not inferior to that of the king; and the extraordinary danger with which they were threatened, suggested to them an extraordinary expedient for their security. A bond was framed for the maintenance of true religion, as well as the defence of the king's person and government, in opposition to all enemies, foreign and domestic. This contained a confession of the Protestant faith, a particular renunciation of the errors of Popery, and the most solemn promises, in the name, and through the strength of God, of adhering to each other in supporting

⁹ Camd. 544. Johnst. 139. Spotsw. 369.

the former, and contending against the latter, to the utmost of their power. The king, the nobles, the clergy, and the people, subscribed with equal alacrity. Strange or uncommon as such a combination may now appear, many circumstances contributed at that time to recommend it, and to render the idea familiar to the Scots. When roused by an extraordinary event, or alarmed by any public danger, the people of Israel were accustomed to bind themselves, by a solemn covenant, to adhere to that religion which the Almighty had established among them; this the Scots considered as a sacred precedent, which it became them to imitate. In that age, no considerable enterprise was undertaken in Scotland, without a bond of mutual defence, which all concerned reckoned necessary for their security. The form of this religious confederacy is plainly borrowed from those political ones, of which so many instances have occurred; the articles, stipulations, and peculiar modes of expression, are exactly the same in both. Almost all the considerable Popish princes were then joined in a league for extirpating the reformed religion, and nothing could be more natural, or seemed more efficacious, than to enter into a counter-association; in order to oppose the progress of that formidable conspiracy. To these causes did the *covenant*, which is become so famous in history, owe its origin. It was renewed at different times during the reign of James.^s It was revived with great solemnity, though with considerable alterations, in the year 1638. It was adopted by the English in the year 1643, and enforced by the civil and ecclesiastical authority of both kingdoms. The political purposes to which it was then made subservient, and the violent and unconstitutional measures which it was then employed to promote, it is not our province to explain. But at the juncture in which it was first introduced, we may pronounce it to have been a prudent and laudable device for the defence of the religion and liberties of the nation; nor were the terms in which it was conceived, other than might have been expected from men

^r Dunlop's Collect. of Confess. vol. ii. 108.

^s Cald. iv. 129.

alarmed with the impending danger of Popery, and threatened with an invasion by the most bigoted and most powerful prince in Europe.

Philip's eagerness to conquer England did not inspire him either with the vigour or dispatch necessary to ensure the success of so mighty an enterprise. His fleet, which ought to have sailed in April, did not enter the English channel till the middle of July. It hovered many days on the coast, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma, who was blocked up in the ports of Flanders by a Dutch squadron. Continual disasters pursued the

The armada defeated.

Spaniards during that time; successive storms and battles, which were well known, conspired with their own ill-conduct to disappoint their enterprise. And, by the blessing of Providence, which watched with remarkable care over the Protestant religion and liberties of Britain, the English valour scattered and destroyed the armada, on which Philip had arrogantly bestowed the name of *Invincible*. After being driven out of the English seas, their shattered ships were forced to steer their course towards Spain, round Scotland and Ireland. Many of them suffered shipwreck on these dangerous and unknown coasts. Though James kept his subjects under arms, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to prevent their landing in a hostile manner, he received with great humanity seven hundred who were forced ashore by a tempest, and, after supplying them with necessaries, permitted them to return into their own country.

On the retreat of the Spaniards, Elizabeth sent an ambassador to congratulate with James, and to compliment him on the firmness and generosity he had discovered during a conjuncture so dangerous. But none of Ashby's promises were any longer remembered; that minister was even accused of having exceeded his powers, by his too liberal offers; and conscious of his own falsehood, or ashamed of being disowned by his court, he withdrew secretly out of Scotland.[†]

[†] Johnst. 134. Camd. 548. Murdin, 635. 788.

1589.
Philip's in-
trigues in
Scotland.

Philip, convinced by fatal experience of his own rashness in attempting the conquest of England, by a naval armament, equipped at so great a distance, and subjected, in all its operations, to the delays, and dangers, and uncertainties, arising from seas and wind, resolved to make his attack in another form, and to adopt the plan which the princes of Lorrain had long meditated, of invading England through Scotland. A body of his troops, he imagined, might be easily wafted over from the Low-Countries to that kingdom, and if they could once obtain footing, or procure assistance there, the frontier of England was open and defenceless, and the northern counties full of Roman Catholics, who would receive them with open arms. Meanwhile a descent might be threatened on the southern coast, which would divide the English army, distract their councils, and throw the whole kingdom into terrible convulsions. In order to prepare the way for the execution of this design, he remitted a considerable sum of money to Bruce, a seminary priest in Scotland, and employed him, together with Hay, Creighton, and Tyrie, Scottish Jesuits, to gain over as many persons of distinction as possible to his interest. Zeal for Popery, and the artful insinuations of these emissaries, induced several noblemen to favour a measure which tended so manifestly to the destruction of their country. Huntly, though the king had lately given him in marriage the daughter of his favourite the duke of Lennox, continued warmly attached to the Romish church. Crawford and Errol were animated with the zeal of new converts. They all engaged in a correspondence with the prince of Parma, and, in their letters to him, offered their service to the king of Spain, and undertook with the aid of six thousand men, to render him master of Scotland, and to bring so many of their vassals into the field, that he should be able to enter England with a numerous army. Francis Stewart, grandson of James V.,^u whom the king had created earl of Bothwell, though influenced by no

^u He was the son of John Prior of Coldingham, one of James's natural children.

motive of religion, for he still adhered to the Protestant faith, was prompted merely by caprice, and the restlessness of his nature, to join in this treasonable correspondence.

Feb. 17. All these letters were intercepted in England. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which threatened her own kingdom, sent them immediately to the king, and, reproaching him with his former lenity towards the Popish party, called upon him to check this formidable conspiracy by a proper severity. But James, though firmly attached to the Protestant religion, though profoundly versed in the theological controversies between the reformers and the church of Rome, though he had employed himself, at that early period of life, in writing a commentary on the Revelations, in which he laboured to prove the pope to be antichrist, had nevertheless adopted already those maxims concerning the treatment of the Roman Catholics, to which he adhered through the rest of his life. The Roman Catholics were at that time a powerful and active party in England; they were far from being an inconsiderable faction in his own kingdom. The pope and the king of Spain were ready to take part in all their machinations, and to second every effort of their bigotry. The opposition of such a body to his succession to the crown of England, added to the averseness of the English from the government of strangers, might create him many difficulties. In order to avoid these, he thought it necessary to soothe, rather than to irritate the Roman Catholics, and to reconcile them to his succession, by the hopes of gentler treatment, and some mitigation of the rigour of those laws, which were now in force against them. This attempt to gain one party, by promises of indulgence and acts of clemency, while he adhered with all the obstinacy of a disputant to the doctrines and tenets of the other, has given an air of mystery, and even of contradiction, to this part of the king's character. The Papists, with the credulity of a sect struggling to obtain power, believed his heart to be wholly theirs; and the Protestants, with the jealousy, inseparable from those who are already

in possession of power, viewed every act of lenity as a mark of indifference, or a symptom of apostacy. In order to please both, James often aimed at an excessive refinement, mingled with dissimulation, in which he imagined the perfection of government and of king-craft to consist.

His excessive lenity to the conspirators. His behaviour on this occasion, was agreeable to these general maxims. Notwithstanding the solicitations of the queen of England, enforced by the zealous remonstrances of his own clergy, a short imprisonment was the only punishment he inflicted upon Huntly and his associates. But he soon had reason to repent an act of clemency so inconsistent with the dignity of government. The first use which the conspirators made of their liberty was, to assemble their followers, and under pretence of removing chancellor Maitland, an able minister, but warmly devoted to the English interest, from the king's council and presence, they attempted to seize James himself. This attempt being defeated, partly by Maitland's vigilance, and partly by their own ill-conduct, they were forced to retire to the north, where they openly erected the standard of rebellion. But as the king's government was not generally unpopular, or his ministers odious, their own vassals joined them slowly, and discovered no zeal in the cause. The king, in person, advancing against them with such forces as he could suddenly levy, they durst not rely so much on the fidelity of the troops, which, though superior in number, followed them with reluctance, as to hazard a battle; but suffering them to disperse, they surrendered to the king, and threw themselves on his mercy. Huntly, Errol, Crawford, and Bothwell, were all brought to a public trial. Repeated acts of treason were easily proved against them. The king, however, did not permit any sentence to be pronounced; and after keeping them a few months in confinement, he took occasion, amidst the public festivity and rejoicings at the approach of his marriage, to set them at liberty.*

* Spotsw. 373. Cald. iv. 103—130.

As James was the only descendant of the ancient monarchs of Scotland in the direct line; as all hopes of uniting the crowns of the two kingdoms would have expired with him; as the earl of Arran, the presumptive heir to the throne, was lunatic; the king's marriage was, on all these accounts, an event which the nation wished for with the utmost ardour. He himself was no less desirous of accomplishing it; and had made overtures for that purpose, to the eldest daughter of Frederick II. king of Denmark. But Elizabeth, jealous of every thing that would render the accession of the house of Stewart more acceptable to the English, endeavoured to perplex James, in the same manner she had done Mary; and employed as many artifices to defeat or to retard his marriage. His ministers, gained by bribes and promises, seconded her intention; and though several different ambassadors were sent from Scotland to Denmark, they produced powers so limited, or insisted on conditions so extravagant, that Frederick could not believe the king to be in earnest; and suspecting that there was some design to deceive or amuse him, gave his daughter in marriage to the duke of Brunswick. Not discouraged by this disappointment, which he imputed entirely to the conduct of his own ministers, James made addresses to the princess Anne, Frederick's second daughter. Though Elizabeth endeavoured to divert him from this by recommending Catherine, the king of Navarre's sister, as a more advantageous match; though she prevailed on the privy-council of Scotland to declare against the alliance with Denmark, he persisted in his choice; and despairing of overcoming the obstinacy of his own ministers in any other manner, he secretly encouraged the citizens of Edinburgh to take arms. They threatened to tear in pieces the chancellor, whom they accused as the person, whose artifices had hitherto disappointed the wishes of the king and the expectations of his people. In consequence of this, the earl Marischal was sent into Denmark at the head of a splendid embassy.

He received ample powers and instructions, drawn with the king's own hand. The marriage articles were quickly agreed upon, and the young queen set sail towards Scotland. James made great preparations for her reception, and waited her landing with all the impatience of a lover, when the unwelcome account arrived, that a violent tempest had arisen, which drove back her fleet to Norway, in a condition so shattered, that there was little hope of its putting again to sea, before the spring. This unexpected disappointment he felt with the utmost sensibility. He instantly fitted out some ships, and, without communicating his intention to any of his council, sailed in person, attended by the chancellor, several noblemen, and a train of three hundred persons, in quest of his bride. He arrived safely in a small harbour near Upslo, where the queen then resided. There the marriage was solemnized; and as it would have been rash to trust those boisterous seas in the winter season, James accepted the invitation of the court of Denmark, and repairing to Copenhagen, passed several months there, amidst continual feasting and amusements, in which both the queen and himself had great delight.^y

No event in the king's life appears to be a wider deviation from his general character, than this sudden sally. His son Charles I. was capable of that excessive admiration of the other sex, which arises from great sensibility of heart, heightened by elegance of taste; and the romantic air of his journey to Spain suited such a disposition. But James was not susceptible of any refined gallantry, and always expressed that contempt for the female character, which a pedantic erudition, unacquainted with politeness, is apt to inspire. He was exasperated, however, and rendered impatient by the many obstacles which had been laid in his way. He was anxious to secure the political advantages which he expected from marriage; and fearing that a delay might afford Elizabeth and his own ministers, an opportunity of thwarting him by new intrigues, he sud-

^y Melvil, 352. Spotsw. 377. Murdin. 637.

denly took the resolution of preventing them, by a voyage from which he expected to return in a few weeks. The nation seemed to applaud his conduct, and to be pleased with this appearance of amorous ardour in a young prince. Notwithstanding his absence so long beyond the time he expected, the nobles, the clergy, and the people, vied with one another in loyalty and obedience; and no period of the king's reign was more remarkable for tranquillity, or more free from any eruption of those factions which so often disturbed the kingdom.

BOOK VIII.

1590. The king and queen arrive in Scotland. ON the first of May, the king and queen arrived at Leith, and were received by their subjects with every possible expression of joy. The solemnity of the queen's coronation was conducted with great magnificence; but so low had the order of bishops fallen in the opinion of the public, that none of them were present on that occasion; and Mr. Robert Bruce, a Presbyterian minister of great reputation, set the crown on her head, administered the sacred unction, and performed the other customary ceremonies.

August 4. The zeal and success, with which many of the clergy had contributed toward preserving peace and order in the kingdom, during his absence, reconciled James, in a great degree, to their persons, and even to the Presbyterian form of government. In presence of an assembly which met this year, he made high encomiums on the discipline, as well as the doctrine of the church, promised to adhere inviolably to both, and permitted the assembly to frame such acts as gradually abolished all the remains of episcopal jurisdiction, and paved the way for a full and legal establishment of the Presbyterian model.

1591. An event happened soon after, which afforded the clergy no small triumph. Archbishop Adam-

son, their ancient opponent, having fallen under the king's displeasure, having been deprived of the revenues of his see, in consequence of the act of annexation, and being oppressed with age, with poverty, and diseases, made the meanest submission to the clergy, and delivered to the assembly a formal recantation of all his opinions concerning church government, which had been matter of offence to the Presbyterians. Such a confession, from the most learned person of the episcopal order, was considered as a testimony which the force of truth had extorted from an enemy.^b

Disorders
in the
kingdom.

Meanwhile, the king's excessive clemency towards offenders multiplied crimes of all kinds, and encouraged such acts of violence, as brought his government under contempt, and proved fatal to many of his subjects. The history of several years, about this time, is filled with the accounts of deadly quarrels between the great families, and of murders and assassinations, perpetrated in the most audacious manner, and with circumstances of the utmost barbarity. All the defects in the feudal aristocracy were now felt more sensibly, perhaps, than at any other period in the history of Scotland, and universal licence and anarchy prevailed to a degree scarce consistent with the preservation of society: while the king, too gentle to punish, or too feeble to act with vigour, suffered all these enormities to pass with impunity.

An attempt
of Both-
well's
against the
king.

But though James connived at real crimes, witchcraft, which is commonly an imaginary one, engrossed his attention, and those suspected of it felt the whole weight of his authority. Many persons, neither extremely old, nor wretchedly poor, which were usually held to be certain indications of this crime, but masters of families, and matrons of a decent rank, and in the middle age of life, were seized and tortured. Though their confessions contained the most absurd and incredible circumstances, the king's prejudices, those of the clergy and of the people, conspired in believing their extrava-

^b Spotsw. 385. Cald. iv. 214.

gancies without hesitation, and in punishing their persons without mercy. Some of these unhappy sufferers accused Bothwell of having consulted them, in order to know the time of the king's death, and of having employed their art to raise the storms which had endangered the queen's life, and had detained James so long in Denmark. Upon this evidence, that nobleman was committed to prison. His turbulent and haughty spirit could neither submit to the restraint, nor brook such an indignity. Having gained his keepers, he made his escape, and imputing the accusation to the artifices of his enemy the chancellor, he assembled his followers, under pretence of driving him from the king's councils. Being favoured by some of the king's attendants, he was admitted by a secret passage, under cloud of night, into the court of the palace of Holyrood-house. He advanced directly towards the royal apartment, but happily before he entered, the alarm was taken, and the doors shut. While he attempted to burst open some of them, and set fire to others, the citizens of Edinburgh had time to run to their arms, and he escaped with the utmost difficulty; owing his safety to the darkness of the night, and the precipitancy with which he fled.^c

Dec. 27.

1592.

He retired towards the north, and the king having unadvisedly given a commission to the earl of Huntly, to pursue him and his followers with fire and sword, he, under colour of executing that commission, gratified his private revenge, and surrounded the house of the earl of Murray, burnt it to the ground, and slew Murray himself. The murder of a young nobleman of such promising virtues, and the heir of the regent Murray, the darling of the people, excited universal indignation. The citizens of Edinburgh rose in a tumultuous manner; and, though they were restrained by the care of the magistrates, from any act of violence, they threw aside all respect for the king and his ministers, and openly insulted and threatened both. While this muti-

Feb. 8.

nous spirit continued, James thought it prudent to withdraw from the city, and fixed his residence for some time at Glasgow. There Huntly surrendered himself to justice; and notwithstanding the atrociousness of his crime, and the clamours of the people, the power of the chancellor, with whom he was now closely confederated, and the king's regard for the memory of the duke of Lennox, whose daughter he had married, not only protected him from the sentence, which such an odious action merited, but exempted him even from the formality of a public trial.^d

Presby-
terian
church go-
vernment
established
by law. A step of much importance was taken soon after, with regard to the government of the church. The clergy had long complained of the encroachments made upon their privileges and jurisdiction, by the acts of the parliament, 1584, and though these laws had now lost much of their force, they resolved to petition the parliament, which was approaching, to repeal them in form. The juncture for pushing such a measure was well chosen. The king had lost much of the public favour by his lenity towards the Popish faction, and still more, by his remissness in pursuing the murderers of the earl of Murray. The chancellor had not only a powerful party of the courtiers combined against him, but was become odious to the people, who imputed to him every false step in the king's conduct. Bothwell still lurked in the kingdom, and being secretly supported by all the enemies of Maitland's administration, was ready every moment to renew his audacious enterprises. James, for all these reasons, was extremely willing to indulge the clergy in their request, and not only consented to a law, whereby the acts of 1584 were rescinded or explained, but he carried his complaisance still farther, and permitted the parliament to establish the Presbyterian government, in its general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and, kirk sessions, with all the different branches of their discipline and jurisdiction, in the most ample manner. All the zeal and authority of the clergy, even under the administration of regents, from

^d Spotsw. 387.

whom they might have expected the most partial favour, could not obtain the sanction of law, in confirmation of their mode of ecclesiastical government. No prince was ever less disposed than James to approve a system, the republican genius of which inspired a passion for liberty, extremely repugnant to his exalted notions of royal prerogative. Nor could any aversion be more inveterate than his, to the austere and uncomplying character of the Presbyterian clergy in that age; who, more eminent for zeal than for policy, often contradicted his opinions, and censured his conduct, with a freedom equally offensive to his dogmatism as a theologian, and to his pride as a king. His situation, however, obliged him frequently to conceal, or to dissemble, his sentiments; and, as he often disgusted his subjects, by indulging the Popish faction more than they approved, he endeavoured to atone for this, by concessions to the Presbyterian clergy, more liberal than he himself would otherwise have chosen to grant.^e

In this parliament, Bothwell and all his adherents were attainted. But he soon made a new attempt to seize the king at Falkland; and James, betrayed by some of his courtiers, and feebly defended by others, who wished well to Bothwell, as the chancellor's avowed enemy, owed his safety to the fidelity and vigilance of Sir Robert Melvil, and to the irresolution of Bothwell's associates.^f

A new conspiracy of the Popish lords.

Scarcely was this danger over, when the nation was alarmed with the discovery of a new and more formidable conspiracy. George Ker, the lord Newbattle's brother, being seized as he was ready to set sail for Spain, many suspicious papers were found in his custody, and among these, several blanks signed by the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol. By this extraordinary precaution, they hoped to escape any danger of discovery. But Ker's resolution shrinking when torture was threatened, he confessed that he was employed by these noblemen to carry on a negotiation with the king of Spain; that the blanks subscribed with their names were to be filled up by

^e Cald. iv. 248. 252. Spotsw. 388.

^f Melv. 402.

Crichton and Tyrie; that they were instructed to offer the faithful service of the three earls to that monarch; and to solicit him to land a body of his troops, either in Galloway, or at the mouth of the Clyde, with which they undertook, in the first place, to establish the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland, and then to invade England with the whole forces of the kingdom. David Graham of Fintry, and Barclay of Ladyland, whom he accused of being privy to the conspiracy, were taken into custody, and confirmed all the circumstances of his confession.^s

^{1593.}
Zeal of the
 people, The nation having been kept for some time in continual terror and agitation by so many successive conspiracies, the discovery of this new danger completed the panic. All ranks of men, as if the enemy had already been at their gates, thought themselves called upon to stand forth in defence of their country. The ministers of Edinburgh, without waiting for any warrant from the king, who happened at that time to be absent from the capital, and without having received any legal commission, assembled a considerable number of peers and barons, in order to provide an instant security against the impending danger. They seized the earl of Angus, and committed him to the castle; they examined Ker; and prepared a remonstrance to be laid before the king, concerning the state of the nation, and the necessity of prosecuting the conspirators with becoming vigour.

and pro-
 ceedings of
 the king
 against
 them. James, though jealous of every encroachment on his prerogative, and offended with his subjects, who, instead of petitioning, seemed to prescribe to him, found it necessary, during the violence of the ferment, not only to adopt their plan, but even to declare, that no consideration should ever induce him to pardon such as had been guilty of so odious a treason. He summoned the earls of Huntly and Errol to surrender themselves to justice. Graham of Fintry, whom his peers pronounced to be guilty of treason, he commanded to be publicly beheaded; and marching into the north at the

Jan. 8.

head of an army, the two earls, together with Angus, who had escaped out of prison, retired to the mountains. He placed garrisons in the castles which belonged to them; compelled their vassals, and the barons in the adjacent countries, to subscribe a bond containing professions of their loyalty towards him, and of their firm adherence to the Protestant faith; and the better to secure the tranquillity of that part of the kingdom, constituted the earls of Athol and Marischal his lieutenants there.^b

March 18. Having finished this expedition, James returned to Edinburgh, where he found lord Borrough, an extraordinary ambassador from the court of England. Elizabeth, alarmed at the discovery of a conspiracy which she considered as no less formidable to her own kingdom than to Scotland, reproached James with his former remissness, and urged him, as he regarded the preservation of the Protestant religion, or the dignity of his own crown, to punish this repeated treason with rigour; and if he could not apprehend the persons, at least to confiscate the estates of such audacious rebels. She weakened, however, the force of these requests, by interceding at the same time in behalf of Bothwell, whom, according to her usual policy, in nourishing a factious spirit among the Scottish nobles, she had taken under her protection. James absolutely refused to listen to any intercession in favour of one who had so often, and with so much outrage, insulted both his government and his person. With regard to the Popish conspirators, he declared his resolution to prosecute them with vigour; but that he might be the better able to do so, he demanded a small sum of money from Elizabeth, which she, distrustful perhaps of the manner in which he might apply it, shewed no inclination to grant. The zeal, however, and importunity of his own subjects, obliged him to call a parliament, in order to pass an act of attainder against the three earls. But before it met, Ker made his escape out of prison, and, on pretence that legal evidence of their guilt could not be

^b Spotsw. 301. Cald. iv. 291.

produced, nothing was concluded against them. The king himself was universally suspected of having contrived this artifice, on purpose to elude the requests of the queen of England, and to disappoint the wishes of his own people; and, therefore, in order to soothe the clergy, who exclaimed loudly against his conduct, he gave way to the passing of an act, which ordained such as obstinately contemned the censures of the church to be declared outlaws.¹

While the terror excited by the Popish conspiracy, Bothwell surprises the king. possessed the nation, the court had been divided by two rival factions, which contended for the chief direction of affairs. At the head of one was the chancellor, in whom the king reposed entire confidence. For that very reason, perhaps, he had fallen early under the queen's displeasure. The duke of Lennox, the earl of Athol, lord Ochiltree, and all of the name of Stewart, espoused her quarrel, and widened the breach. James, fond no less of domestic tranquillity than of public peace, advised his favourite to retire, for some time, in hopes that the queen's resentment would subside. But as he stood in need, in the present juncture, of the assistance of an able minister, he had recalled him to court. In order to prevent him from recovering his former power, the Stewarts had July 24. recourse to an expedient no less illegal than desperate. Having combined with Bothwell, who was of the same name, they brought him back secretly into Scotland; and seizing the gates of the palace, introduced him into the royal apartment with a numerous train of armed followers. James, though deserted by all his courtiers, and incapable of resistance, discovered more indignation than fear, and reproaching them for their treachery, called on the earl to finish his treasons, by piercing his sovereign to the heart. But Bothwell fell on his knees, and implored pardon. The king was not in a condition to refuse his demands. A

¹ Cald. iv. 343. Spotsw. 393. Parl. 13 Jac. VI. c. 161.

few days after he signed a capitulation with this successful traitor, to whom he was really a prisoner, whereby he bound himself to grant him a remission for all past offences, and to procure the ratification of it in parliament; and in the mean time to dismiss the chancellor, the master of Glamis, lord Home, and sir George Home, from his councils and presence. Bothwell, on his part, consented to remove from court, though he left there as many of his associates as he thought sufficient to prevent the return of the adverse faction.

He reco-
vers his
liberty.
Sept. 7. But it was now no easy matter to keep the king under the same kind of bondage to which he had been often subject during his minority. He discovered so much impatience to shake off his fetters, that those who had imposed, durst not continue the restraint. They permitted him to call a convention of the nobles at Stirling, and to repair thither himself. All Bothwell's enemies, and all who were desirous of gaining the king's favour by appearing to be so, obeyed the summons. They pronounced the insult offered to the king's person and authority to be high treason, and declared him absolved from any obligation to observe conditions extorted by force, and which violated so essentially his royal prerogative. James, however, still proffered him a pardon, provided he would sue for it as an act of mercy, and promise to retire out of the kingdom. These conditions Bothwell rejected with disdain, and betaking himself once more to arms, attempted to surprise the king; but finding him on his guard; fled to the borders.^k

Suspected
of favour-
ing the Po-
pish lords. The king's ardour against Bothwell, compared with his slow and evasive proceedings against the Popish lords, occasioned a general disgust among his subjects; and was imputed either to an excessive attachment to the persons of those conspirators, or to a secret partiality towards their opinions; both which gave rise to no unreasonable fears. The clergy, as the immediate

^k Cald. iv. 326. Spotsw. 395.

Sept. 25. guardians of the Protestant religion, thought themselves bound, in such a juncture, to take extraordinary steps for its preservation. The provincial synod of Fife happening to meet at that time, a motion was made to excommunicate all concerned in the late conspiracy, as obstinate and irreclaimable Papists; and though none of the conspirators resided within the bounds of the synod, or were subject to its jurisdiction, such was the zeal of the members, that, overlooking this irregularity, they pronounced against them the sentence of excommunication, to which the act of last parliament added new terrors. Lest this should be imputed to a few men, and accounted the act of a small part of the church, deputies were appointed to attend the adjacent synods, and to desire their approbation and concurrence.

His lenity towards them. Oct. 17. An event happened a few weeks after, which increased the people's suspicions of the king. As he was marching on an expedition against the borderers, the three Popish earls coming suddenly into his presence, offered to submit themselves to a legal trial; and James, without committing them to custody, appointed a day for that purpose. They prepared to appear with a formidable train of their friends and vassals. But in the mean time the clergy, together with many peers and barons, assembled at Edinburgh, remonstrated against the king's extreme indulgence with great boldness, and demanded of him, according to the regular course of justice, to commit to sure custody persons charged with the highest acts of treason, who could not be brought to a legal trial, until they were absolved from the censures of the church; and to call a convention of estates, to deliberate concerning the method of proceeding against them. At the same time they offered to accompany him in arms to the place of trial, lest such audacious and powerful criminals should overawe justice, and dictate to the judges, to whom they pretended to submit. James, though extremely offended, both with the irregularity of their proceedings, and the presumption of their demands, found it expedient to put off

the day of trial, and to call a convention of estates, in order to quiet the fears and jealousies of the people. By being humoured in this point, their suspicions began gradually to abate, and the chancellor managed the convention so artfully, that he himself, together with a few other members, were empowered to pronounce a final sentence upon the conspirators. After much deliberation, they ordained, Nov. 26. that the three earls and their associates should be exempted from all farther inquiry or prosecution, on account of their correspondence with Spain; that, before the 1st day of February, they should either submit to the church, and publicly renounce the errors of Popery, or remove out of the kingdom; that, before the 1st of January, they should declare which of these alternatives they would embrace; that they should find surety for their peaceable demeanour for the future; and that if they failed to signify their choice in due time, they should lose the benefit of this act of *abolition*, and remain exposed to all the pains of law.¹

By this lenity towards the conspirators, James incurred much reproach, and gained no advantage. Devoted to the Popish superstition, submissive to all the dictates of their priests, and buoyed up with hopes and promises of foreign aid, the three earls refused to accept of the conditions, 1594. and continued their treasonable correspondence Jan. 18. with the court of Spain. A convention of estates pronounced them to have forfeited the benefit of the articles which were offered; and the king required them, by proclamation, to surrender themselves to justice. The presence of the English ambassador contributed, perhaps, to the vigour of these proceedings. Elizabeth, ever attentive to James's motions, and imputing his reluctance to punish the Popish lords to a secret approbation of their designs, had sent lord Zouche to represent, once more, the danger to which he exposed himself, by this false moderation; and to require him to exercise that rigour which their crimes, as well as the posture of affairs, rendered necessary.

Though the steps now taken by the king silenced all complaints on that head, yet Zouche, forgetful of his character as an ambassador, entered into private negotiations with such of the Scottish nobles as disapproved of the king's measures, and held almost an open correspondence with Bothwell, who, according to the usual artifice of malcontents, pretended much solicitude for reforming the disorders of the commonwealth; and covered his own ambition with the specious veil of zeal against those counsellors who restrained the king from pursuing the avowed enemies of the Protestant faith. Zouche encouraged him, in the name of his mistress, to take arms against his sovereign.

Meanwhile, the king and the clergy were filled with mutual distrust of each other. They were jealous, perhaps, to excess, that James's affections leaned too much towards the Popish faction; he suspected them, without good reason, of prompting Bothwell to rebellion, and even of supplying him with money for that purpose. Little instigation, indeed, was wanting to rouse such a turbulent spirit as Bothwell's to any daring enterprise. He appeared suddenly within a mile of Edinburgh, at the head of four hundred horse. The pretences, by which he endeavoured to justify this insurrection, were extremely popular; zeal for religion, enmity to Popery, concern for the king's honour, and for the liberties of the nation. James was totally unprovided for his own defence; he had no infantry, and was accompanied only with a few horsemen of lord Home's train. In this extremity, he implored the aid of the citizens of Edinburgh, and, in order to encourage them to act with zeal, he promised to proceed against the Popish lords with the utmost rigour of law. Animated by their ministers, the citizens ran cheerfully to their arms, and advanced, with the king at their head, against Bothwell; but he, notwithstanding his success in putting to flight lord Home, who had rashly charged him with a far inferior number of cavalry, retired to Dalkeith without daring to attack the king. His followers abandoned him soon after, and discouraged by

so may successive disappointments, could never afterward be brought to venture into the field. He betook himself to his usual lurking-places in the north of England; but Elizabeth, in compliance with the king's remonstrances, obliged him to quit his retreat.^m

Fresh dangers from the Popish lords. No sooner was the king delivered from one danger, than he was called to attend to another. The Popish lords, in consequence of their negotiations

April 3. with Spain, received, in the spring, a supply of money from Philip. What bold designs this might inspire it was no easy matter to conjecture. From men under the dominion of bigotry, and whom indulgence could not reclaim, the most desperate actions were to be dreaded. The assembly of the church immediately took the alarm; remonstrated against them with more bitterness than ever; and unanimously ratified the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the synod of Fife. James himself, provoked by their obstinacy and ingratitude, and afraid that this long forbearance would not only be generally displeasing to his own subjects, but give rise to unfavourable suspicions among the English, exerted himself with unusual

June 8. vigour. He called a parliament; laid before it all the circumstances and aggravations of the conspiracy; and though there were but few members present, and several of these connected with the conspirators by blood or friendship, he prevailed on them, by his influence and importunity, to pronounce the most rigorous sentence which the law can inflict. They were declared to be guilty of high-treason, and their estates and honours forfeited. At the same time, statutes, more severe than ever, were enacted against the professors of the Popish religion.

Battle of Glenlivet. How to put this sentence in execution, was a matter of great difficulty. Three powerful barons cantoned in a part of the country of difficult access, surrounded with numerous vassals, and supported by aid from a foreign prince, were more than an overmatch for a Scottish monarch.

^m Spotsw. 403. Cald. iv. 359.

No entreaty could prevail on Elizabeth to advance the money necessary for defraying the expenses of an expedition against them. To attack them in person, with his own forces alone, might have exposed James both to disgrace and to danger. He had recourse to the only expedient which remained in such a situation, for aiding the impotence of sovereign authority; he delegated his authority to the earl of Argyll and lord Forbes, the leaders of two clans at enmity with the conspirators; and gave them a commission to invade their lands, and to seize the castles which belonged to them. Bothwell, notwithstanding all his high pretensions of zeal for the Protestant religion, having now entered into a close confederacy with them, the danger became every day more urging. Argyll, solicited by the king, and roused by the clergy, took the field at the head of seven thousand men. Huntly and Errol met him at Glenlivat, with an army far inferior in number, but composed chiefly of gentlemen of the low countries, mounted on horseback, and who brought along with them a train of field-pieces. They encountered each other with all the fury which hereditary enmity and ancient rivalry add to undisciplined courage. But the Highlanders, disconcerted by the first discharge of the cannon, to which they were little accustomed, and unable to resist the impression of cavalry, were soon put to flight; and Argyll, a gallant young man of eighteen, was carried by his friends out of the field, weeping with indignation at their disgrace, and calling on them to stand, and to vindicate the honour of their name.ⁿ

On the first intelligence of this defeat, James, though obliged to pawn his jewels in order to raise money, assembled a small body of troops, and marched towards the north. He was joined by the Irvines, Keiths, Leslys, Forbeses, and other clans at enmity with Huntly and Errol, who having lost several of their principal followers at Glenlivat, and others refusing to bear arms against the king in person, were obliged to retire to the mountains.

ⁿ Cald. iv. 408.

^o Birch. Mem. i. 186.

James wasted their lands; put garrisons in some of their castles; burnt others; and left the duke of Lennox as his lieutenant in that part of the kingdom, with a body of men sufficient to restrain them from gathering to any head there, or from infesting the low country. Reduced at last to extreme distress by the rigour of the season, and the desertion of their followers, they obtained the king's permission to go beyond seas, and gave security that they should neither return without his licence, nor engage in any new intrigues against the Protestant religion, or the peace of the kingdom.^p

By their exile, tranquillity was re-established in the north of Scotland; and the firmness and vigour which James had displayed in his last proceedings against them, regained him, in a great degree, the confidence of his Protestant subjects. But he sunk in the same proportion, and

for the same reason, in the esteem of the Roman Catholics. They had asserted his mother's right to the crown of England with so much warmth, that they could not, with any decency, reject his; and the indulgence, with which he affected to treat the professors of the Popish religion, inspired them with such hopes, that they viewed his accession to the throne as no undesirable event. But the rigour with which the king had lately pursued the conspirators, and the severe statutes against Popery to which he had given his consent, convinced them now that these hopes were visionary; and they began to look about in quest of some new successor, whose rights they might oppose to his. The Papists who resided in England turned their eyes towards the earl of Essex, whose generous mind, though firmly established in the Protestant faith, abhorred the severities inflicted in that age on account of religious opinions. Those of the same sect, who were in exile, formed a bolder scheme, and one more suitable to their situation. They advanced the claim of the infanta of Spain; and Parsons the Jesuit published a book, in which, by false quotations from his-

Popish
lords driven
out of
the king-
dom.

The Roman
Catholics
incensed
against
James.

tory, by fabulous genealogies, and absurd arguments, intermingled with bitter invectives against the king of Scots, he endeavoured to prove the infant's title to the English crown to be preferable to his. Philip, though involved already in a war both with France and England, and scarce able to defend the remains of the Burgundian provinces against the Dutch commonwealth, eagerly grasped at this airy project. The dread of a Spanish pretender to the crown, and the opposition which the Papists began to form against the king's succession, contributed not a little to remove the prejudices of the Protestants, and to prepare the way for that event.

Bothwell Bothwell, whose name has been so often mentioned as the disturber of the king's tranquillity, and of the peace of the kingdom, was now in a wretched condition. Abandoned by the queen of England, on account of his confederacy with the Popish lords; excommunicated by the church for the same reason; and deserted, in his distress, by his own followers; he was obliged to fly for safety to France, and thence to Spain and Italy, where, after renouncing the Protestant faith, he led many years an obscure and indigent life, remarkable only for a low and infamous debauchery. The king, though extremely ready to sacrifice the strongest resentment to the slightest acknowledgments, could never be softened by his submission, nor be induced to listen to any intercession in his behalf.¹

This year the king lost chancellor Maitland, an able minister, on whom he had long devolved the whole weight of public affairs. As James loved him while alive, he wrote in honour of his memory a copy of verses, which, when compared with the compositions of that age, are far from being inelegant.²

Soon after his death, a considerable change was made in the administration. At that time, the annual charges of government far exceeded the king's

¹ Winw. Mem. i. Spotsw. 410.

² Spotsw. 411.

revenues. The queen was fond of expensive amusements. James himself was a stranger to economy: It became necessary, for all these reasons, to levy the public revenues with greater order and rigour, and to husband them with more care. This important trust was committed to eight gentlemen of the law,^s who, from their number, were called *Octavians*. The powers vested in them were ample, and almost unlimited. The king bound himself neither to add to their number, nor to supply any vacancy that might happen, without their consent: and, knowing the facility of his own temper, agreed that no alienation of his revenue, no grant of a pension, or order on the treasury, should be held valid, unless it were ratified by the subscription of five of the commissioners; all their acts and decisions were declared to be of equal force with the sentence of judges in civil courts; and in consequence of them, and without any other warrant, any person might be arrested, or their goods seized. Such extensive jurisdiction, together with the absolute disposal of the public money, drew the whole executive part of government into their hands. United among themselves, they gradually undermined the rest of the king's ministers, and seized on every lucrative or honourable office. The ancient servants of the crown repined at being obliged to quit their stations to new men.

^{1596.} The favourites and young courtiers murmured at seeing the king's liberality stinted by their prescriptions. And the clergy exclaimed against some of them as known apostates to Popery, and suspected others of secretly favouring it. They retained their power, however, notwithstanding this general combination against them; and they owed it entirely to the order and economy which they introduced into the administration of the finances, by which the necessary expenses of government were more easily defrayed than in any other period of the king's reign.^t

^s Alexander Seaton president of the session, Walter Stewart commendator of Blantyre, lord privy-seal, David Carnegie, John Lindsay, James Elphinstone, Thomas Hamilton, John Skene clerk register, and Peter Young elemosynar.

^t Spotsw. 413. 435.

Violence of
the nation
against the
Popish
lords.

The rumour of vast preparations which Philip was said to be carrying on at this time, filled both England and Scotland with the dread of a new invasion. James took proper measures for the defence of his kingdom. But these did not satisfy the zeal of the clergy, whose suspicions of the king's sincerity began to revive; and as he had permitted the wives of the banished peers to levy the rents of their estates, and to live in their houses, they charged him with rendering the act of forfeiture ineffectual, by supporting the avowed enemies of the Protestant faith. The assembly of the church

March 24.

took under consideration the state of the kingdom, and having appointed a day of public fasting, they solemnly renewed the covenant by which the nation was bound to adhere to the Protestant faith, and to defend it against all aggressors. A committee, consisting of the most eminent clergymen, and of many barons and gentlemen of distinction, waited on the king, and laid before him a plan for the security of his kingdom, and the preservation of religion. They urged him to appropriate the estates of the banished lords as a fund for the maintenance of soldiers; to take the strictest precautions for preventing the return of such turbulent subjects into the country; and to pursue all who were suspected of being their adherents with the utmost rigour.

The king's
remissness
with regard
to them.

Nothing could be more repugnant to the king's schemes, or more disagreeable to his inclination, than these propositions. Averse, through his whole life, to any course where he expected opposition or danger; and fond of attaining his ends with the character of moderation, and by the arts of policy, he observed with concern the prejudices against him which were growing among the Roman Catholics, and resolved to make some atonement for that part of his conduct which had drawn upon him their indignation. Elizabeth was now well advanced in years; her life had lately been in danger; if any Popish competitor should arise to dispute his right of succession, a faction so powerful as that of the banished

lords might be extremely formidable; and any division among his own subjects might prove fatal at a juncture which would require their united and most vigorous efforts. Instead, therefore, of the additional severities which the assembly proposed, James had thoughts of mitigating the punishment which they already suffered. And as they were surrounded, during their residence in foreign parts, by Philip's emissaries; as resentment might dispose them to listen more favourably than ever to their suggestions; as despair might drive them to still more atrocious actions; he resolved to recall them, under certain conditions, into their native country. Encouraged by these sentiments of the king in their favour, of which they did not want intelligence, and wearied already of the dependant and anxious life of exiles, they ventured to return secretly into Scotland. Soon after, they presented a petition to the king, begging his permission to reside at their own houses, and offering to give security for their peaceable and dutiful behaviour. James called a convention of estates to deliberate on a matter of such importance, and by their advice he granted the petition.

The rash proceed-ings of the clergy and people. The members of a committee appointed by the last general assembly, as soon as they were informed of this, met at Edinburgh, and with all the precipitancy of fear and of zeal, took such resolutions as they thought necessary for the safety of the kingdom. They wrote circular letters to all the presbyteries in Scotland; they warned them of the approaching danger; they exhorted them to stir up their people to the defence of their just rights; they commanded them to publish, in all their pulpits, the act excommunicating the Popish lords; and enjoined them to lay all those who were suspected of favouring Popery under the same censure by a summary sentence, and without observing the usual formalities of trial. As the danger seemed too pressing to wait for the stated meetings of the judicatories of the church, they made choice of the most eminent clergymen in different corners of the kingdom, appointed them to reside con-

stantly at Edinburgh, and to meet every day with the ministers of that city, under the name of the *Standing Council of the Church*, and vested in this body the supreme authority, by enjoining it, in imitation of the ancient Roman form, to take care that the church should receive no detriment.

These proceedings, no less unconstitutional than unprecedented, were manifest encroachments on the royal prerogative, and bold steps towards open rebellion. The king's conduct, however, justified in some degree such excesses. His lenity towards the Papists, so repugnant to the principles of that age; his pardoning the conspirators, notwithstanding repeated promises to the contrary; the respect he paid to lady Huntly, who was attached to the Romish religion no less than her husband; his committing the care of his daughter, the princess Elizabeth, to lady Livingston, who was infected with the same superstition; the contempt with which he talked on all occasions, both of the character of ministers, and of their function, were circumstances which might have filled minds, not prone by nature to jealousy, with some suspicions; and might have precipitated into rash counsels those who were far removed from intemperate zeal. But, however powerful the motives might be which influenced the clergy, or however laudable the end they had in view, they conducted their measures with no address, and even with little prudence. James discovered a strong inclination to avoid a rupture with the church, and, jealous as he was of his prerogative, would willingly have made many concessions for the sake of peace. By his command, some of the privy-counsellors had an interview with the more moderate among the clergy, and inquired whether Huntly and his associates might not, upon making proper acknowledgments, be again received into the bosom of the church, and be exempted from any farther punishment on account of their past apostacy and treasons. They replied, that though the gate of mercy stood always open for those who repented and returned, yet as these noblemen had been

guilty of idolatry, a crime deserving death both by the law of God and of man, the civil magistrate could not legally grant them a pardon; and even though the church should absolve them, it was his duty to inflict punishment upon them. This inflexibility in those who were reckoned the most compliant of the order, filled the king with indignation, which the imprudence and obstinacy of a private clergyman heightened into rage.

Seditious doctrine taught by Black. Mr. David Black, minister of St. Andrew's, discourses in one of his sermons, according to custom, concerning the state of the nation, affirmed that the king had permitted the Popish lords to return into Scotland, and by that action had discovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children; that Satan had now the guidance of the court; that the queen of England was an atheist; that the judges were miscreants and bribers; the nobility godless and degenerate; the privy-counsellors cormorants and men of no religion; and in his prayer for the queen he used these words, "We must pray for her for fashion-sake, but we have no cause; she will never do us good." James commanded him to be summoned before the privy-council, to answer for such seditious expressions; and the clergy, instead of abandoning him to the punishment which such a petulant and criminal attack on his superiors deserved, were so imprudent as to espouse his cause, as if it had been the common one of the whole order. Nov. 10. The clergy espouse his defence. The controversy concerning the immunities of the pulpit, and the rights of the clergy to testify against vices of every kind, which had been agitated in 1584, was now revived. It was pretended that, with regard to their sacred function, ministers were subject to the church alone; that it belonged only to their ecclesiastical superiors to judge of the truth or falsehood of doctrines delivered in the pulpit; that if, upon any pretence whatever, the king usurped this jurisdiction, the church would, from that moment, sink under servitude to the civil magistrate; that, instead of reproving vice with that honest boldness which had often been of

advantage to individuals, and salutary to the kingdom, the clergy would learn to flatter the passions of the prince, and to connive at the vices of others; that the king's eagerness to punish the indiscretion of a Protestant minister, while he was so ready to pardon the crimes of Popish conspirators, called on them to stand upon their guard, and that now was the time to contend for their privileges, and to prevent any encroachment on those rights, of which the church had been in possession ever since the Reformation. Influenced by these considerations, the council of the church enjoined Black to decline the jurisdiction of the privy-council. Proud of such an opportunity to display his zeal, he presented a paper to that purpose, and with the utmost firmness refused to plead, or to answer the questions which were put to him. In order to add greater weight to these proceedings, the council of the church transmitted the *declinature* to all the presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and enjoined every minister to subscribe it in testimony of his approbation.

James defended his rights with no less vigour than they were attacked. Sensible of the contempt under which his authority must fall, if the clergy should be permitted publicly, and with impunity, to calumniate his ministers, and even to censure himself; and knowing, by former examples, what unequal reparation for such offences he might expect from the judicatories of the church, he urged on the inquiry into Black's conduct, and issued a proclamation, commanding the members of the council of the church to leave Edinburgh, and to return to their own parishes. Black, instead of submitting, renewed his *declinature*; and the members of the council, in defiance of the proclamation, declared, that, as they met by the authority of the church, obedience to it was a duty still more sacred than that which they owed to the king himself. The privy-council, notwithstanding Black's refusing to plead, proceeded in the trial; and, after a solemn inquiry, pronounced him guilty of the crimes of which he had been

accused; but referred it to the king to appoint what punishment he should suffer.

Meanwhile, many endeavours were used to bring matters to accommodation. Almost every day produced some new scheme of reconciliation; but, through the king's fickleness, the obstinacy of the clergy, or the intrigues of the courtiers, they all proved ineffectual. Both parties appealed to the people, and by reciprocal and exaggerated accusations endeavoured to render each other odious. Insolence, sedition, treason, were the crimes with which James charged the clergy; while they made the pulpits resound with complaints of his excessive lenity towards Papists, and of the no less excessive rigour with which he oppressed the established church. Exasperated by their bold invectives, he, at last, sentenced Black to retire beyond the river Spey, and to reside there during his pleasure; and once more commanding the members of the standing council to depart from Edinburgh, he required all the ministers of the kingdom to subscribe a bond, obliging themselves to submit, in the same manner as other subjects, to the jurisdiction of the civil courts in matters of a civil nature.

A tumult in Edinburgh. This decisive measure excited all the violent passions which possess disappointed factions; and deeds no less violent immediately followed. These must be imputed, in part, to the artifices of some courtiers who expected to reap advantage from the calamities of their country, or who hoped to lessen the authority of the Octavians, by engaging them in hostilities with the church. On one hand, they informed the king that the citizens of Edinburgh were under arms every night, and had planted a strong guard round the houses of their ministers. James, in order to put a stop to this imaginary insult on his government, issued a proclamation, commanding twenty-four of the principal citizens to leave the town within six hours. On the other hand, they wrote to the ministers, advising them to look to their own safety, as Huntly had been

secretly admitted to an interview with the king, and had been the author of the severe proclamation against the citizens of Edinburgh." They doubted no more of the truth of this intelligence, than the king had done of that which he received, and fell as blindly into the snare. The letter came to their hands just as one of their number was going to mount the pulpit. They resolved that he should acquaint the people of their danger; and he painted it with all the strong colours which men naturally employ in describing any dreadful and instant calamity. When the sermon was over, he desired the nobles and gentlemen to assemble in the *Little Church*. The whole multitude, terrified at what they had heard, crowded thither; they promised and vowed to stand by the clergy; they drew up a petition to the king, craving the redress of those grievances of which the church complained, and beseeching him to deliver them from all future apprehensions of danger, by removing such of his counsellors as were known to be enemies of the Protestant religion. Two peers; two gentlemen; two burgesses, and two ministers, were appointed to present it. The king happened to be in the great hall of the Tolbooth, where the court of session was sitting. The manner in which the petition was delivered, as well as its contents, offended him. He gave a haughty reply; the petitioners insisted with warmth; and a promiscuous multitude pressing into the room, James retired abruptly into another apartment, and commanded the gates to be shut behind him. The deputies returned to the multitude, who were still assembled, and to whom a minister had been reading, in their absence, the story of Haman. When they reported that the king had refused to listen to their petitions, the church was filled in a moment with noise, threatenings, execrations, and all the outrage and confusion of a popular tu-

ⁿ Though matters were industriously aggravated by persons who wished both parties to pursue violent measures, neither of these reports was altogether destitute of foundation. As their ministers were supposed to be in danger, some of the more zealous citizens had determined to defend them by force of arms. Birch. Mem. ii. 250. Huntly had been privately in Edinburgh, where he had an interview, if not with the king, at least with some of his ministers. Birch. Ibid. 230.

mult. Some called for their arms, some to bring out the wicked Haman; others cried, The sword of the Lord and of Gideon; and rushing out with the most furious impetuosity, surrounded the Tolbooth, threatening the king himself, and demanding some of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. The magistrates of the city, partly by authority, partly by force, endeavoured to quell the tumult; the king attempted to soothe the malcontents, by promising to receive their petitions, when presented in a regular manner; the ministers, sensible of their own rashness in kindling such a flame, seconded both; and the rage of the populace subsiding as suddenly as it had arisen, they all dispersed, and the king returned to the palace; happy in having escaped from an insurrection, which, through the instantaneous and unconcerted effect of popular fury, had exposed his life to imminent danger, and was considered by him as an unpardonable affront to his authority.*

As soon as he retired, the leaders of the malcontents assembled, in order to prepare their petition. The punishment of the Popish lords; the removal of those counsellors who were suspected of favouring their persons or opinions; the repeal of all the late acts of council, subversive of the authority of the church; together with an act approving the proceedings of the standing council, were the chief of their demands. But the king's indignation was still so high, that the deputies, chosen for this purpose, durst not venture that night to present requests

which could not fail of kindling his rage anew. He leaves Edinburgh, and proceeds with severity against the citizens. Before next morning, James, with all his attendants, withdrew to Linlithgow; the session, and other courts of justice, were required to leave a city where it was no longer consistent either with

their safety, or their dignity, to remain; and the noblemen and barons were commanded to return to their own houses, and not to re-assemble without the king's permission. The vigour with which the king acted, struck a damp upon the

* Spotsw. 417, &c. Cald. v. 54, &c. Birch. Mem. ii. 235.

spirits of his adversaries. The citizens, sensible how much they would suffer by his absence, and the removal of the courts of justice, repented already of their conduct. The ministers alone resolved to maintain the contest. They endeavoured to prevent the nobles from dispersing; they inflamed the people by violent invectives against the king; they laboured to procure subscriptions to an association, for their mutual defence; and conscious what lustre and power the junction of some of the greater nobles would add to their cause, the ministers of Edinburgh wrote to lord Hamilton, that the people, moved by the word of God, and provoked by the injuries offered to the church, had taken arms; that many of the nobles had determined to protect the Protestant religion, which owed its establishment to the piety and valour of their ancestors; that they wanted only a leader to unite them, and to inspire them with vigour; that his zeal for the good cause, no less than his noble birth, entitled him to that honour: They conjured him, therefore, not to disappoint their hopes

and wishes, nor to refuse the suffering church that
 1597. aid which she so much needed. Lord Hamilton, instead of complying with their desire, carried the letter directly to the king, whom this new insult irritated to such a degree, that he commanded the magistrates of Edinburgh instantly to seize their ministers, as manifest incendiaries, and encouragers of rebellion. The magistrates, in order to regain the king's favour, were preparing to obey; and the ministers, who saw no other hope of safety, fled towards England.^y

The king humbles the power of the church.
 Jan. 3. This unsuccessful insurrection, instead of overturning, established the king's authority. Those concerned in it were confounded and dispersed. The rest of James's subjects, in order to avoid suspicion, or to gain his favour, contended who should be most forward to execute his vengeance. A convention of estates being called, pronounced the late insurrection to be high treason; ordained every minister to subscribe a declaration

^y Spotsw. 451. Cald. v. 126.

of his submission to the king's jurisdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; empowered magistrates to commit, instantly, to prison, any minister, who, in his sermons, should utter any indecent reflections on the king's conduct; prohibited any ecclesiastical judicatory to meet without the king's licence; commanded that no person should be elected a magistrate of Edinburgh, for the future, without the king's approbation; and that, in the mean time, the present magistrates should either discover and inflict condign punishment on the authors of the late tumult, or the city itself should be subjected to all the penalties of that treasonable action.^z

Abridges the privileges of the citizens of Edinburgh. Armed with the authority of these decrees, James resolved to crush entirely the mutinous spirit of his subjects. As the clergy had hitherto derived their chief credit and strength from the favour and zeal of the citizens of Edinburgh, his first care was to humble them. Though the magistrates submitted to him in the most abject terms; though they vindicated themselves, and their fellow-citizens, from the most distant intention of violating his royal person or authority; though, after the strictest scrutiny, no circumstances that could fix on them the suspicion of premeditated rebellion had been discovered; though many of the nobles, and such of the clergy as still retained any degree of favour, interceded in their behalf; neither acknowledgments, nor intercessions, were of the least avail.^a The king continued inexorable, the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges as a corporation, and to be liable to all the penalties of treason. The capital of the kingdom, deprived of magistrates, deserted by its ministers, abandoned by the courts of justice, and proscribed by the king, remained in desolation and despair. The courtiers even threatened to rase the city to the foundation, and to erect a pillar where it stood, as an everlasting monument of the king's vengeance, and of the guilt of its inhabitants. At last, in compliance with Elizabeth, who interposed in their favour, and

Feb. 28.

^z Cald. v. 147.

^a Cald. v. 149.

March 21. moved by the continual solicitations of the nobles, James absolved the citizens from the penalties of law, but at the same time he stripped them of their most important privileges; they were neither allowed to elect their own magistrates nor their own ministers; many new burdens were imposed on them; and a considerable sum of money was exacted by way of peace-offering.^b

New regulations with regard to the church. James was, meanwhile, equally assiduous, and no less successful, in circumscribing the jurisdiction of the church. Experience had discovered that to attempt this by acts of parliament, and sentences of privy-council, was both ineffectual and odious. He had recourse now to an expedient more artful, and better calculated for obtaining his end. The ecclesiastical judicatories were composed of many members; the majority of the clergy were extremely indigent, and unprovided of legal stipends; the ministers in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the party established by the Presbyterian government, had assumed a leading in the church, which filled their brethren with envy; every numerous body of men is susceptible of sudden and strong impressions, and liable to be influenced, corrupted, or overawed. Induced by these considerations, James thought it possible to gain the clergy, whom he had in vain attempted to subdue. Proper agents were set to work all over the kingdom; promises, flattery, and threats were employed; the usurpations of the brethren near the capital were aggravated; the jealousy of their power, which was growing in the distant provinces, was augmented; and two different general assemblies were held, in both which, notwithstanding the zeal and boldness wherewith a few leading clergymen defended the privileges of the church, a majority declared in favour of those measures which were agreeable to the king. Many practices, which had continued since the Reformation, were condemned; many points of discipline, which had hitherto been reckoned sacred and uncontroverted, were given up; the licence

^b Spotsw. 434. 441.

with which ministers discoursed of political matters, was restrained; the freedom with which they inveighed against particular persons was censured; sentences of summary excommunication were declared unlawful; the convoking a general assembly, without the king's permission, was prohibited; and the right of nominating ministers to the principal towns, was vested in the crown. Thus, the clergy themselves surrendered privileges, which it would have been dangerous to invade, and voluntarily submitted to a yoke more intolerable than any James would have ventured to impose by force: while such as continued to oppose his measures, instead of their former popular topic of the king's violent encroachments on a jurisdiction which did not belong to him, were obliged to turn their outcries against the corruptions of their own order.^c

Popish
lords par-
doned.

By the authority of these general assemblies, the Popish earls were allowed to make a public recantation of their errors; were absolved from the sentence of excommunication; and received into the bosom of the church. But, not many years after, they relapsed into their former errors, were again reconciled to the church of Rome, and by their apostacy justified, in some degree, the fears and scruples of the clergy with regard to their absolution.

The ministers of Edinburgh owed to the intercession of these assemblies the liberty of returning to their charges in the city. But this liberty was clogged in such a manner as greatly abridged their power. The city was divided into distinct parishes; the number of ministers doubled; persons on whose fidelity the king could rely were fixed in the new parishes; and these circumstances, added to the authority of the late decrees of the church, contributed to confirm that absolute dominion in ecclesiastical affairs, which James possessed during the remainder of his reign.

The king was so intent on new modelling the church, that the other transactions of this period scarce deserve to be remembered. The Octavians, envied by the other cour-

tiers, and splitting into factions among themselves, resigned their commission; and the administration of the revenue returning into its former channel, both the king and the nation were deprived of the benefit of their regular and frugal economy.

Dec. 19. Towards the end of the year, a parliament was held in order to restore Huntly and his associates to their estates and honours, by repealing the act of forfeiture passed against them. The authority of this supreme court was likewise employed to introduce a farther innovation into the church; but, conformable to the system which the king had now adopted, the motion for this purpose took its rise from the clergy themselves. As the act of general annexation, and that establishing the Presbyterian government, had reduced the few bishops, who still survived, to poverty and contempt; as those who possessed the abbeys and priories were mere laymen, and many of them temporal peers, few or none of the ecclesiastical order remained to vote in parliament, and by means of that, the influence of the crown was considerably diminished there, and a proper balance to the power and number of the nobles was wanting. But the prejudices which the nation had conceived against the name and character of bishops were so violent, that James was obliged, with the utmost care, to avoid the appearance of a design to revive that order. He prevailed therefore on the commission appointed by the last general assembly to complain to the parliament, that the church was the only body in the kingdom destitute of its representatives in that supreme court, where it so nearly concerned every order to have some, who were bound to defend its rights; and to crave that a competent number of the clergy should be admitted, according to ancient custom, to a seat there. In compliance with this request, an act was passed, by which those ministers, on whom the king should confer the vacant bishoprics and abbeys, were entitled to a vote in parliament; and that the clergy might conceive no jealousy of any encroach-

Ecclesi-
astics re-
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ment.

ment upon their privileges, it was remitted to the general assembly, to determine what spiritual jurisdiction or authority in the government of the church these persons should possess.^d

The king, however, found it no easy matter to obtain the concurrence of the ecclesiastical judicatories, in which the act of parliament met with a fierce opposition. Though the clergy perceived how much lustre this new privilege would reflect upon their order; though they were not insensible of the great accession of personal power and dignity, which many of them would acquire, by being admitted into the supreme council of the nation, their abhorrence of episcopacy was extreme; and to that they sacrificed every consideration of interest or ambition. All the king's professions of regard for the present constitution of the church did not convince them of his sincerity; all the devices that could be invented for restraining and circumscribing the jurisdiction of such as were to be raised to this new honour, did not diminish their jealousy and fear. Their own experience had taught them, with what insinuating progress the hierarchy advances, and though admitted at first with moderate authority, and under specious pretences, how rapidly it extends its dominion. "Varnish over this scheme," said one of the leading clergymen, "with what colours you please; deck the intruder with the utmost art; under all this disguise I see the horns of his mitre." The same sentiments prevailed among many of his brethren, and induced them to reject power and honours, with as much zeal as ever those of their order courted them. Many, however, were allured by the hopes of preferment; the king himself and his ministers employed the same arts, which they had tried so successfully last year; and after long debates, and much opposition, the general assembly declared that it was law-
 March 7. ful for ministers to accept of a seat in parliament; that it would be highly beneficial to the church, to

^d Spotsw. 450. Parl. 15th Jac. VI. c. 235.

have its representatives in that supreme court; and that fifty-one persons, a number nearly equal to that of the ecclesiastics, who were anciently called to parliament, should be chosen from among the clergy for that purpose. The manner of their election, together with the powers to be vested in them, were left undecided for the present, and furnished matter of future deliberation.^e

1599. As the prospect of succeeding to the crown of
 James en- England drew nearer, James multiplied precau-
 deavours tions in order to render it certain. As he was
 with suc- allied to many of the princes of Germany by his
 cess to gain a party in marriage, he sent ambassadors extraordinary to
 England. their several courts, in order to explain the justness of his title to the English throne, and to desire their assistance, if any competitor should arise to dispute his undoubted rights. These princes readily acknowledged the equity of his claim; but the aid which they could afford him was distant and feeble. At the same time, Edward Bruce, abbot of Kinloss, his ambassador at the English court, solicited Elizabeth, with the utmost warmth, to recognize his title by some public deed, and to deliver her own subjects from the calamities which are occasioned by an uncertain or disputed succession. But age had strengthened all the passions which had hitherto induced Elizabeth to keep this great question obscure and undecided; and a general and evasive answer was all that James could obtain. As no impression could be made on the queen, the ambassador, was commanded to sound the disposition of her subjects, and to try what progress he could make in gaining them. Bruce possessed all the talents of secrecy, judgment, and address, requisite for conducting a negotiation no less delicate than important. A minister of this character was entitled to the confidence of the English. Many of the highest rank unbosomed themselves to him without reserve, and gave him repeated assurances of their resolution to assert his master's right, in opposition to every

^e Spotsw. 450. Cald. v. 278.

pretender.^f As several pamphlets were dispersed, at this time, in England, containing objections to his title, James employed some learned men in his kingdom to answer these cavillers, and to explain the advantage which would result to both kingdoms by the union of the crowns. These books were eagerly read, and contributed not a little to reconcile the English to that event. A book published this year by the king himself, produced an effect still more favourable. It was intitled *Basilicon Doron*, and contained precepts concerning the art of government, addressed to prince Henry his son. Notwithstanding the great alterations and refinements in national taste since that time, we must allow this to be no contemptible performance, and not to be inferior to the works of most contemporary writers, either in purity of style or justness of composition. Even the vain parade of erudition with which it abounds, and which now disgusts us, raised the admiration of that age; and as it was filled with those general rules which speculative authors deliver for rendering a nation happy, and of which James could discourse with great plausibility, though often incapable of putting them in practice, the English conceived a high opinion of his abilities, and expected an increase of national honour and prosperity, under a prince so profoundly skilled in politics, and who gave such a specimen both of his wisdom and of his love to his people.^g

The queen of England's sentiments concerning James were very different from those of her subjects. His excessive indulgence towards the Popish lords; the facility with which he pardoned their repeated treasons; his restoring Beaton, the Popish archbishop of Glasgow, who had fled out of Scotland at the time of the Reformation, to the possession of the temporalities of that benefice; the appointing him his ambassador at the court of France; the applause he bestowed, in the *Basilicon Doron*, on those who adhered to the queen his mother; Elizabeth considered as so many indications

^f Johnst. 242.

^g Camd. Spotsw. 457.

of a mind alienated from the Protestant religion; and suspected that he would soon revolt from the profession of it. These suspicions seemed to be fully confirmed by a discovery which came from the master of Gray, who resided at that time in Italy, and who, rather than suffer his intriguing spirit to be idle, demeaned himself so far as to act as a spy for the English court. He conveyed to Elizabeth the copy of a letter, written by James to pope Clement VIII., in which the king, after many expressions of regard for that pontiff, and of gratitude for his favours, declared his firm resolution to treat the Roman Catholics with indulgence; and, in order to render the intercourse between the courts of Rome and Scotland more frequent and familiar, he solicited the pope to promote Drummond, bishop of Vaison, a Scotsman, to the dignity of a cardinal.^b Elizabeth, who had received by another channelⁱ some imperfect intelligence of this correspondence, was filled with just surprise, and immediately dispatched Bowes into Scotland, to inquire more fully into the truth of the matter, and to reproach James for an action so unbecoming a Protestant prince. He was astonished at the accusation, and with a confidence which nothing but the consciousness of innocence could inspire, affirmed the whole to be a mere calumny, and the letter itself to be forged by his enemies, on purpose to bring his sincerity in religion to be suspected. Elphingston, the secretary of state, denied the matter with equal solemnity. It came, however, to be known by a very singular accident, which happened some years after, that the information which Elizabeth had received was well founded, though at the same time the king's declarations of his own innocence were perfectly consistent with truth. Cardinal Bellarmine, in a reply which he published to a controversial treatise, of which the king was the author, accused him of having abandoned the favourable sentiments which he had once entertained of the Roman Catholic religion, and, as a proof of this, quoted his letter to Clement VIII. It

^b Cald. 333.ⁱ Winw. Mem. vol. i. 37. 52.

was impossible, any longer, to believe this to be a fiction; and it was a matter too delicate to be passed over without strict inquiry. James immediately examined Elphingston, and his confession unravelled the whole mystery. He acknowledged that he had shuffled in this letter among other papers, which he had laid before the king to be signed, who suspecting no such deceit, subscribed it together with the rest, and without knowing what it contained; that he had no other motive, however, to this action, but zeal for his majesty's service; and, by flattering the Roman Catholics with hopes of indulgence under the king's government, he imagined that he was paving the way for his more easy accession to the English throne. The privy-council of England entertained very different sentiments of the secretary's conduct. In their opinion, not only the king's reputation had been exposed to reproach, but his life to danger, by this rash imposture; they even imputed the gunpowder treason to the rage and disappointment of the Papists, upon finding that the hopes which this letter inspired, were frustrated. The secretary was sent a prisoner into Scotland, to be tried for high treason. His peers found him guilty, but, by the queen's intercession, he obtained a pardon.^k

According to the account of other historians, James himself was no stranger to this correspondence with the pope; and, if we believe them, Elphingston, being intimidated by the threats of the English council, and deceived by the artifices of the earl of Dunbar, concealed some circumstances in his narrative of this transaction, and falsified others; and at the expense of his own fame, and with the danger of his life, endeavoured to draw a veil over this part of his master's conduct.^l

James at great pains to gain the Roman Catholics. But whether we impute the writing of this letter to the secretary's officious zeal, or to the king's command, it is certain, that, about this time, James was at the utmost pains to gain the friendship of the Roman Catholic princes, as a necessary precaution to-

^k State Trials, vol. i. 429. Spotsw. 456. 507. Johnst. 448.

^l Cald. vol. v. 322. vi. 147.

wards facilitating his accession to the English throne. Lord Home, who was himself a Papist, was intrusted with a secret commission to the pope;^m the archbishop of Glasgow was an active instrument with those of his own religion.ⁿ The pope expressed such favourable sentiments both of the king, and of his rights to the crown of England, that James thought himself bound, some years after, to acknowledge the obligation in a public manner.^o Sir James Lindsay made great progress in gaining the English Papists to acknowledge his majesty's title. Of all these intrigues Elizabeth received obscure hints from different quarters. The more imperfectly she knew, the more violently she suspected the king's designs; and the natural jealousy of her temper increasing with age, she observed his conduct with greater solicitude than ever.

1600. The questions with regard to the election and
 March 28. His regulations with regard to the church. power of the representatives of the church, were finally decided this year by the general assembly, which met at Montrose. That place was chosen as most convenient for the ministers of the north, among whom the king's influence chiefly lay. Although great numbers resorted from the northern provinces, and the king employed his whole interest, and the authority of his own presence, to gain a majority, the following regulations were with difficulty agreed on. That the general assembly shall recommend six persons to every vacant benefice, which gave a title to a seat in parliament, out of whom the king shall nominate one; that the person so elected, after obtaining his seat in parliament, shall neither propose nor consent to any thing there, that may affect the interest of the church, without special instructions to that purpose; that he shall be answerable for his conduct to every general assembly; and submit to its censure, without appeal, upon pain of infamy and excommunication; that he shall discharge the duties of a pastor, in a particular congregation; that he shall not usurp any ecclesiastical jurisdiction superior to that of his other brethren; that if the church

^m Winw. Mem. vol. ii. 57.

ⁿ Cald. vol. vi. 147.

^o Cald. vol. v. 604

inflict on him the censure of deprivation, he shall thereby forfeit his seat in parliament; that he shall annually resign his commission to the general assembly, which may be restored to him, or not, as the assembly, with the king's approbation, shall judge most expedient for the good of the church.^p Nothing could be more repugnant to the idea of episcopal government, than these regulations. It was not in consequence of rights derived from their office, but of powers conferred by a commission, that the ecclesiastical persons were to be admitted to a seat in parliament; they were the representatives, not the superiors, of the clergy. Destitute of all spiritual authority, even their civil jurisdiction was temporary. James, however, flattered himself that they would soon be able to shake off these fetters, and gradually acquire all the privileges which belonged to the episcopal order. The clergy dreaded the same thing; and of course he contended for the nomination of these commissioners, and they opposed it, not so much on account of the powers then vested in them, as of those to which it was believed they would soon attain.^q

Gowrie's
conspi-
racy.

During this summer the kingdom enjoyed an unusual tranquillity. The clergy, after many struggles, were brought under great subjection; the Popish earls were restored to their estates and honours, by the authority of parliament, and with the consent of the church; the rest of the nobles were at peace among themselves, and obedient to the royal authority; when, in the midst of this security, the king's life was exposed to the utmost danger, by a conspiracy altogether unexpected, and almost inexplicable. The authors of it were John Ruthven, earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander, the sons of that earl who was beheaded in the year 1584. Nature had adorned both these young men, especially the elder brother, with many accomplishments, to which education had added its most elegant improvements. More learned than is usual among persons of their rank; more religious than is common at their age of life; generous,

^p Spotsw. 453. 457. Cald. vol. v. 368.

^q Spotsw. 454.

brave, popular; their countrymen, far from thinking them capable of any atrocious crime, conceived the most sanguine hopes of their early virtues. Notwithstanding all these noble qualities, some unknown motive engaged them in a conspiracy, which if we adhere to the account commonly received, must be transmitted to posterity, as one of the most wicked, as well as one of the worst concerted, of which history makes any mention.

On the 5th of August, as the king, who resided during the hunting season in his palace of Falkland, was going out to his sport early in the morning, he was accosted by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, who, with an air of great importance, told the king, that the evening before he had met an unknown man, of a suspicious aspect, walking alone in a by-path, near his brother's house at Perth; and on searching him, had found, under his cloak, a pot filled with a great quantity of foreign gold; that he had immediately seized both him and his treasure, and without communicating the matter to any person, had kept him confined and bound in a solitary house; and that he thought it his duty to impart such a singular event first of all to his majesty. James immediately suspected this unknown person to be a seminary priest, supplied with foreign coin, in order to excite new commotions in the kingdom; and resolved to empower the magistrates of Perth, to call the person before them, and to inquire into all the circumstances of the story. Ruthven violently opposed this resolution, and with many arguments urged the king to ride directly to Perth, and to examine the matter in person. Meanwhile the chase began; and James, notwithstanding his passion for that amusement, could not help ruminating upon the strangeness of the tale, and on Ruthven's importunity. At last he called him, and promised when the sport was over to set out for Perth. The chase, however, continued long; and Ruthven, who all the while kept close by the king, was still urging him to make haste. At the death of the buck he would not allow James to stay till a fresh horse was brought him; and observing the duke of Lennox and the

earl of Mar preparing to accompany the king, he entreated him to countermand them. This James refused; and though Ruthven's impatience and anxiety, as well as the apparent perturbation in his whole behaviour, raised some suspicions in his mind; yet his own curiosity, and Ruthven's solicitations, prevailed on him to set out for Perth. When within a mile of the town, Ruthven rode forward to inform his brother of the king's arrival, though he had already dispatched two messengers for that purpose. At a little distance from the town, the earl, attended by several of the citizens, met the king, who had only twenty persons in his train. No preparations were made for the king's entertainment; the earl appeared pensive and embarrassed, and was at no pains to atone, by his courtesy or hospitality, for the bad fare with which he treated his guests. When the king's repast was over, his attendants were led to dine in another room, and he being left almost alone, Ruthven whispered him, that now was the time to go to the chamber where the unknown person was kept. James commanded him to bring Sir Thomas Erskine along with them: but instead of that Ruthven ordered him not to follow: and conducting the king up a stair-case, and then through several apartments, the doors of which he locked behind him, led him at last into a small study, in which there stood a man clad in armour, with a sword and dagger by his side. The king, who expected to have found one disarmed and bound, started at the sight, and inquired if this was the person; but Ruthven snatching the dagger from the girdle of the man in armour, and holding it to the king's breast, "Remember," said he, "how unjustly my father suffered by your command; you are now my prisoner; submit to my disposal without resistance or outcry; or this dagger shall instantly avenge his blood." James expostulated with Ruthven, entreated, and flattered him. The man whom he found in the study stood, all the while, trembling and dismayed, without courage either to aid the king, or to second his aggressor. Ruthven protested, that if the king raised no outcry, his life should be safe; and, moved by some

unknown reason, retired in order to call his brother, leaving to the man in armour the care of the king, whom he bound by oath not to make any noise during his absence.

While the king was in this dangerous situation, his attendants growing impatient to know whither he had retired, one of Gowrie's domestics entered the room hastily, and told them that the king had just rode away towards Falkland. All of them rushed out into the street; and the earl, in the utmost hurry, called for their horses. But by this time his brother had returned to the king, and swearing that now there was no remedy, he must die, offered to bind his hands. Unarmed as James was, he scorned to submit to that indignity; and closing with the assassin, a fierce struggle ensued. The man in armour stood, as formerly, amazed and motionless; and the king dragging Ruthven towards a window, which during his absence he had persuaded the person with whom he was left to open, cried with a wild and affrighted voice, "Treason! Treason! Help! I am murdered!" His attendants heard, and knew the voice, and saw at the window, a hand which grasped the king's neck with violence. They flew with precipitation to his assistance. Lennox and Mar, with the greater number, ran up the principal stair-case, where they found all the doors shut, which they battered with the utmost fury, endeavouring to burst them open. But Sir John Ramsey, entering by a back-stair, which led to the apartment where the king was, found the door open; and rushing upon Ruthven, who was still struggling with the king, struck him twice with his dagger, and thrust him towards the stair-case, where Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh Herries met, and killed him; he crying with his last breath, "Alas! I am not to blame for this action." During this scuffle the man who had been concealed in the study escaped unobserved. Together with Ramsey, Erskine, and Herries, one Wilson, a footman, entered the room where the king was, and before they had time to shut the door, Gowrie rushed in with a drawn sword in each hand,

followed by seven of his attendants well armed, and with a loud voice threatened them all with instant death. They immediately thrust the king into the little study, and shutting the door upon him, encountered the earl. Notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, Sir John Ramsey pierced Gowrie through the heart, and he fell down dead without uttering a word; his followers having received several wounds, immediately fled. Three of the king's defenders were likewise hurt in the conflict. A dreadful noise continued still at the opposite door, where many persons laboured in vain to force a passage; and the king being assured that they were Lennox, Mar, and his other friends, it was opened on the inside. They ran to the king, whom they unexpectedly found safe, with transports of congratulation; and he, falling on his knees, with all his attendants around him, offered solemn thanks to God for such a wonderful deliverance. The danger, however, was not yet over. The inhabitants of the town, whose provost Gowrie was, and by whom he was extremely beloved, hearing the fate of the two brothers, ran to their arms, and surrounded the house, threatening revenge, with many insolent and opprobrious speeches against the king. James endeavoured to pacify the enraged multitude, by speaking to them from the window; he admitted their magistrates into the house; related to them all the circumstances of the fact; and their fury subsiding by degrees, they dispersed. On searching the earl's pockets for papers that might discover his designs and accomplices, nothing was found but a small parchment bag, full of magical characters and words of enchantment; and, if we may believe the account of the conspiracy published by the king, "while these were about him, the wound of which he died bled not; but as soon as they were taken away, the blood gushed out in great abundance." After all the dangerous adventures of this busy day, the king returned in the evening to Falkland, having committed the dead bodies of the two brothers to the custody of the magistrates of Perth.

The motives of the conspirators not easily explained. Notwithstanding the minute detail which the king gave of all the circumstances of this conspiracy against his life, the motives which induced the two brothers to attempt an action so detestable, the end they had in view, and the accomplices on whose aid they depended, were altogether unknown. The words of Ruthven to the king gave some grounds to think that the desire of revenging their father's death had instigated them to this attempt. But, whatever injuries their father had suffered, it is scarcely probable that they could impute them to the king, whose youth, as well as his subjection at that time to the violence of a faction, exempted him from being the object of resentment, on account of actions which were not done by his command. James had even endeavoured to repair the wrongs which the father had suffered, by benefits to his children; and Gowrie himself, sensible of his favour, had acknowledged it with the warmest expressions of gratitude. Three of the earl's attendants, being convicted of assisting him in this assault on the king's servants, were executed at Perth; but they could give no light into the motives which had prompted their master to an action so repugnant to these acknowledgments. Diligent search was made for the person concealed in the study, and from him great discoveries were expected. But Andrew Henderson, the earl's steward, who, upon a promise of pardon, confessed himself to be the man, was as much a stranger to his master's design as the rest; and though placed in the study by Gowrie's command, he did not even know for what end that station had been assigned him. The whole transaction remained as impenetrably dark as ever; and the two brothers, it was concluded, had concerted their scheme without either confidant or accomplice, with unexampled secrecy as well as wickedness.

Sprot's discoveries concerning it. An accident no less strange than the other circumstances of the story, and which happened nine years after, discovered that this opinion, however plausible, was ill-founded; and that the two brothers had not carried on their machinations all alone. One Sprot, a

notary, having whispered among several persons that he knew some secrets relating to Gowrie's conspiracy, the privy-council thought the matter worthy of their attention, and ordered him to be seized. His confession was partly voluntary, and partly forced from him by torture. According to his account, Logan of Restalrig, a gentleman of an opulent fortune, but of dissolute morals, was privy to all Gowrie's intentions, and an accomplice in his crimes. Mr. Ruthven, he said, had frequent interviews with Logan in order to concert the plan of their operations; the earl had corresponded with him to the same purpose; and one Bour, Logan's confidant, was trusted with the secret, and carried the letters between them. Both Logan and Bour were now dead. But Sprot affirmed that he had read letters written both by Gowrie and Logan on that occasion; and in confirmation of his testimony, several of Logan's letters, which a curiosity fatal to himself had prompted Sprot to steal from among Bour's papers, were produced.^r These were compared, by the privy-council, with papers of Logan's hand-writing, and the resemblance was manifest. Persons of undoubted credit, and well qualified to judge of the matter, examined them, and swore to their authenticity. Death itself did not exempt Logan from prosecution; his bones were dug up and tried for high-treason, and, by a sentence, equally odious and illegal,^s his lands were forfeited, and his pos-

^r Logan's letters were five in number. One to Bour, another to Gowrie, and three of them without any direction; nor could Sprot discover the name of the person to whom they were written. Logan gives him the appellation of *Right Honourable*. It appears from this, however, and from other words in the letter, Crom. 95. that there were several persons privy to the conspiracy. The date of the first letter is July 18th. Mr. Ruthven had communicated the matter to Logan only five days before. *Ibid.* It appears from the original *summons of forfeiture* against Logan's heirs, that Bour, though he had letters addressed to him with regard to a conspiracy equally dangerous and important, was so illiterate that he could not read. "Jacobus Bour, literarum prorsus ignarus, dicti Georgii opera in legendis omnibus scriptis ad eum missis, vel pertinentibus utebatur." This is altogether strange; and nothing but the capricious character of Logan can account for his choosing such a confidant.

^s By the Roman law, persons guilty of the crime of high-treason might be tried even after death. This practice was adopted by the Scots without any limitation, Parl. 1540, c. 69. But the unlimited exercise of this power was soon conceived to be dangerous; and the crown was laid under proper restrictions, by an act A. D. 1542, which has never been printed. The words of it are, "And because the said lords (i. e. the lords of articles) think the said act (viz. 1540,) too general, and prejudicial to the barons in the realm, therefore statutes and ordains that the said act shall have no place in time coming, but against the heirs of them that notoriously commit or shall commit lese majesty against the king's person, against the realm for averting the same, and against them that shall happen to betray the king's army allenarly, and being noto-

terity declared infamous. Sprot was condemned to be hanged for misprision of treason. He adhered to his confession to the last, and having promised on the scaffold, to give the spectators a sign in confirmation of the truth of what he had deposed, he thrice clapped his hands after he was thrown off the ladder by the executioner.¹

But though it be thus unexpectedly discovered that Gowrie did not act without associates, little additional light is thrown, by this discovery, on the motives and intentions of his conduct. It appears almost incredible that two young men of such distinguished virtue should revolt all at once from their duty, and attempt a crime so atrocious as the murder of their sovereign. It appears still more im-

riously known in their time: and the heirs of these persons to be called and judged within five years after the decease of the said persons committers of the said crimes; and the said time being by-past, the said heirs never to be pursued for the same." The sentence against Logan violated this statute in two particulars. He was not notoriously known during his life to be an accomplice in the crime for which he was tried; and his heir was called in question more than five years after his death. It is remarkable that this statute seems not to have been attended to in the parliament which forfeited Logan. Another singular circumstance deserves notice. As it is a maxim of justice that no person can be tried in absence; and as lawyers are always tenacious of their forms, and often absurd in their devices for preserving them, they contrived that, in any process against a dead person, his corpse or bones shall be presented at the bar. Examples of this occur frequently in the Scottish history. After the battle of Corrichie, the dead body of the earl of Huntly was presented in parliament, before sentence of *forfeiture* was pronounced against him. For the same reason the bodies of Gowrie and his brother were preserved, in order that they might be produced in parliament. Logan's bones, in compliance with the same rule, were dug up. Mackenz. Crim. Law, Book i. Tit 6. § 22.

¹ It appears that archbishop Spotswood was present at the execution of Sprot, *Crom.* 115, and yet he seems to have given no credit to his discoveries. The manner in which he speaks of him is remarkable: "Whether or not I should mention the arraignment and execution of George Sprot, who suffered at Edinburgh, I am doubtful his confession, though voluntary and constant, carrying small probability. The man deposed, &c. It seemed to be a very fiction, and a mere invention of the man's own brain, for neither did he shew the letter, nor could any wise man think that Gowrie, who went about the treason so secretly, would have communicated the matter to such a man as Logan was known to be," p. 508. Spotswood could not be ignorant of the solemnity with which Logan had been tried, and of the proof brought of the authenticity of his letters. He himself was probably present in parliament at the trial. The earl of Dunbar, of whom he always speaks with the highest respect, was the person who directed the process against Logan. Such a peremptory declaration against the truth of Sprot's evidence notwithstanding all these circumstances, is surprising. Sir Thomas Hamilton, the king's advocate at that time, and afterward earl of Hadington, represents the proof produced at Logan's trial as extremely convincing; and in an original letter of his to the king, the 21st of June, 1609, (in *Bibl. Facult. Jurid.*) after mentioning the manner in which the trial had been conducted, he thus goes on:

"When the probation of the summons was referred to the lords of articles' votes, they found uniformly, all in one voice, the said summons to be so clearly proved, that they seemed to contend who should be able most zealously to express the satisfaction of his heart, not only by the most pitily words, but by tears of joy; diverse of the best rank confessing, that that whereof they doubted at their entry into the house was now so manifest, that they behoved to esteem them traitors who should any longer refuse to declare their assured resolution of the truth of that treason."

probable, that they should have concerted their undertaking with so little foresight and prudence.¹¹ If they intended that the deed should have remained concealed, they could not have chosen a more improper scene for executing it, than their own house. If they intended that Henderson should have struck the blow, they could not have pitched on a man more destitute of the courage that must direct the hand of an assassin; nor could they expect that he, unsolicited, and unacquainted with their purpose, would venture on such a desperate action. If Ruthven meant to stab the king with his own hand, why did he withdraw the dagger, after it was pointed at his breast? How could he leave the king after such a plain declaration of his intention? Was it not preposterous to commit him to the keeping of such a timid associate as Henderson? For what purpose did he waste time in binding the hands of an unarmed man, whom he might easily have dispatched with his sword? Had Providence permitted them to embrue their hands in the blood of their sovereign, what advantage could have accrued to them by his death? And what claims or pretensions could they have opposed to the rights of his children?¹² Inevitable and instant vengeance, together with perpetual infamy, were the only consequences they could expect to follow such a crime.

On the other hand, it is impossible to believe that the king had formed any design against the life of the two brothers. They had not incurred his indignation by any crime; and were in no degree the objects of his jealousy or hatred;^{*} nor was he of a spirit so sanguinary, or so noted

¹¹ It has been asserted, that, in consequence of the king's death, the earl of Gowrie might have pretended to the crown of England, as the son of Dorothy Stewart, daughter of lord Methven by Margaret of England, who after her divorce from the earl of Angus, took that nobleman for her third husband. Burnet, Hist. of his own Times. But this assertion is ill-founded. It appears, from undoubted evidence, that lord Methven had only one child by queen Margaret, which died in its infancy, and Dorothea lady Ruthven was not the daughter of queen Margaret, but of Janet Stewart, lord Methven's second wife, a daughter of John, earl of Athol. Crawf. Peer. 329. And though Gowrie had really been descended from the blood royal of England, the king at that time had a son and a daughter; and besides them, lady Arabella Stewart, daughter of Charles, earl of Lennox, had a preferable title to the crown of England.

¹² Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, imputes the death of the two brothers to a cause not mentioned by any of our historians. "Out of Scotland we hear that there is no good agreement, but rather an open diffidence, betwixt the king and his wife, and many are of opinion that the discovery of some affection between her

for rash and desperate valour, as to have attempted to murder them in their own house, where they were surrounded with many domestics, he only with a slender and unarmed train; where they could call to their assistance the inhabitants of a city, at the devotion of their family, while he was at a distance from all aid; and least of all would he have chosen for his associates in such an enterprise the earl of Mar and the duke of Lennox, the former connected in close friendship with the house of Gowrie, and the latter married to one of the earl's sisters.

A conjecture concerning the intention of the conspirators. Whichsoever of these opposite systems we embrace; whether we impute the intention of murder to Gowrie, or to the king; insuperable difficulties arise, and we are involved in darkness, mystery, and contradictions. Perhaps the source of the whole conspiracy ought to be searched for deeper, and by deriving it from a more remote cause, we may discover it to be less criminal.

To keep the king of Scots in continual dependance, was one great object of Elizabeth's policy. In order to this, she sometimes soothed him, and sometimes bribed his ministers and favourites; and when she failed of attaining her end by these means, she encouraged the clergy to render any administration which she distrusted unpopular, by decrying it, or stirred up some faction of the nobles to oppose and to overturn it. In that fierce age, men little acquainted with the arts of undermining a ministry by intrigue, had recourse to the ruder practice of rendering themselves

and the earl of Gowrie's brother (who was killed with him) was the truest cause and motive of that tragedy." Winw. Mem. vol. i. 274. Whether the following passages in Nicholson's letter be any confirmation of that suspicion, is submitted to the reader. In his letter, Sept. 22, 1602, he mentions the return of Gowrie's two younger brothers into Scotland, and adds, "The coming in of these two, and the queen of Scots dealing with them, and sending away and furnishing Mrs. Beatrix [their sister] with such information as Sir Thomas Erskine has given, hath bred great suspicion in the king of Scots that they come not in but upon some dangerous plot." In another letter, January 1, 1603, "The day of writing my last, Mrs. Beatrix Ruthven was brought by the lady Paisley, and Mrs. of Angus, as one of their gentlewomen, into the court in the evening, and stowed in a chamber prepared for her by the queen's direction, where the queen had much time and conference with her. Of this the king got notice, and shewed his dislike thereof to the queen, gently reproving her for it, and examining quietly of the queen's servants of the same, and of other matters thereunto belonging, with such discretion and secrecy as requires such a matter."

masters of the king's person, that they might thereby obtain the direction of his councils. Those nobles, who seized the king at the *Raid of Ruthven*, were instigated and supported by Elizabeth. Bothwell, in all his wild attempts, enjoyed her protection, and when they miscarried, he was secure of a retreat in her dominions. The connexion which James had been forming of late with the Roman Catholic princes, his secret negotiations in England with her subjects, and the maxims by which he governed his own kingdom, all contributed to excite her jealousy. She dreaded some great revolution in Scotland to be approaching, and it was her interest to prevent it. The earl of Gowrie was one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, and descended from ancestors warmly attached to the English interest. He had adopted the same system, and believed the welfare of his country to be inseparably connected with the subsistence of the alliance between the two kingdoms. During his residence at Paris, he had contracted an intimate friendship with Sir Henry Neville, the queen's ambassador there, and was recommended by him to his court as a person of whom great use might be made. Elizabeth received him as he passed through England with distinguished marks of respect and favour. From all these circumstances a suspicion may arise, that the plan of the conspiracy against the king was formed at that time in concert with her. Such a suspicion prevailed in that age, and from the letters of Nicholson, Elizabeth's agent in Scotland, it appears not to be destitute of foundation. An English ship was observed hovering for some time in the mouth of the Frith of Forth. The earl's two younger brothers fled into England after the ill success of the conspiracy, and were protected by Elizabeth. James himself, though he prudently concealed it, took great umbrage at her behaviour. None, however, of Elizabeth's intrigues in Scotland tended to hurt the king's person, but only to circumscribe his authority, and to thwart his schemes. His

life was the surest safeguard of her own, and restrained the Popish pretenders to her crown, and their abettors, from desperate attempts to which their impatience and bigotry might, otherwise, have urged them on. To have encouraged Gowrie to murder his sovereign, would, on her part, have been an act of the utmost imprudence. Nor does this seem to have been the intention of the two brothers. Mr. Ruthven, first of all, endeavoured to decoy the king to Perth, without any attendants. When these proved more numerous than was expected, the earl employed a stratagem in order to separate them from the king, by pretending that he had rode away towards Falkland, and by calling hastily for their horses, that they might follow him. By their shutting James up, meanwhile, in a distant corner of the house, and by attempting to bind his hands, their design seems to have been rather to seize than to assassinate him. Though Gowrie had not collected his followers in such numbers as to have been able to detain him long a prisoner, in that part of the kingdom, by open force, he might soon have been conveyed aboard the English ship, which waited, perhaps, to receive him; and he might have been landed at Fastcastle, a house of Logan's, in which, according to many obscure hints in his letters, some rendezvous of the conspirators was to be held. Amidst the surprise and terror into which the king must have been thrown by the violence offered to him, it was extremely natural for him to conclude that his life was sought. It was the interest of all his followers to confirm him in this belief, and to magnify his danger, in order to add to the importance and merit of their own services. Thus his fear, and their vanity, aided by the credulity and wonder which the contemplation of any great and tragical event, when not fully understood, is apt to inspire, augmented the whole transaction. On the other hand, the extravagance and improbability of the circumstances which were added, detracted from the credit of those which really happened; and even furnished pretences for calling in question the truth of the whole conspiracy.

Many dis-
believe the
account
published
by the
king.

The account of what had happened at Perth reached Edinburgh next morning. The privy-council commanded the ministers of that city instantly to assemble their people; and after relating to them the circumstances of the conspiracy formed against the king's life, to return public thanks to God for the protection which he had so visibly afforded him. But as the first accounts transmitted to Edinburgh, written in a hurry and while the circumstances of the conspiracy were but imperfectly known, and the passions which it excited strongly felt, were indistinct, exaggerated, and contradictory, the ministers laid hold of this; and though they offered to give public thanks to God for the king's safety, they refused to enter into any detail of particulars, or to utter from the chair of truth what happened to be still dubious and uncertain.

A few days after, the king returned to Edinburgh; and, though Galloway, the minister of his own chapel, made a harangue to the people at the public cross, in which he recited all the circumstances of the conspiracy; though James himself, in their hearing, confirmed his account; though he commanded a narrative of the whole transaction to be published; the ministers of that city, as well as many of their brethren, still continued incredulous and unconvinced. Their high esteem of Gowrie, their jealousy of every part of the king's conduct, added to some false and many improbable circumstances in the narrative, not only led them to suspect the whole, but gave their suspicions an air of credibility. But at length the king, partly by arguments, partly by threats, prevailed on all of them, except Mr. Robert Bruce, to own that they were convinced of the truth of the conspiracy. He could be brought no farther than to declare, that he revered the king's account of the transaction, but could not say that he himself was persuaded to the truth of it. The scruples or obstinacy of a single man would have been little regarded; but as the same spirit of incredulity began to spread among the people, the example of one in so high reputation for

integrity and abilities, was extremely dangerous. The king was at the utmost pains to convince and to gain Bruce, but finding it impossible to remove his doubts, he deprived him of his benefice, and after repeated delays, and many attempts toward a reconciliation, banished him the kingdom.²

The proceedings of parliament were not retarded by any scruples of this sort. The dead bodies of the two brothers were produced there, according to law; an indictment for high treason was preferred against them; witnesses were examined: and, by an unanimous sentence, their estates and honours were forfeited; the punishment due to traitors was inflicted on their dead bodies; and, as if the punishment hitherto in use did not express sufficient detestation of their crimes, the parliament enacted that the surname of Ruthven should be abolished; and, in order to preserve the memory of the king's miraculous escape, and to declare the sense which the nation had of the divine goodness, to all future ages, appointed the 5th of August to be observed, annually, as a day of public thanksgiving.³

² Spotsw. 461, &c. Cald. v. 389, &c.

³ A few weeks after the death of the two brothers, the king published a *discourse of their vile and unnatural conspiracy against his life*. In the year 1713, George earl of Cromartie published an "Historical Account of the Conspiracy by the Earl of Gowrie and Robert Logan of Restalrig, against King James VI." He seems not to have seen the account which the king himself had given of that matter, and borrows the whole historical part from Spotswood and other authors; but he has extracted from the public records the depositions of the witnesses produced by the king's council, in order to make good the charge against the two brothers, and Logan their associate. From these two treatises our knowledge of all the material circumstances of the conspiracy is derived. The evidence which they contain, one would expect to be authentic and decisive. An account of a fact still recent, published by royal authority, and the original depositions of persons examined in presence of the highest court in the nation, ought to convey a degree of evidence seldom attained in historical relations, and to exclude all remaining doubt and uncertainty. But as every thing with regard to this transaction is dark and problematical, the king's account and the depositions of the witnesses not only vary, but contradict each other in so many circumstances, that much room is still left for hesitation and historical scepticism. The testimony of Henderson is the fullest and most important, but in several particulars the king's account and his are contradictory. I. According to the king's account, while Mr. Ruthven was holding the dagger at his breast, "the fellow in the study stood quaking and trembling." Disc. 17. But Henderson says, that he himself wrested the dagger out of Mr. Ruthven's hands. Disc. 53. Crom. 50. Henderson likewise boasted to his wife, that he had that day twice saved the king from being stabbed, Disc. 54. Crom. 53. II. The king asserts that Henderson opened the window during Mr. Ruthven's absence. Disc. 23. Henderson deposes that he was only attempting to open it when Mr. Ruthven returned, and that during the struggle between the king and him, he opened it. Disc. 53, 54. Crom. 51, 52. III. If we may believe the king, the fellow in the study stood, during the struggle, behind the king's back, inactive, and trembling all the time. Disc. 27. But Henderson affirms, that he snatched away the garter with which Mr. Ruthven attempted to bind the king; that he pulled back

Essex's conspiracy against Elizabeth. Though Gowrie's conspiracy occasioned a sudden and great alarm, it was followed by no consequences of importance; and having been concerted by the two brothers, either without any associates, or with such as were unknown, the danger was over as soon as discovered. But not long after, a conspiracy broke out in England against Elizabeth, which, though the first danger was instantly dispelled, produced tragical effects, that rendered the close of that queen's reign dismal and unhappy. As James was deeply interested in that event, it merits our particular notice.

Mr. Ruthven's hand, while he was endeavouring to stop the king's mouth, and that he opened the window. Dic. 54. Crom 52. IV. By the king's account, Mr. Ruthven left him in the study, and went away in order to meet with his brother, and the earl came up the stairs for the same purpose. Disc. 23. Henderson deposes, that when Mr. Ruthven left the king, "he believes that he did not pass from the door." Crom. 51. It is apparent both from the situation of the house, and from other circumstances, that there could not possibly have been any interview between the brothers at this time. Disc. 23.

Henderson was twice examined, first at Falkland before the privy-council in August, and next at Edinburgh before the parliament in November. Not to mention some lesser variations between these depositions, we shall point out two which are remarkable. 1. In his first deposition, Mr. Henderson relates the most material circumstance of the whole in these words: "Mr. Ruthven pulled out the deponent's dagger, and held the same to his majesty's breast, saying, *Remember you of my father's murder? you shall now die for it:* and pointing to his highness's heart, with the dagger, the deponent threw the same out of Mr. Ruthven's hands, and swore that as God should judge his soul, that if Mr. Ruthven had retained the dagger in his hand, the space a man may go six steps, he would have stricken the king to the hilts with it." Disc. 52. But at his second examination he varied from this in two material circumstances. First, the words he at that time put in Mr. Ruthven's mouth while he held the dagger at the king's breast are, "Sir, you must be my prisoner; remember on my father's death." Secondly, when he threatened him with death, it was only to deter him from making any noise, "Hold your tongue, or by Christ you shall die." 2. In his first deposition, the words of Mr. Ruthven, when he returned to the chamber where he had left the king, are, "There is no remedy, by God you must die." But in his second deposition, "By God there is no remedy, and offered to bind his majesty's hands." Crom. 51. The material words, *you must die*, are omitted. The first deposition seems plainly to intimate that it was Ruthven's intention to murder the king. The second would lead us to conclude that he had no other design than to detain him as a prisoner.

There are likewise some remarkable contradictions in the testimonies of the other witnesses. 1. In the discourse published by authority, it is insinuated that the tumult of the inhabitants was raised against the king, and that it required some art to pacify them. Disc. 32. The duke of Lennox confirms this in his deposition. Crom. 44. An act of privy-council summoning the magistrates of Perth to answer for that riot, is still extant. And yet Andrew Roy, one of the bailies of the town, deposes, that he himself raised the people, and that they took arms in order to assist the king. Crom. 66. 2. Henderson deposes, that he gave an evasive answer to Mr. John Moncrief, who inquired where he had been that morning, because the earl had commanded him not to let any man know that he had been at Falkland. Disc. 54. Moncrief deposes to the same purpose. Crom. 61. And yet George Hay, afterward lord Kinnoul, and the chancellor of Scotland, and Peter Hay, depose, that the earl, in their presence, asked Henderson, "Whom he found with the king at Falkland?" Crom. 70, 71. Which question seems to prove that he did not aim at keeping that journey a secret. In the Collection of Criminal Trials, published by Mr. Arnot in 1785, the evidence against the two brothers has been considered with great attention. P. 20, &c.

The court of England was at this time divided between two powerful factions, which contended for the supreme direction of affairs. The leader of the one was Robert D'Evreux, earl of Essex; sir Robert Cecil, the son of lord treasurer Burleigh, was at the head of the other. The former was the most accomplished and the most popular of all the English nobles; brave, generous, affable; though impetuous, yet willing to listen to the counsels of those whom he loved; an avowed, but not an implacable enemy; a friend no less constant than warm; incapable of disguising his own sentiments, or of misrepresenting those of others; better fitted for a camp than for a court; of a genius that qualified him for the first place in the administration, with a spirit which scorned the second, as below his merit. He was soon distinguished by the queen, who, with a profusion uncommon to her, conferred on him, even in his earliest youth, the highest honours. Nor did this diminish the esteem and affection of his countrymen; but, by a rare felicity, he was at once the favourite of his sovereign, and the darling of the people. Cecil, on the other hand, educated in a court, and trained under a father deeply skilled in all its arts, was crafty, insinuating, industrious; and though possessed of talents which fitted him for the highest offices, he did not rely upon his merit alone for attaining them, but availed himself of every advantage which his own address, or the mistakes of others, afforded him. Two such men were formed to be rivals and enemies. Essex despised the arts of Cecil as low and base. To Cecil, the earl's magnanimity appeared to be presumption and folly. All the military men, except Raleigh, favoured Essex. Most of the courtiers adhered to Cecil, whose manners more nearly resembled their own.

As Elizabeth advanced in years, the struggle between these two factions became more violent. Essex, in order to strengthen himself, had early courted the friendship of the king of Scots, for whose right of succession he was a zealous advocate; and held a close correspondence both with him and with his

His correspondence with the Scottish king.

principal ministers. Cecil, devoted to the queen alone, rose daily to new honours, by the assiduity of his services, and the patience with which he expected the reward of them; while the earl's high spirit and impetuosity sometimes exposed him to checks from a mistress, who, though partial in her affections towards him, could not easily bear contradiction, and who conferred favours often unwillingly, and always slowly. His own solicitations, however, seconded maliciously by his enemies, who wished to remove him at a distance from court, advanced him to the command of the army employed in Ireland against Tyrone, and to the office of lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, with a commission almost unlimited. His success in that expedition did not equal either his own promises, or the expectations of Elizabeth. The queen, peevish from her disappointment, and exasperated against Essex by the artifices of his enemies, wrote him a harsh letter, full of accusations and reproaches. These his impatient spirit could not bear, and in the first transports of his resentment, he proposed to carry over a part of his army into England, and, by driving his enemies from the queen's presence, to reinstate himself in favour and in power. But, upon more mature thoughts, he abandoned this rash design, and setting sail with a few officers devoted to his person, landed in England, and posted directly to court. Elizabeth received him without any symptom either of affection or of displeasure. By proper compliances and acknowledgments, he might have regained his former ascendant over the queen. But he thought himself too deeply injured to submit to these. Elizabeth, on the other hand, determined to subdue his haughty temper; and though her severity drew from him the most humble letters, she confined him to the lord keeper's house, and appointed commissioners to try him, both for his conduct during his government of Ireland, and for leaving that kingdom without her permission. By their sentence, he was suspended from all his offices, except that of master of the horse, and continued a prisoner during the queen's pleasure. Satisfied with having mortified his pride

thus far, Elizabeth did not suffer the sentence to be recorded, and soon after allowed him to retire to his own house. During these transactions, which occupied several months, Essex fluctuated between the allegiance he owed to his sovereign, and the desire of revenge; and sometimes leaned to the one, and sometimes to the other. In one of the intervals, when the latter prevailed, he sent a messenger into Scotland, to encourage the king to assert his own right to the succession by force of arms, and to promise that, besides the assistance of the earl and all his friends in England, lord Mountjoy, now lord-lieutenant of Ireland, would join him with five thousand men from that kingdom. But

James's cautious conduct. James did not choose to hazard the losing of a kingdom, of which he was just about to obtain possession, by a premature attempt to seize it. Mountjoy, too, declined the enterprise, and Essex adopted more dutiful schemes; all thoughts of ambition appearing to be totally effaced out of his mind.

The wild attempts of Essex. This moderation, which was merely the effect of disgust and disappointment, was not of long continuance; and the queen, having not only refused to renew a lucrative grant which she had formerly bestowed, but even to admit him into her presence, that new injury drove a temper, naturally impatient, and now much fretted, to absolute despair. His friends, instead of soothing his rage, or restraining his impetuosity, added to both by their imprudent and interested zeal. After many anxious consultations, he determined to attempt to redress his wrongs by violence. But being conscious how unpopular such an enterprise would be, if it appeared to proceed from motives of private revenge alone, he endeavoured to give it the semblance of public utility, by mingling the king of Scotland's interest with his own. He wrote to James, that the faction which now predominated in the English court had resolved to support the pretensions of the infanta of Spain to the crown; that the places of the greatest importance in the kingdom were put into the hands of his avowed enemies; and that unless he sent ambassadors, without delay,

to insist on the immediate declaration of his right of succession, their measures were so well concerted, that all his hopes would be desperate. James, who knew how disagreeable such a proposal would be to the queen of England, was not willing rashly to expose himself to her displeasure. Essex, nevertheless, blinded by resentment, and impatient for revenge, abandoned himself to these passions, and acted like a man guided by frenzy or despair. With two or three hundred followers incompletely armed, he attempted to assault a throne the best established in Europe. Sallying at their head out of his own house, he called on the citizens of London, if they either valued his life, or wished to preserve the kingdom from the dominion of the Spaniards, to take arms, and to follow his standard. He advanced towards the palace with an intention to drive Cecil and his faction out of the queen's presence, and to obtain a declaration of the Scottish king's right of succession.^b But, though almost adored by the citizens, not a man would join him in this wild enterprise. Dispirited by their indifference, deserted by some of his own attendants, and almost surrounded by the troops which marched against him under different leaders into the city, he retreated to his own house; and without any bold effort, suitable to his present condition, or worthy of his former reputation for courage, he surrendered to his enemies.

As soon as James heard of Essex's ill success, he appointed the earl of Mar, and Bruce abbot of Kinloss, to repair as his ambassadors to the court of England. The former of these was the person by whose means Essex had carried on his correspondence with the king. He was a passionate admirer of the earl's character, and disposed to attempt every thing that could contribute to his safety. Bruce, united in a close friendship with Mar, was ready to second him with equal zeal. Nor was the purpose of the embassy less friendly to Essex, than the choice of his ambassadors; they were commanded to solicit, in the warmest manner, for the earl's life, and if they found that

^b Birch. Mem. ii. 477.

the king, by avowing his friends, could either promote their designs, or contribute to their safety, they were empowered to lay aside all disguise, and to promise that he would put himself at their head, and claim what was due to him by force of arms.^c But before the ambassadors could reach London, Essex had suffered the punishment which he merited by his treason. Perhaps the fear of their interposing, in order to obtain his pardon, hastened his death. Elizabeth continued, for some time, irresolute concerning his fate, and could not bring herself to consign into the hands of the executioner, a man who had once possessed her favour so entirely, without a painful struggle between her resentment against his late misconduct, and her ancient affection towards him. The distress to which she was now reduced, tended naturally to soften the former, while it revived the latter with new tenderness; and the intercession of one faithful friend, who had interest with the queen, might perhaps have saved his life, and have procured him a remission, which, of herself, she was ashamed to grant. But this generous nobleman had at that time no such friend. Elizabeth, solicited incessantly by her ministers, and offended with the haughtiness of Essex, who, as she imagined, scorned to sue for pardon, at last commanded the sentence to be put in execution. No sooner was the blow struck, than she repented of her own rashness, and bewailed his death with the deepest sorrow. James always considered him as one who had fallen a martyr to his service, and, after his accession to the English throne, restored his son to his honours, as well as all his associates in the conspiracy, and distinguished them with his favour.^d

James continues his intrigues in England. The Scottish ambassadors, finding that they had arrived too late to execute the chief business committed to their charge, not only concealed that part of their instructions with the utmost care; but congratulated the queen, in their master's name, on her happy escape from such an audacious conspiracy. Elizabeth,

^c Johnst. 289. Birch. Mem. ii. 510.

^d Camd. Spotsw. 464.

though no stranger to the king's correspondence with Essex, or to that nobleman's intentions of asserting James's right to the crown, was not willing that these should be known to the people, and, for that reason, received the congratulations of the Scottish ambassadors with all possible marks of credit and good-will; and in order to soothe James, and to preserve the appearances of union between the two courts, increased the subsidy which she paid him annually. The ambassadors resided for some time in England, and were employed with great success, in renewing and extending the intrigues, which Bruce had formerly entered into with the English nobles. As Elizabeth advanced in years, the English turned their eyes more and more towards Scotland, and were eager to prevent each other in courting the favour of their future monarch. Assurances of attachment, professions of regard, and promises of support, were offered to James from every corner of the kingdom. Cecil himself, perceiving what hopes Essex had founded on the friendship of the Scottish king, and what advantages he might have derived from it, thought it prudent to stand no longer at a distance from a prince, who might so soon become his master. But being sensible at the same time how dangerous such an intercourse might prove, under a mistress naturally jealous, and whose jealousy grew stronger with old age; though he entered into a correspondence with him, he carried it on with all the secrecy and caution necessary in his situation, and peculiar to his character.^d James having gained the man

^d *Letter from ©, to his Majesty King James.**

From the original. Bibl. Fac. Jur. Edin. A. 1, 34. No. 4.

MOST worthy Prince, the depending dangers upon your affectionates, have been such, as hath enforced silence in him who is faithfully devoted to your person, and in due time of trial will undergo all hazards of fortune for the maintenance of the just legal rights, that, by the laws divine, of nature, and of nations, is invested in your royal person. Fall not, then, most noble and renowned Prince, from him whose Providence hath in many dangers preserved you, no doubt to be an instrument of his glory, and the good of his people. Some secrets, I find, have been revealed to your preju-

* In the former editions, I printed this as a letter from sir Robert Cecil, but am now satisfied that I was mistaken in forming this opinion. See sir D. Dalrymple's *Rem. on the Hist. of Scot.* p. 233. As the letter is curious, I republish it, though I cannot pretend to say to which of the king's numerous correspondents in England it should be ascribed.

whose opposition and influence he had hitherto chiefly dreaded, waited, in perfect security, till that event should

dice, which must proceed from some ambitious violent spirited person near your Majesty in council and favour; no man in particular will I accuse, but I am sure it hath no foundation from any, with whom, for your service, I have held correspondence; otherwise I had, long since, been disabled from performance of those duties. that the thoughts of my heart endeavoureth; being only known to this worthy nobleman, bearer hereof, one noted in all parts of Christendom for his fidelity to your person and state, and to Mr. David Fowlis, your most loyal servant, my first and faithful correspondent; and unto James Hudsons, whom I have found in all things that concern you, most secret and assured. It may, therefore, please your Majesty, at the humble motion of ©, which jargon I desire to be the indorsement of your commands unto me, that, by some token of your favour, he may understand in what terms you regard his fidelity, secrecy, and service. My passionate affection to your person (not as you are a King, but as you are a good King, and have a just title, after my sovereign, to be a great King) doth transport me to presumption. Condemn not, most noble Prince, the motives of care and love, altho' mixed with defects in judgment.

1. I, therefore, first beseech your Majesty, that for the good of those whom God, by divine Providence, hath destined to your charge, that you will be pleased to have an extraordinary care of all practicers or practices against your person; for it is not to be doubted, but that in both kingdoms, either out of ambition, faction, or fear, there are many that desire to have their sovereign in minority, whereby the sovereignty and state might be swayed by partiality of subalternate persons, rather than by true rule of power and justice. Preserve your person, and fear not the practices of man upon the point of your right, which will be preserved and maintained against all assaults of competition whatever. Thus I leave the protection of your person and royal posterity to the Almighty God of Heaven, who bless and preserve you and all yours, in all regal happiness to his glory.

2. Next to the preservation of your person, is the conservation and secret keeping of your counsellors, which, as I have said, are often betrayed and discovered, either out of pretended zeal in religion, turbulent faction, or base conception, the which your Majesty is to regard with all circumspection, as a matter most dangerous to your person and state, and the only means to ruin and destroy all those that stand faithfully devoted to your Majesty's service. Some particulars, and persons of this nature, I make no doubt have been discovered by the endeavours of this nobleman, the bearer hereof, of whom your Majesty may be further informed.

3. The third point considerable is, that your Majesty, by all means possible, secure yourself of the good affection of the French King and states, by the negotiation of some faithful secret confidant; the French naturally distasting the union of the British islands under one monarch. In Germany, I doubt not, but you have many allies and friends, but, by reason of their remote state, they do not so much importe this affair, which must be guided by a quick and sudden motion.

4. When God, by whose providence the period of all persons and times is determined, shall call to his kingdom of glory her Majesty (although I do assuredly hope that there will not be any question in competition, yet for that I hold it not fitting to give any minute entrance into a cause of so high a nature), I do humbly beseech your Majesty to design a secret, faithful, and experienced confidant servant of yours, being of an approved fidelity and judgment, continually to be here resident, whose negotiation, it were convenient your Majesty should fortifie with such secret trust and powers, as there may not need fourteen days' respite to post for authority, in a cause that cannot endure ten hours' respite without varieties of danger. In the which it is to be considered, that all such as pretend least good to your establishment, will not in public oppugn your title, but out of their cunning ambition will seek to gain time by alledging their pretence of common good to the state, in propounding of good conditions for disburthening the common weale of divers hard laws, heavy impositions, corruptions, oppressions, &c. which is a main point to lead the popular, who are much disgusted with many particulars of this nature. It were, therefore, convenient, that these motives, out of your Majesty's providence, should be prevented, by your free offer in these points following, viz.

1. That your Majesty would be pleased to abolish purveyors and purveyance, being a matter infinitely offensive to the common people, and the whole kingdom, and not profitable to the Prince.

2. That your Majesty would be pleased to dissolve the court of wards, being the

happen which would open his way to the throne of England.^e It was with some difficulty that he restrained within proper bounds his adherents in that kingdom, who, labouring to distinguish themselves by that officious zeal, with which a prince, who has a near prospect of mounting the throne, is always served, urged him to allow a motion to be made in parliament for declaring his right of succession to the crown. James prudently discouraged that design; but it was with no small satisfaction that he observed the ascendant he was acquiring in a court, the dictates of which he had been so long obliged to obey; and which had either prescribed or thwarted every step he had taken during the whole course of his reign.^f

ruin of all the noble and ancient families of this realm, by base matches, and evil education of their children, by which no revenue of the crown will be defrayed.

3. The abrogating the multiplicity of penal laws, generally repined against by the subject, in regard of their uncertainty, being many times altered from their true meaning, by variety of interpretation.

4. That your Majesty will be pleased to admit free export of the native commodities of this kingdom, now often restrained by subalternate persons for private profit, being most prejudicial to the commerce of all merchants, and a plain destruction to the true industry and manufacture of all kingdoms, and against the profit of the crown.

These, being by your Majesty's confidants in the point of time propounded, will assuredly confirm unto your Majesty the hearts and affections of the whole kingdom, and absolutely prevent all insinuations and devices of designed patriots, that out of pretext of common good, would seek to patronize themselves in popular opinion and power, and thereby to derogate from your Majesty's bounty and free favour by princely merit of your moderation, judgment, and justice.

Your Majesty's favour thus granted to the subject, will no way impeach the profits of the crown but advance them. The disproportionable gain of some chequer officers, with the base and mercenary profits of the idle unnecessary clerks and attendants, will only suffer some detriment; but infinite will be the good unto the kingdom, which will confirm unto your Majesty the universal love and affection of the people, and establish your renown in the highest esteem to all posterity.

The Lord preserve your Majesty, and make you triumphant over all your enemies.

My care over his person whose letters pass in this packet, and will die before he leave to be yours, shall be no less than of mine own life, and in like esteem will I hold all your faithful confidants, notwithstanding I will hold myself reserved from being known unto any of them, in my particular devoted affections unto your Majesty; only this extraordinary worthy man, whose associate I am in his misfortune, doth know my heart, and we both will pray for you, and if we live you shall find us together.

I beseech your Majesty burn this letter, and the others; for altho' it be in an unusual hand, yet it may be discovered.

Your Majesty's most devoted,
and humble servant,

^e Dr. Birch, in his life of prince Henry, p. 232. has given some account of the mysterious mode in which this correspondence was carried on, and how the letters were conveyed from London to Dublin, and from thence to Scotland. Notwithstanding the solicitude which Cecil repeatedly discovers that his letters should be destroyed as soon as the king had read them, a considerable number of them has been preserved, and published by Sir David Dalrymple in the year 1766. They were written by lord Henry Howard, under the inspection of Cecil, in a style affectedly obscure. The whole correspondence is more curious than instructive.

^f Spotsw. 467. 471. Birch. Mem. ii. 514.

1602.
Attempts
to civilize
the High-
landers.

Notwithstanding the violent struggles of the political factions which divided the court, and the frequent revolutions which had happened there, since the king first took the reins of government into his own hands, Scotland had enjoyed unusual tranquillity, being undisturbed by any foreign enemy, and free from any intestine commotion of long continuance. During this period, James endeavoured to civilize the Highlands and the Isles, a part of his dominions too much neglected by former monarchs, though the reformation of it was an object highly worthy of their care. The long peace with England had afforded an opportunity of subduing the licentious spirit of the borderers, and of restraining their depredations, often no less ruinous to their countrymen than to their enemies. The inhabitants of the low country began, gradually, to forget the use of arms, and to become attentive to the arts of peace. But the Highlanders, retaining their natural fierceness, averse from labour, and inured to rapine, infested their more industrious neighbours by their continual incursions. James, being solicitous not only to repress their inroads, but to render them useful subjects,^s had at different times enacted many wise laws extremely conducive to these ends. All landlords, or chiefs of clans, were enjoined to permit no persons to reside in their estates who could not find sufficient surety for their good behaviour; they were required to make a list of all suspicious persons under their jurisdiction, to bind themselves to deliver them to justice, and to indemnify those who should suffer by their robberies; and in order to ascertain the faithful performance of these articles, the chiefs themselves were obliged to give hostages to the king, or to put pledges in his hands. Three towns, which might serve as a retreat for the industrious, and a nursery for arts and commerce, were appointed to be built in different parts of the Highlands; one in Cantire, another in Lochaber, and a third in the isle of Lewis; and, in order to draw inhabitants thither, all the privileges of royal

boroughs were to be conferred upon them. Finding it, however, to be no easy matter to inspire the natives of those countries with the love of industry, a resolution was taken to plant among them colonies of people from the more industrious counties. The first experiment was made on the isle of Lewis; and as it was advantageously situated for the fishing trade, a source from which Scotland ought naturally to derive great wealth, the colony transported thither was drawn out of Fife, the inhabitants of which were well skilled in that branch of commerce. But before they had remained there long enough to manifest the good effects of this institution, the islanders, enraged at seeing their country occupied by those intruders, took arms, and surprising them in the night-time, murdered some of them, and compelled the rest to abandon the settlement. The king's attention being soon after turned to other objects, we hear no more of this salutary project. Though James did not pursue the design with that steady application and perseverance, without which it is impossible to change the manners of a whole people, he had the glory, however, not only of having first conceived the thought; but of having first pointed out the proper method of introducing the civil arts of life into that part of the island.^h

Elizabeth's
last illness
and death. After having long enjoyed a good state of health, the effects of a sound constitution, and the reward of uncommon regularity and temperance, Elizabeth began this winter to feel her vigour decrease, and to be sensible of the infirmities of old age. Having removed on a very stormy day from Westminster to Richmond, whi-
1603:
Jan. 31. ther she was impatient to retire, her complaints increased. She had no formed fever; her pulse was good; but she ate little and could not sleep. Her distemper seemed to proceed from a deep melancholy, which appeared both in her countenance and behaviour. She delighted in solitude, she sat constantly in the dark; and was often drowned in tears.

^h Parl. 1587. 1594. 1597. Spotsw. 468.

No sooner was the queen's indisposition known, than persons of all ranks, and of all different sects and parties, redoubled their applications to the king of Scots, and vied with each other in professions of attachment to his person, and in promises of submission to his government. Even some of Elizabeth's own servants, weary of the length of her reign, fond of novelty, impatient to get rid of the burden of gratitude for past benefits, and expecting to share in the liberality of a new prince, began to desert her: and crowds of people hurried towards Scotland, eager to pre-occupy the favour of the successor, or afraid of being too late in paying homage to him.

Meanwhile the queen's disease increased, and her melancholy appeared to be settled and incurable. Various conjectures were formed concerning the causes of a disorder, from which she seemed to be exempted by the natural cheerfulness of her temper. Some imputed it to her being forced, contrary to her inclination, to pardon the earl of Tyrone, whose rebellion had for many years created her much trouble. Others imagined that it arose from observing the ingratitude of her courtiers, and the levity of her people, who beheld her health declining with the most indecent indifference, and looked forward to the accession of the Scottish king, with an impatience which they could not conceal. The most common opinion, at that time, and perhaps the most probable, was, that it flowed from grief for the earl of Essex. She retained an extraordinary regard for the memory of that unfortunate nobleman; and though she often complained of his obstinacy, seldom mentioned his name without tears.¹ An accident happened soon after her retiring to Richmond, which revived her affection with new tenderness, and imbittered her sorrows. The countess of Nottingham, being on her death-bed, desired to see the queen, in order to reveal something to her, without discovering which, she could not die in peace. When the queen came into her chamber, she told her, that while Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous

¹ Birch. Mem. ii. 505.

of imploring pardon in a manner which the queen herself had prescribed; by returning a ring, which during the height of his favour she had given him, with a promise that if, in any future distress, he sent that back to her as a token, it should entitle him to her protection; that lady Scrope was the person he intended to employ in order to present it; that, by a mistake, it was put into her hands instead of lady Scrope's; and, that she having communicated the matter to her husband, one of Essex's most implacable enemies, he had forbid her either to carry the ring to the queen, or to return it to the earl. The countess having thus disclosed her secret, begged the queen's forgiveness: but Elizabeth, who now saw both the malice of the earl's enemies, and how unjustly she had suspected him of inflexible obstinacy, replied, "God may forgive you, but I never can;" and left the room in great emotion.^k From that moment, her spirit sunk entirely; she could scarce taste food; she refused all the medicines prescribed by her physicians; declaring that she wished to die, and would live no longer. No entreaty could prevail on her to go to bed; she sat on cushions, during ten days and nights, pensive and silent, holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open, and fixed on the ground. The only thing to which she seemed to give any attention, was the acts of devotion performed in her apartment by the archbishop of Canterbury; and in these she joined with great appearance of fervour. Wasted, at last, as well by anguish of mind, as by long abstinence, she ex-

^k This anecdote concerning Elizabeth was first published by Osborne, Mem. of Eliz. p. 23.; is confirmed by the testimony of De Maurier, Mem. 260, and by the traditional evidence of lady Elizabeth Spelman, published by Dr. Birch, Negoc. 106. Camden mentions the queen's grief for Essex's death as one of the causes of her melancholy. Some original papers remain, which prove that this was commonly believed at the time. Birch. Mem. ii. 506. Essex, however, had been beheaded two years before her death, and there seems to have been no other reason, but that which we have assigned, why her sorrows should revive with so much violence at so great a distance of time. As the death of the countess of Nottingham happened about a fortnight before the queen's death, the coincidence of these events, together with the other evidence mentioned, adds so much probability to the story related by Osborne, as will entitle it to a place in history. The only objection to the account we have given of Elizabeth's attachment to Essex, arises from her great age. At the age of sixty-eight, the amorous passions are commonly abundantly cool, and the violence of all the passions, except one, is much abated. But the force of this objection is entirely removed by an author who has illustrated many passages in the English history, and adorned more. Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, article Essex.

pired, without a struggle, on Thursday the 24th day of March; in the seventieth year of her age, and in the forty-fifth of her reign.¹

Her character. Foreigners often accuse the English of indifference and disrespect towards their princes; but without reason. No people are more grateful than they to those monarchs who merit their gratitude. The names of Edward III. and Henry V. are mentioned by the English of this age with the same warmth as they were by those who shared in the blessings and splendour of their reigns. The memory of Elizabeth is still adored in England. The historians of that kingdom, after celebrating her love of her people; her sagacity in discerning their true interest; her steadiness in pursuing it; her wisdom in the choice of her ministers; the glory she acquired by arms; the tranquillity she secured to her subjects; and the increase of fame, of riches, and of commerce, which were the fruits of all these; justly rank her among the most illustrious princes. Even the defects in her character, they observe, were not of a kind pernicious to her people. Her excessive frugality was not accompanied with the love of hoarding; and, though it prevented some great undertakings, and rendered the success of others incomplete, it introduced economy into her administration, and exempted the nation from many burdens, which a monarch, more profuse or more enterprising, must have imposed. Her slowness in rewarding her servants sometimes discouraged useful merit; but it prevented the undeserving from acquiring power and wealth, to which they had no title. Her extreme jealousy of those princes who pretended to dispute her right to the crown, led her to take such precautions, as tended no less to the public safety, than to her own; and to court the affections of her people, as the firmest support of her throne. Such is the picture which the English draw of this great queen.

Whoever undertakes to write the history of Scotland, finds himself obliged, frequently, to view her in a very dif-

¹ Camd. Birch. Mem. ii. 506. Birch. Negoc. 206. Strype, iv. 373.

ferent, and in a less amiable light. Her authority in that kingdom, during the greater part of her reign, was little inferior to that which she possessed in her own. But this authority, acquired at first by a service of great importance to the nation, she exercised in a manner extremely pernicious to its happiness. By her industry in fomenting the rage of the two contending factions; by supplying the one with partial aid; by feeding the other with false hopes; by balancing their power so artfully, that each of them was able to distress, and neither of them to subdue the other; she rendered Scotland long the seat of discord, confusion, and bloodshed; and her craft and intrigues, effecting what the valour of her ancestors could not accomplish, reduced that kingdom to a state of dependance on England. The maxims of policy, often little consonant to those of morality, may, perhaps, justify this conduct. But no apology can be offered for her behaviour to queen Mary; a scene of dissimulation without necessity; and of severity beyond example. In almost all her other actions, Elizabeth is the object of our highest admiration; in this we must allow that she not only laid aside the magnanimity which became a queen, but the feelings natural to a woman.

James pro-
claimed
king of
England. Though Elizabeth would never permit the question concerning the right of succession to the crown to be determined in parliament; nor declare her own sentiments concerning a point which she wished to remain an impenetrable mystery; she had, however, formed no design of excluding the Scottish king from an inheritance to which his title was undoubted. A short time before her death, she broke the silence which she had so long preserved on that subject, and told Cecil and the lord-admiral, "That her throne was the throne of kings; that she would have no mean person to ascend it, and that her cousin the king of Scots should be her successor." This she confirmed on her death-bed. As soon as she breathed her last, the lords of the privy-council proclaimed James King of England. All the intrigues carried on by foreigners in favour of the infanta, all the cabals formed within the king-

dom to support the titles of lady Arabella and the earl of Hartford, disappeared in a moment; the nobles and people, forgetting their ancient hostilities with Scotland, and their aversion for the dominion of strangers, testified their satisfaction with louder acclamations than were usual at the accession of their native princes. Amidst this tumult of joy, a motion made by a few patriots, who proposed to prescribe some conditions to the successor, and to exact from him the redress of some grievances, before they called him to the throne, was scarcely heard; and Cecil, by stifling it, added to his stock of merit with his new master. Sir Charles Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerset, the earl of Worcester's son, were dispatched to Scotland, with a letter to the king, signed by all the peers and privy-counsellors then in London; informing him of the queen's death, of his accession to the throne, of their care to recognise his title, and of the universal applause with which the public proclamation of it had been attended. They made the utmost haste to deliver this welcome message; but were prevented by the zeal of sir Robert Carey, lord Hunsdon's youngest son, who, setting out a few hours after Elizabeth's death, arrived at Edinburgh on Saturday night, just as the king had gone to bed. He was immediately admitted into the royal apartment, and kneeling by the king's bed, acquainted him with the death of Elizabeth, saluted him king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and as a token of the truth of the intelligence which he brought, presented him a ring, which his sister lady Scrope had taken from the queen's finger after her death. James heard him with a decent composure. But as Carey was only a private messenger, the information which he brought was not made public, and the king kept his apartment till the arrival of Percy and Somerset. Then his titles were solemnly proclaimed; and his own subjects expressed no less joy, than the English, at this increase of his dignity. As his presence was absolutely necessary in England, where the people were extremely impatient to see their new sovereign, he pre-

pared to set out for that kingdom without delay. He appointed his queen to follow him within a few weeks. He committed the government of Scotland to his privy-council. He intrusted the care of his children to different noblemen. On the Sunday before his departure, he repaired to the church of St. Giles, and after hearing a sermon, in which the preacher displayed the greatness of the divine goodness in raising him to the throne of such a powerful kingdom without opposition or bloodshed, and exhorted him to express his gratitude, by promoting, to the utmost, the happiness and prosperity of his subjects; the king rose up, and addressing himself to the people, made many professions of unalterable affection towards them; promised to visit Scotland frequently; assured them that his Scottish subjects, notwithstanding his absence, should feel that he was their native prince, no less than when he resided among them; and might still trust that his ears should be always open to their petitions, which he would answer with the alacrity and love of a parent. His words were often interrupted by the tears of the whole audience; who, though they exulted at the king's prosperity, were melted into sorrow by these tender declarations.^m

Takes possession of the throne. On the 5th of April he began his journey, with a splendid, but not a numerous train; and next day he entered Berwick. Wherever he came, immense multitudes were assembled to welcome him; and the principal persons in the different counties through which he passed, displayed all their wealth and magnificence in entertainments prepared for him at their houses. Elizabeth had reigned so long in England, that most of her subjects remembered no other court but hers, and their notions of the manners and decorums suitable to a prince were formed upon what they had observed there. It was natural to apply this standard to the behaviour and actions of their new monarch, and to compare him, at first sight, with the queen, on whose throne he was to be placed. James, whose manners were extremely different from hers,

^m Spotsw. 476.

suffered by the comparison. He had not that flowing affability, by which Elizabeth captivated the hearts of her people ; and though easy among a few whom he loved, his indolence could not bear the fatigue of rendering himself agreeable to a mixed multitude. He was no less a stranger to that dignity with which Elizabeth tempered her familiarity. And, instead of that well-judged frugality with which she conferred titles of honour, he bestowed them with an undistinguishing profusion, that rendered them no longer marks of distinction, or rewards of merit. But these were the reflections of the few alone ; the multitude continued their acclamations ; and, amidst these, James entered London on the 7th of May, and took peaceable possession of the throne of England.

Thus were united two kingdoms, divided from the earliest accounts of time, but destined, by their situation, to form one great monarchy. By this junction of its whole native force, Great Britain had risen to eminence and authority in Europe, which England and Scotland, while separate, could never have attained.

The Scots had so long considered their monarchs as next heirs to the English throne, that they had full leisure to reflect on all the consequences of their being advanced to that dignity. But, dazzled with the glory of giving a sovereign to their powerful enemy, relying on the partiality of their native prince, and in full expectation of sharing liberally in the wealth and honours which he would now be able to bestow, they attended little to the most obvious consequences of that great event, and rejoiced at his accession to the throne of England, as if it had been no less beneficial to the kingdom, than honourable to the king. They soon had reason, however, to adopt very different sentiments ; and from that period we may date a total alteration in the political constitution of Scotland.

The feudal aristocracy, which had been subverted in most nations of Europe by the policy of their princes, or had been undermined by the progress of commerce, still

A view of the revolutions in the constitution of Scotland since the accession of James VI.

subsisted with full force in Scotland. Many causes had contributed gradually to augment the power of the Scottish nobles; and even the Reformation, which, in every other country where it prevailed, added to the authority of the monarch, had increased their wealth and influence. A king possessed of a small revenue, with a prerogative extremely limited, and unsupported by a standing army, could not exercise much authority over such potent subjects. He was obliged to govern by expedients; and the laws derived their force not from his power to execute them, but from the voluntary submission of the nobles. But though this produced a species of government extremely feeble and irregular; though Scotland, under the name, and with all the outward ensigns of a monarchy, was really subject to an aristocracy, the people were not altogether unhappy; and, even in this wild form of a constitution, there were principles which tended to their security and advantage. The king, checked and overawed by the nobles, durst venture upon no act of arbitrary power. The nobles, jealous of the king, whose claims and pretensions were many, though his power was small, were afraid of irritating their dependants by unreasonable exactions, and tempered the rigour of aristocratical tyranny, with a mildness and equality to which it is naturally a stranger. As long as the military genius of the feudal government remained in vigour, the vassals both of the crown and of the barons were generally not only free from oppression, but were courted by their superiors, whose power and importance were founded on their attachment and love.

But, by his accession to the throne of England, James acquired such an immense accession of wealth, of power, and of splendour, that the nobles, astonished and intimidated, thought it vain to struggle for privileges which they were now unable to defend. Nor was it from fear alone that they submitted to the yoke; James, partial to his countrymen, and willing that they should partake in his good fortune, loaded them with riches and honours;

and the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power, in taming their fierce and independent spirits. The will of the prince became the supreme law in Scotland; and the nobles strove, with emulation, who should most implicitly obey commands which they had formerly been accustomed to contemn. Satisfied with having subjected the nobles to the crown, the king left them in full possession of their ancient jurisdiction over their own vassals. The extensive rights, vested in a feudal chief, became in their hands dreadful instruments of oppression, and the military ideas, on which these rights were founded, being gradually lost or disregarded, nothing remained to correct or to mitigate the rigour with which they were exercised. The nobles, exhausting their fortunes by the expense of frequent attendance upon the English court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people, who durst hardly utter complaints which they knew would never reach the ear of their sovereign, nor move him to grant them any redress. From the union of the crowns to the revolution in 1688, Scotland was placed in a political situation, of all others the most singular and the most unhappy; subjected at once to the absolute will of a monarch, and to the oppressive jurisdiction of an aristocracy, it suffered all the miseries peculiar to both these forms of government. Its kings were despotic; its nobles were slaves and tyrants; and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both.

During this period, the nobles, it is true, made one effort to shake off the yoke, and to regain their ancient independence. After the death of James, the Scottish nation was no longer viewed by our monarchs with any partial affection. Charles I. educated among the English, discovered no peculiar attachment to the kingdom of which he was a native. The nobles, perceiving the sceptre to be now in hands less friendly, and swayed by a prince with whom they had little connexion, and over whose councils they had little influence, no longer submitted with the same im-

placit obedience. Provoked by some encroachments of the king on their order, and apprehensive of others, the remains of their ancient spirit began to appear. They complained and remonstrated. The people being, at the same time, violently disgusted at the innovations in religion, the nobles secretly heightened this disgust; and their artifices, together with the ill-conduct of the court, raised such a spirit, that the whole nation took arms against their sovereign, with a union and animosity of which there had formerly been no example. Charles brought against them the forces of England, and, notwithstanding their own union, and the zeal of the people, the nobles must have sunk in the struggle. But the disaffection which was growing among his English subjects prevented the king from acting with vigour. A civil war broke out in both kingdoms; and after many battles and revolutions, which are well known, the Scottish nobles, who first began the war, were involved in the same ruin with the throne. At the restoration, Charles II. regained full possession of the royal prerogative in Scotland; and the nobles, whose estates were wasted, or their spirit broken, by the calamities to which they had been exposed, were less able and less willing than ever to resist the power of the crown. During this reign, and that of James VII. the dictates of the monarch were received in Scotland with the most abject submission. The poverty to which many of the nobles were reduced, rendered them meaner slaves, and more intolerable tyrants than ever. The people, always neglected, were now odious, and loaded with every injury; on account of their attachment to religious and political principles, extremely repugnant to those adopted by their princes. The revolution introduced other maxims into the government of Scotland. To increase the authority of the prince, or to secure the privileges of the nobles, had hitherto been almost the sole object of our laws. The rights of the people were hardly ever mentioned, were disregarded or unknown. Attention began, henceforward, to be paid to the welfare of the people. By the *claim of right*, their

liberties were secured; and the number of their representatives being increased, they gradually acquired new weight and consideration in parliament. As they came to enjoy more security, and greater power, their minds began to open, and to form more extensive plans of commerce, of industry, and of police. But the aristocratical spirit, which still predominated, together with many other accidents, retarded the improvement and happiness of the nation.

Another great event completed what the revolution had begun. The political power of the nobles, already broken by the union of the two crowns, was almost annihilated by the union of the two kingdoms. Instead of making a part, as formerly, of the supreme assembly of the nation, instead of bearing the most considerable sway there, the peers of Scotland are admitted into the British parliament by their representatives only, and form but an inconsiderable part of one of those bodies in which the legislative authority is vested. They themselves are excluded absolutely from the house of commons, and even their eldest sons are not permitted to represent their countrymen in that august assembly. Nor have their feudal privileges remained, to compensate for this extinction of their political authority. As commerce advanced in its progress, and government attained nearer to perfection, these were insensibly circumscribed, and at last, by laws no less salutary to the public than fatal to the nobles, they have been almost totally abolished. As the nobles were deprived of power, the people acquired liberty. Exempted from burdens, to which they were formerly subject, screened from oppression to which they had been long exposed, and adopted into a constitution, whose genius and laws were more liberal than their own, they have extended their commerce, refined their manners, made improvements in the elegancies of life, and cultivated the arts and sciences.

This survey of the political state of Scotland, in which events and their causes have been mentioned rather than developed, enables us to point out three eras, from each of

which we may date some great alteration in one or other of the three different members of which the supreme legislative assembly in our constitution is composed. At their accession to the throne of England, the kings of Scotland, once the most limited, became, in an instant, the most absolute princes in Europe, and exercised a despotic authority, which their parliaments were unable to control, or their nobles to resist. At the *union* of the two kingdoms the feudal aristocracy, which had subsisted so many ages, and with power so exorbitant, was overturned, and the Scottish nobles, having surrendered rights and pre-eminences peculiar to their order, reduced themselves to a condition which is no longer the terror and envy of other subjects. *Since the union*, the commons, anciently neglected by their kings, and seldom courted by their nobles, have emerged into dignity; and, being admitted to a participation of all the privileges which the English had purchased at the expense of so much blood, must now be deemed a body not less considerable in the one kingdom, than they have long been in the other.

The church felt the effects of the absolute power which the king acquired by his accession; and its revolutions, too, are worthy of notice. James, during the latter years of his administration in Scotland, had revived the name and office of bishops. But they possessed no ecclesiastical jurisdiction or pre-eminence; their revenues were inconsiderable, and they were scarcely distinguished by any thing but by their seat in parliament, and by being the object of the clergy's jealousy, and the people's hatred. The king, delighted with the splendour and authority which the English bishops enjoyed, and eager to effect a union in the ecclesiastical policy, which he had, in vain, attempted in the civil government of the two kingdoms, resolved to bring both churches to an exact conformity with each other. Three Scotsmen were consecrated bishops at London. From them, their brethren were commanded to receive orders. Ceremonies unknown in Scotland were imposed; and though the clergy, less obsequious than the

nobles, boldly opposed these innovations, James, long practised and well-skilled in the arts of managing them, obtained at length their compliance. But Charles I. a superstitious prince, unacquainted with the genius of the Scots, imprudent and precipitant in all the measures he pursued in that kingdom, pressing too eagerly the reception of the English liturgy, and indiscreetly attempting a resumption of church lands, kindled the flames of civil war; and the people being left at liberty to indulge their own wishes, the episcopal church was overturned, and the Presbyterian government and discipline were re-established with new vigour. Together with monarchy, episcopacy was restored in Scotland. A form of government, so odious to the people, required force to uphold it; and though not only the whole rigour of authority, but all the barbarity of persecution, were employed in its support, the aversion of the nation was insurmountable, and it subsisted with difficulty. At the revolution, the inclinations of the people were thought worthy the attention of the legislature, the Presbyterian government was again established, and, being ratified by the union, is still maintained in the kingdom.

Nor did the influence of the accession extend to the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions alone; the genius of the nation, its taste and spirit, things of a nature still more delicate, were sensibly affected by that event. When learning revived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, all the modern languages were in a state extremely barbarous, devoid of elegance, of vigour, and even of perspicuity. No author thought of writing in language so ill adapted to express and embellish his sentiments, or of erecting a work for immortality with such rude and perishable materials. As the spirit, which prevailed at that time, did not owe its rise to any original effort of the human mind, but was excited chiefly by admiration of the ancients, which began then to be studied with attention in every part of Europe, their compositions were deemed not only the standards of taste and of sentiment, but of style; and even the languages

in which they wrote were thought to be peculiar, and almost consecrated to learning and the muses. Not only the manner of the ancients was imitated, but their language was adopted: and, extravagant as the attempt may appear to write in a dead tongue, in which men were not accustomed to think, and which they could not speak, or even pronounce, the success of it was astonishing. As they formed their style upon the purest models; as they were uninfected with those barbarisms, which the inaccuracy of familiar conversation, the affectation of courts, intercourse with strangers, and a thousand other causes, introduce into living languages; many moderns have attained to a degree of elegance in their Latin compositions, which the Romans themselves scarce possessed beyond the limits of the Augustan age. While this was almost the only species of composition, and all authors, by using one common language, could be brought to a nearer comparison, the Scottish writers were not inferior to those of any other nation. The happy genius of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in prose and in verse, more various, more original, and more elegant, than that of almost any other modern who writes in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greatest lustre on his country.

But the labour attending the study of a dead tongue was irksome; the unequal return for their industry which authors met with, who could be read and admired only within the narrow circle of the learned, was mortifying; and men, instead of wasting half their lives in learning the language of the Romans, began to refine and to polish their own. The modern tongues were found to be susceptible of beauties and graces, which, if not equal to those of the ancient ones, were at least more attainable. The Italians having first set the example, Latin was no longer used in works of taste; it was confined to books of science; and the politer nations have banished it even from these. The Scots, we may presume, would have had no cause to regret this change in the public taste, and would still have been able to maintain some equality with other nations, in

their pursuit of literary honour. The English and Scottish languages, derived from the same sources, were, at the end of the sixteenth century, in a state nearly similar, differing from one another somewhat in orthography, though not only the words, but the idioms, were much the same. The letters of several Scottish statesmen of that age are not inferior in elegance, or in purity, to those of the English ministers with whom they corresponded. James himself was master of a style far from contemptible; and by his example and encouragement, the Scottish language might have kept pace with the English in refinement. Scotland might have had a series of authors in its own, as well as in the Latin language to boast of; and the improvements in taste, in the arts, and in the sciences, which spread over the other polished nations of Europe, would not have been unknown there.

But, at the very time when other nations were beginning to drop the use of Latin in works of taste, and to make trial of the strength and compass of their own languages, Scotland ceased to be a kingdom. The transports of joy, which the accession at first occasioned, were soon over; and the Scots, being at once deprived of all the objects that refine or animate a people; of the presence of their prince, of the concourse of nobles, of the splendour and elegance of a court, a universal dejection of spirit seems to have seized the nation. The court being withdrawn, no domestic standard of propriety and correctness of speech remained; the few compositions that Scotland produced were tried by the English standard, and every word or phrase that varied in the least from that, was condemned as barbarous; whereas, if the two nations had continued distinct, each might have retained idioms and forms of speech peculiar to itself; and these, rendered fashionable by the example of a court, and supported by the authority of writers of reputation, might have been viewed in the same light with the varieties occasioned by the different dialects in the Greek tongue; they even might have been considered as beauties; and in many cases, might have been used promiscuously

by the authors of both nations. But, by the accession, the English naturally became the sole judges and lawgivers in language, and rejected as solecisms, every form of speech to which their ear was not accustomed. Nor did the Scots, while the intercourse between the two nations was inconsiderable,^a and ancient prejudices were still so violent as to prevent imitation, possess the means of refining their own tongue according to the purity of the English standard. On the contrary, new corruptions flowed into it from every different source. The clergy of Scotland, in that age, were more eminent for piety than for learning; and though there did not arise many authors among them, yet being in possession of the privilege of discoursing publicly to the people, and their sermons being too long, and perhaps too frequent, such hasty productions could not be elegant, and many slovenly and incorrect modes of expression may be traced back to that original. The pleadings of lawyers were equally loose and inaccurate, and that profession having furnished more authors, and the matters of which they treat mingling daily in common discourse and business, many of those vicious forms of speech, which are denominated *Scotticisms*, have been introduced by them into the language. Nor did either the language or public taste receive any improvement in parliament, where a more liberal and more correct eloquence might have been expected. All business was transacted there by the lords of articles, and they were so servilely devoted to the court, that few debates arose, and, prior to the Revolution, none were conducted with the spirit and vigour natural to a popular assembly.

Thus, during the whole seventeenth century, the English were gradually refining their language and their taste;

^a A remarkable proof of the little intercourse between the English and Scots before the union of the crowns, is to be found in two curious papers, one published by Haynes, the other by Strype. In the year 1567, Elizabeth commanded the bishop of London to take a survey of all the strangers within the cities of London and Westminster. By this report, which is very minute, it appears that the whole number of Scots at that time, was fifty-eight. Haynes, 455. A survey of the same kind was made by Sir Thomas Row, lord-mayor, A. D. 1568. The number of Scots had then increased to eighty-eight. Strype, iv. Supplement, No. I. On the accession of James, a considerable number of Scots, especially of the higher rank, resorted to England; but it was not till the union that the intercourse between the two kingdoms became great.

in Scotland the former was much debased, and the latter almost entirely lost. In the beginning of that period, both nations were emerging out of barbarity; but the distance between them, which was then inconsiderable, became, before the end of it, immense. Even after science had once dawned upon them, the Scots seemed to be sinking back into ignorance and obscurity; and active and intelligent as they naturally are, they continued, while other nations were eager in the pursuit of fame and knowledge, in a state of languor. This, however, must be imputed to the unhappiness of their political situation, not to any defect of genius; for no sooner was the one removed in any degree, than the other began to display itself. The act abolishing the power of the lords of articles, and other salutary laws passed at the Revolution, having introduced freedom of debate into the Scottish parliament, eloquence, with all the arts that accompany or perfect it, became immediate objects of attention; and the example of Fletcher of Salton alone is sufficient to shew that the Scots were still capable of generous sentiments, and, notwithstanding some peculiar idioms, were able to express themselves with energy and with elegance.

At length the union having incorporated the two nations, and rendered them one people, the distinctions which had subsisted for many ages gradually wear away; peculiarities disappear; the same manners prevail in both parts of the island; the same authors are read and admired; the same entertainments are frequented by the elegant and polite; and the same standard of taste and of purity in language, is established. The Scots, after being placed, during a whole century, in a situation no less fatal to the liberty than to the taste and genius of the nation, were at once put in possession of privileges more valuable than those which their ancestors had formerly enjoyed; and every obstruction that had retarded their pursuit, or prevented their acquisition of literary fame, was totally removed.

CRITICAL DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

THE MURDER OF KING HENRY,

AND THE GENUINENESS OF

THE QUEEN'S LETTERS TO BOTHWELL.

IT is not my intention to engage in all the controversies to which the murder of king Henry, or the letters from queen Mary to Bothwell, have given rise; far less to appear as an adversary to any particular author, who hath treated of them. To repeat, and to expose all the ill-founded assertions, with regard to these points, which have flowed from inattention, from prejudice, from partiality, from malevolence, and from dishonesty, would be no less irksome to myself, than unacceptable to most of my readers. All I propose, is to assist others in forming some judgment concerning the facts in dispute, by stating the proofs produced on each side, with as much brevity as the case will admit, and with the same attention and impartiality which I have endeavoured to exercise in examining other controverted points in the Scottish history.

In order to account for the king's murder, two different systems have been formed. The one supposes Bothwell to have contrived and executed this crime. The other imputes it to the earls of Murray, Morton, and their party.

The decision of many controverted facts in history, is a matter rather of curiosity than of use. They stand detached; and whatever we determine with regard to them, the fabric of the story remains untouched. But the fact under dispute in this place is a fundamental and essential one, and according to the opinion which an historian adopts with regard to it, he must vary and dispose the whole of his

subsequent narration. An historical system may be tried in two different ways, whether it be consistent with probability, and whether it be supported by proper evidence.

Those who charge the king's murder upon Bothwell, argue in the following manner; and, though their reasonings have been mentioned already in different parts of the narrative, it is necessary to repeat them here. Mary's love for Darnley, say they, was a sudden and youthful passion. The beauty of his person, set off by some external frivolous accomplishments, was his chief merit, and gained her affections. His capricious temper soon raised in the queen a disgust, which broke out on different occasions. His engaging in the conspiracy against Rizzio, converted this disgust into an antipathy, which she was at no pains to conceal. This breach was, perhaps, in its own nature irreparable; the king certainly wanted that art and condescension which alone could have repaired it. It widened every day, and a deep and settled hatred effaced all remains of affection. Bothwell observed this, and was prompted by ambition, and perhaps by love, to found upon it a scheme, which proved fatal both to the queen and to himself. He had served Mary at different times with fidelity and success. He insinuated himself into her favour, by address and by flattery. By degrees he gained her heart. In order to gratify his love, or at least his ambition, it was necessary to get rid of the king. Mary had rejected the proposal which, it is said, had been made to her for obtaining a divorce. The king was equally hated by the partisans of the house of Hamilton, a considerable party in the kingdom; by Murray, one of the most powerful and popular persons in his country; by Morton and his associates, whom he had deceived, and whom Bothwell had bound to his interest by a recent favour. Among the people Darnley was fallen under extreme contempt. Bothwell might expect, for all these reasons, that the murder of the king would pass without any inquiry, and might trust to Mary's love, and to his own address and good fortune, for the accomplishment of the rest of his wishes. What Both-

well expected really came to pass. Mary, if not privy herself to the design, connived at an action which rid her of a man whom she had such good reason to detest. A few months after the murder of her husband, she married the person who was both suspected and accused of having perpetrated that odious crime.

Those who charge the guilt upon Murray and his party, reason in this manner: Murray, they say, was a man of boundless ambition. Notwithstanding the illegitimacy of his birth, he had early formed a design of usurping the crown. On the queen's return into Scotland, he insinuated himself into her favour, and engrossed the whole power into his own hands. He set himself against every proposal of marriage which was made to her, lest his own chance of succeeding to the crown should be destroyed. He hated Darnley, and was no less hated by him. In order to be revenged on him, he entered into a sudden friendship with Bothwell, his ancient and mortal enemy. He encouraged him to assassinate Henry, by giving him hopes of marrying the queen. All this was done with a design to throw upon the queen herself the imputation of being accessory to the murder, and, under that pretext, to destroy Bothwell, to depose and imprison her, and to seize the sceptre which he had wrested out of her hands.

The former of these systems has an air of probability, is consistent with itself, and solves appearances. In the latter, some assertions are false, some links are wanting in the chain, and effects appear, of which no sufficient cause is produced. Murray, on the queen's return into Scotland, served her with great fidelity, and by his prudent administration rendered her so popular, and so powerful, as enabled her with ease to quash a formidable insurrection raised by the party of which he was the leader in the year 1565. What motive could induce Murray to murder a prince without capacity, without followers, without influence over the nobles, whom the queen, by her neglect, had reduced to the lowest state of contempt, and who, after a long disgrace, had regained (according to the most fa-

vourable supposition) the precarious possession of her favour only a few days before his death? It is difficult to conceive what Murray had to fear from the king's life. It is still a more difficult matter to guess what he could gain by his death. If we suppose that the queen had no previous attachment to Bothwell, nothing can appear more chimerical than a scheme to persuade her to marry a man, whose wife was still alive, and who was not only suspected, but accused, of murdering her former husband. But that such a scheme should really succeed is still more extraordinary.—If Murray had instigated Bothwell to commit the crime, or had himself been accessory to the commission of it, what hopes were there that Bothwell would silently bear from a fellow-criminal all the prosecutions which he suffered, without ever retorting upon him the accusation, or revealing the whole scene of iniquity? An ancient and deadly feud had subsisted between Murray and Bothwell; the queen with difficulty had brought them to some terms of agreement. But, is it probable, that Murray would choose an enemy, to whom he had been so lately reconciled, for his confidant in the commission of such an atrocious crime? Or, on the other hand, would it ever enter into the imagination of a wise man, first to raise his rival to supreme power, in hopes that afterwards he might render him odious, by accusing him of crimes which he had not committed, and, in consequence of this unjust charge, should be enabled to deprive him of that power? The most adventurous politician never hazarded such a dangerous experiment. The most credulous folly never trusted such an uncertain chance.

How strong soever these general reasonings may appear to be, it is not upon them alone that we must decide, but according to the particular evidence that is produced. This we now proceed to examine.

That Bothwell was guilty of the king's murder, appears, 1. From the concurring testimony of all the contemporary historians. 2. From the confession of those persons who suffered for assisting at the commission of the crime, and

who entered into a minute detail of all its circumstances. Anders. ii. 165. 3. From the acknowledgment of Mary's own commissioners, who allow Bothwell to have been one of those who were guilty of this crime. Good. ii. 213. 4. From the express testimony of Lesly, bishop of Ross, to the same effect with the former. Def. of Q. Mary's Hon. And. i. 76. Id. iii. p. 31. 5. Morton, at his death, declared that Bothwell had solicited him, at different times, to concur in the conspiracy formed against the life of the king; and that he was informed by Archibald Douglas, one of the conspirators, that Bothwell was present at the murder. Crawf. Mem. App. 4. The letter from Douglas to the queen, which I have published in the Note, Vol. II. p. 72. confirms Morton's testimony. 6. Lord Herries promises, in his own name, and in the name of the nobles who adhered to the queen, that they would concur in punishing Bothwell as the murderer of the king; see Note, Vol. I. p. 399.

The most direct charge ever brought against Murray is in these words of bishop Lesly: "Is it unknown," addressing himself to the earl of Murray, "what the lord Herries said to your face openly, even at your own table, a few days after the murder was committed? Did he not charge you with the foreknowledge of the same murder? Did he not, *nulla circutione usus*, flatly and plainly burden you, that riding in Fife, and coming with one of your most assured and trusty servants the same day whereon you departed from Edinburgh, said to him, among other talk, this night, ere morning, lord Darnley shall lose his life?" Defence of Q. Mary, Anders. ii. 75. But the assertion of a man so heated with faction as Lesly, unless it were supported by proper evidence, is of little weight. The servant to whom Murray is said to have spoken these words, is not named; nor the manner in which this secret conversation was brought to light mentioned. Lord Herries was one of the most zealous advocates for Mary, and it is remarkable that, in all his negotiation at the court of England, he never once repeated this accusation of Murray. In an-

swering the challenge given him by lord Lindsay, Herries had a fair opportunity of mentioning Murray's knowledge of the murder; but, though he openly accuses of that crime some of those who adhered to Murray, he industriously avoids any insinuation against Murray himself. Keith, Pref. xii. Mary herself, in conversation with Sir Francis Knolles, accused Morton and Maitland of being privy to the murder, but does not mention Murray. And. iv. 55. When the bishop of Ross and Lord Herries appeared before the English council, January 11, 1569, they declared themselves ready, in obedience to the queen's command, to accuse Murray and his associates of being accessory to the murder, but "they being also required, whether they, or any of them, as of themselves, would accuse the said earl in special, or any of his adherents, or thought them guilty thereof," they answered, "that they took God to witness that none of them did ever know any thing of the conspiracy of that murder, or were in council and foreknowledge thereof; neither who were devisors, inventors, and executors of the same, till it was publicly discovered long thereafter by some of the assassins, who suffered death on that account." Good. ii. 308. These words are taken out of the register kept by Ross and Herries themselves, and seem to be a direct confutation of the bishop's assertion.

The earls of Huntly and Argyll, in their *Protestation touching the murder of the King of Scots*, after mentioning the conference at Craigmillar concerning a divorce, add, "So after these premises, the murder of the king following, we judge, in our consciences, and hold for certain and truth, that the earl of Murray and secretary Lethington were authors, inventors, counsellors, and causers of the same murder, in what manner, or by whatsoever persons the same was executed." Anders. iv. 188. But, 1. This is nothing more than the private opinion or personal affirmation of these two noblemen. 2. The conclusion which they make has no connexion with the premises on which they found it. Because Murray proposed to obtain for the queen a divorce from her husband with her own consent, it does not follow that therefore he committed the murder

without her knowledge. 3. Huntly and Argyll were at that time the leaders of that party opposite to Murray, and animated with all the rage of faction. 4. Both of them were Murray's personal enemies. Huntly, on account of the treatment which his family and clan had received from that nobleman. Argyll was desirous of being divorced from his wife, with whom he lived on no good terms, Knox, 328. and by whom he had no children. Crawf. Peer. 19. She was Murray's sister, and by his interest Argyll's design was obstructed. Keith. 551. These circumstances would go far towards invalidating a positive testimony; they more than counterbalance an indeterminate suspicion. 5. It is altogether uncertain whether Huntly and Argyll ever subscribed this protestation. A copy of such a protestation as the queen thought would be of advantage to her cause, was transmitted to them by her. Anders. iv. b. ii. 186. The protestation itself, published by Anderson, is taken from an unsubscribed copy with blanks for the date and place of subscribing. On the back of this copy, there is pasted, indeed, a paper, which Cecil has marked, "Answer of the Earl of Murray to a writing of the Earls of Huntly and Argyll." Anders. 194, 195. But it can hardly be deemed a reply to the above-mentioned protestation. Murray's answer bears date at London, Jan. 19, 1568. The queen's letter, in which she inclosed the copy of the protestation, bears date at Bowton, Jan. 5, 1568. Now it is scarce to be supposed that the copy could be sent into Scotland, be subscribed by the two earls, and be seen and answered by Murray within so short a time. Murray's reply seems intended only to prevent the impression which the vague and uncertain accusations of his enemies might make in his absence. Cecil had got the original of the queen's letter into his custody. Anders. iv. 185. This naturally leads us to conjecture that the letter itself, together with the inclosed protestation, were intercepted before they came to the hands of Huntly and Argyll. Nor is this mere conjecture alone. The letter to Huntly, in which the protestation was inclosed, is to be found, Cott. Lib. Cal. C. 1. fol. 280, and is an

original subscribed by Mary, though not written by her own hand, because she seldom chose to write in the English language. The protestation is in the same volume, fol. 282, and is manifestly written by the same person who wrote the queen's letter. This seems to render it highly probable that both were intercepted. So that much has been founded on a paper not subscribed by the two earls, and probably never seen by them. Besides, this method which the queen took of sending a copy to the two earls, of what was proper for them to declare with regard to a conference held in their own presence, appears somewhat suspicious. It would have been more natural, and not so liable to any misinterpretation, to have desired them to write the most exact account, which they could recollect, of what had passed at the conversation at Craigmillar. 6. But even if all this reasoning should be set aside, and the authenticity of the *protestation* should be admitted in its fullest extent, it may still be a question, what degree of credit should be given to the assertion of the two earls, who were not only present in the first parliament held by Murray as regent, in December, 1567, in which the one carried the sceptre, and the other the sword of state, Spotsw. 241, but were both members of the committee of lords of articles, and in that capacity assisted in framing all the acts by which the queen was deprived of the crown, and her son seated on the throne; and in particular concurred in the act by which it was declared, that whatever had befallen the queen "was in her awin default, in sa far as, be divers hir previe letters written halelie with hir awin hand, and send by hir to James sometyme Earle of Bothwell, cheif executour of the said horribill murthour, as weil befor the committing thair of as thairaftir: And be hir ungodlie and dishonourabill proceeding to ane pretendit marriage with him, suddainlie and unprovisitlie thairaftir, it is maist certane that sche was previe, airt and pairt, of the actual devise and deid of the foirnamit murthour of the King her lauchful husband, and thairfoir justlie deservis quhatsumever hes bene done to hir in ony tyme bygaine,

or that sal be usit towards hir, for the said cause." Anders. ii. 221.

The queen's commissioners at the *conferences* in England accused Murray and his associates of having murdered the king. Good. ii. 281. But this charge is to be considered as a recrimination, extorted by the accusation preferred against the queen, and contains nothing more than loose and general affirmations, without descending to such particular circumstances as either ascertain their truth, or discover their falsehood. The same accusation is repeated by the nobles assembled at Dumbarton, Sept. 1568. Good. ii. 359. And the same observation may be made concerning it.

All the queen's advocates have endeavoured to account for Murray's murdering of the king, by supposing that it was done on purpose that he might have the pretence of disturbing the queen's administration, and thereby rendering ineffectual her general revocation of crown lands, which would have deprived him and his associates of the best part of their estates. Lesly, Def. of Mary's Hon. p. 73. Anders. iv. part ii. 130. But whoever considers the limited powers of a Scottish monarch, will see that such a revocation could not be very formidable to the nobles. Every king of Scotland began his reign with such a revocation; and as often as it was renewed, the power of the nobles rendered it ineffectual. The best vindication of Murray and his party from this accusation, is that which they presented to the queen of England, and which hath never hitherto been published.

Paper Office. *Answers to the Objections and Alledgance of the Queen, alledging the Earl of Murray, Lord Regent, the Earl of Morton, Marr, Glencairn, Hume, Ruthven, &c. to have been moved to armour, for that they abhorred and might not abide her Revocation of the Alienation made of her Property.*

It is answered, that is, alledged, but [i. e. without] all appearance, and it appears God has bereft the alledgance

of all wit and good remembrance, for thir reasons following :

Imprimis, as to My Lord Regent, he never had occasion to grudge thereat, in respect the Queen made him privy to the same, and took resolution with him for the execution thereof, letting his Lordship know she would assuredly in the samine except all things she had given to him, and ratefy them in the next parliament as she did indeed ; and for that cause wished my Lord to leave behind him Master John Wood, to attend upon the same, to whom she declared, that als well in that as in all other her grants it should be provided, yea of free will did promise and offer before ever he demanded, as it came to pass without any let or impediment ; for all was ratified by her command, and hand-write, at the parliament, but [i. e. without] any difficulty.

Item, as to my Lord of Morton, he could not grudge thereat quha never had of her property worth twenty dollars that ever I knew of.

Item, the same may I say of my Lord Glencairn.

Item, the same I may say of my Lord Hume.

Item, the same I may say of my Lord Ruthven.

Item, the same I may say of my Lord Lindsay.

Only my Lord of Marr had ane little thing of the property, quilk alsua was gladly and liberally confirmed to him, in the said parliament preceding a year ; was never ane had any cause of discontent of that revocation, far less to have put their lives and heritage to so open and manifest ane danger as they did for sic ane frivole cause.

Gyf ever any did make evill countenance, and show any discontentment of the said revocation, it was my Lord Argyll in special, quha spak largely in the time of parliament thairanents to the Queen herself, and did complain of the manifest corruption of ane act of parliament past upon her Majesty's return, and sa did lett any revocation at that time ; but the armour for revenge of the king's deid was not till twa months after, at quhat time there was

no occasion given thereof, nor never a man had mind thereof.

Having thus examined the evidence which has been produced against the earls of Murray and Bothwell; we shall next proceed to inquire whether the queen herself was accessory to the murder of her husband.

No sooner was the violent death of Darnley known, than strong suspicion arose, among some of her subjects, that Mary had given her consent to the commission of that crime. Anders. ii. 156. We are informed, by her own ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, that the sentiments of foreigners, on this head, were no less unfavourable to her. Keith, Pref. ix. Many of her nobles loudly accused her of that crime, and a great part of the nation, by supporting them, seem to have allowed the accusation to be well founded.

Some crimes, however, are of such a nature, that they hardly admit of a positive or direct proof. Deeds of darkness can seldom be brought perfectly to light. Where persons are accused not of being *principals*, but only of being *accessaries* in the commission of a crime; not of having perpetrated it themselves, but only of giving consent to the commission of it by others; the proof becomes still more difficult: and unless when some accomplice betrays the secret, a proof by circumstances, or presumptive evidence, is all that can be attained. Even in judicial trials, such evidence is sometimes held to be sufficient for condemning criminals. The degree of conviction which such evidence carries along with it, is often not inferior to that which arises from positive testimony; and a concurring series of circumstances satisfies the understanding no less than the express declaration of witnesses.

Evidence of both these kinds has been produced against Mary. We shall first consider that which is founded upon circumstances alone.

Some of these suspicious circumstances preceded the king's death; others were subsequent to it. With regard

to the former, we may observe, that the queen's violent love of Darnley was soon converted into an aversion to him no less violent ; and that his own ill conduct and excesses of every kind, were such, that if they did not justify, at least they account for this sudden change of her disposition towards him. The rise and progress of this domestic rupture I have traced with great care in the history, and to the proofs of it which may be found in papers published by other authors, I have added those contained in the Notes, pp. 327 and 331. Le Croc, the French ambassador, who was an eye-witness of what he describes, not only represents her aversion to Darnley to be extreme, but declares that there could be no hopes of a reconciliation between them. “The queen is in the hands of
Dec. 12.
1566. physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well ; and do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in deep grief and sorrow ; nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words, *I could wish to be dead.* You know very well that the injury she has received is exceeding great, and her majesty will never forget it.—To speak my mind freely to you, I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them [i. e. the king and queen], unless
Dec. 23. God effectually put to his hand.—His bad deportment is incurable ; nor can there ever be any good expected from him, for several reasons, which I might tell you was I present with you. I cannot pretend to foretel how all may turn, but I will say, that matters cannot subsist long as they are, without being accompanied with sundry bad consequences.” Keith, Pref. vii. Had Henry died a natural death at this juncture, it must have been considered as a very fortunate event to the queen, and as a seasonable deliverance from a husband who had become altogether odious to her. Now as Henry was murdered a few weeks afterward, and as nothing had happened to render the queen's aversion to him less violent, the opinion of those who consider Mary as the author of an event, which was manifestly so agreeable to her, will appear perhaps to

some of our readers to be neither unnatural nor over-refined. If we add to this, what has been observed in the history, that in proportion to the increase of Mary's hatred of her husband, Bothwell seems to have made progress in her favour, and that he became the object not only of her confidence but her attachment, that opinion acquires new strength. It is easy to observe many advantages which might redound to Mary as well as to Bothwell from the king's death; but excepting them, no person, and no party in the kingdom, could derive the least benefit from that event. Bothwell, accordingly, murdered the king, and it was, in that age, thought no unwarranted imputation on Mary's character, to suppose that she had consented to the deed.

The steps which the queen took after her husband's death add strength to that supposition. 1. Melvil, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the king's death, asserts that "every body suspected the earl of Bothwell; and those who durst speak freely to others, said plainly that it was he." p. 155. 2. Mary having issued a proclamation, on the 12th of February, offering a reward to any person who should discover those who had murdered her husband; And. i. 36.; a paper in consequence of this was affixed to the gates of the Tolbooth, February 16. in which Bothwell was named as the chief person guilty of that crime, and the queen herself was accused of having given her consent to it. And. ii. 156. 3. Soon after, February 20. the earl of Lennox, the king's father, wrote to Mary, conjuring her, by every motive, to prosecute the murderers with the utmost rigour. He plainly declared his own suspicions of Bothwell, and pointed out a method of proceeding against him, and for discovering the authors of that crime, no less obvious than equitable. He advised her to seize, and to commit to sure custody, Bothwell himself, and such as were already named as his accomplices; to call an assembly of the nobles; to issue a proclamation, inviting Bothwell's accusers to appear; and if, on that encouragement, no person appeared to accuse them, to

hold them as innocent, and to dismiss them without farther trial. And. i. 40. 4. Archbishop Beatoun, her ambassador in France, in a letter to Mary, March 9th, employs arguments of the utmost weight to persuade her to prosecute the murderers with the greatest severity. "I can conclude nathing (says he) by quhat Zour Majesty writes to me zoursel, that sen it has plesit God to conserve zow to make a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taine, it appears to me better in this warld that ze had lost life and all. I ask Your Majestie pardon, that I writ sa far, for I can heir nathing to zour prejudise, but I *man* constrainedly writ the samin, that may ^{must} come to zour knowledge; for the better remede may be put therto. Heir it is needfull that ze forth shaw now rather than ever of before, the greite vertue, magnanimitie, and constance that God has grantit zow, be quhais grace, I hope ze sall overcome this most heavy envie and displesir of the committing therof, and conserve that reputation in all godliness, ze have conquist of lang, quhich can appear na wayis mair clearie, than that zou do ^{such whole} *sick* justice that the *hail* world may declare zour innocence, and give testimony for ever of thair ^{without} treason that has committed (*but* fear of God or man) so cruel and ungodlie a murther, quhairof ^{much} there is sa *meikle* ill spoken, that I am constraint to ask zow mercy, that neither can I or will I ^{too} make the rehearsal thereof, which is *owr* odious. But alas! Madame, all over Europe this day, there is na purpose in head sa frequent as of Zour Majestie, and of the present state of zour realm, quhilk is in the most part interpretit sinisterly." Keith, Pref. ix. 5. Elizabeth, as appears from the Note, Vol. I. p. 356., urged the same thing in strong terms. 6. The circumstances of the case itself, no less than these solicitations and remonstrances, called for the utmost vigour in her proceedings. Her husband had been murdered in a cruel manner, almost in her own presence. Her subjects were filled with the utmost horror at the crime. Bothwell, one of her

principal favourites, had been publicly accused as the author of it. Reflections, extremely dishonourable to herself, had been thrown out. If indignation, and the love of justice, did not prompt her to pursue the murderers with ardour, decency, at least, and concern for vindicating her own character, should have induced her to avoid any appearance of remissness or want of zeal.

But instead of this, Mary continued to discover, in all her actions, the utmost partiality towards Bothwell. On the 15th of February, five days after the murder, she bestowed on him the reversion of the superiority of the town of Leith,^a which, in the year 1565, she had mortgaged to the citizens of Edinburgh. This grant was of much importance, as it gave him not only the command of the principal port in the kingdom, but a great ascendant over the citizens of Edinburgh, who wished much to keep possession of it. 2. Bothwell being ex-

^a *Copy from the original in the Charter-house of the City of Edinburgh of an Assig-
nation to the reversion of the superiority of Leith by Queen Mary, to the Earl of
Bothwell.*

Maria Dei gratia Regina Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos præ-
sentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis, quod nos ad memoriam reducentes mul-
tiplex bonum verum et fidele servitium, non tantum quondam nostræ charissimæ matri,
Mariæ Reginae regni nostri pro tempore in nostra minoritate factum et impensum,
verum etiam nobismet ipsis, tam intra partes Galliæ quam intra hoc nostrum regnum,
ad extentionem nostri honoris et auctoritatis in punitione furum, malefactorum, et
transgressorum infra idem, per nostrum confisum consanguineum et consiliarium
Jacobum comitem Bothuile, dominum Halis, Creighton, et Liddisdale, magnum ad-
mirallum regni nostri, commissionem et onerationem ad hunc effectum habentem, per
quas ipse suum corpus et vitam in magno periculo posuit; ac etiam, in performance
et extentione nostri dicti servitii, suam hereditatem, supra summam viginti millium
mercarum hujus nostri regni, alienavit ac læsit. Et nos cogitantes quod, ex nostra
principali honore et devoria dictum nostrum confisum consanguineum et consiliarium
cum quodam accidente et gratitudine recompensare et gratificare incumbit quæ nos
commodè sibi concedere poterimus, unde ipse magis habilis omnibus affuturis tempo-
ribus esse poterit, et ad hujusmodi performandum in omnibus causis seu eventibus:
In recompensationem quorum præmissorum, ac pro diversis aliis nostris rationabi-
libus causis et considerationibus nos moventibus, Fecimus, &c. dictum Jacobum comi-
tem Bothuile, &c. ac suos hæredes masculos quoscumque nostros legitimos, &c. assign-
natos in et ad literas reversionis factas, &c. per Symonem Preston de eodem militem,
præpositum, balivos, consules, et communitatem hujus nostri burgi de Edinburgh, pro
seipsis ac suis successoribus, &c. nobis, nostrisque heredibus, successoribus, et assign-
natis pro redemptione, &c. superioritatis totius villæ de Leith, &c. impignoratæ per
nos dictis præposito, &c. sub reversione alienatæ continentis summam decem mil-
lium mercarum monetæ præscriptæ numerandum et calculandum in parochiali ecclesia
de Edinburgh, super premonitione quadriginta dierum, ut moris est, veluti in dictis
reversionis literis, &c. de data 8vo Octob. 1565, &c. (The rest is form, and contains
a clause of absolute warrandice.) IN CUJUS REI TESTIMONIUM præsentibus magnum
sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Apud Edinburgh, decimo quinto die mensis Fe-
bruarii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo sexto, et regni nostri
vicesimo quinto.

tremely desirous to obtain the command of the castle of Edinburgh, the queen, in order to prevail on the earl of Mar to surrender the government of it, offered to commit the young prince to his custody. Mar consented; and she instantly appointed Bothwell governor of the castle. And. i. Pref. 64. Keith, 379, note (*d.*)

3. The inquiry into the murder, previous to Bothwell's trial, seems to have been conducted with the utmost remissness. Buchanan exclaims loudly against this. And. ii. 24. Nor was it without reason that he did so, as is evident from a circumstance in the affidavit of Thomas Nelson, one of the king's servants, who was in the house when his master was murdered, and was dug up alive out of the rubbish. Being examined on the Monday after the king's death, "This deponar schew that Bonkle had the key of the sellare, and the Queenis servandis the keyis of her shalmir. Quhilk the laird of Tillibardin hearing, said, Hald thair, here is ane ground. Efter quhilk words spokin, thai left of, and procedit na farther in the inquisition." And. iv. p. 2. 167. Had there been any intention to search into the bottom of the matter, a circumstance of so much importance merited the most careful inquiry.

4. Notwithstanding Lennox's repeated solicitations, notwithstanding the reasonableness of his demands, and the necessity of complying with them, in order to encourage any accuser to appear against Bothwell, she not only refused to commit him to custody, or even to remove him from her presence and councils; And. i. 42. 48.; but by the grants which we have mentioned, and by other circumstances, discovered an increase of attachment to him.

5. She could not avoid bringing Bothwell to a public trial; but she permitted him to sit as a member in that meeting of the privy-council which directed his own trial; and the trial itself was carried on with such unnecessary precipitancy, and with so many other suspicious circumstances, as to render his acquittal rather an argument of his guilt than a proof of his innocence. These circumstances have all been mentioned at length in Book IV. and therefore are not repeated in

this place. 6. Two days after the trial, Mary gave a public proof of her regard for Bothwell, by appointing him to carry the sceptre before her at the meeting of parliament. Keith, 378. 7. In that parliament, she granted him a ratification of all the great possessions and honours which she had conferred upon him, in which was contained an ample enumeration of all the services he had performed. And. i. 117. 8. Though Melvil, who foresaw that her attachment to Bothwell would at length induce her to marry him, warned her of the infamy and danger which would attend that action, she not only disregarded this salutary admonition, but discovered what had passed between them to Bothwell, which exposed Melvil to his resentment. Melv. 156. 9. Bothwell seized Mary as she returned from Stirling, April 24. If he had done this without her knowledge and consent, such an insult could not have failed to have filled her with the most violent indignation. But according to the account of an old MS. "The friendly love was so highly contracted between this great princess and her enormous subject, that there was no end thereof (for it was constantly esteemed by all men, that either of them loved other carnally), so that she suffered patiently to be led where the lover list, and all the way neither made obstacle, impediment, clamour, or resistance, as in such accidents used to be, or that she might have done by her princely authority, being accompanied with the noble earl of Huntly and secretary Maitland of Lethington." Keith, 383. Melvil, who was present, confirms this account, and tells us that the officer, by whom he was seized, informed him that nothing was done without the queen's consent. Melv. 158. On the 12th of May, a few days before her marriage, Mary declared that she was then at full liberty, and that though Bothwell had offended her by seizing her person, she was so much satisfied with his dutiful behaviour since that time, and so indebted to him for past services, that she not only forgave that offence, but resolved to promote him to higher honours. And. i. 87. 11. Even after the confederate nobles had driven Bothwell from the queen's

presence, and though she saw that he was considered as the murderer of her former husband by so great a part of her subjects, her affection did not in the least abate, and she continued to express the most unalterable attachment to him. "I can perceive (says Sir N. Throkmorton) that the rigour with which the queen is kept, proceedeth by order from these men, because that the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murderer; nor will not consent by any persuasion to abandon the lord Bothwell for her husband, but avoweth constantly that she will live and die with him; and saith, that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom, or the lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to go a simple damsel with him, and that she will never consent that he shall fare worse, or have more harm than herself." See Note, Vol. I. p. 380. In all their negotiation with Throkmorton, the confederates mention this unalterable attachment of the queen to Bothwell as a sufficient reason for rejecting his proposals of an accommodation with their sovereign. Keith, 419. 449. This assertion they renewed in the conferences at York. Anders. iv. part. ii. p. 66. Murray, in his interview with Mary in Lochleven, charged her with persisting in her inordinate affection to Bothwell. Keith, 446. All these, however, may be considered merely as accusations brought by the confederates, in order to vindicate their rigour towards the queen. But Throkmorton, who, by his residence in Edinburgh, and by his intercourse with the queen's partisans, as well as with her enemies, had many opportunities of discovering whether or not Mary had expressed herself in such terms, and who was disposed to view her actions in the most favourable light, appears by the passage which I have quoted from his letter of the 14th of July, to be persuaded that the confederates had not misrepresented her sentiments. He had soon an opportunity of being confirmed with greater certainty in his opinion. Although the confederates had refused him access to the captive queen, he found means of holding a secret correspondence with her, and endea-

voured to persuade her to give her consent to have her marriage with Bothwell dissolved by a sentence of divorce, as the most probable means of regaining her liberty. "She hath sent me word that she will in no wise consent unto that, but rather die." See Note, Vol. I. p. 382. There is evidence of the continuance of Mary's attachment still more explicit. Lord Herries, in the parliament held the 15th of December, 1567, acknowledged the queen's inordinate affection to that wicked man, and that she could not be induced by persuasion to leave him; and that in sequestering her within Lochleven, the confederates had done the duty of noblemen. See Note, Vol. I. p. 399. In the year 1571, a conference was held by some deputies, from a convention of clergy, with the duke of Chatelherault, secretary Maitland, Sir James Balfour, and Kirkaldy; and an account of it written by Mr. Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, is extant in Calderwood MSS. Hist. ii. 244. In presence of all these persons, most of whom were in Edinburgh when the queen was taken at Carberry, Maitland, who was now an avowed partisan of Mary, declares, that on the same night she was brought to Edinburgh, he himself had offered, that if she would abandon Bothwell, she should have as thankful obedience as ever she had since she came to Scotland. But in no wise would she consent to leave Bothwell. According to Sir James Melvil, the queen found means of writing a letter to Bothwell on the evening of that day, when she was conducted as a prisoner to Edinburgh, in which she declared her affection to him in the most tender expressions, and her resolution never to abandon him. This letter, he says, was intercepted by the confederates, and determined them to confine Mary in the castle of Lochleven. But as neither Buchanan nor Knox, both abundantly disposed to avail themselves of every fact and report that could be employed in order to represent Mary's conduct as improper and criminal, mention this letter; and as the confederates themselves in their negotiation with Throckmorton, as well as in their accusations of the queen before the English commissioners at York and

Westminster, maintain the same silence with regard to it, I am satisfied that Melvil, who wrote his memoirs for the information of his son in his old age, and long after the events which he records happened, has been mistaken with regard to this particular. From this long enumeration of circumstances, we may, without violence, draw the following conclusion: Had Mary really been accessory to the murder of her husband; had Bothwell perpetrated the crime with her consent, or at her command; and had she intended to stifle the evidence against him, and to prevent the discovery of his guilt, she could scarcely have taken any other steps than those which she took, nor could her conduct have been more repugnant to all the maxims of prudence and of decency.

The positive evidence produced against Mary may be classed under two heads.

1. The depositions of some persons who were employed in committing the murder, particularly of Nicholas Hubert, who in the writings of that age is called *French Paris*. This person, who was Bothwell's servant, and much trusted by him, was twice examined, and the original of one of his depositions, and a copy of the other, are still extant. It is pretended that both these are notorious forgeries. But they are remarkable for a simplicity and *naïveté* which it is almost impossible to imitate; they abound with a number of minute facts and particularities, which the most dexterous forger could not have easily assembled and connected together with any appearance of probability; and they are filled with circumstances which can scarcely be supposed to have entered the imagination of any man but one of Paris's rank and character. But, at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that his depositions contain some improbable circumstances. He seems to have been a foolish talkative fellow; the fear of death, the violence of torture, and the desire of pleasing those in whose power he was, tempted him, perhaps, to feign some circumstances, and to exaggerate others. To say that some circumstances in an affidavit are improbable or false, is very different

from saying that the whole is forged. I suspect the former to be the case here; but I see no appearance of the latter. Be that as it will, some of the most material facts in Paris's affidavit rest upon his single testimony; and for that reason, I have not in the history, nor shall I in this place, lay any stress upon them.

2. The letters said to be written by Mary to Bothwell. These have been frequently published. The accident by which the queen's enemies got them into their possession, is related in Book V. When the authenticity of any ancient paper is dubious or contested, it may be ascertained either by external or internal evidence. Both these have been produced in the present case.

I. External proofs of the genuineness of Mary's letters.

1. Murray, and the nobles who adhered to him, affirm upon their word and honour, that the letters were written with the queen's own hand, with which they were well acquainted. Good. ii. 64. 92. 2. The letters were publicly produced in the parliament of Scotland, December 1567; and were so far considered as genuine, that they are mentioned in the act against Mary, as one chief argument of her guilt. Good. ii. 66, 67. 3. They were shewn privately to the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, Elizabeth's commissioners at York. In the account which they gave of this matter to their mistress, they seem to consider the letters as genuine, and express no suspicion of any forgery; they particularly observe, "that the matter contained in them is such, that it could hardly be invented and devised by any other than herself; for that they discourse of some things, which were unknown to any other than to herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner how these men came by them is such, as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder and bloodshed of the innocent is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed." Good. ii. 142. They seem to have made such an impression on the duke of Norfolk, that in a subsequent letter to Pembroke, Leicester, and Cecil, he has these words:

“If the matter shall be thought as detestable and manifest to you, as for ought we can perceive it seemeth here to us.” Good. ii. 154. Nor did Norfolk declare these to be his sentiments only in public official letters, he expressed himself in the same manner to his most confidential friends. In a secret conference with the bishop of Ross at York, the duke informed him, that he had seen the letters, &c. which the regent had to produce against the queen, whereby there would be such matter proved against her, as would dishonour her for ever. State Trials, edition of Hargrave, i. 91. Murdin, 52. The bishop of Ross, if he had known the letters to be a notorious forgery, must have been naturally led, in consequence of this declaration, to undeceive the duke, and to expose the imposture. But, instead of this, the duke, and he, and Lethington, after consulting together, agreed, that the bishop should write to Mary, then at Bolton, and instruct her to make such a proposal to Elizabeth, as might prevent the public production of the letters and other evidence. State Trials, i. 94. Murdin, 45. Indeed, the whole of this secret conference seems to imply, that Lethington, Ross, and Norfolk, were conscious of some defect in Mary's cause, and therefore exerted all their ingenuity in order to avoid a public accusation. Murdin, 52, 53. To Banister, whom the duke seems to have trusted more entirely than any other of his servants, he expressed himself in similar terms with respect to the queen of Scots. State Trials, i. 98. The words of Banister's evidence are remarkable: “I confess that I, waiting of my lord and master, when the earl of Sussex and Mr. Chancellor of the duchy that now is, were in commission at York, did hear his grace say, that upon examination of the matter of the murder, it did appear that the queen of Scots was guilty and privy to the murder of lord Darnley, whereby I verily thought that his grace would never join in marriage with her.” Murdin, 134. Elizabeth, in her instructions to the earl of Shrewsbury and Beale, in 1583, asserts, that both the duke and earl of Arundel did declare to herself, that the proof, by the view of her letters, did fall out sufficient against the

queen of Scots; however, they were after drawn to cover her faults and pronounce her innocency: MS. Advoc. Library. A. iii. 28. p. 314. from Cot. Lib. Calig. 9. 4. A similar impression was made upon other contemporaries of Mary by the production of the letters, which implies a full belief of their being genuine. Cecil, in his correspondence with Sir Henry Norris, the English ambassador in France, relates this transaction in terms which leave no room to doubt with respect to his own private opinion. In his letter, Decem. 14th, 1568, the very day on which the letters, &c. were laid before the meeting of privy-counsellors and peers, he informs him, "That the regent was driven, from his defence, to disclose a full fardel of the naughty matter, tending to convince the queen as adviser of the murther, and the earl of Bothwell as her executour; and now the queen's party, so great, refuse to make any answer, and press that their mistress may come in person to answer the matter herself before the queen's majesty, which is thought not fit to be granted until the great blot of the marriage with her husband's murtherer, and the evident charges, by letters of her own, to be deviser of the murther, be somewhat razed out or recovered; for that as the matters are exhibited against her, it is far unseemly for any prince, or for chaste ears, to be annoyed with the filthy noise thereof; and yet, as being a commissioner, I must and will forbear to pronounce any thing herein certainly, though as a private person, I cannot but with horreur and trembling think thereof." Cabala, 156. 5. From the correspondence of Bowes, the English resident in Scotland, with Walsingham, in the year 1582, published towards the close of this dissertation, it is manifest that both in England and Scotland, both by Elizabeth and James, both by the duke of Lennox and earl of Gowrie, the letters were deemed to be genuine. The eagerness on one side to obtain, and on the other to keep, possession of the casket and letters, implies that this was the belief of both. These sentiments of contemporaries, who were in a situation to be thoroughly informed, and who had abilities to judge

with discernment, will, in the opinion of many of my readers, far outweigh theories, suppositions, and conjectures, formed at the distance of two centuries. 6. The letters were subjected to a solemn and judicial examination with respect to their authenticity, as far as that could be ascertained by resemblance of character and fashion of writing: for, after the conferences at York and Westminster, were finished, Elizabeth, as I have related, assembled her privy-counsellors, and joining to them several of the most eminent noblemen in her kingdom, laid before them all the proceedings against the Scottish queen, and particularly ordered, that the "letters and writings exhibited by the regent, as the queen of Scots' letters and writings, should also be shewed, and conference [i. e. comparison] thereof made in their sight, with the letters of the said queen's, being extant, and heretofore written with her own hand, and sent to the queen's majesty; whereby may be searched and examined what difference is betwixt them." Good. ii. 252. They assembled accordingly, at Hampton-court, December 14 and 15, 1568; and, "The originals of the letters supposed to be written with the queen of Scots' own hand, were then also presently produced and perused; and, being read, were duly conferred and compared, for the manner of writing, and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters long since heretofore written, and sent by the said queen of Scots to the queen's majesty. In collation whereof no difference was found." Good. ii. 256. 7. Mary having written an apologetical letter^b for her conduct to the coun-

^b Mary's letter has never been published, and ought to have a place here, where evidence on all sides is fairly produced. "Madam, if the wrang and false reportis of rebellis, enemies weill knawin for traitouris to zow, and alace to muche trusted of me by zoure advyce, had not so far sturred you aganis my innocency (and I must say aganis all kyndness, that zow have not onelie as it were condempnit me wrangfullie, bot so hated me, as some wordis and open deideis hes testifeit to all the warlde, a manyfest mislyking in zow aganis zowr awn blude), I would not have omittit thus lang my dewtie in wryting to zow excusing me of those untrew reporties made of me. But hoping with Godis grace and tyme to have my innocency knawin to zow, as I trust it is already to the maist part of all indifferent personis, I thocht it best not to trouble zow for a tyme till that such a matier is moved that tuichis us bayth, quhilk is the transporting zoure litil son, and my onelie child in this cuntry. To the quhilk

tess of Lennox, July 10, 1570, she transmitted it to her husband then in Scotland; and he returned to the countess the following answer: "Seeing you have remittit to me, to answer the Queen the King's mother's letters sent to you, what can I say but that I do not marvell to see her writ the best can for hirself, to seame to purge her of that, quhairof many besyde me are certainly persuadit of the contrary, and I not only assurit by my awin knowledge, but by her handwrit, the confessionis of men gone to the death, and uther infallibil experience. It wull be lang tyme that is hable to put a mattir so notorious in oblivion, to mak black quhyte, or innocency to appear quhair the contrary is sa weill knawin. The maist indifferent, I trust, doubtis not of the equitie of zoure and my cause, and of the just occasion of our mislyking. Hir richt dewtie to zow and me, being the parteis interest, were hir trew confessioun and unfeyned repentance of that lamentable fact, odious for hir to be reportit, and sorrowfull for us to think of. God is just, and will not in the end be abused; but as he has manifested the truth, so will he puneise the iniquity."

Lennox's Orig. Regist. of Letters. In their public papers, the queen's enemies may be suspected of advancing what would be most subservient to their cause, not what was agreeable to truth, or what flowed from their own inward conviction. But in a private letter to his own wife, Lennox had no occasion to dissemble; and it is plain, that he not only thought the queen guilty, but believed the authenticity of her letters to Bothwell. 8. In opposition to all these reasons for believing the letters, &c. to be authentic,

albeit I be never sa willing, I wald be glaid to have zoure advyse therein, as in all uther thingis tuiching him. I have born him, and God knawis with quhat daunger to him and me both; and of zow he is descendit. So I meane not to forget my dewtie to zow, in schewin herein any unkyndness to zow, how unkyndlie that ever ze have delt with me, bot will love zow as my awnt, and respect zow as my moder in law. And gif ye ples to knaw farther of my mynde in that and all uther thingis betwixt us, my ambassador the bishop of Ross sall be ready to confer with zow. And so after my hairtlie commendationis, remitting me to my saide ambassador, and zour better consideration, I commit zow to the protection of Almyghty God, quhom I pray to preserve zow and my brother Charles, and caus zow to knaw my pairt better nor ze do. From Chatisworth this x of July 1570.

To my Ladie Lennox
my moder in law.

Your natural gude Nice
and lovyng daughter."

the conduct of the nobles confederated against Mary, in not producing them directly as evidence against her, has been represented as an irrefragable proof of their being forged. According to the account of the confederates themselves, the casket containing the letters was seized by them on the 20th of June, 1567; but the first time that they were judicially stated as evidence against the queen was in a meeting of the regent's privy-council, December 4th, and they afterward served as the foundation of the acts made against her in the parliament held on the 15th of the same month. If the letters had been genuine, it is contended, that the obtaining possession of them must have afforded such matter of triumph to the confederates, that they would instantly have proclaimed it to the whole world; and in their negotiations with the English and French ministers, or with such of their fellow-subjects as condemned their proceedings, they would have silenced, at once, every advocate for the queen, by exhibiting this convincing proof of her guilt. But in this reasoning sufficient attention is not paid to the delicate and perilous situation of the confederates at that juncture. They had taken arms against their sovereign, had seized her person at Carberry-hill, and had confined her a prisoner at Lochleven. A considerable number, however, of their fellow-subjects, headed by some of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, was combined against them. This combination, they soon perceived, they could not hope to break or to vanquish without aid either from France or England. In the former kingdom, Mary's uncles, the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine, were, at that period, all-powerful, and the king himself was devotedly attached to her. If the confederates confined their views to the dissolution of the marriage of the queen with Bothwell, and to the exclusion of him for ever from her presence, they might hope, perhaps, to be countenanced by Charles IX. and his ministers, who had sent an envoy into Scotland of purpose to dissuade Mary from that ill-fated match; see Note, vol. I. p. 377.; whereas the loading her publicly with the imputation of being acces-

sary to the murder of her husband, would be deemed such an inexpressible crime by the court of France, as must cut off every hope of countenance or aid from that quarter. From England, with which the principal confederates had been long and intimately connected, they had many reasons to expect more effectual support; but to their astonishment, Elizabeth condemned their proceedings with asperity, warmly espoused the cause of the captive queen, and was extremely solicitous to obtain her release and restoration. Nor was this merely the only one of the artifices which Elizabeth often employed in her transactions with Scotland. Though her most sagacious ministers considered it as the wisest policy to support the confederate lords rather than the queen of Scots, Elizabeth disregarded their counsel.^c Her high notions of royal authority, and of the submission due by subjects, induced her, on this occasion, to exert herself in behalf of Mary, not only with sincerity but with zeal; she negotiated, she solicited, she threatened. Finding the confederates inflexible, she endeavoured to procure Mary's release by means of that party in Scotland which continued faithful to her, and instructed Throkmorton to correspond with the leaders of it, and to make overtures to that effect. Keith, 451. See Note, Vol. I. p. 389. She even went so far as to direct her ambassador at Paris to concert measures with the French king how they, by their joint efforts, might persuade or compel the Scots to "acknowledge the queen her good sister to be their sovereign lady and queen, and renounce their obedience to her son." Keith, 462, 3, 4. From all these circumstances, the confederates had every reason to apprehend that Mary would soon obtain liberty, and by some accommodation be restored to the whole, or at least to a considerable portion,

^c This was the opinion of Throkmorton, as appears from an extract of his letter of July 11th, published in the Note, Vol. I. p. 377. The same were the sentiments of Cecil, in his letter of Aug. 19th, 1565, to sir Henry Norris, Elizabeth's ambassador to France: "You shall perceive," says he, "by the queen's letter to you, at this present, how earnestly she is bent in favour of the queen of Scots, and truly since the beginning she hath been greatly offended with the lords; and, howsoever her majesty might make her profit by bearing with the lords in this action, yet no counsel can stay her Majesty from manifesting her misliking of them." Cabala, 140. And in his letter of Sept. 3d, "The queen's majesty, our sovereign, remaineth still offended with the lords for the queen; the example moveth her." *Ib.* 141. Digges Comp. Amb. 14.

of her authority as sovereign. In that event they foresaw, that if they should venture to accuse her publicly of a crime so atrocious as the murder of her husband, they must not only be excluded for ever from power and favour, but from any hope of personal safety. On this account they long confined themselves to that which was originally declared to be the reason of their taking arms; the avenging the king's death, the dissolving the marriage with Bothwell, the inflicting on him condign punishment, or banishing him for ever from the queen's presence. It appears from the letters of Throkmorton, published by bishop Keith, and in the Notes, that his sagacity early discovered that this would be the tenor of their conduct. In his letter from Edinburgh, dated July 14th, he observes, that "they do not forget their own peril conjoined with the danger of the prince, but, as far as I perceive, they intend not to touch the queen either in surety or in honour; for they speak of her with respect and reverence, and do affirm, as I do learn, that, the condition aforesaid accomplished [i. e. the separation from Bothwell], they will both put her to liberty, and restore her to her estate." See Note, Vol. I. p. 378. His letter of August 22d, contains a declaration made to him by Lethington, in name and in presence of his associates, "that they never meant harm neither to the queen's person nor to her honour; that they have been contented hitherto to be condemned, as it were, of all princes, strangers, and, namely, of the queen of England, being charged of grievous and infamous titles, as to be noted rebels, traitors, seditious, ingrate, and cruel, all which they suffer and bear upon their backs, because they will not justify themselves, nor proceed in any thing that may touch their sovereign's honour. But in case they be with these defamations continually oppressed, or with the force, aid, and practices of other princes, and namely of the queen of England, put in danger, or to an extremity, they shall be compelled to deal otherwise with the queen than they intend, or than they desire; for, added he, you may be sure we will not lose our lives, have our lands forfeited,

and be reputed rebels through the world, seeing we have the means to justify ourselves." Keith, 448. From this view of the slippery ground on which they stood at that time, their conduct in not producing the letters for several months, appears not only to have been prudent, but essential to their own safety.

But, at a subsequent period, when the confederates found it necessary to have the form of government, which they had established, confirmed by authority of parliament, a different mode of proceeding became requisite. All that had hitherto been done with respect to the queen's dismissal, the seating the young king upon the throne, and the appointment of a regent, was in reality nothing more than the deed of private men. It required the exhibition of some legal evidence to procure a constitutional act giving the sanction of its approbation to such violent measures, and to obtain "a perfect law and security for all them that either by deed, counsel, or subscription, had entered into that cause since the beginning." Haynes, 453. This prevailed with the regent and his secret council, after long deliberation, to agree to produce all the evidence of which they were possessed; and upon that production parliament passed the acts which were required. Such a change had happened in the state of the kingdom as induced the confederates to venture upon this change in their conduct. In June, a powerful combination was forming against them, under the leading of the Hamiltons. In December, that combination was broken; most of the members of it had acknowledged the king as their lawful sovereign, and had submitted to the regent's government. Huntly, Argyll, Herries, the most powerful noblemen of that party, were present in the parliament, and concurred in all its acts. Edinburgh, Dunbar, Dumbarton, and all the chief strong holds in the kingdom were now in the hands of the regent; the arms of France had full occupation in its civil war with the Hugonots. The ardour of Elizabeth's zeal in behalf of the captive queen seems to have abated. A step that would have been followed with

ruin to the confederates in June, was attended with little danger in December. From this long deduction it appears, that no proof of the letters being forged can be drawn from the circumstances of their not having been produced immediately after the 20th of June; but though no public accusation was brought instantly against the queen, in consequence of seizing the casket, hints were given by the confederates, that they possessed evidence sufficient to convict her. This is plainly implied in a letter of Throk-morton, July 21st; Keith, Pref. p. xii. and more clearly in the passage which I have quoted from his letter of August 22. In his letter of July 25, the papers contained in the casket are still more plainly pointed out. "They [i. e. the confederates] say, that they have as apparent proof against her as may be, as well by the testimony of her own hand-writing, which they have recovered, as also by sufficient witnesses." Keith, 426.

II. With regard to the internal proofs of the genuineness of the queen's letters to Bothwell, we may observe, I. That whenever a paper is forged with a particular intention, the eagerness of the forger to establish the point in view, his solicitude to cut off all doubts and cavils, and to avoid any appearance of uncertainty, seldom fail of prompting him to use expressions the most explicit and full to his purpose. The passages foisted into ancient authors by heretics in different ages; the legendary miracles of the Romish saints; the supposititious deeds in their own favour produced by monasteries; the false charters of homage mentioned Vol. I. p. 41. are so many proofs of this assertion. No maxim seems to be more certain than this, that a forger is often apt to prove too much, but seldom falls into the error of proving too little. The point which the queen's enemies had to establish was, "that as the earl of Bothwell was chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder perpetrated, &c. so was she of the fore-knowledge, council, devise, persuader, and commander of the said murder to be done." Good. ii. 207. But of this there are only imperfect hints, obscure intimations, and

dark expressions in the letters, which, however convincing evidence they might furnish if found in real letters, bear no resemblance to that glare and superfluity of evidence which forgeries commonly contain. All the advocates for Mary's innocence in her own age, contend that there is nothing in the letters which can serve as a proof of her guilt. Lesly, Blackwood, Turner, &c. abound with passages to this purpose; nor are the sentiments of those in the present age different. "Yet still it might have been expected (says one of her ablest defenders) that some one or other of the points or articles of the accusation should be made out clearly by the proof. But nothing of that is to be seen in the present case. There is nothing in the letters that could plainly shew the writer to have been in the foreknowledge, counsel, or device of any murder, far less to have persuaded or commanded it; and as little is there about maintaining or justifying any murders." Good. i. 76. How ill advised were Mary's adversaries, to contract so much guilt, and to practise so many artifices, in order to forge letters, which are so ill contrived for establishing the conclusion they had in view! Had they been so base as to have recourse to forgery, is it not natural to think that they would have produced something more explicit and decisive? 2. It is almost impossible to invent a long narration of fictitious events, consisting of various minute particulars, and to connect these in such a manner with real facts, that no mark of fraud shall appear. For this reason, skilful forgers avoid any long detail of circumstances, especially of foreign and superfluous ones, well knowing that the more these are multiplied, the more are the chances of detection increased. Now Mary's letters, especially the first, are filled with a multiplicity of circumstances, extremely natural in a real correspondence, but altogether foreign to the purpose of the queen's enemies, and which it would have been extreme folly to have inserted, if they had been altogether imaginary, and without foundation. 3. The truth and reality of several circumstances in the letters, and these, too, of no very public

nature, are confirmed by undoubted collateral evidence. Lett. i. Good. ii. p. 1. The queen is said to have met one of Lennox's gentlemen, and to have had some conversation with him. Thomas Crawford, who was the person, appeared before Elizabeth's commissioners, and confirmed, upon oath, the truth of this circumstance. He likewise declared, that during the queen's stay at Glasgow, the king repeated to him, every night, whatever had passed through the day, between her majesty and him; and that the account given of these conversations, in the first letter, is nearly the same with what the king communicated to him. Good. ii. 245. According to the same letter there was much discourse between the king and queen concerning Mynto, Hiegait, and Walcar. Good. ii. 8. 10, 11. What this might be, was altogether unknown, until a letter of Mary's, preserved in the Scottish college at Paris, and published, Keith, Pref. vii. discovered it to be an affair of so much importance as merited all the attention she paid to it at that time. It appears by a letter from the French ambassador, that Mary was subject to a violent pain in her side. Keith, *ibid.* This circumstance is mentioned, Lett. i. p. 30, in a manner so natural as can scarcely belong to any but a genuine production. 4. If we shall still think it probable to suppose that so many real circumstances were artfully introduced into the letters by the forgers, in order to give an air of authenticity to their production; it will hardly be possible to hold the same opinion concerning the following particular. Before the queen began her first letter to Bothwell, she, as usual among those who write long letters containing a variety of subjects, made *notes* or *memorandums* of the particulars she wished to remember; but as she sat up writing during a great part of the night, and after her attendants were asleep, her paper failed her, and she continued her letter upon the same sheet on which she had formerly made her memorandums. This she herself takes notice of, and makes an apology for it: "It is late; I desire never to cease from writing unto you, yet now, after the kissing of your hands, I will end my letter.

Excuse my evil writing, and read it twice over. Excuse that thing that is scriblit, for I had na paper zesterday, quhen I wraite that of the memorial." Good. ii. 28. These memorandums still appear in the middle of the letter; and what we have said seems naturally to account for the manner how they might find their way into a real letter. It is scarce to be supposed, however, that any forger would think of placing memorandums in the middle of a letter, where, at first sight, they make so absurd and so unnatural an appearance. But if any shall still carry their refinement to such a length, as to suppose that the forgers were so artful as to throw in this circumstance, in order to preserve the appearance of genuineness, they must at least allow that the queen's enemies, who employed these forgers, could not be ignorant of the design and meaning of these short notes and memorandums; but we find them mistaking them so far as to imagine that they were the *credit of the bearer*, i. e. points concerning which the queen had given him verbal instructions. Good. ii. 152. This they cannot possibly be; for the queen herself writes with so much exactness concerning the different points in the memorandums, that there was no need of giving any credit or instructions to the bearer concerning them. The memorandums are indeed the *contents* of the letter.

5. Mary, mentioning her conversation with the king, about the affair of Mynto, Hiegait, &c. says, "The morne [i. e. to-morrow] I will speik to him upon that point;" and then adds, "As to the rest of Willie Hiegait's, he confessit it; but it was the morne [i. e. the morning] after my coming or he did it." Good. ii. 9. This addition, which could not have been made till after the conversation happened, seems either to have been inserted by the queen into the body of the letter, or, perhaps, she having written it on the margin, it was taken thence into the text. If we suppose the letter to be a real one, and written at different times, as it plainly bears, this circumstance appears to be very natural: but no reason could have induced a forger to have ventured upon such an anachronism, for which

there was no necessity. An addition perfectly similar to this, made to a genuine paper, may be found, Good. ii. 282.

But, on the other hand, Mary herself, and the advocates for her innocence, have contended, that these letters were forged by her enemies, on purpose to blast her reputation, and to justify their own rebellion. It is not necessary to take notice of the arguments which were produced in her own age in support of this opinion; the observations which we have already made, contain a full reply to them. An author, who has inquired into the affairs of that period with great industry, and who has acquired much knowledge of them, has published (as he affirms) a demonstration of the forgery of Mary's letters. This demonstration he founds upon evidence both internal and external. With regard to the former, he observes that the French copy of the queen's letters is plainly a translation of Buchanan's Latin copy; which Latin copy is only a translation of the Scottish copy; and, by consequence, the assertion of the queen's enemies, that she wrote them originally in French, is altogether groundless, and the whole letters are gross forgeries. He accounts for this strange succession of translations, by supposing that when the forgery was projected, no person could be found capable of writing originally in the French language letters which would pass for the queen's; for that reason they were first composed in Scottish; but unluckily the French interpreter, as he conjectures, did not understand that language; and therefore Buchanan translated them into Latin, and from his Latin they were rendered into French. Good. i. 79, 80.

It is hardly necessary to observe, that no proof whatever is produced of any of these suppositions. The manner of the Scots in that age, when almost every man of rank spent a part of his youth in France, and the intercourse between the two nations was great, renders it altogether improbable that so many complicated operations should be necessary in order to procure a few letters to be written in the French language.

But without insisting farther on this, we may observe,

that all this author's premises may be granted, and yet his conclusion will not follow, unless he likewise prove that the French letters, as we now have them, are a true copy of those which were produced by Murray and his party in the Scottish parliament, and at York and Westminster. But this he has not attempted; and if we attend to the history of the letters, such an attempt, it is obvious, must have been unsuccessful. The letters were first published at the end of Buchanan's *Detection*. The first edition of this treatise was in Latin, in which language three of the queen's letters were subjoined to it; this Latin edition was printed A. D. 1571. Soon after, a Scottish translation of it was published, and at the end of it were printed, likewise in Scottish, the three letters which had formerly appeared in Latin, and five other letters in Scottish, which were not in the Latin edition. Next appeared a French translation of the *Detection*, and of seven of the letters; this bears to have been printed at Edinburgh by Thomas Waltem, 1572. The name of the place, as well as the printer, is allowed by all parties to be a manifest imposture. Our author, from observing the day of the month from which the printing is said to have been finished, has asserted that this edition was printed at London; but no stress can be laid upon a date found in a book, where every other circumstance with regard to the printing is allowed to be false. Blackwood, who (next to Lesly) was the best informed of all Mary's advocates in that age, affirms, that the French edition of the *Detection* [was published in France: "Il [Buchanan] a depuis adjousté a ceste declamation un petit libelle du pretendu mariage du Duc de Norfolk, et de la façon de son proces, et la tout envoyé aux freres a la Rochelle, lesquels voyants qu'il pouvoit servir a la cause, l'ont traduit en François, et iceluy fut imprimée a Edinbourg, c'est a dire a la Rochelle, par Thomas Waltem, nom aposté et fait a plaisir. Martyre de Marie. Jebb, ii. 256." The author of the *Innocence de Marie* goes farther, and names the French translator of the *Detection*. "Et icelui premierement composé (comme il semble) par George Buchanan Escossoys,

et depuis traduit en langue Française par un Hugonot Poitevin (advocat de vocation) Camuz, soy disant gentil-homme, et un de plus remarquez sediteuz de France. Jebb, i. 425. 443." The concurring testimony of two contemporary authors, whose residence in France afforded them sufficient means of information, must outweigh a slight conjecture. The French translator does not pretend to publish the original French letters as written by the queen herself; he expressly declares that he translated them from the Latin. Good. i. 103. Had our author attended to all these circumstances, he might have saved himself the labour of so many criticisms to prove that the present French copy of the letters is a translation from the Latin. The French editor himself acknowledges it, and, so far as I know, no person ever denied it.

We may observe that the French translator was so ignorant as to affirm that Mary had written these letters, partly in French, partly in Scottish. Good. i. 103. Had this translation been published in London by Cecil, or had it been made by his direction, so gross an error would not have been admitted into it. This error, however, was owing to an odd circumstance: In the Scottish translation of the Detection, two or three sentences of the original French were prefixed to each letter, which breaking off with an &c., the Scottish translation of the whole letter followed. This method of printing translations was not uncommon in that age. The French editor observing this, foolishly concluded that the letters had been written partly in French, partly in Scottish.

If we carefully consider those few French sentences of each letter, which still remain, and apply to them that species of criticism, by which our author has examined the whole, a clear proof will arise, that there was a French copy not translated from the Latin, but which was itself the original from which both the Latin and Scottish have been translated. This minute criticism must necessarily be disagreeable to many readers; but luckily a few sentences only are to be examined, which will render it extremely short.

In the first letter, the French sentence prefixed to it ends with these words, *y faisoit bon*. It is plain this expression, *veu ce que peut un corps sans cœur*, is by no means a translation of *cum plane perinde assem atque corpus sine corde*. The whole sentence has a spirit and elegance in the French, which neither the Latin nor Scottish have retained. *Jusques a la dinée* is not a translation of *toto prandii tempore*; the Scottish translation, *quhile denner-time*, expresses the sense of the French more properly; for anciently *quhile* signified *until* as well as *during*. *Je n'ay pas tenu grand propos* is not justly rendered *neque contulerim sermonem cum quoquam*; the phrase used in the French copy is one peculiar to that language, and gives a more probable account of her behaviour than the other. *Jugeant bien qu'il n'y faisoit bon* is not a translation of *ut qui judicarent id non esse ex usu*. The French sentence prefixed to lett. 2. ends with *apprendre*. It is evident that both the Latin and Scottish translations have omitted altogether these words, *et toutefois je ne puis apprendre*. The French sentence prefixed to lett. 3. ends with *presenter*. *J'aye veillé plus tard la haut* is plainly no translation of *diutius illic morata sum*; the sense of the French is better expressed by the Scottish, *I have walkit later there up*. Again, *Pour excuser vostre affaire* is very different from *ad excusandam nostra negotia*. The five remaining letters never appeared in Latin; nor is there any proof of their being ever translated into that language. Four of them, however, are published in French. This entirely overturns our author's hypothesis concerning the necessity of a translation into Latin.

In the Scottish edition of the Detection, the whole *sonnet* is printed in French as well as in Scottish. It is not possible to believe that this Scottish copy could be the original from which the French was translated. The French consists of verses which have both measure and rhyme, and which, in many places, are far from being inelegant. The Scottish consists of an equal number of lines, but without measure or rhyme. Now no man could ever think of a thing so absurd and impracticable, as to require one to

translate a certain given number of lines in prose, into an equal number of verses, where both measure and rhyme were to be observed. The Scottish, on the contrary, appears manifestly to be a translation of the French; the phrases, the idioms, and many of the words are French, and not Scottish. Besides the Scottish translator has, in several instances, mistaken the sense of the French, and in many more expressions the sense imperfectly. Had the sonnet been forged, this could not have happened. The directors of the fraud would have understood their own work. I shall satisfy myself with one example, in which there is a proof of both my assertions. Stanza viii. ver. 9.

Pour luy j'attendz toute bonne fortune,
 Pour luy je veux garder santè et vie,
 Pour luy tout vertu de suivre j'ay envie.

For him I attend all good fortune,
 For him I will conserve helthe and life,
 For him I desire to ensue courage.

Attend in the first line is not a Scottish, but a French phrase; the two other lines do not express the sense of the French, and the last is absolute nonsense.

The eighth letter was never translated into French. It contains much refined mysticism about *devices*, a folly of that age, of which Mary was very fond, as appears from several other circumstances, particularly from a letter concerning *impresas* by Drummond of Hawthornden. If Mary's adversaries forged her letters, they were certainly employed very idly when they produced this.

From these observations it seems to be evident that there was a French copy of Mary's letters, of which the Latin and Scottish were only translations. Nothing now remains of this copy but those few sentences which are prefixed to the Scottish translation. The French editor laid hold of these sentences, and tacked his own translation to them, which, so far as it is his work, is a servile and a very wretched translation of Buchanan's Latin; whereas, in those introductory sentences, we have discovered strong

marks of their being originals, and certain proofs that they are not translated from the Latin.

It is apparent, too, from comparing the Latin and Scottish translations with these sentences, that the Scottish translator has more perfectly attained the sense and spirit of the French than the Latin. And as it appears, that the letters were very early translated into Scottish, Good. ii. 76. it is probable that Buchanan made his translation, not from the French, but from the Scottish copy. Were it necessary, several critical proofs of this might be produced. One that has been already mentioned seems decisive. *Diutius illic morata sum* bears not the least resemblance to *j'ay veillé plus tard la haut*; but if, instead of *I walkit* [i. e. watched] *laiter there up*, we suppose that Buchanan read *I waitit*, &c. this mistake, into which he might so easily have fallen, accounts for the error in his translation.

These criticisms, however minute, appear to be well-founded. But whatever opinion may be formed concerning them, the other arguments, with regard to the internal evidence, remain in full force.

The external proofs of the forgery of the queen's letters, which our author has produced, appear at first sight to be specious, but are not more solid than that which we have already examined. These proofs may be classed under two heads. 1. The erroneous and contradictory accounts which are said to be given of the letters upon the first judicial production of them. In the secret council held Decem. 4. 1567, they are described "as her privie letters written and subscrivit with her awin hand." Haynes, 454. Good. ii. 64. In the act of parliament, passed on the 15th of the same month, they are described as "her privie letters written halelie with her awin hand." Good. ib. 67. This diversity of description has been considered as a strong presumption of forgery. The manner in which Mr. Hume accounts for this is natural and plausible, vol. v. p. 498. And several ingenious remarks, tending to confirm his observations, are made in a pamphlet lately published, entitled, *Miscellaneous Remarks on the Enquiry into the Evidence*

against *Mary Queen of Scots*. To what they have observed it may be added, that the original act of secret council does not now exist; we have only a copy of it found among Cecil's papers, and the transcriber has been manifestly so ignorant, or so careless, that an argument founded entirely upon the supposition of his accuracy is of little force. Several errors into which he has fallen, we are enabled to point out, by comparing his copy of the act of secret council with the act of parliament passed in consequence of it. The former contains a petition to parliament; in the latter the real petition is resumed *verbatim*, and converted into a law. In the copy, the queen's marriage with Bothwell is called "a priveit marriage," which it certainly was not; for it was celebrated, after proclamation of banns, in St. Giles's church for three several days, and with public solemnity; but in the act it is denominated "ane pretendit marriage," which is the proper description of it, according to the ideas of the party. In the copy, the queen is said to be "so thrall and *bludy* affectionat to the priyat appetite of that tyran," which is nonsense, but in the act it is "blindly affectionat." In the copy it is said, "all nobill and virtuous men abhorring their *traine* and company." In the act, "their tyrannie and companie," which is evidently the true reading, as the other has either no meaning, or is a mere tautology.

2. The other proof of the forgery of the letters, is founded upon the impossibility of reconciling the account, given of the time when, and the places from which, the letters are supposed to have been written, with what is certainly known concerning the queen's motions. According to the paper published, Anders. ii. 269. which has been called Murray's Diary, and which is formed upon the authority of the letters, Mary set out from Edinburgh to Glasgow, January 21, 1567; she arrived there on the 23d; left that place on the 27th; she, together with the king, reached Linlithgow on the 28th, stayed in that town only one night, and returned to Edinburgh, before the end of the month. But, according to Mr. Goodall, the queen did not leave Edinburgh until Friday Jan. 24th; as

she stayed a night at Callendar, she could not reach Glasgow sooner than the evening of Saturday the 25th, and she returned to Linlithgow on Tuesday the 28th. By consequence, the first letter, which supposes the queen to have been at least four days in Glasgow, as well as the second letter which bears date at Glasgow, *Saturday morning*, whereas she did not arrive there until the evening, must be forgeries. That the queen did not set out from Edinburgh sooner than the 24th of January, is evident (as he contends) from the public records, which contain a *Precept of a confirmation of a life-rent* by James Boyd to Margaret Chalmers, granted by the queen, on the 24th of January, at Edinburgh; and likewise a letter of the queen's, dated at Edinburgh on the same day, appointing James Inglis tailor to the prince her son. That the king and queen had returned to Linlithgow on the 28th, appears from a deed, in which they appoint Andrew Ferrier keeper of their palace there, dated at Linlithgow, January 28. Good. i. 118.

This has been represented to be not only a convincing, but a legal proof of the forgery of the letters said to be written by Mary; but how far it falls short of this, will appear from the following considerations:

1. It is evident from a declaration or confession made by the bishop of Ross, that before the conferences at York, which were opened in the beginning of October, 1568, Mary had, by an artifice of Maitland's, got into her hands a copy of those letters which her subjects accused her of having written to Bothwell. Brown's Trial of the Duke of Norfolk, 31. 36. It is highly probable that the bishop of Ross had seen the letters before he wrote the defence of queen Mary's honour, in the year 1570. They were published to all the world, together with Buchanan's Detection; A. D. 1571. Now, if they had contained an error so gross, and, at that time, so obvious to discovery, as the supposing the queen to have passed several days at Glasgow while she was really at Edinburgh; had they contained a letter dated at Glasgow, *Saturday morning*, though she

did not arrive there till the evening; is it possible that she herself, who knew her own motions, or the able and zealous advocates who appeared for her in that age, should not have published and exposed this contradiction, and, by so doing, have blasted at once the credit of such an imposture? In disquisitions which are naturally abstruse and intricate, the ingenuity of the latest author may discover many things which have escaped the attention, or baffled the sagacity of those who have formerly considered the same subject. But when a matter of fact lay so obvious to view, this circumstance of its being unobserved by the queen herself, or by any of her adherents, is almost a demonstration that there is some mistake or fallacy in our author's arguments. So far are any, either of our historians or of Mary's defenders, from calling in question the common account concerning the time of the queen's setting out to Glasgow, and her returning from it, that there is not the least appearance of any difference among them with regard to this point. But farther,

2. Those papers in the public records, on which our author rests the proof of his assertion concerning the queen's motions, are not the originals subscribed by the queen, but copies only, or translations of copies, of those originals. It is not necessary, nor would it be very easy, to render this intelligible to persons unacquainted with the forms of law in Scotland; but every Scotsman conversant in business will understand me when I say that the precept of confirmation of the life-rent to Boyd is only a Latin copy or note of a precept, which was sealed with the privy seal, on a warrant from the signet-office, proceeding on a signature which bore date at Edinburgh, the 24th of January; and that the deed in favour of James Inglis is the copy of a letter, sealed with the privy seal, proceeding on a signature which bore date at Edinburgh, January 24. From all this we may argue with some degree of reason, that a proof founded on papers which are so many removes distant from the originals, cannot but be very lame and uncertain.

3. At that time all public papers were issued in the name both of the king and queen; by law, the king's sub-

scription was no less requisite to any paper than the queen's; and therefore, unless the original signatures be produced, in order to ascertain the particular day when each of them signed, or to prove that it was signed only by one of them, the legal proof arising from these papers would be, that both the king and queen signed them at Edinburgh on the 24th of January.

4. The dates of the warrants or precepts issued by the sovereign in that age, seem to have been in a great measure arbitrary, and affixed at the pleasure of the writer; and of consequence, these dates were seldom accurate, are often false, and can never be relied upon. This abuse became so frequent, and was found to be so pernicious, that an act of parliament, A. D. 1592, declared the fixing a false date to a signature to be high treason.

5. There still remain, in the public records, a great number of papers, which prove the necessity of this law, as well as the fallacy of our author's arguments. And though it be no easy matter, at the distance of two centuries, to prove any particular date to be false, yet surprising instances of this kind shall be produced. Nothing is more certain from history, than that the king was at Glasgow 24th January, 1567; and yet the record of signatures from 1565 to 1582, fol. 16th, contains a copy of a signature to Archibald Edmonston, said to have been subscribed by *our sovereigns*, i. e. the king and queen, at Edinburgh, January 24, 1567; so that if we were to rely implicitly upon the dates in the records of that age, or to hold our author's argument to be good, it would prove that not only the queen, but the king too was at Edinburgh on the 24th of January.

It appears from an original letter of the bishop of Ross, that on the 25th of October, 1566, Mary lay at the point of death; Keith, App. 134.; and yet a deed is to be found in the public records, which bears that it was signed by the queen that day. Privy seal, lib. 35. fol. 89. *Ouchterlony*.^d

^d N. B. In some of the earlier editions of this Dissertation, another instance of the same nature with those which go before and follow was mentioned; but that, as has since been discovered, was founded on a mistake of the person employed to search the records, and is therefore omitted in this edition. The reasoning, however, in the Dissertation, stands still in force, notwithstanding this omission.

Bothwell seized the queen as she returned from Stirling, April 24, 1567; and (according to her own account) conducted her to Dunbar with all diligence. And. i. 95. But our author, relying on the dates of some papers which he found in the records, supposes that Bothwell allowed her to stop at Edinburgh, and to transact business there. Nothing can be more improbable than this supposition. We may therefore rank the date of the deed to *Wright*, Privy seal, lib. 36. fol. 43. and which is mentioned by our author, vol. i. 124. among the instances of the false dates of papers which were issued in the ordinary course of business in that age. Our author has mistaken the date of the other paper to Forbes, *ibid.*; it is signed April 14th, not April 24th.

If there be any point agreed upon in Mary's history, it is that she remained at Dunbar, from the time that Bothwell carried her thither, till she returned to Edinburgh along with him in the beginning of May. Our author himself allows that she resided twelve days there, vol. i. 367. Now though there are deeds in the records which bear that they were signed by the queen at Dunbar during that time, yet there are others which bear that they were signed at Edinburgh; e.g. there is one at Edinburgh, April 27th, Privy seal, lib. 36. fol. 97. There are others said to be signed at Dunbar on that day. Lib. 31. Chart. No. 524. 526. *Ib.* lib. 32. No. 154. 157. There are some signed at Dunbar, April 28th. Others at Edinburgh, April 30th, lib. 32. Chart. No. 492. Others at Dunbar, May 1st. *Id.* *ibid.* No. 158. These different charters suppose the queen to have made so many unknown, improbable, and inconsistent journeys, that they afford the clearest demonstration that the dates in these records ought not to be depended on.

This becomes more evident from the date of the charter said to be signed April 27th, which happened that year to be a Sunday, which was not, at that time, a day of business in Scotland, as appears from the books of *sederunt*; then kept by the lords of session.

From this short review of our author's proof of the for-

gery of the letters to Bothwell, it is evident, that his arguments are far from amounting to demonstration.^e

Another argument against the genuineness of these letters is founded on the style and composition, which are said to be altogether unworthy of the queen, and unlike her real productions. It is plain, both from the great accuracy of composition in most of Mary's letters, and even from her solicitude to write them in a fair hand, that she valued herself on those accomplishments, and was desirous of being esteemed an elegant writer. But when she wrote at any time in a hurry, then many marks of inaccuracy appear. A remarkable instance of this may be found in a paper published, Good. ii. 301. Mary's letters to Bothwell were written in the utmost hurry; and yet under all the disadvantages of a translation, they are not destitute either of spirit or of energy. The manner in which she expresses her love to Bothwell has been pronounced indecent and even shocking. But Mary's temper led her to warm expressions of her regard; those refinements of delicacy, which now appear in all the commerce between the sexes, were, in that age, but little known, even among persons of the highest rank. Among the earl of Hardwicke's papers, there is a series of letters, from Mary to the duke of Norfolk, copied from the Harleian library, p. 37. b. 9. fol. 88. in which Mary declares her love to that nobleman in language which would now be reckoned extremely indelicate; Hard. State Papers, i. 189, &c.

^e The uncertainty of any conclusion formed merely on the date of public papers in that age, especially with respect to the king, is confirmed and illustrated by a discovery which was made lately. Mr. Davidson (to whom I was indebted for much information when I composed this Dissertation thirty-three years ago) has, in the course of his intelligent researches into the antiquities of his country, found an original paper which must appear curious to Scottish antiquaries. Buchanan asserts, that on account of the king's frequent absence, occasioned by his dissipation and love of field-sports, a *cachette*, or stamp cut in metal, was made, with which his name was affixed to public deeds, as if he had been present. Hist. lib. xvii. p. 343. Edit. Rüd. Knox relates the same thing, Hist. p. 393. How much this may have divested the king of the consequence which he derived from having his name conjoined with that of the queen in all public deeds, as the affixing of his name was thereby put entirely in the power of the person who had the custody of the *cachette*, is manifest. The keeping of it, as both Buchanan and Knox affirm, was committed to Rizzio. A late defender of queen Mary calls in question what they relate, and seems to consider it as one of their aspersions. Goodall, vol. i. p. 238. The truth of their assertion, however, is now fully established by the original deed which I have mentioned. This I have seen and examined with attention. It is now lodged by Mr. Davidson in the signet-office. In it, the subscription of the king's name has evidently been made by a *cachette* with printer's ink.

Some of Mary's letters to Bothwell were written before the murder of her husband ; some of them after that event, and before her marriage to Bothwell. Those which are prior to the death of her husband abound with the fondest expressions of her love to Bothwell, and excite something more than a suspicion that their familiarity had been extremely criminal. We find in them too, some dark expressions, which her enemies employed to prove that she was no stranger to the schemes which were formed against her husband's life. Of this kind are the following passages : " Alace ! I never dissavit ony body ; but I remit me altogether to your will. Send me advertisement what I shall do, and whatsaever thing come thereof, I shall obey you. Advise to with yourself, if ye can find out any more secret invention by medicine, for he should take medicine and the bath at Craigmillar." Good. ii. 22. " See not his quiet time should not be so meikle praised and esteemed, as the true and faithful travellers quill I sustene for to merit his place. For obtaining of the quiet, againis my natural, I betrayis thame that may impeche me. God forgive me," &c. Ibid 27. " I have walked later than I would have done, if it had not been to draw something out of him, quill this bearer will shew you, quill is the fairest commodity that can be offered to excuse your affairs." Ibid. 32. From the letters posterior to the death of her husband, it is evident that the scheme of Bothwell's seizing Mary by force, and carrying her along with him, was contrived in concert with herself, and with her approbation.^f

^f That letters of so much importance as those of Mary to Bothwell should have been entirely lost, appears to many altogether unaccountable. After being produced in England before Elizabeth's commissioners, they were delivered back by them to the earl of Murray. Good. ii. 235. He seems to have kept them in his possession during life. After his death, they fell into the hands of Lennox his successor, who restored them to the earl of Morton. Good. ii. 91. Though it be not necessarily connected with any of the questions which gave occasion to this Dissertation, it may perhaps satisfy the curiosity of some of my readers to inform them, that, after a very diligent search, which has lately been made, no copy of Mary's letters to Bothwell can be found in any of the public libraries in Great Britain. The only certain intelligence concerning them, since the time of their being delivered to Morton, was communicated by the accurate Dr. Birch.

Extract of the letters of Robert Bowes, esq. ambassador from queen Elizabeth to the king of Scotland, written to sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, from the

With respect to the sonnets, sir David Dalrymple has proved clearly, that they must have been written after the

original register book of Mr. Bowes's letters, from 15th of August, 1582; to 28th September, 1583, in the possession of Christopher Hunter, M. D. of Durham.

1582, 8th November, from Edinburgh.

Albeit I have been borne in hand, That the coffer wherein were the originals of letters between the Scottish queen and the earl of Bothwell, had been delivered to sundry hands, and thereby was at present wanting, and unknown where it rested, yet I have learned certainly by the prior of Pluscardyne's means, that both the coffer and also the writings are come, and now remain with the earl of Gowrie, who, I perceive, will be hardly entreated to make delivery to her majesty, according to her majesty's desire.

This time past I have expended in searching where the coffer and writings were, wherein, without the help of the prior, I should have found great difficulty; now I will essay Gowrie, and of my success you shall be shortly advertised.

12th of November, 1582, from Edinburgh.

Because I had both learned, that the casket and letters mentioned in my last, before these were come to the possession of the earl of Gowrie, and also found that no mean might prevail to win the same out of his hands without his own consent and privity; in which behalf I had employed fit instruments, that nevertheless profiting nothing; therefore I attempted to essay himself, letting him know that the said casket and letters should have been brought to her majesty by the offer and good means of good friends, promising to have delivered them to her majesty before they came into his hands and custody, and knowing that he did bear the like affection, and was ready to pleasure her majesty in all things, and chiefly in this that had been thus far tendered to her majesty, and which thereby should be well accepted and with princely thanks and gratuity be requited to his comfort and contentment; I moved him that they might be a present to be sent to her majesty from him, and that I might cause the same to be conveyed to her majesty, adding hereunto such words and arguments as might both stir up a hope of liberality, and also best effect the purpose. At the first he was loth to agree that they were in his possession; but I let him plainly know that I was certainly informed that they were delivered to him by Sanders Jardin; whereupon he pressed to know who did so inform me, inquiring whether the sons of the earl of Morton had done it, or no. I did not otherwise in plain terms deny or answer thereunto, but that he might think that he had told me as the prior is ready to avouch, and well pleased that I shall give him to be the author thereof; after he had said [though] all these letters were in his keeping (which he would neither grant nor deny), yet he might not deliver them to any person without the consents and privities, as well of the king, that had interest therein, as also of the rest of the noblemen enterprisers of the action against the king's mother, and that would have them kept as an evidence to warrant and make good that action. And albeit I replied, that their action in that part touching the assignation of the crown to the king by his mother, had received such establishment, confirmation, and strength, by acts of parliaments and other public authority and instruments, as neither should that case be suffered to come in debate or question, nor such scrolls and papers ought to be shewed for the strengthening thereof, so as these might well be left and be rendered to the hands of her majesty, to whom they were destined before they fell in his keeping; yet he would not be removed or satisfied; concluding, after much reasonings, that the earl of Morton, nor any other that had the charge and keeping thereof, durst at any time make delivery; and because it was the first time that I had moved him therein, and that he would gladly both answer her majesty's good expectation in him, and also perform his duty due to his sovereign and associates in the action aforesaid; therefore he would seek out the said casket and letters, at his return to his house, which he thought should be within a short time; and upon finding of the same, and better advice and consideration had of the cause, he would give farther answer. This resolution I have received as to the thing; and for the present I could not better, leaving him to give her majesty such testimony of his good will towards her, by his frank dealing herein, as she may have cause to confirm her highnesses good opinion conceived already of him, and be thereby drawn to greater goodness towards him. I shall still labour him both by myself and also by all other means; but I greatly distrust the desired success herein.

24th of November, 1582, from Edinburgh.

For the recovery of the letters in the coffer, come to the hands of the earl of Gowrie, I have lately moved him earnestly therein, letting him know the purpose of the

murder of the king; and prior to Mary's marriage with Bothwell. But as hardly any part of my narrative is founded upon what is contained in the sonnets, and as in this Dissertation I have been constrained to dwell longer upon minute and verbal criticisms, than may be interesting or agreeable to many of my readers, I shall rest satisfied

Scottish queen, both giving out that the letters are counterfeited by her rebels, and also seeking thereon to have them delivered to her or defaced, and that the means which she will make in this behalf shall be so great and effectual, as these writings cannot be safely kept in that realm without dangerous offence of him that hath the custody thereof, neither shall he that is once known to have them be suffered to hold them in his hands. Herewith I have at large opened the perils likely to fall to that action, and the parties therein, and particularly to himself that is now openly known to have the possession of these writings, and I have letten him see what surety it shall bring to the said cause and all the parties therein, and to himself, that these writings may be with secrecy and good order committed to the keeping of her majesty, that will have them ready whensoever any use shall be for them, and by her highnesses countenance defend them and the parties from such wrongful objections as shall be laid against them, offering at length to him, that if he be not fully satisfied herein, or doubt that the rest of the associates shall not like of the delivery of them to her majesty in this good manner, and for the interest rehearsed, that I shall readily, upon meeting and conference with them, procure their assent in this part (a matter more easy to offer than to perform); and lastly, moving him that (for the secrecy and benefit of the cause, and that her majesty's good opinion towards himself may be firmly settled and confirmed by his acceptable forwardness herein) he would, without needless scruple, frankly commit these writings to her majesty's good custody for the good uses received. After long debate he resolved, and said, that he would unfeignedly shew and do to her majesty all the pleasure that he might without offence to the king his sovereign, and prejudice to the associates in the action, and therefore he would first make search and view the said letters, and herein take advice what he might do, and how far he might satisfy and content her majesty; promising thereon to give more resolute answer; and he concluded flatly that after he had found and seen the writings, that he might not make delivery of them without the privity of the king. Albeit I stood along with him against his resolution in this point, to acquaint the king with this matter before the letters were in the hands of her majesty, letting him see that his doings there should admit great danger to the cause; yet I could not remove him from it. It may be that he meaneth to put over the matter from himself to the king, upon sight whereof I shall travel effectually to obtain the king's consent, that the letters may be committed to her majesty's keeping, thinking it more easy to prevail herein with the king, in the present love and affection that he beareth to her highness, than to win any thing at the hands of the associates in the action, whereof some principal of them now come and remain at the devotion of the king's mother; in this I shall still call on Gowrie, to search out the coffer, according to his promise, and as I shall find him minded to do therein, so shall I do my best and whole endeavour to effect the success to her majesty's best contentment.

2d December, 1582, from Edinbrough.

Because I saw good opportunity offered to renew the matter to the earl of Gowrie for recovery of the letters in the coffer in his hands, therefore I put him in mind thereof; whereupon he told me that the duke of Lennox had sought earnestly to have had those letters, and that the king did know where they were, so as they could not be delivered to her majesty without the king's privity and consent, and he pretended to be still willing to pleasure her majesty in the same, so far as he may with his duty to the king and to the rest of the associates in that action; but I greatly distrust to effect this to her majesty's pleasure, wherein, nevertheless, I shall do my utmost endeavours.

Whether James VI. who put the earl of Gowrie to death, A. D. 1584, and seized all his effects, took care to destroy his mother's letters, for whose honour he was at that time extremely zealous; whether they have perished by some unknown accident; or whether they may not still remain unobserved among the archives of some of our great families, it is impossible to determine.

with referring, for information concerning every particular relative to the sonnets, to *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, Chap. XI.

Having thus stated the proof on both sides ; having examined at so great a length the different systems with regard to the facts in controversy ; it may be expected that I should now pronounce sentence. In my opinion, there are only two conclusions, which can be drawn from the facts which have been enumerated.

One, that Bothwell, prompted by his ambition or love, encouraged by the queen's known aversion to her husband, and presuming on her attachment to himself, struck the blow without having concerted with her the manner or circumstances of perpetrating that crime. That Mary, instead of testifying much indignation at the deed, or discovering any resentment against Bothwell who was accused of having committed it, continued to load him with marks of her regard, conducted his trial in such a manner as rendered it impossible to discover his guilt, and soon after, in opposition to all the maxims of decency or of prudence, voluntarily agreed to a marriage with him, which every consideration should have induced her to detest. By this verdict, Mary is not pronounced guilty of having contrived the murder of her husband, or even of having previously given her consent to his death ; but she is not acquitted of having discovered her approbation of the deed, by her behaviour towards him who was the author of it.

The other conclusion is that which Murray and his adherents laboured to establish. "That James, sometymme Earl of Bothwile, was the chief executor of the horribill and unworthy murder, perpetrat in the person of umquhile King Henry of gude memory, fader to our soveraine lord, and the Queenis lauchfull husband ; sa was she of the foreknowledge, counsall, devise, perswadar and command of the said murder to be done." Good. ii. 207.

Which of these conclusions is most agreeable to the evidence that has been produced, I leave my readers to determine.

...the knowledge which the ancients had of
...the progress of trade with that country prior
...to the discovery of the passage to it
...by the cape of good hope:

AN

HISTORICAL DISQUISITION

CONCERNING

THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH THE ANCIENTS HAD OF

INDIA;

AND

THE PROGRESS OF TRADE WITH THAT COUNTRY PRIOR
TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE PASSAGE TO IT
BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CIVIL POLITY;
THE LAWS AND JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS; THE ARTS AND
SCIENCES; AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

OF

THE INDIANS.

PREFACE

The perusal of Major Rennell's *Map of Hindostan*, one of the most valuable geographical
treatises that has appeared in our country, gave rise
to the following work. It appeared to me the idea of
examining more fully than I had done in the introductory
Book to my *History of America*, into the knowledge which
the Ancients had of India, and of ascertaining what is cer-
tain, what is obscure, and what is fabulous, in the accounts
of that country which they have handed down to us. In
undertaking this I was not only to supply the other object
than of general information, which I had in carrying
it out, but also to give a more complete and accurate
picture, than the *Map of Hindostan* had afforded, of the
new year of the *Map of Hindostan*, and be-
cause more interesting, and more complete, than
the result of the *Map of Hindostan*, and in-
structive to other parts of the world, the various
modes in which the *Map of Hindostan* had been carried
on from the *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
great branch of *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
increase the *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
assessed it.

That the *Map of Hindostan* had been carried on before
the *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
ment of *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
ful *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
works have been carried on, and in which
with which I was to be carried on, and in which
now publish.

When I first turned my thoughts to this subject, I was
so fully aware of the *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
in undertaking to *Map of Hindostan*, and in which
say local knowledge, and in which
to guard against any error, and in which
have consulted with persons who
the authors I could not have done so.

PREFACE.

THE perusal of Major Rennell's Memoir for illustrating his Map of Indostan, one of the most valuable geographical treatises that has appeared in any age or country, gave rise to the following work. It suggested to me the idea of examining more fully than I had done in the Introductory Book to my History of America, into the knowledge which the Ancients had of India, and of considering what is certain, what is obscure, and what is fabulous, in the accounts of that country which they have handed down to us. In undertaking this inquiry, I had originally no other object than my own amusement and instruction : but in carrying it on, and consulting with diligence the authors of antiquity, some facts, hitherto unobserved, and many which had not been examined with proper attention, occurred ; new views opened ; my ideas gradually extended and became more interesting ; until, at length, I imagined that the result of my researches might prove amusing and instructive to others, by exhibiting such a view of the various modes in which intercourse with India had been carried on from the earliest times, as might shew how much that great branch of commerce has contributed, in every age, to increase the wealth and power of the nations which possessed it.

Thus the Historical Disquisition which I now lay before the reader was begun and completed. What degree of merit it possesses, the public must determine. My grateful recollection of the favourable manner in which my other works have been received, naturally increases the solicitude with which I wait for its decision concerning this which I now publish.

When I first turned my thoughts to this subject, I was so fully aware of the disadvantage under which I laboured in undertaking to describe countries of which I had not any local knowledge, that I have been at the utmost pains to guard against any errors which this might occasion. I have consulted, with persevering industry, the works of all the authors I could procure, who have given any account

of India ; I have never formed any decided opinion, which was not supported by respectable authority ; and as I have the good fortune to reckon among the number of my friends some gentlemen who have filled important stations, civil and military, in India, and who have visited many different parts of it, I had recourse frequently to them, and from their conversation learned things which I could not have found in books. Were it proper to mention their names, the public would allow that, by their discernment and abilities, they are fully entitled to the confidence which I have placed in them.

In the progress of the work, I became sensible of my own deficiency with respect to another point. In order to give an accurate idea of the imperfection both of the theory and practice of navigation among the Ancients, and to explain, with scientific precision, the manner in which they ascertained the position of places, and calculated their longitude and latitude, a greater portion of mathematical knowledge was requisite, than my attention to other studies had permitted me to acquire. What I wanted, the friendship of my ingenious and respectable colleague, Mr. Playfair, Professor of Mathematics, has supplied ; and I have been enabled by him to elucidate all the points I have mentioned, in a manner which, I am confident, will afford my readers complete satisfaction. To him, likewise, I am indebted for the construction of two maps necessary for illustrating this Disquisition, which without his assistance I could not have undertaken.

I have adhered, in this work, to an arrangement I followed in my former compositions, and to which the public has been long accustomed. I have kept historical narrative as much separate as possible from scientific and critical discussion, by reserving the latter for Notes and Illustrations. I flatter myself that I may claim, without presumption, the merit of having examined with diligence what I submit to public inspection, and of having referred, with scrupulous accuracy, to the authors from whom I have derived information.

AN
HISTORICAL DISQUISITION

CONCERNING

ANCIENT INDIA.

SECT. I.

Intercourse with India, from the earliest Times until the Conquest of
Egypt by the Romans.

WHOEVER attempts to trace the operations of men in remote times, and to mark the various steps of their progress in any line of exertion, will soon have the mortification to find, that the period of authentic history is extremely limited. It is little more than three thousand years since the Books of Moses, the most ancient and only general record of what passed in the early ages of the world, were composed. Herodotus, the most ancient Heathen historian whose works have reached us, flourished a thousand years later. If we push our inquiries concerning any point beyond the era where written history commences, we enter upon the region of conjecture, of fable, and of uncertainty. Upon that ground I will neither venture myself, nor endeavour to conduct my readers. In my researches concerning the intercourse between the Eastern and Western regions of the earth, and concerning the progress of that great branch of trade, which, in every age, has contributed so conspicuously towards raising the people who carried it on to wealth and power, I shall confine myself within the precincts I have marked out. Wherever the inspired writers, intent upon higher objects, mention occasionally any circumstance that tends to illustrate the subject of my inquiries, I shall attend to it with reverence. Whatever other writers relate, I shall examine with freedom, and endeavour to ascertain the degree of credit to which they are entitled.

The original station allotted to man by his Creator, was

in the mild and fertile regions of the East. There the human race began its career of improvement; and from the remains of sciences which were anciently cultivated, as well as of arts which were anciently exercised in India, we may conclude it to be one of the first countries in which men made any considerable progress in that career. The wisdom of the East was early celebrated,^a and its productions were early in request among distant nations.^b The intercourse, however, between different countries was carried on at first entirely by land. As the people of the East appear soon to have acquired complete dominion over the useful animals,^c they could early undertake the long and toilsome journeys which it was necessary to make, in order to maintain this intercourse; and by the provident bounty of Heaven, they were furnished with a beast of burden, without whose aid it would have been impossible to accomplish them. The camel, by its persevering strength, by its moderation in the use of food, and the singularity of its internal structure, which enables it to lay in a stock of water sufficient for several days, put it in their power to convey bulky commodities through those deserts, which must be traversed by all who travel from any of the countries west of the Euphrates towards India. Trade was carried on in this manner, particularly by the nations near to the Arabian gulf, from the earliest period to which historical information reaches. Distant journeys, however, would be undertaken at first only occasionally, and by a few adventurers. But, by degrees, from attention to their mutual safety and comfort, numerous bodies of merchants assembled at stated times, and forming a temporary association (known afterward by the name of a Caravan), governed by officers of their own choice, and subject to regulations of which experience had taught them the utility, they performed journeys of such extent and duration, as appear astonishing to nations not accustomed to this mode of carrying on commerce.

But, notwithstanding every improvement that could be

^a 1 Kings, iv. 30.

^b Gen. xxxvii. 25.

^c Gen. xii. 16. xxiv. 10, 11.

made in the manner of conveying the productions of one country to another by land, the inconveniences which attended it were obvious and unavoidable. It was often dangerous; always expensive, and tedious, and fatiguing. A method of communication more easy and expeditious was sought, and the ingenuity of man gradually discovered, that the rivers, the arms of the sea, and even the ocean itself, were destined to open and facilitate intercourse with the various regions of the earth, between which they appear, at first view, to be placed as insuperable barriers. Navigation, however, and ship-building (as I have observed in another work^d), are arts so nice and complicated, that they require the talents as well as experience of many successive ages, to bring them to any degree of perfection. From the raft or canoe, which first served to carry a savage over the river that obstructed him in the chase, to the construction of a vessel capable of conveying a numerous crew, or a considerable cargo of goods, to a distant coast, the progress of improvement is immense. Many efforts would be made, many experiments would be tried, and much labour as well as ingenuity would be employed, before this arduous and important undertaking could be accomplished.

Even after some improvement was made in ship-building, the intercourse of nations with each other by sea was far from being extensive. From the accounts of the earliest historians, we learn, that navigation made its first efforts in the Mediterranean and the Arabian gulf, and in them the first active operations of commerce were carried on. From an attentive inspection of the position and form of these two great inland seas, these accounts appear to be highly probable. These seas lay open the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and spreading to a great extent along the coasts of the most fertile and most early civilized countries in each, seem to have been destined by nature to facilitate their communication with one another. We find, accordingly, that the first voyages of the Egyptians and Pheni-

^d See vol. v. p. 24.

cians the most ancient navigators mentioned in history, were made in the Mediterranean. Their trade, however, was not long confined to the countries bordering upon it. By acquiring early possession of ports on the Arabian gulf, they extended the sphere of their commerce, and are represented as the first people of the West who opened a communication by sea with India.

In that account of the progress of navigation and discovery which I prefixed to the History of America, I considered with attention the maritime operations of the Egyptians and Phenicians; a brief review of them here, as far as they relate to their connexion with India, is all that is requisite for illustrating the subject of my present inquiries. With respect to the former of these people, the information which history affords is slender, and of doubtful authority. The fertile soil and mild climate of Egypt produced the necessaries and comforts of life in such profusion, as to render its inhabitants so independent of other countries, that it became early an established maxim in their policy, to renounce all intercourse with foreigners. In consequence of this, they held all seafaring persons in detestation, as impious and profane; and fortifying their harbours, they denied strangers admission into them.^e

The enterprising ambition of Sesostris, disdaining the restraints imposed upon it by these contracted ideas of his subjects, prompted him to render the Egyptians a commercial people; and in the course of his reign he so completely accomplished this, that (if we may give credit to some historians) he was able to fit out a fleet of four hundred ships in the Arabian gulf, which conquered all the countries stretching along the Erythrean sea to India. At the same time his army, led by himself, marched through Asia, and subjected to his dominion every part of it as far as to the banks of the Ganges; and crossing that river, advanced to the Eastern Ocean.^f But these efforts produced no permanent effect, and appear to have been so contrary

^e Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. p. 78. edit. Wesselingi. Amst. 1476. Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 1142. A. edit. Casaub. Amst. 1707. ^f Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 64.

to the genius and habits of the Egyptians, that, on the death of Sesostris; they resumed their ancient maxims, and many ages elapsed before the commercial connexion of Egypt with India came to be of such importance as to merit any notice in this Disquisition.

§ Credulity and scepticism are two opposite extremes into which men are apt to run, in examining the events which are said to have happened in the early ages of antiquity. Without incurring any suspicion of a propensity to the latter of these, I may be allowed to entertain doubts concerning the expedition of Sesostris into India, and his conquest of that country.—1. Few facts in ancient history seem to be better established, than that of the early aversion of the Egyptians to a seafaring life. Even the power of despotism cannot at once change the ideas and manners of a nation, especially when they have been confirmed by long habit, and rendered sacred by the sanction of religion. That Sesostris, in the course of a few years, should have so entirely overcome the prejudices of a superstitious people, as to be able to fit out four hundred ships of force, in the Arabian gulf, besides another fleet which he had in the Mediterranean, appears to be extremely improbable. Armaments of such magnitude would require the utmost efforts of a great and long-established maritime power.—2. It is remarkable that Herodotus, who inquired with the most persevering diligence into the ancient history of Egypt, and who received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes could communicate, Herodot. Edit. Wesselingij, lib. ii. c. c. 3, although he relates the history of Sesostris at some length, does not mention his conquest of India, lib. ii. c. 102, &c. That tale, it is probable, was invented in the period between the age of Herodotus and that of Diodorus Siculus, from whom we receive a particular detail of the Indian expedition of Sesostris. His account rests entirely upon the authority of the Egyptian priests; and Diodorus himself not only gives it as his general opinion, that many things which they related, flowed rather from a desire to promote the honour of their country, than from attention to truth, lib. i. p. 34, edit. Wesselingij, Amst. 1746; but takes particular notice that the Egyptian priests, as well as the Greek writers, differ widely from one another in the accounts which they give of the actions of Sesostris, lib. i. p. 62.—3. Though Diodorus asserts that in relating the history of Sesostris he had studied to select what appeared to him most probable, and most agreeable to the monuments of that monarch still remaining in Egypt, he has admitted into his narrative many marvellous circumstances, which render the whole extremely suspicious. The father of Sesostris, as he relates, collected all the male children who were born in Egypt on the same day with his son, in order that they might be educated together with him conformable to a mode which he prescribed with a view of preparing them as proper instruments to carry into execution the great undertakings for which he destined Sesostris. Accordingly, when Sesostris set out upon his Indian expedition, which from circumstances mentioned by Diodorus, must have been about the fortieth year of his age, one thousand seven hundred of his youthful associates are said to have been still alive, and were intrusted with high command in his army. But if we apply to the examination of this story the certain principles of political arithmetic, it is evident, that if one thousand seven hundred of the male children born on the same day with Sesostris were alive when his great expedition commenced, the number of children born in Egypt on each day of the year must have been at least ten thousand, and the population of the kingdom must have exceeded sixty millions; Gouget l'Origine des Loix, des Arts, &c. tom. ii. p. 12, &c., a number far beyond the bounds of credibility, in a kingdom which, from the accurate calculations of M. D'Anville, Memoire sur l'Egypt Anc. et Moderne, p. 23, &c., does not contain more than two thousand one hundred square leagues of habitable country. Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. vol. v. p. 348. Another marvellous particular is the description of a ship of cedar, four hundred and ninety feet in length, covered on the outside with gold, and on the inside with silver, which Sesostris consecrated to the deity who was the chief object of worship at Thebes. Lib. i. p. 67. Such too is the account he gives of the Egyptian army, in which, beside 600,000 infantry, and 24,000 cavalry, there were 27,000 armed chariots. Ibid. p. 64.—4. These and other particulars appeared so far to exceed the bounds of probability, that the sound understanding of Strabo the geographer rejected, without hesitation, the accounts of the Indian expedition of Sesostris; and he not only asserts, in the most explicit terms, that this monarch never entered India, lib. xv. p. 1007. C. edit. Casaub. Amst. 1707; but he

The history of the early maritime operations of Phenicia is not involved in the same obscurity with those of Egypt. Every circumstance in the character and situation of the Phenicians was favourable to the commercial spirit. The territory which they possessed was neither large nor fertile. It was from commerce only that they could derive either opulence or power. Accordingly, the trade carried on by the Phenicians of Sidon and Tyre was extensive and adventurous; and, both in their manners and policy, they resemble the great commercial states of modern times, more than any people in the ancient world. Among the various branches of their commerce, that with India may be regarded as one of the most considerable and most lucrative. As by their situation on the Mediterranean, and the imperfect state of navigation, they could not attempt to open a direct communication with India by sea; the enterprising spirit of commerce prompted them to wrest from the Idumæans some commodious harbours towards the bottom of the Arabian gulf. From these they held a regular intercourse with India on the one hand, and with the eastern and southern coasts of Africa on the other. The distance, however, from the Arabian gulf to Tyre was considerable, and rendered the conveyance of goods to it by land carriage so tedious and expensive, that it became necessary for them to take possession of Rhinocolura the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Arabian gulf. Thither all the commodities brought from India were conveyed over land by a route much shorter, and more practicable, than that by which the productions of the East were carried at a subsequent period from the opposite shore of the Arabian gulf to the Nile. At Rhinocolura they were reshipped, and transported

ranks what has been related concerning his operations in that country with the fabulous exploits of Bacchus and Hercules, p. 1007. D. 1009. B. The philosophical historian of Alexander the Great seems to have entertained the same sentiments with respect to the exploits of Sesostris in India. *Hist. Ind. c. 5.* Arrian. *Eped. Alex. edit. Gronov. L. Bat. 1704.*—What slender information concerning India or its inhabitants, Herodotus had received, seems to have been derived, not from the Egyptians, but from the Persians, lib. iii. c. 105; which renders it probable, that in his time there was little intercourse between Egypt and India. If Reland be well founded in his opinion, that many of the words mentioned by ancient authors as Indian are really Persian, we may conclude that there was an early intercourse between Persia and India, of which hardly any trace remains in history. Reland. *Dissert. de Veteri Lingua Indic. ap. Dissert. Miscel. vol. i. p. 209.*

by an easy navigation to Tyre,^b and distributed through the world. This, as it is the earliest route of communication with India of which we have any authentic description, had so many advantages over any ever known before the modern discovery of a new course of navigation to the East, that the Phœnicians could supply other nations with the productions of India in greater abundance, and at a cheaper rate, than any people of antiquity. To this circumstance, which for a considerable time secured to them a monopoly of that trade, was owing, not only the extraordinary wealth of individuals, which rendered the “merchants of Tyre princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth;”ⁱ but the extensive power of the state itself, which first taught mankind to conceive what vast resources a commercial people possess, and what great exertions they are capable of making.^k

The Jews, by their vicinity to Tyre, had such an opportunity of observing the wealth which flowed into that city from the lucrative commerce carried on by the Phœnicians from their settlements on the Arabian gulf, as incited them to aim at obtaining some share of it. This they effected under the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon, partly by the conquests which they made of a small district in the land of Edom, that gave them possession of the harbours of Elath and Esiongeber on the Red Sea, and partly by the friendship of Hiram, king of Tyre; who enabled Solomon to fit out fleets, which, under the direction of Phœnician pilots, sailed to Tarshish and Ophir.^l In what region of the earth we should search for these famous ports

^b Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 70. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 1128, A.

ⁱ Isaiah xxiii. 3.

^k When we consider the extent and effects of the Phœnician commerce, the scanty information concerning it which we receive from ancient writers must, on a first view, appear surprising. But when we recollect that all the Greek historians (Herodotus excepted), who give any account of the Phœnicians, published their works long after the destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great, we will cease to wonder at their not having entered into minute details with respect to a trade which was then removed to new seats, and carried on in other channels. But the power and opulence of Tyre, in the prosperous age of its commerce, must have attracted general attention. In the prophecies of Ezekiel, who flourished two hundred and sixty years before the fall of Tyre, there is the most particular account of the nature and variety of its commercial transactions that is to be found in any ancient writer, and which conveys at the same time a magnificent idea of the extensive power of that state. Ch. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

^l 1 Kings ix. 26; x. 22.

which furnished the navy of Solomon with the various commodities enumerated by the sacred historians, is an inquiry that has long exercised the industry of learned men. They were early supposed to be situated in some part of India, and the Jews were held to be one of the nations which traded with that country. But the opinion more generally adopted is, that Solomon's fleets, after passing the straits of Babelmandeb, held their course along the south-west coast of Africa, as far as the kingdom of Sofala, a country celebrated for its rich mines of gold and silver (from which it has been denominated the golden Sofala, by oriental writers),^m and abounding in all the other articles which composed the cargoes of the Jewish ships. This opinion, which the accurate researches of M. D'Anville rendered highly probable,ⁿ seems now to be established with the utmost certainty by a late learned traveller; who by his knowledge of the monsoons in the Arabian gulf, and his attention to the ancient mode of navigation, both in that sea and along the African coast, has not only accounted for the extraordinary length of time which the fleets of Solomon took in going and returning, but has shewn, from circumstances mentioned concerning the voyage, that it was not made to any place in India.^o The Jews, then, we may conclude, have no title to be reckoned among the nations which carried on intercourse with India by sea; and if, from deference to the sentiments of some respectable authors, their claim were to be admitted, we know with certainty, that the commercial effort which they made in the reign of Solomon was merely a transient one, and that they quickly returned to their former state of unsocial seclusion from the rest of mankind.

From collecting the scanty information which history affords, concerning the most early attempts to open a commercial intercourse with India, I now proceed, with more certainty and greater confidence, to trace the progress of

^m *Notices des MSS. du Roi*, tom. ii. p. 40.

ⁿ *Dissert. sur le Pays d'Ophir. Mem. de Literat.* tom. xxx. p. 83, &c.

^o *Bruce's Travels*, book ii. ch. 4.

communication with that country, under the guidance of authors who recorded events nearer to their own times, and with respect to which they had received more full and accurate intelligence.

The first establishment of any foreign power in India which can be ascertained by evidence meriting any degree of credit, is that of the Persians; and even of this we have only a very general and doubtful account. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, though raised to the throne of Persia by chance or by artifice, possessed such active and enterprising talents, as rendered him worthy of that high station. He examined the different provinces of his kingdom more diligently than any of his predecessors, and explored regions of Asia formerly little known.^p Having subjected to his dominion many of the countries which stretched south-east from the Caspian sea, towards the river Oxus, his curiosity was excited to acquire a more extensive and accurate knowledge of India, on which they bordered. With this view he appointed Scylax of Caryandra to take the command of a squadron fitted out at Caspatyrus, in the country of Pactya [the modern Pehkely], towards the upper part of the navigable course of the river Indus, and to fall down its stream until he should reach the ocean. This Scylax performed, though it should seem with much difficulty, and notwithstanding many obstacles; for he spent no less than two years and six months in conducting his squadron from the place where he embarked, to the Arabian gulf.^q The account which he gave of the populousness, fertility, and high cultivation of that region of India through which his course lay, rendered Darius impatient to become master of a country so valuable. This he soon accomplished; and though his conquests in India seem not to have extended beyond the district watered by the Indus, we are led to form a high idea of its opulence, as well as the number of its inhabitants, in ancient times, when we learn that the tribute which he levied from it was near a third part of the whole revenue of the Persian

^p Herodot. lib. iv. c. 44.

^q Id. c. 42. 44.

monarchy. But neither this voyage of Scylax, nor the conquests of Darius, to which it gave rise, diffused any general knowledge of India. The Greeks, who were the only enlightened race of men at that time in Europe, paid but little attention to the transactions of the people whom they considered as barbarians, especially in countries far remote from their own; and Scylax had embellished the narrative of his voyage with so many circumstances manifestly fabulous,^s that he seems to have met with the just punishment to which persons who have a notorious propensity to what is marvellous are often subjected, of being listened to with distrust, even when they relate what is exactly true.

About a hundred and sixty years after the reign of Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great undertook his expedition into India. The wild sallies of passion, the indecent excesses of intemperance, and the ostentatious displays of vanity, too frequent in the conduct of this extraordinary man, have so degraded his character, that the pre-eminence of his merit, either as a conqueror, a politician, or a legislator, has seldom been justly estimated. The subject of my present inquiry leads me to consider his operations only in one light, but it will enable me to exhibit a striking view of the grandeur and extent of his plans. He seems, soon after his first successes in Asia, to have formed the idea of establishing a universal monarchy, and aspired to the dominion of the sea, as well as of the land. From the wonderful efforts of the Tyrians in their own defence, when left without any ally or protector, he conceived a high opinion of the resources of maritime power, and of the wealth to be derived from commerce, especially that with India, which he found engrossed by

^r Herodot. lib. iii. c. 90—96. The account given of the revenue of the Persian monarchy by Herodotus is curious, and seems to have been copied from some public record, which had been communicated to him. According to it the Persian empire was divided into twenty satrapys, or governments. The tribute levied from each is specified, amounting in all to 14,560 Eubœan talents, which Dr. Arbuthnot reckons to be equal to 2,803,477*l.* sterling money; a sum extremely small for the revenue of the Great King, and which ill accords with many facts, concerning the riches, magnificence, and luxury of the East, that occur in ancient authors.

^s Philostr. Vita Apoll. lib. iii. c. 47, and Note 3d of Olearius Tzetzet, Chiliad. vii. ver. 630.

the citizens of Tyre. With a view to secure this commerce, and to establish a station for it, preferable in many respects to that of Tyre, as soon as he completed the conquest of Egypt, he founded a city near one of the mouths of the Nile, which he honoured with his own name; and with such admirable discernment was the situation of it chosen, that Alexandria soon became the greatest trading city in the ancient world; and, notwithstanding many successive revolutions in empire, continued during eighteen centuries, to be the chief seat of commerce with India.[†] Amidst the military operations to which Alexander was soon obliged to turn his attention, the desire of acquiring the lucrative commerce which the Tyrians had carried on with India, was not relinquished. Events soon occurred, that not only confirmed and added strength to this desire, but opened to him a prospect of obtaining the sovereignty of those regions which supplied the rest of mankind with so many precious commodities.

After his final victory over the Persians, he was led in pursuit of the last Darius, and of Bessus, the murderer of that unfortunate monarch, to traverse that part of Asia which stretches from the Caspian sea beyond the river Oxus. He advanced towards the east as far as Maracanda,[‡] then a city of some note, and destined in a future period, under the modern name of Samarcand, to be the capital of an empire not inferior to his own either in extent or in power. In a progress of several months through provinces hitherto unknown to the Greeks, in a line of march often approaching near to India, and among people accustomed to much intercourse with it, he learned many things concerning the state of a country^x that had been long the object of his thoughts and wishes,^y which increased his desire of invading it. Decisive and prompt in all his resolutions, he set out from Bactria, and crossed that ridge of mountains which, under various denominations, forms the Stony Girdle (if I may use an expression of the orien-

[†] See vol. v. p. 35.

^x Strabo, xv. p. 1021. A.

[‡] Arrian, iii. c. 50.

^y Arrian, iv. c. 15.

tal geographers) which encircles Asia, and constitutes the northern barrier of India.

The most practicable avenue to every country, it is obvious, must be formed by circumstances in its natural situation, such as the defiles which lead through mountains, the course of rivers, and the places where they may be passed with the greatest ease and safety. In no place of the earth is this line of approach marked and defined more conspicuously, than on the northern frontier of India; insomuch that the three great invaders of this country, Alexander, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah, in three distant ages, and with views and talents extremely different, advanced by the same route, with very little deviation. Alexander had the merit of having first discovered the way. After passing the mountains, he encamped at Alexandria Paropamisana, not far from the mountains denominated the Indian Caucasus, by his historians, now known by the name of Hindoo Kho;² and having subdued or conciliated the nations seated on the north-west bank of the Indus, he crossed the river at Taxila, now Attock, where its stream is so tranquil that a bridge can be thrown over it with greater ease than at any other place.³

² In the second edition of his Memoir, Major Rennel gives the modern names of the Hydaspes, with some variation in their orthography, *Behut* and *Ihylam*.

³ Rennell, Mem. p. 92. Major Rennel, in the second edition of his Memoir, has traced, from very imperfect materials, the routes by which Alexander, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah, penetrated into India, with a degree of accuracy which does honour to his discernment, and displays the superiority of his knowledge, in the ancient and modern geography of that country. His researches he has illustrated by an additional map. To these, I must refer my readers. Nor are they to consider his laborious investigation merely as an object of curiosity; the geography of that fertile and extensive region of India, distinguished by the name of *Panjab*, with which we are at present little acquainted, may soon become very interesting. If, on the one hand, that firm foundation on which the British empire in India seems to be established, by the successful termination of the late war, remains unshaken;—if on the other hand, the Seiks, a confederacy of several independent states, shall continue to extend their dominions with the same rapidity that they have advanced since the beginning of the current century; it is highly probable that the enterprising commercial spirit of the one people, and the martial ardour of the other, who still retain the activity and ardour natural to men in the earliest ages of social union, may give rise to events of the greatest moment. The frontiers of the two states are approaching gradually nearer and nearer to each other, the territories of the Seiks having reached to the western bank of the river Jumnah, while those of the nabob of Oude stretch along its eastern bank. This nabob, the ally or tributary of the East India Company, is supported by a brigade of the Bengal army, constantly stationed on his western frontier. Ren. Mem. Introd. p. cxvi. In a position so contiguous, rivalry for power, interference of interest, and innumerable other causes of jealousy and discord, can hardly fail of terminating, sooner or later, in open hostility. The Seiks possess the whole Soubah of Lahore, the principal part of Moultan, and the western part of Delhi. The dimen-

After passing the Indus, Alexander marched forward in the road which leads directly to the Ganges, and the opulent provinces to the south-east, now comprehended under the general name of Indostan. But, on the banks of the Hydaspes, known in modern times by the name of the Betah or Chelum, he was opposed by Porus, a powerful monarch of the country, at the head of a numerous army. The war with Porus, and the hostilities in which he was successively engaged with other Indian princes, led him to deviate from his original route, and to turn more towards the south-west. In carrying on these operations, Alexander marched through one of the richest and best peopled countries of India, now called the Panjab, from the five great rivers by which it is watered; and as we know that this march was performed in the rainy season, when even Indian armies cannot keep the field, it gives an idea both of Alexander's persevering spirit, and of the extraordinary vigour and hardiness of constitution, which soldiers in ancient times, derived from the united effects of gymnastic exercise and military discipline. In every step of his progress, objects no less striking than new presented themselves to Alexander. The magnitude of the Indus, even after he had seen the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, must have filled him with surprise.^b No country he had hitherto visited was so populous and well cultivated, or abounded in so many valuable productions of nature and of art, as that part of India through which he had led his army. But when he was informed in every place, and probably with exaggerated description, how much the Indus was inferior to the Ganges, and how far all that he had hitherto beheld was surpassed in the happy regions through which that great river flows, it is not wonderful

sions of this tract are about four hundred British miles from N. W. to S. E., varying in breadth from three hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty miles. Their capital city is Lahore. Little is known concerning their government and political maxims; but they are represented as mild. In their mode of making war they are unquestionably savage and cruel. Their army consists almost entirely of horse; of which they can bring at least one hundred thousand into the field. Maj. Ren. Mem. 2d edit. Introd. p. cxxi. cxxii. and p. 365. See also Mr. Craufurd's Sketches, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 263, &c.

^b Strabo, lib. xv. p. 102. C. & note 5. Casaub.

that his eagerness to view and to take possession of them should have prompted him to assemble his soldiers, and to propose that they should resume their march, towards that quarter, where wealth, dominion, and fame, awaited them. But they had already done so much, and had suffered so greatly, especially from incessant rains and extensive inundations, that their patience as well as strength were exhausted,^c and with one voice they refused to advance farther. In this resolution they persisted with such sullen obstinacy, that Alexander, though possessed in the highest degree of every quality that gains an ascendant over the minds of military men, was obliged to yield, and to issue orders for marching back to Persia.^d

The scene of this memorable transaction was on the

^c It is surprising that Alexander did not receive, in the provinces contiguous to India, such an account of the periodical rains in that country, as to shew him the impropriety of carrying on military operations there while these continued. His expedition into India commenced towards the end of spring, Arrian, lib. iv. c. 22, when the rains were already begun in the mountains from which all the rivers in the Panjab flow, and of course they must have been considerably swelled before he arrived on their banks, Rennel, p. 268.—He passed the Hydaspes at midsummer, about the height of the rainy season. In a country through which so many large rivers run, an army on service at this time of the year must have suffered greatly. An accurate description of the nature of the rains and inundations in this part of India, is given by Arrian, lib. v. c. 9; and one still fuller may be found in Strabo, lib. xv. 1013.—It was of what they suffered by these that Alexander's soldiers complained, Strabo, lib. xv. 1021, D; and not without reason, as it had rained incessantly during seventy days, Diod. Sicul. xvii. c. 94. A circumstance which marks the accuracy with which Alexander's officers had attended to every thing in that part of India, deserves notice. Aristobulus, in his Journal, which I have mentioned, observes that, though heavy rains fell in the mountains, and in the country near to them, in the plains below not so much as a shower fell. Strabo, lib. xv. 1013, B; 1015, B. Major Rennel was informed by a person of character, who had resided in this district of India, which is now seldom visited by Europeans, that during great part of the S. W. monsoon, or at least in the months of July, August, and part of September, which is the rainy season in most other parts of India, the atmosphere in the Delta of the Indus is generally clouded, but no rain falls except very near the sea. Indeed, very few showers fall during the whole season. Captain Hamilton relates, that when he visited Tatta, no rain had fallen for three years before. Memoirs, p. 288.—Tamerlane, who, by the vicinity of the seat of his government to India, had the means of being well informed concerning the nature of the country, avoided the error of Alexander, and made his Indian campaign during the dry season. As Nadir Shah, both when he invaded India, A. D. 1738, and in his return next year, marched through the same countries with Alexander, and nearly in the same line of direction, nothing can give a more striking idea of the persevering ardour of the Macedonian conqueror, than the description of the difficulties which Nadir Shah had to surmount, and the hardships which his army endured. Though possessed of absolute power and immense wealth, and distinguished no less by great talents than long experience in the conduct of war, he had the mortification to lose a great part of his troops in crossing the rivers of the Panjab, in penetrating through the mountains to the north of India, and in conflicts with the fierce natives inhabiting the countries which stretch from the banks of the Oxus to the frontiers of Persia. An interesting account of his retreat and sufferings is given in the Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurren, a Cashmieran of distinction, who served in his army.

^d Arrian, v. c. 24, 25.

banks of the Hyphasis, the modern Beyah, which was the utmost limit of Alexander's progress in India. From this it is manifest, that he did not traverse the whole extent of the Panjab. Its south-west boundary is formed by a river anciently known by the name of Hysudrus, and now by that of the Setlege, to which Alexander never approached nearer than the southern bank of the Hyphasis, where he erected twelve stupendous altars, which he intended as a monument of his exploits, and which (if we may believe the biographer of Apollonius Tyanæus) were still remaining, with legible inscriptions, when that fantastic sophist visited India, three hundred and seventy-three years after Alexander's expedition.^e The breadth of the Panjab, from Ludhana on the Setlege to Attock on the Indus, is computed to be two hundred and fifty-nine geographical miles, in a straight line; and Alexander's march, computed in the same manner, did not extend above two hundred miles. But both as he advanced and returned, his troops were so spread over the country, and often acted in so many separate divisions, and all his movements were so exactly measured and delineated by men of science, whom he kept in pay for the purpose, that he acquired a very extensive and accurate knowledge of that part of India.^f

When, upon his return, he reached the banks of the Hydaspes, he found that the officers to whom he had given it in charge to build and collect as many vessels as possible, had executed his orders with such activity and success, that they had assembled a numerous fleet. As amidst the hurry of war, and the rage of conquest, he never lost sight of his pacific and commercial schemes, the destination of his fleet was to sail down the Indus to the ocean, and from its mouth to proceed to the Persian gulf, that a communication by sea might be opened with India and the centre of his dominions.

The conduct of this expedition was committed to Nearchus, an officer equal to that important trust. But as

^e Philostr. Vita Apollon. lib. ii. c. 43, edit. Olear. Lips. 1709.

^f Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 17.

Alexander was ambitious to acquire fame of every kind, and fond of engaging in new and splendid undertakings, he himself accompanied Nearchus in his navigation down the river. The armament was indeed so great and magnificent, as deserved to be commanded by the conqueror of Asia. It was composed of an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, and two hundred elephants, and of a fleet of near two thousand vessels, various in burden and form;^g on board of which one-third of the troops embarked, while the remainder, marching in two divisions, one on the right, and the other on the left, of the river, accompanied them in their progress. As they advanced, the nations on each side were either compelled or persuaded to submit. Retarded by the various operations in which this engaged him, as well as by the slow navigation of such a fleet as he conducted, Alexander was above nine months before he reached the ocean.^h

Alexander's progress in India, in this line of direction, was far more considerable than that which he made by the route we formerly traced; and when we attend to the various movements of his troops, the number of cities which they took, and the different states which they subdued, he may be said not only to have viewed, but to have explored, the countries through which he passed. This part of India has been so little frequented by Europeans in later times, that neither the position of places, nor their distances, can be ascertained with the same accuracy as in the interior provinces, or even in the Panjab. But from the researches of Major Rennell, carried on with no less discernment than

^g That a fleet so numerous should have been collected in such a short time, is apt to appear, at first sight, incredible. Arrian, however, assures us, that in specifying this number he followed Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, whose authority he considered to be of the greatest weight, lib. vi. c. 3. But as the Panjab-country is full of navigable rivers, on which all the intercourse among the natives was carried on, it abounded with vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands, so that he might easily collect that number. If we could give credit to the account of the invasion of India by Semiramis, no fewer than four thousand vessels were assembled in the Indus to oppose her fleet. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. c. 74.—It is remarkable, that when Mahmoud of Gazna invaded India, a fleet was collected on the Indus to oppose him, consisting of the same number of vessels. We learn from the Ayeen Akbery, that the inhabitants of this part of India still continue to carry on all their communication with each other by water; the inhabitants of the Circar of Tatta alone have not less than forty thousand vessels of various constructions. Vol. ii. p. 143.

^h Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1014.

industry, the distance of that place on the Hydaspes, where Alexander fitted out his fleet, from the ocean, cannot be less than a thousand British miles. Of this extensive region a considerable portion, particularly the upper Delta, stretching from the capital of the ancient Malli, now Moultan, to Patala, the modern Tatta, is distinguished for its fertility and population.ⁱ

Soon after he reached the ocean, Alexander, satisfied with having accomplished this arduous undertaking, led his army by land back to Persia. The command of the fleet, with a considerable body of troops on board of it, he left to Nearchus, who, after a coasting voyage of seven months, conducted it safely up the Persian gulf into the Euphrates.^{k*}

ⁱ Rennell, Mem. 68, &c.

^k Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 23.

* All these particulars are taken from the Indian History of Arrian, a work different from that already mentioned, and one of the most curious treatises transmitted to us from antiquity. The first part of it consists of extracts from the account given by Nearchus of the climate and soil of India, and the manners of the natives. The second contains that officer's journal of his voyage from the mouth of the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf. The perusal of it gives rise to several observations.—1. It is remarkable that neither Nearchus, nor Ptolemy, nor Aristobulus, nor even Arrian, once mention the voyage of Scylax. This could not proceed from their being unacquainted with it, for Herodotus was a favourite author in the hands of every Greek who had any pretensions to literature. It was probably occasioned by the reasons which they had to distrust the veracity of Scylax, of which I have already taken notice. Accordingly, in a speech which Arrian puts into the mouth of Alexander, he asserts that, except Bacchus, he was the first who had passed the Indus; which implies that he disbelieved what is related concerning Scylax, and was not acquainted with what Darius Hystaspes is said to have done, in order to subject that part of India to the Persian crown. Arrian, vii. c. 10. This opinion is confirmed by Megasthenes, who resided a considerable time in India. He asserts that, except Bacchus and Hercules (to whose fabulous expeditions Strabo is astonished that he should have given any credit, lib. xv. p. 1007, D), Alexander was the first who had invaded India; Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 5. We are informed by Arrian, that the Assacani, and other people who possessed that country, which is now called the kingdom of Candahar, paid tribute, first to the Assyrians, and afterward to the Medes and Persians; Hist. Indic. c. 1. As all the fertile provinces on the north-west of the Indus were anciently reckoned to be part of India, it is probable that what was levied from them is the sum mentioned in the tribute-roll, from which Herodotus drew his account of the annual revenue of the Persian empire, and that none of the provinces to the south of the Indus were ever subject to the kings of Persia.—2. This voyage of Nearchus affords some striking instances of the imperfect knowledge which the ancients had of any navigation different from that to which they were accustomed in the Mediterranean. Though the enterprising genius and enlarged views of Alexander prompted him to attempt opening an intercourse by sea, between India and his Persian dominions, yet both he and Nearchus knew so little of the ocean which they wished to explore, as to be apprehensive that it might be found impossible to navigate it, on account of impervious straits, or other obstacles. Hist. Indic. c. 20. Q. Curt. lib. ix. c. 9. When the fleet arrived near the mouth of the Indus, the astonishment excited by the extraordinary flow and ebb of tide in the Indian ocean, a phenomenon (according to Arrian) with which Alexander and his soldiers were unacquainted, lib. vi. c. 19, is another proof of their ignorance in maritime science. Now is there any reason to be surprised at their astonishment, as the tides are hardly perceptible in the Mediterranean, beyond

In this manner did Alexander, first open the knowledge of India to the people of Europe, and an extensive district of it was surveyed with greater accuracy than could have been expected from the short time he remained in that country. Fortunately an exact account, not only of his military operations, but of every thing worthy of notice in the countries where they were carried on, was recorded in the memoirs or journals of three of his principal officers, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, Aristobulus, and Nearchus. The two former have not, indeed, reached our times; but it is probable that the most important facts which they contained are preserved, as Arrian professes to have followed them as his guides in his history of the expedition

which the knowledge of the Greeks and Macedonians did not extend. For the same reason, when the Romans carried their victorious arms into the countries situated on the Atlantic ocean, or on the seas that communicate with it, this new phenomenon of the tides was an object of wonder and terror to them. Cæsar describes the amazement of his soldiers at a spring-tide, which greatly damaged the fleet with which he invaded Britain, and acknowledges that it was an appearance with which they were unacquainted; Bell. Gallic. lib. iv. c. 29. The tides on the coast near the mouth of the Indus are remarkably high, and the effects of them very great, especially that sudden and abrupt influx of the tide into the mouths of rivers or narrow straits, which is known in India by the name of *The Bore*, and is accurately described by Major Rennell, Introd. xxiv. Mem. 278. In the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, p. 26, these high tides are mentioned, and the description of them nearly resembles that of the Bore. A very exaggerated account of the tides in the Indian ocean is given by Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 25. Major Rennell seems to think, that Alexander and his followers could not be so entirely unacquainted with the phenomenon of the tides, as Herodotus had informed the Greeks, "that in the Red sea there was a regular ebb and flow of the tide every day;" lib. ii. c. 11. This is all the explanation of that phenomenon given by Herodotus. But among the ancients there occur instances of inattention to facts, related by respectable authors, which appear surprising in modern times. Though Herodotus, as I have just now observed, gave an account of the voyage performed by Scylax at considerable length, neither Alexander, nor his historians, take any notice of that event. I shall afterward have occasion to mention a more remarkable instance of the inattention of later writers to an accurate description which Herodotus had given of the Caspian sea. From these, and other similar instances which might have been produced, we may conclude, that the slight mention of the regular flow and ebb of tide in the Red sea is not a sufficient reason for rejecting, as incredible, Arrian's account of the surprise of Alexander's soldiers when they first beheld the extraordinary effects of the tide at the mouth of the Indus.—3. The course of Nearchus's voyage, the promontories, the creeks, the rivers, the cities, the mountains, which came successively in his view, are so clearly described, and the distances of such as were most worthy of notice are so distinctly marked, that M. D'Anville, by comparing these with the actual position of the country, according to the best accounts of it, ancient as well as modern, has been able to point out most of the places which Nearchus mentions, with a degree of certainty which does as much honour to the veracity of the Grecian navigator, as to the industry, learning, and penetration of the French geographer. Mem. de Literat. tom. xxx. p. 132, &c.

In modern times, the Red sea is a name appropriated to the Arabian gulf, but the ancients denominated the ocean which stretches from that gulf to India, the Erythrean sea, from king Erythras, of whom nothing more is known than the name, which in the Greek language signifies red. From this casual meaning of the word, it came to be believed that it was of a different colour from other seas, and consequently of more dangerous navigation.

of Alexander;¹ a work which, though composed long after Greece had lost its liberty, and in an age when genius and taste were on the decline, is not unworthy the purest times of Attic literature.

With respect to the general state of India, we learn from these writers, that, in the age of Alexander, though there was not established in it any powerful empire, resembling that which, in modern times, stretched its dominion from the Indus almost to Cape Comorin, it was, even then, formed into monarchies of considerable extent. The king of the Prasij was prepared, on the banks of the Ganges, to oppose the Macedonians, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand infantry, two thousand armed chariots, and a great number of elephants.^m The territory of which Alexander constituted Porus the sovereign, is said to have contained seven distinct nations, and no fewer than two thousand towns.ⁿ Even in the most restricted sense that can be given to the vague indefinite appellations of *nations* and *towns*, an idea is conveyed of a very great degree of population. As the fleet sailed down the river, the country on each side was found to be in no respect inferior to that of which the government was committed to Porus.

It was likewise from the memoirs of the same officers that Europe derived its authentic information concerning the climate, the soil, the productions, and the inhabitants of India; and, in a country where the manners, the customs, and even the dress of the people, are almost as permanent and invariable as the face of nature itself, it is wonderful how exactly the descriptions given by Alexander's officers delineate what we now behold in India, at the distance of two thousand years. The stated change of seasons, now known by the name of *Monsoons*; the periodical rains; the swelling of the rivers; the inundations which these occasion; the appearance of the country during their continuance, are particularly mentioned and described. No less accurate are the accounts which they

¹ Arrian, lib. i. in præmio. ^m Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. p. 232. ⁿ Arrian, lib. vi. c. 2.

have given of the inhabitants, their delicate and tender form, their dark complexion, their black uncurled hair; their garments of cotton, their living entirely upon vegetable food, their division into separate tribes or *casts*, the members of which never intermarry, the custom of wives burning themselves with their deceased husbands, and many other particulars, in all which they perfectly resemble the modern Hindoos. To enter into any detail with respect to these in this place would be premature; but as the subject, though curious and interesting, will lead unavoidably into discussions not well suited to the nature of an historical work, I shall reserve my ideas concerning it for an Appendix, to be annexed to this Disquisition; and hope they may contribute to throw some additional light upon the origin and nature of the commerce with India.

Much as the western world was indebted for its knowledge of India to the expedition of Alexander, it was only a small portion of that vast continent which he explored. His operations did not extend beyond the modern province of Lahore, and the countries on the banks of the Indus from Moulton to the sea. These, however, were surveyed with that degree of accuracy which I have already described; and it is a circumstance not unworthy of notice, that this district of India which Europeans first entered, and with which they were best acquainted in ancient times, is now less known than almost any part of that continent, neither commerce nor war, to which, in every age, geography is chiefly indebted for its improvement, having led any nation of Europe to frequent or explore it.

If an untimely death had not put a period to the reign of the Macedonian hero, India, we have reason to think, would have been more fully explored by the ancients, and the European dominion would have been established there two thousand years sooner. When Alexander invaded India, he had something more in view than a transient incursion. It was his object to annex that extensive and opulent country to his empire; and though the refractory

spirit of his army obliged him, at that time, to suspend the prosecution of his plan, he was far from relinquishing it. To exhibit a general view of the measures which he adopted for this purpose, and to point out their propriety and probable success, is not foreign from the subject of this Dissertation, and will convey a more just idea than is usually entertained, of the original genius and extent of political wisdom which distinguished this illustrious man.

When Alexander became master of the Persian empire, he early perceived, that with all the power of his hereditary dominions, reinforced by the troops which the ascendant he had acquired over the various states of Greece might enable him to raise there, he could not hope to retain in subjection territories so extensive and populous; that, to render his authority secure and permanent, it must be established in the affection of the nations which he had subdued, and maintained by their arms; and that, in order to acquire this advantage, all distinctions between the victors and the vanquished must be abolished, and his European and Asiatic subjects must be incorporated and become one people, by obeying the same laws, and by adopting the same manners, institutions, and discipline.

Liberal as this plan of policy was, and well adapted to accomplish what he had in view, nothing could be more repugnant to the ideas and prejudices of his countrymen. The Greeks had such a high opinion of the pre-eminence to which they were raised by civilization and science, that they seem hardly to have acknowledged the rest of mankind to be of the same species with themselves. To every other people they gave the degrading appellation of barbarians, and in consequence of their own boasted superiority, they asserted a right of dominion over them, in the same manner (to use their own expression) as the soul has over the body, and men have over irrational animals. Extravagant as this pretension may now appear, it found admission, to the disgrace of ancient philosophy, into all the schools. Aristotle, full of this opinion, in support of

which he employs arguments more subtle than solid,^p advised Alexander to govern the Greeks like subjects, and the barbarians as slaves; to consider the former as companions, the latter as creatures of an inferior nature.^q But the sentiments of the pupil were more enlarged than those of his master, and his experience in governing men taught the monarch what the speculative science of the philosopher did not discover. Soon after the victory at Arbela, Alexander himself, and by his persuasion, many of his officers, assumed the Persian dress, and conformed to several of their customs. At the same time he encouraged the Persian nobles to imitate the manners of the Macedonians, to learn the Greek language, and to acquire a relish for the beauties of the elegant writers in that tongue, which were then universally studied and admired. In order to render the union more complete, he resolved to marry one of the daughters of Darius, and chose wives for a hundred of his principal officers in the most illustrious Persian families. Their nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and festivity, and with high exultation of the conquered people. In imitation of them, above ten thousand Macedonians, of inferior rank, married Persian women, to each of whom Alexander gave nuptial presents, as a testimony of his approbation of their conduct.^{r*}

^p Aristot. Polit. i. c. 3—7.

^q Plut. de Fortuna Alex. Orat. i. p. 302. vol. vii. edit. Reiske. Strabo, lib. i. p. 116. A.

^r Arrian, lib. vii. c. 4. Plut. de Fort. Alex. p. 304.

* Alexander was so intent on rendering this union of his subjects complete, that after his death there was found in his tablets or commentaries (among other magnificent schemes which he meditated), a resolution to build several new cities, some in Asia, and some in Europe, and to people those in Asia with Europeans, and those in Europe with Asiatics, "that (says the historian), by intermarriages, and exchange of good offices, the inhabitants of these two great continents might be gradually moulded into a similarity of sentiments, and become attached to each other with mutual affection." Dioid. Sicul. lib. xviii. c. 4.

The Oriental historians have mingled the little that they know concerning the transactions of European nations, particularly concerning the reign of Alexander the Great, and his conquest of Persia, with so many fabulous and incredible circumstances, that hardly any attention is due to them. Though they misrepresented every event in his life, they entertained a high idea of his great power, distinguishing him by the appellation of *Escander Dhūlcarnēin*, i. e. the *Two-horned*, in allusion to the extent of his dominions, which, according to them, reached from the western to the eastern extremity of the earth. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. Article *Escander*. Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. v. 8vo. edit. p. 433. Richardson's Dissert. prefixed to his Dictionary of the Persian and Arabic, p. xii. Whether the historians of Indostan have given an account of Alexander's invasion of India with greater accuracy, cannot be known, until some of their works, written in the Sanskreet, are translated. That some traditional knowledge of Alexander's invasion of India is still preserved in the northern provinces of the

But assiduously as Alexander laboured to unite his European and Asiatic subjects by the most indissoluble ties, he did not trust entirely to the success of that measure for the security of his new conquests. In every province which he subdued, he made choice of proper stations, where he built and fortified cities, in which he placed garrisons composed partly of such of the natives as conformed to the Grecian manners and discipline, and partly of such of his European subjects as were worn out with the fatigues of service, and wished for repose and a permanent establishment. These cities were numerous, and served not only as a chain of posts to keep open the communication between the different provinces of his dominions, but as places of strength to overawe and curb the conquered people. Thirty thousand of his new subjects, who had been disciplined in these cities, and armed after the European fashion, appeared before Alexander in Susa, and were formed by him into that compact solid body of infantry, known by the name of the phalanx, which constituted the strength of a Macedonian army. But in order to secure entire authority over this new corps, as well as to render it more effective, he appointed that every officer in it intrusted with command, either superior or subaltern, should be European. As the ingenuity of mankind naturally has recourse in similar situations to the same expe-

Peninsula, is manifest from several circumstances. The rajahs of Chitore, who are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes, and the noblest of the Rajahpout tribes, boast of their descent from Porus, famous as well in the east as in the west for his gallant opposition to the Macedonian conqueror. Orme's Fragm. p. 5. Major Rennell has informed me, by accounts lately received from India, and confirmed by a variety of testimonies, that, in the country of Kuttore, the eastern extreme of the ancient Bactria, a people who claimed to be the descendants of Alexander's followers, were existing when Tamerlane invaded that province. In Bijore, a country more to the west in the same district, the Bazira of Alexander, there is a tribe at this day which traces its origin to certain persons left there by the conqueror when he passed through that province. Both Abul Fazel and Soojah Rae, an eastern historian of good reputation, report this tradition without any material variation. The latter, indeed, adds, that these Europeans, if we may call them so, continued to preserve that ascendancy over their neighbours, which their ancestors may be supposed to have possessed when they first settled there. Although we should reject this pedigree as false, yet the bare claim argues the belief of the natives, for which there must have been some foundation, that Alexander not only conquered Bijore, but also transferred that conquest to some of his own countrymen. Rennell, Mem. 2d edit. p. 162. The people of Bijore had likewise a high idea of Alexander's extensive authority, and they, too, denominated him the *Two-horned*, agreeably to the striking emblem of power in all the eastern languages. Ayeen Akbery, xi. 194. Many instances of this emblem being used, will occur to every person accustomed to read the sacred Scriptures.

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dients, the European powers, who now in their Indian territories employ numerous bodies of the natives in their service, have, in forming the establishment of these troops, adopted the same maxims; and, probably without knowing it, have modelled their battalions of Sepoys upon the same principles as Alexander did his phalanx of Persians.

The farther Alexander pushed his conquests from the banks of the Euphrates, which may be considered as the centre of his dominions, he found it necessary to build and to fortify a greater number of cities. Several of these to the east and south of the Caspian sea, are mentioned by ancient authors; and in India itself he founded two cities on the banks of the Hydaspes, and a third on the Acesines, both navigable rivers, which, after uniting their streams, fall into the Indus.^s From the choice of such situations, it is obvious that he intended, by means of these cities, to keep open a communication with India, not only by land, but by sea. It was chiefly with a view to the latter of these objects (as I have already observed), that he examined the navigation of the Indus with so much attention. With the same view, on his return to Susa, he, in person, surveyed the course of the Euphrates and Tigris, and gave directions to remove the cataracts or dams, which the ancient monarchs of Persia, induced by a peculiar precept of their religion, which enjoined them to guard with the utmost care against defiling any of the elements, had constructed near the mouths of these rivers, in order to shut out their subjects from any access to the ocean.* By open-

^s It seems to be an opinion generally received, that Alexander built only two cities in India, Nicæa, and Bucephalia, situated on the Hydaspes, the modern Chelum, and that Craterus superintended the building of both. But it is evident, from Arrian, lib. v. c. ult., that he built a third city on the Acesines, now the Jenaub, under the direction of Hephæstion; and if it was his object to retain the command of the country, a place of strength on some of the rivers to the south of the Hydaspes seems to have been necessary for that purpose. This part of India has been so little visited in modern times, that it is impossible to point out with precision the situation of these cities. If P. Tieffenthaler were well founded in his conjecture, that the river now called Rauvee is the Acesines of Arrian, Bernouilli, vol. i. p. 39; it is probable that this city was built somewhere near Lahore, one of the most important stations in that part of India, and reckoned in the Ayeen Akbery to be a city of very high antiquity. But Major Rennell, in my opinion, gives good reasons for supposing the Jenaub to be the Acesines of the ancients.

* Arrian, lib. vi. c. 7. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1074, &c.
 * The religious scruples which prevented the Persians from making any voyage by sea, were known to the ancients. Pliny relates of one of the Magi, who was sent on

ing the navigation in this manner, he proposed, that the valuable commodities of India should be conveyed from the Persian gulf into the interior parts of his Asiatic dominions, while by the Arabian gulf they should be carried to Alexandria, and distributed to the rest of the world.

Grand and extensive as these schemes were, the precautions employed, and the arrangements made for carrying them into execution, were so various and so proper, that Alexander had good reason to entertain sanguine hopes of their proving successful. At the time when the mutinous spirit of his soldiers obliged him to relinquish his operations in India, he was not thirty years of age complete. At this enterprising period of life, a prince of a spirit so active, persevering, and indefatigable, must have soon found means to resume a favourite measure on which he had been long intent. If he had invaded India a second time, he would not, as formerly, have been obliged to force his way through hostile and unexplored regions, opposed at every step by nations and tribes of barbarians whose names had never reached Greece. All Asia, from the shores of the Ionian sea to the banks of the Hyphasis, would then have been subject to his dominion; and through that immense stretch of country he had established such a chain of cities, or fortified stations,^u that his armies might

an embassy from Tiridates to the emperor Nero, " Navigare noluerat, quoniam exspuere in Maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam, fas non putant;" Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. c. 2. This aversion to the sea they carried so far, that according to the observation of a well-informed historian, there was not a city of any note in their empire built upon the sea-coast; Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiii. c. 6. We learn from Dr. Hyde, how intimately these ideas were connected with the doctrines of Zoroaster; Rel. Vet. Pers. cap. vi. In all the wars of the Persians with Greece, the fleets of the Great King consisted entirely of ships furnished by the Phenicians, Syrians, the conquered provinces of the Lesser Asia, and the islands adjacent. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus mention the quota furnished by each country in order to compose the fleet of twelve hundred ships with which Xerxes invaded Greece, and among these there is not one belonging to Persia. At the same time it is proper to observe, that according to Herodotus, whose authority is unexceptionable with regard to this point, Ariabignes, a son of Darius, acted as admiral of the Persian fleet, and had several satraps of high rank under his command, and both Persians and Medes served as soldiers on board of it; Herod. lib. vii. c. 96, 97. By what motives, or what authority, they were induced to act in this manner, I cannot explain. From some religious scruples, similar to those of the Persians, many of the natives of Indostan, in our own time, refuse to embark on board a ship, and to serve at sea; and yet on some occasions, the sepoys in the service of the European powers have got the better of these scruples.

^u M. Le Baron de Sainte-Croix, in his ingenious and learned Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre le Grand, p. 96., seems to entertain some doubt with respect to the number of the cities which Alexander is said to have built. Plutarch de Fort Alex. affirms,

have continued their march with safety, and have found a regular succession of magazines provided for their subsistence. Nor would it have been difficult for him to bring into the field forces sufficient to have achieved the conquest of a country so populous and extensive as India. Having armed and disciplined his subjects in the East like Europeans, they would have been ambitious to imitate, and to equal, their instructors; and Alexander might have drawn recruits, not from his scanty domains in Macedonia and Greece, but from the vast regions of Asia, which, in every age, has covered the earth, and astonished mankind with its numerous armies. When at the head of such a formidable power he had reached the confines of India, he might have entered it under circumstances very different from those in his first expedition. He had secured a firm footing there, partly by means of the garrisons that he left in the three cities which he had built and fortified, and partly by his alliance with Taxiles and Porus. These two Indian princes, won by Alexander's humanity and beneficence, which, as they were virtues seldom displayed in the ancient mode of carrying on war, excited of course a higher degree of admiration and gratitude, had continued steady in their attachment to the Macedonians. Reinforced by their troops, and guided by their information, as well as by the experience which he had acquired in his former campaigns, Alexander must have made rapid progress in a country where every invader, from his time to the present age, has proved successful.

that he founded no fewer than seventy. It appears from many passages in ancient authors, that the building of cities, or, what may be considered as the same, the establishment of fortified stations, was the mode of maintaining their authority in the conquered nations, adopted not only by Alexander, but by his successors. Seleucus and Antiochus, to whom the greater part of the Persian empire became subject, were no less remarkable for founding new cities than Alexander, and these cities seemed fully to have answered the purposes of the founders, as they effectually prevented (as I shall afterward have occasion to observe) the revolt of the conquered provinces. Though the Greeks, animated with the love of liberty and of their native country, refused to settle in the Persian empire while under the dominion of its native monarchs, even when allured by the prospect of great advantage, as M. de Sainte-Croix remarks, the case became perfectly different, when that empire was subjected to their own dominion, and they settled there, not as subjects but as masters. Both Alexander and his successors discovered much discernment in choosing the situation of the cities which they built. Seleucia, which Seleucus founded, is a striking instance of this, and became hardly inferior to Alexandria in number of inhabitants, in wealth, and in importance. Mr. Gibbon, vol. i. p. 250. M. D'Anville, *Mém. de Literat.* xxx.

But this and all his other splendid schemes were terminated at once by his untimely death. In consequence of that, however, events took place which illustrate and confirm the justness of the preceding speculations and conjectures, by evidence the most striking and satisfactory. When that great empire, which the superior genius of Alexander had kept united and in subjection, no longer felt his superintending control, it broke into pieces, and its various provinces were seized by his principal officers, and parcelled out among them. From ambition, emulation, and personal animosity, they soon turned their arms against one another; and as several of the leaders were equally eminent for political abilities and for military skill, the contest was maintained long, and carried on with frequent vicissitudes of fortune. Amidst the various convulsions and revolutions which these occasioned, it was found that the measures of Alexander for the preservation of his conquests had been concerted with such sagacity, that, upon the final restoration of tranquillity, the Macedonian dominion continued to be established in every part of Asia, and not one province had shaken off the yoke. Even India, the most remote of Alexander's conquests, quietly submitted to Pytho the son of Agenor, and afterward to Seleucus, who successively obtained dominion over that part of Asia. Porus and Taxiles, notwithstanding the death of their benefactor, neither declined submission to the authority of the Macedonians, nor made any attempt to recover independence.

During the contests for power and superiority among the successors of Alexander, Seleucus, who, in every effort of enterprising ambition, was inferior to none of them, having rendered himself master of all the provinces of the Persian empire comprehended under the name of Upper Asia, considered those countries of India which had been subdued by Alexander, as belonging to that portion of the Macedonian empire of which he was now the sovereign. Seleucus, like all the officers formed under Alexander, entertained such high ideas of the advantages which might be derived from a commercial intercourse with India, as

induced him to march into that country, partly with a view of establishing his own authority there, and partly in order to curb Sandracottus, who, having lately acquired the sovereignty of the Prasij, a powerful nation on the banks of the Ganges, threatened to attack the Macedonians, whose Indian territories bordered on his dominions. Unfortunately no account of this expedition, which seems to have been splendid and successful, has reached our times. All we know of it is, that he advanced considerably beyond the utmost boundary of Alexander's progress in India,* and would probably have proceeded much farther, if he had not been constrained to stop short in his career, in order to oppose Antigonus, who was preparing to invade his dominions at the head of a formidable army. Before he began his march towards the Euphrates, he concluded a treaty with Sandracottus; in consequence of which, that monarch quietly retained the kingdom he had acquired. But the powers and possessions of the Macedonians seem to have remained unimpaired during the reign of Seleucus, which terminated forty-two years after the death of Alexander.

With a view of cultivating a friendly intercourse with Sandracottus, Seleucus made choice of Megasthenes, an officer, who, from his having accompanied Alexander in his expedition into India, had some knowledge of the state of the country, and the manners of its inhabitants, and sent him as his ambassador to Palibothra.^y In this famous

* It is from Justin we receive the slender knowledge we have of the progress which Seleucus made in India, lib. xv. c. 4. But we cannot rely on his evidence, unless when it is confirmed by the testimony of other authors. Plutarch seems to assert, that Seleucus had penetrated far into India; but that respectable writer is more eminent for his discernment of characters, and his happy selection of those circumstances which mark and discriminate them, than for the accuracy of his historical researches. Pliny, whose authority is of greater weight, seems to consider it as certain, that Seleucus had carried his arms into districts of India which Alexander never visited; Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 17. The passage in which this is mentioned is somewhat obscure, but it seems to imply, that Seleucus had marched from the Hyphasis to the Hysudrus, from thence to Palibothra, and from that to the mouth of the Ganges. The distances of the principal stations in this march are marked, the whole amounting to two thousand two hundred and forty-four Roman miles. In this sense M. Bayer understands the words of Pliny; *Histor. Regni Græcorum Bactriani*, p. 37. But to me it appears highly improbable, that the Indian expedition of Seleucus could have continued so long as to allow time for operations of such extent. If Seleucus had advanced so far into India as the mouth of the Ganges, the ancients must have had a more accurate knowledge of that part of the country than they seem ever to have possessed.

^y Strabo, lib. ii. p. 121, &c. Arrian. *Hist. Ind.* passim.

capital of the Prasij, situated on the banks of the Ganges, Megasthenes resided several years, and was probably the first European who ever beheld that mighty river, far superior to any of the ancient continent in magnitude,* and no less distinguished by the fertility of the countries through which it flows. This journey of Megasthenes to Palibothra made Europeans acquainted with a large extent of country, of which they had not hitherto any knowledge; for Alexander did not advance farther towards the south-east than that part of the river Hydraotes or Raûvee, where the modern city of Lahore is situated, and Palibothra, the site of which, as it is a capital position in the geography of ancient India, I have investigated with the utmost attention, appears to me the same with that of the modern city of Allahabad, at the confluence of the two great rivers, Jumna and Ganges.^y As the road from La-

* Major Rennell gives a magnificent idea of this, by informing us, that "the Ganges, after it has escaped from the mountainous tract in which it had wandered above eight hundred miles," Mem. p. 233, "receives in its course through the plains eleven rivers, some of them as large as the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames, besides as many more of lesser note;" p. 257.

^y In fixing the position of Palibothra, I have ventured to differ from Major Rennell, and I venture to do so with diffidence. According to Strabo, Palibothra was situated at the junction of the Ganges and another river; lib. xv. p. 1028. A. Arrian is still more explicit. He places Palibothra at the confluence of the Ganges and Erranaboas, the last of which he describes as less than the Ganges or Indus, but greater than any other known river; Hist. Ind. c. 10. This description of its situation corresponds exactly with that of Allahabad. P. Boudier, to whose observations the geography of India is much indebted, says, that the Jumna, at its junction with the Ganges, appeared to him not inferior in magnitude to that river; D'Anville, *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 53. Allahabad is the name which was given to that city by the emperor Akbar, who erected a strong fortress there; an elegant delineation of which is published by Mr. Hodges, No. IV. of his *Select Views in India*. Its ancient name, by which it is still known among the Hindoos, is *Praeg*, or *Piyag*, and the people of the district are called *Praegi*, which bears a near resemblance to Prasij, the ancient appellation of the kingdom of which Palibothra was the capital; P. Tiessenthaler, *Bernouilli*, tom. i. p. 223. D'Anville, p. 56. Allahabad is such a noted seat of Hindoo devotion, that it is denominated *The King of Worshipped Places*: Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 35. "The territory around it, to the extent of forty miles, is deemed holy ground. The Hindoos believe, that when a man dies in this place, whatever he wishes for he will obtain in his next regeneration. Although they teach that suicide in general will be punished with torments hereafter, yet they consider it as meritorious for a man to kill himself at Allahabad;" Ayeen Akbery, iii. 256. P. Tiessenthaler describes the various objects of veneration at Allahabad, which are still visited with great devotion by an immense number of pilgrims; Bernouilli, tom. i. 224. From all these circumstances, we may conclude it to be a place of great antiquity, and in the same situation with the Palibothra of antiquity.

Major Rennell has been induced to place Palibothra on the same site with Patna, chiefly by two considerations.—1. From having learned that on or near the site of Patna stood anciently a very large city named *Patelpoother* or *Patalipputra*, which nearly resembles the ancient name of Palibothra. Although there is not now a confluence of two rivers at Patna, he was informed that the junction of the Soane with the Ganges, now twenty-two miles above Patna, was formerly under the walls of that

hore to Allahabad runs through some of the most cultivated and opulent provinces of India, the more the country was explored, the idea of its value rose higher. Accordingly, what Megasthenes observed during his progress to Palibothra, and his residence there, made such an impression upon his own mind, as induced him to publish an ample account of India, in order to make his countrymen more thoroughly acquainted with its importance. From his writings the ancients seem to have derived almost all their knowledge of the interior state of India, and from comparing the three most ample accounts of it, by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Arrian, they appear manifestly, from their near resemblance, to be a transcript of his words. But, unfortunately, Megasthenes was so fond of the marvellous, that he mingled with the truths which he related, many extravagant fictions: and to him may be traced up the fabulous tales of men with ears so large that they could wrap themselves up in them, of others with a single eye, without mouths, without noses, with long feet, and toes turned backwards; of people only three spans in height, of wild men with heads in the shape of a wedge, of ants as large as foxes that dug up gold, and many other things no less wonderful.² The extracts from his narrative which have been transmitted to us by Strabo, Arrian, and other writers, seem not to be entitled to credit, unless

city. The rivers of India sometimes change their course in a singular manner, and he produces some remarkable instances of it. But even should it be allowed, that the accounts which the natives give of this variation in the course of the Soane were perfectly accurate, I question whether Arrian's description of the magnitude of the Erranaboas be applicable to that river, certainly not so justly as the Jumna.—2. He seems to have been influenced, in some degree, by Pliny's Itinerary or Table of Distances from Taxila (the modern Attock) to the mouth of the Ganges; Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 17. But the distances in that Itinerary are marked so inaccurately, and in some instances are so palpably erroneous, that one cannot found upon them with much security. According to it, Palibothra is situated four hundred and twenty-five miles below the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. The actual distance, however, between Allahabad and Patna, is not more than two hundred British miles. A disagreement so considerable cannot be accounted for, without supposing some extraordinary error in the Itinerary, or that the point of conflux of the Jumna with the Ganges has undergone a change. For the former of these suppositions there is no authority (as far as I know) from any manuscript, or for the latter from any tradition. Major Rennell has produced the reasons which led him to suppose the site of Palibothra to be the same with that of Patna; Memoirs, p. 49—54. Some of the objections which might be made to this supposition he has foreseen, and endeavoured to obviate: and, after all I have added to them, I shall not be surprised, if, in a geographical discussion, my readers are disposed to prefer his decision to mine.

² Strabo, lib. xx. 1032. A. 1037. C.

when they are supported by internal evidence, and confirmed by the testimony of other ancient authors, or when they coincide with the experience of modern times. His account, however, of the dimensions and geography of India, is curious and accurate. His description of the power and opulence of the Prasij perfectly resembles that which might have been given of some of the greater states in the modern Indostan, before the establishment of the Mahomedan or European power in India, and is consonant to the accounts which Alexander had received concerning that people. He was informed, as has been already mentioned, that they were prepared to oppose him on the banks of the Ganges, with an army consisting of twenty thousand cavalry, two hundred thousand infantry, and two thousand armed chariots;^a and Megasthenes relates, that he had an audience of Sandracottus in a place where he was encamped with an army of four hundred thousand men.^b The enormous dimensions which he assigns to Palibothra, of no less than ten miles in length, and two in breadth, and surrounded by walls in which there were five hundred and seventy towers, and sixty-four gates, would probably have been ranked by Europeans among the wonders which he delighted to relate, if they were not now well acquainted with the rambling manner in which the cities of India were built, and did not know with certainty that, both in former and the present times, it might boast of cities still more extensive.^c

This embassy of Megasthenes to Sandracottus, and another of Diamachus to his son and successor Allitrochidas, are the last transactions of the Syrian monarchs with India, of which we have any account.^d Nor can we either fix with accuracy the time, or describe the manner, in

^a Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. p. 232. Q. Curt. lib. ix. c. 2.

^b Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1035. C.

^c Rennell, Mem. 49, 50.

^d I do not mention a short inroad into India by Antiochus the Great, about one hundred and ninety-seven years posterior to the invasion of his ancestor Seleucus. We know nothing more of this transaction, than that the Syrian monarch, after finishing the war he carried on against the two revolted provinces of Parthia and Bactria, entered India, and concluding a peace with Sophagasenus, a king of the country, received from him a number of elephants, and a sum of money; Polyb. lib. x. p. 597, &c.; lib. xi. p. 651. edit. Casaub. Justin. lib. xv. c. 4. Bayer's Hist. Regn. Græcor. Bactr. p. 69, &c.

which their possessions in India were wrested from them. It is probable that they were obliged to abandon that country soon after the death of Seleucus.

But though the great monarchs of Syria lost, about this period, those provinces in India, which had been subject to their dominion, the Greeks in a smaller kingdom, composed of some fragments of Alexander's empire, still maintained an intercourse with India, and even made some considerable acquisition of territory there. This was the kingdom of Bactria, originally subject to Seleucus, but wrested from his son or grandson, and rendered an independent state, about sixty-nine years after the death of Alexander. Concerning the transactions of this kingdom, we must rest satisfied with gleaning a few imperfect hints in ancient authors. From them we learn that its commerce with India was great; that the conquests of the Bactrian kings in that country, were more extensive than those of Alexander himself, and particularly that they recovered possession of the district near the mouth of the Indus, which he had subdued.^f Each of the six princes who reigned in Bactria, carried on military operations in India with such success, that they penetrated far into the interior part of the country, and proud of the conquests which they had made, as well as of the extensive dominions over which they reigned, some of them assumed the lofty title of *Great King*, which distinguished the Persian monarchs in the days of their highest splendour. But we should not have known how long this kingdom of Bactria subsisted, or in what manner it terminated, if M. de Guignes had not called in the historians of China to supply the defects of the Greek and Roman writers. By them we are informed, that about one hundred and twenty-six years before the Christian era, a powerful horde of Tartars, pushed from their native seats on the confines of China, and obliged to move towards the west by the pressure of a more numerous body that rolled on behind them, passed

^e Justin, lib. xv. c. 4.

^f Strabo, lib. xi. 735. D. lib. xv. 1006. B. Justin, lib. xli. c. 4. Bayer, Hist. Regni Græcor. Bactriani, passim.

the Jaxartes, and pouring in upon Bactria, like an irresistible torrent, overwhelmed that kingdom, and put an end to the dominion of the Greeks^g there, after it had been established near one hundred and thirty years.^h

From this time until the close of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, opened a new communication with the East, and carried their victorious arms into every part of India, no European power acquired territory, or established its dominion there. During this long period, of more than sixteen hundred years, all schemes of conquest in India seem to have been totally relinquished, and nothing more was aimed at by any nation, than to secure an intercourse of trade with that opulent country.

It was in Egypt that the seat of this intercourse was established; and it is not without surprise that we observe how soon and how regularly the commerce with the East came to be carried on by that channel, in which the sagacity of Alexander destined it to flow. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as soon as he took possession of Egypt, established the seat of government in Alexandria. By some exertions of authority, and many acts of liberality, but chiefly by the fame of his mild and equal administration, he drew such a number of inhabitants to this favourite residence, that it soon became a populous and wealthy city. As Ptolemy deserved and had possessed the confidence of Alexander more perfectly than any of his officers, he knew well that his chief object in founding Alexandria was to secure the advantages arising from the trade with India. A long and prosperous reign was favourable to the prosecution of that object, and though ancient authors have not enabled us to trace the steps which the first Ptolemy took for this purpose, we have a striking evidence of his extraordinary at-

^g Mem. de Literat. tom. xxv. p. 17, &c.

^h A fact cursorily related by Strabo, and which has escaped the inquisitive industry of M. de Guignes, coincides remarkably with the narrative of the Chinese writers, and confirms it. The Greeks, he says, were deprived of Bactria by tribes or hordes of Scythian Nomades, who came from the country beyond the Jaxartes, and are known by the names of Asij, Parsiani, Tachari, and Sacarauli; Strab. lib. xi. p. 779. A. The Nomades of the ancients were nations who, like the Tartars, subsisted entirely, or almost entirely, as shepherds, without agriculture.

attention to naval affairs, in his erecting a light-house on the island of Pharos, at the mouth of the harbour of Alexandria,ⁱ a work of such magnificence as to be reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. With respect to the commercial arrangements of his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, we have more perfect information. In order to bring the trade of India (which began to revive at Tyre, its ancient station),^k to centre in Alexandria, he set about forming a canal, a hundred cubits in breadth, and thirty cubits in depth, between Arsinoë on the Red Sea, not far from the situation of the modern Suez, and the Peleusiæc or eastern branch of the Nile, by means of which the productions of India might have been conveyed to that capital wholly by water. But either on account of some danger apprehended from completing it, that work was never finished; or from the slow and dangerous navigation towards the northern extremity of the Red Sea, this canal was found to be of so little use, that in order to facilitate the communication with India, he built a city on the west coast of that sea, almost under the tropic, to which he gave the name of Berenice.^l This new city soon became the staple of the trade with India.^m From Berenice the goods were transported

ⁱ Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1140. C.

^k Strabo, lib. xvi. 1089. A.

^l Strabo, lib. xvii. 1156. D. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 29.

^m As the distance of Arsinoë, the modern Suez, from the Nile, is considerably less than that between Berenice and Coptos, it was by this route that all the commodities imported into the Arabian gulf might have been conveyed with most expedition and least expense into Egypt. But the navigation of the Arabian gulf, which, even in the present improved state of nautical science, is slow and difficult, was in ancient times considered by the nations around it to be so extremely perilous, that it led them to give such names to several of its promontories, bays, and harbours, as convey a striking idea of the impression which the dread of this danger had made upon their imagination. The entry into the gulf they call *Babelmandeb*, the gate or port of affliction. To a harbour not far distant, they gave the name of *Mete*, i. e. Death. A headland adjacent they called *Gardejan*, the Cape of Burial. Other denominations of similar import are mentioned by the author to whom I am indebted for this information. Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 412, &c. It is not surprising then, that the staple of Indian trade should have been transferred from the northern extremity of the Arabian gulf to Berenice, as by this change a dangerous navigation was greatly shortened. This seems to have been the chief reason that induced Ptolemy to establish the port of communication with India at Berenice, as there were other harbours on the Arabian gulf which were considerably nearer than it to the Nile. At a later period, after the ruin of Coptos by the emperor Dioclesian, we are informed by Abulfeda. Descript. Egypt. edit. Michaelis, p. 77, that Indian commodities were conveyed from the Red sea to the Nile, by the shortest route, viz. from Cosseir, probably the Philoteræ Portus of Ptolemy, to Cous, the Vicus Apollinis, a journey of four days. The same account of the distance was given by the natives to Dr. Pococke, Travels, vol. i. p. 87. In consequence of this, Cous, from a small village, became the city in Upper Egypt next in magnitude to Fostat, or Old Cairo. In process of time, from causes which I cannot explain, the trade from the Red

by land to Coptos, a city three miles distant from the Nile, but which had a communication with that river by a navigable canal, of which there are still some remains," and thence carried down the stream to Alexandria. The distance between Berenice and Coptos was, according to Pliny, two hundred and fifty-eight Roman miles, and the road laid through the desert of Thebais, almost entirely destitute of water. But the attention of a powerful monarch made provision for supplying this want, by searching for springs, and wherever these were found he built inns, or more probably, in the eastern style, caravanseras, for the accommodation of merchants.^o In this channel the intercourse between the east and west continued to be carried on during two hundred and fifty years, as long as Egypt remained an independent kingdom.

The ships destined for India took their departure from Berenice, and sailing, according to the ancient mode of navigation, along the Arabian shore, to the promontory Syagrus (now Cape Rasalgate), held their course along the coast of Persia, either directly to Pattala (now Tatta), at the head of the lower Delta of the Indus, or to some other emporium on the west coast of India. To this part of India, which Alexander had visited and subdued, the commerce under the protection of the Egyptian monarchs seems to have been confined for a considerable time. Afterward a more convenient course was followed, and from Cape Rasalgate vessels sailed in a direct course to Zizerus. This,

sea by Cosseir removed to Kene, farther down the river than Cous, Abulf. p. 13. 77. D'Anville, Egypte, 196—200. In modern times, all the commodities of India imported into Egypt, are either brought by sea from Gidda to Suez, and thence carried on camels to Cairo, or are conveyed by land-carriage by the caravan returning from the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Niebuhr Voyage, tom i. p. 224. Volney, i. 138, &c. This, as far as I have been able to trace it, is a complete account of all the different routes by which the productions of the East have been conveyed to the Nile, from the first opening of that communication. It is singular that P. Sicard, Mem. des Missions dans le Levant, tom. ii. p. 157, and some other respectable writers, should suppose Cosseir to be the Berenice founded by Ptolemy, although Ptolemy has laid down its latitude at 23° 50', and Strabo has described it as nearly under the same parallel with that of Syené, lib. ii. p. 195, D. In consequence of this mistake, Pliny's computation of the distance between Berenice and Coptos, at two hundred and fifty-eight miles, has been deemed erroneous. Pococke, p. 87. But as Pliny not only mentions the total distance, but names the different stations in the journey, and specifies the number of miles between each; and as the Itinerary of Antonius coincides exactly with his account, D'Anville Egypte, p. 21, there is no reason to call in question the accuracy of it.

^o D'Anville Mem. de l'Egypte, p. 21.

^o Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1157. D. 1169.

according to M. de Montesquieu,^p was the kingdom of Sigerdis, on the sea-coast adjacent to the mouth of the Indus, conquered by the Greek monarchs of Bactria; according to Major Rennell,^q it was a port on the northern part of the Malabar coast. Ancient authors have not conveyed such information as will enable us to pronounce with certainty, which of these two opposite opinions is best founded. Nor can we point out with accuracy, what were the other ports in India which the merchants from Berenice frequented, when that trade was first opened. As they sailed in vessels of small burden, which crept timidly along the coast, it is probable that their voyages were circumscribed within very narrow limits, and that under the Ptolemies, no considerable progress was made in the discovery of India.

From this monopoly of the commerce by sea between the East and West, which Egypt long enjoyed, it derived that extraordinary degree of opulence and power for which it

^p L'Esprit des Loix, lib. xxi. c. 7.

^q Introd. p. xxxvii.

^r Major Rennell is of opinion, "that under the Ptolemies, the Egyptians extended their navigation to the extreme point of the Indian continent, and even sailed up the Ganges to Palibothra," on the same site (according to him) with the modern Patna. Introd. p. xxxvi. But had it been usual to sail up the Ganges as high as Patna, the interior parts of India must have been better known to the ancients than they ever were, and they would not have continued to derive their information concerning them from Megasthenes alone. Strabo begins his description of India in a very remarkable manner. He requests his readers to peruse with indulgence the account which he gives of it, as it was a country very remote, and few persons had visited it; and of these, many having seen only a small part of the country, related things either from hear-say, or, at the best, what they had hastily remarked while they passed through it in the course of military service, or on a journey. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1005. B. He takes notice that few of the traders from the Arabian gulf ever reached the Ganges. Ibid. 1006. C. He asserts, that the Ganges enters the sea by one mouth, *ibid.* 1011. C.; an error into which he could not have fallen if the navigation of that river had been common in his time. He mentions indeed the sailing up the Ganges, *ibid.* 1010, but it is cursorily in a single sentence; whereas, if such a considerable inland voyage of above four hundred miles through a populous and rich country, had been customary, or even if it had ever been performed by the Roman, or Greek, or Egyptian traders, it must have merited a particular description, and must have been mentioned by Pliny and other writers, as there was nothing similar to it in the practice of navigation among the ancients. It is observed by Arrian (or whoever is the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*), that previous to the discovery of a new route to India, which shall be mentioned afterwards, the commerce with that country was carried on in small vessels which sailed round every bay, p. 32. *Ap. Huds. Geogr. Min.* Vessels of such light construction, and which followed this mode of sailing, were ill fitted for a voyage so distant as that round Cape Comorin, and up the bay of Bengal, to Patna. It is not improbable, that the merchants, whom Strabo mentions as having reached the Ganges, may have travelled thither by land, either from the countries towards the mouth of the Indus, or from some part of the Malabar coast, and that the navigation up the Ganges, of which he casually takes notice, was performed by the natives in vessels of the country. This opinion derives some confirmation from his remarks upon the bad structure of the vessels which frequented that part of the Indian ocean. From his description of them, p. 1012. C. it is evident that they were vessels of the country.

was conspicuous. In modern times, acquainted with the vigilant and enterprising activity of commercial rivalship, there is hardly any circumstance in ancient story which appears more surprising, than that the sovereigns of Egypt should have been permitted to engross this lucrative trade without competition, or any attempt to wrest it out of their hands; especially as the powerful monarchs of Syria might, from the Persian gulf, have carried on an intercourse with the same parts of India, by a shorter and safer course of navigation. Different considerations seem to have induced them so tamely to relinquish all the obvious advantages of this commerce. The kings of Egypt, by their attention to maritime affairs, had formed a powerful fleet, which gave them such decided command of the sea, that they could have crushed with ease any rival in trade. No commercial intercourse seems ever to have been carried on by sea between Persia and India. The Persians had such an insuperable aversion to that element, or were so much afraid of foreign invasion, that their monarchs (as I have already observed) obstructed the navigation of the great rivers, which gave access to the interior parts of the country, by artificial works. As their subjects, however, were no less desirous than the people around them to possess the valuable productions and elegant manufactures of India, these were conveyed to all the parts of their extensive dominions by land-carriage. The commodities destined for the supply of the northern provinces, were transported on camels from the banks of the Indus to those of the Oxus, down the stream of which they were carried to the Caspian sea, and distributed, partly by land-carriage, and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries, bounded on one hand by the Caspian, and on the other by the Euxine, sea.^s The commodities of India intended for the southern and interior provinces, proceeded by land from the Caspian gates to some of the great rivers, by which they were circulated through every part of the country. This was the ancient mode of intercourse with India, while the Persian

^s Strabo, lib. xii. 776. D. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 17.

empire was governed by its native princes; and it has been observed in every age, that when any branch of commerce has got into a certain channel, although it may be neither the most proper nor the most commodious one; it requires long time, and considerable efforts, to give it a different direction.^t

To all these reasons for suffering the monarchs of Egypt to continue in the undisturbed possession of the trade with

^tThe erroneous ideas of many intelligent writers of antiquity with respect to the Caspian sea, though well known to every man of letters, are so remarkable, and afford such a striking example of the imperfection of their geographical knowledge, that a more full account of them may not only be acceptable to some of my readers, but in endeavouring to trace the various routes by which the commodities of the East were conveyed to the nations of Europe, it becomes necessary to enter into some detail concerning their various sentiments with respect to this matter. 1. According to Strabo, the Caspian is a bay, that communicates with the great Northern ocean, from which it issues at first, by a narrow strait, and then expands into a sea extending in breadth five hundred stadia, lib. xi. p. 773, A. With him Pomponius Mela agrees, and describes the strait by which the Caspian is connected with the ocean, as of considerable length, and so narrow that it had the appearance of a river, lib. iii. c. 5. edit. Pliny likewise gives a similar description of it, Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 13. In the age of Justinian, this opinion, concerning the communication of the Caspian sea with the ocean, was still prevalent; Cosm. Indicopl. Topog. Christ. lib. ii. p. 138, C. 2. Some early writers, by a mistake still more singular, have supposed the Caspian sea to be connected with the Euxine. Quintus Curtius, whose ignorance of geography is notorious, has adopted this error, lib. vii. c. 7. edit. 3. Arrian, though a much more judicious writer, and who, by residing for some time in the Roman province of Cappadocia, of which he was governor, might have obtained more accurate information, declares in one place the origin of the Caspian sea to be still unknown; and it is doubtful whether it was connected with the Euxine, or with the great Eastern ocean which surrounds India; lib. vii. c. 16. In another place he asserts, that there was a communication between the Caspian and the Eastern ocean; lib. v. c. 26. These errors appear more extraordinary, as a just description had been given of the Caspian by Herodotus, near five hundred years before the age of Strabo. "The Caspian (says he) is a sea by itself, unconnected with any other. Its length is as much as a vessel with oars can sail in fifteen days, its greatest breadth as much as it can sail in eight days;" lib. i. c. 203. Aristotle describes it in the same manner, and with his usual precision contends that it ought to be called a great lake, not a sea; Meteorolog. lib. ii. Diodorus Siculus concurs with them in opinion, vol. ii. lib. xviii. p. 261. None of those authors determine whether the greatest length of the Caspian was from north to south, or from east to west. In the ancient maps which illustrate the geography of Ptolemy, it is delineated, as if its greatest length extended from east to west. In modern times the first information concerning the true form of the Caspian which the people of Europe received, was given by Anthony Jenkinson an English merchant, who with a caravan from Russia travelled along a considerable part of its coast in the year 1558; Hakluyt Collect. vol. i. p. 334. The accuracy of Jenkinson's description was confirmed by an actual survey of that sea made by order of Peter the Great, A. D. 1713; and it is now ascertained not only that the Caspian is unconnected with any other sea, but that its length from north to south is considerably more than its greatest breadth from east to west. The length of the Caspian from north to south is about six hundred and eighty miles, and in no part more than two hundred and sixty miles in breadth from east to west, Coxe's Travels, vol. ii. 257. The proportional difference of its length and breadth accords nearly with that mentioned by Herodotus. From this detail, however, we learn how the ill-founded ideas concerning it, which were generally adopted, gave rise to various wild schemes of conveying Indian commodities to Europe by means of its supposed communication with the Euxine sea, or with the Northern ocean. It is an additional proof of the attention of Alexander the Great to every thing conducive to the improvement of commerce, that a short time before his death he gave directions to fit out a squadron in the Caspian, in order to survey that sea, and to discover whether it was connected either with the Euxine or Indian ocean; Arrian, lib. vii. c. 16.

India by sea, another may be added. Many of the ancients, by an error in geography extremely unaccountable, and in which they persisted, notwithstanding repeated opportunities of obtaining more accurate information, believed the Caspian sea to be a branch of the great northern ocean, and the kings of Syria might hope by that means to open a communication with Europe, and to circulate through it the valuable productions of the East, without intruding into those seas, the navigation of which the Egyptian monarchs seemed to consider as their exclusive right. This idea had been early formed by the Greeks, when they became masters of Asia. Seleucus Nicator, the first and most sagacious of the Syrian kings, at the time when he was assassinated, entertained thoughts of forming a junction between the Caspian and Euxine seas by a canal," and if this could have been effected, his subjects, besides the extension of their trade in Europe, might have supplied all the countries in the north of Asia, on the coast of the Euxine sea, as well as many of those which stretch eastward from the Caspian, with the productions of India. As those countries, though now thinly inhabited by a miserable race of men, destitute of industry and of wealth, were in ancient times extremely populous, and filled with great and opulent cities, this must have been considered as a branch of commerce of such magnitude and value, as to render the securing of it an object worthy the attention of the most powerful monarch.

But while the monarchs of Egypt and Syria laboured with emulation and ardour to secure to their subjects all the advantages of the Indian trade, a power arose in the West which proved fatal to both. The Romans, by the vigour of their military institutions, and the wisdom of their political conduct, having rendered themselves
 A. C. 55. masters of all Italy and Sicily, soon overturned the rival republic of Carthage, subjected Macedonia and Greece, extended their dominion over Syria, and at last turned their victorious arms against Egypt, the only king-

" Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 11.

dom remaining of those established by the successors of Alexander the Great. After a series of events which belong not to the subject of this Disquisition, Egypt was annexed to the Roman empire, and reduced into the form of a Roman province by Augustus. Aware of its great importance, he, with that provident sagacity which distinguishes his character, not only reserved it as one of the provinces subject immediately to imperial authority, but by various precautions, well known to every scholar, provided for its security. This extraordinary solicitude seems to have proceeded not only from considering Egypt as one of the chief granaries on which the capital depended for subsistence, but as the seat of that lucrative commerce which had enabled its ancient monarchs to amass such enormous wealth, as excited the admiration and envy of other princes, and produced, when brought into the treasury of the empire, a considerable alteration both in the value of property, and the state of manners, in Rome itself.

SECT. II.

Intercourse with India, from the Establishment of the Roman Dominion in Egypt, to the Conquest of that Kingdom by the Mahomedans.

UPON the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, and the reduction of that kingdom to a province of their empire, the trade with India continued to be carried on in the same mode under their powerful protection: Rome enriched with the spoils and the tribute of almost all the known world, had acquired a taste for luxuries of every kind. Among people of this description, the productions of India have always been held in the highest estimation. The capital of the greatest empire ever established in Europe, filled with citizens, who had now no occupation but to enjoy and dissipate the wealth accumulated by their ancestors, demanded every thing elegant, rare, or costly, which that remote region could furnish, in order to support its pomp, or heighten its pleasures. To supply this demand, new and extraordinary efforts became requisite, and the com-

merce with India increased to a degree, which (as I have observed in another place^a) will appear astonishing even to the present age, in which that branch of trade has been extended far beyond the practice or conception of any former period.

Besides the Indian commodities imported into the capital of the empire from Egypt, the Romans received an additional supply of them by another mode of conveyance. From the earliest times, there seems to have been some communication between Mesopotamia, and other provinces on the banks of the Euphrates, and those parts of Syria and Palestine, which lay near the Mediterranean. The migration of Abram from Ur, of the Chaldees from Sichem in the land of Canaan, is an instance of this.^b The journey through the desert, which separated these countries, was much facilitated by its affording one station abounding with water, and capable of cultivation. As the intercourse increased, the possession of this station became an object of so much importance, that Solomon, when he turned his attention towards the extension of commerce among his subjects, built a fenced city there.^c Its Syrian name of *Tadmor* in the wilderness, and its Greek one of *Palmyra*, are both descriptive of its situation in a spot adorned with palm trees. This is not only plentifully supplied with water, but surrounded by a portion of fertile land, which (though of no great extent) renders it a delightful habitation in the midst of barren sands and an inhospitable desert. Its happy position, at the distance of eighty-five miles from the river Euphrates, and about one hundred and seventeen miles from the nearest coast of the Mediterranean,^d induced its inhabitants to enter with ardour into the trade of conveying commodities from one of these to the other. As the most valuable productions of India, brought up the Euphrates from the Persian gulf, are of

^a See vol. v. p. 38.

^b Genes. xi. xii.

^c 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4.

^d In a former edition, I stated the distance of Palmyra from the Euphrates at sixty miles, and from the Mediterranean at two hundred and three miles. Into these errors I was led by M. D'Anville, who, in his *Memoire sur l'Euphrate et le Tigris*, a work published in old age, did not retain his wonted accuracy. From information communicated by Major Rennell, I have substituted the true distances.

such small bulk as to bear the expense of a long land-carriage, this trade soon became so considerable that the opulence and power of Palmyra increased rapidly. Its government was of the form which is best suited to the genius of a commercial city, republican; and from the peculiar advantages of its situation, as well as the spirit of its inhabitants, it long maintained its independence, though surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbours. Under the Syrian monarchs descended from Seleucus it attained to its highest degree of splendour and wealth, one great source of which seems to have been the supplying their subjects with Indian commodities. When Syria submitted to the irresistible arms of Rome, Palmyra continued upwards of two centuries a free state, and its friendship was courted with emulation and solicitude by the Romans, and their rivals for empire, the Parthians. That it traded with both, and particularly that from it Rome, as well as other parts of the empire, received the productions of India, we learn from Appian, an author of good credit.* But in tracing the progress of the commerce of the ancients with the East, I should not have ventured, upon his single testimony, to mention this among the channels of note in which it was carried on, if a singular discovery, for which we are indebted to the liberal curiosity and enterprising spirit of our own countrymen, did not confirm and illustrate what he relates. Towards the close of the last century, some gentlemen of the English factory at Aleppo, incited by what they heard in the East concerning the wonderful ruins of Palmyra, ventured, notwithstanding the fatigue and danger of a journey through the desert, to visit them. To their astonishment they beheld a fertile spot, of some miles in extent, arising like an island out of a vast plain of sand, covered with the remains of temples, porticos, aqueducts, and other public works, which, in magnificence and splendour, and some of them in elegance, were not unworthy of Athens or of Rome in their most prosperous state. Allured by their description of them,

* Appian. de Bello Civil. lib. v. p. 1076. edit. Tollii.

about sixty years thereafter, a party of more enlightened travellers, having reviewed the ruins of Palmyra with greater attention and more scientific skill, declared that what they beheld there exceeded the most exalted ideas which they had formed concerning it.^f

From both these accounts, as well as from recollecting the extraordinary degree of power to which Palmyra had attained, when Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and a considerable part of Asia Minor were conquered by its arms; when Odenatus, its chief magistrate, was decorated with the Imperial purple, and Zenobia contended for the dominion of the East with Rome under one of its most warlike emperors, it is evident that a state which could derive little importance from its original territory, must have owed its aggrandizement to the opulence acquired by extensive commerce. Of this the Indian trade was undoubtedly the most considerable, and most lucrative branch. But it is a cruel mortification, in searching for what is instructive in the history of past times, to find that the exploits of conquerors who have desolated the earth, and the freaks of tyrants who have rendered nations unhappy, are recorded with minute and often disgusting accuracy, while the discovery of useful arts, and the progress of the most beneficial branches of commerce, are passed over in silence, and suffered to sink into oblivion.

After the conquest of Palmyra by Aurelian, trade never revived there. At present a few miserable huts of beggarly Arabs are scattered in the courts of its stately temples, or deform its elegant porticos; and exhibit a humiliating contrast to its ancient magnificence.

But while the merchants of Egypt and Syria exerted their activity in order to supply the increasing demands of Rome for Indian commodities, and vied with each other in their efforts, the eagerness of gain (as Pliny observes) brought India itself nearer to the rest of the world. In the course of their voyages to that country, the Greek and Egyptian pilots could not fail to observe the regular shift-

^f Wood's Ruins of Palmyra, p. 37.

ing of the periodical winds or monsoons, and how steadily they continued to blow during one part of the year from the east, and during the other from the west. Encouraged by attending to this circumstance, Hippalus, the commander of a ship engaged in the Indian trade, ventured, about fourscore years after Egypt was annexed to the Roman empire, to relinquish the slow and circuitous course which I have described, and stretching boldly from the mouth of the Arabian gulf across the ocean, was carried by the western monsoon to Musiris, a harbour in that part of India now known by the name of the Malabar coast.

This route to India was held to be a discovery of such importance, that in order to perpetuate the memory of the inventor, the name of Hippalus was given to the wind which enabled him to perform the voyage.[§] As this was one of the greatest efforts of navigation in the ancient world, and opened the best communication by sea between the East and West that was known for fourteen hundred years, it merits a particular description. Fortunately Pliny has enabled us to give it with a degree of accuracy, which can seldom be attained in tracing the naval or commercial operations of the ancients. From Alexandria (he observes) to Juliopolis is two miles; there the cargo destined for India is embarked on the Nile, and is carried to Coptos, which is distant three hundred and three miles, and the voyage is usually accomplished in twelve days. From Coptos goods are conveyed by land-carriage to Berenice on the Arabian gulf, halting at different stations regulated according to the conveniency of watering. The distance between these cities is two hundred and fifty-eight miles. On account of the heat, the caravan travels only during the night, and the journey is finished on the twelfth day. From Berenice, ships take their departure about midsummer, and in thirty days reach Ocelis (Gella) at the mouth of the Arabian gulf, or Cane (Cape Fartaque) on the coast of Arabia Felix. Thence they sail, in forty days, to Musiris, the first emporium in India.

§ Perip. Mar. Erythr. p. 52.

They begin their voyage homewards early in the Egyptian month Thibi, which answers to our December; they sail with a north-east wind, and, when they enter the Arabian gulf, meet with a south or south-west wind, and thus complete the voyage in less than a year.^h *

The account which Pliny gives of Musiris, and of Barace, another harbour not far distant, which was likewise frequented by the ships from Berenice, as being both so incommodious for trade on account of the shallowness of the ports, that it became necessary to discharge and take in the cargoes in small boats, does not enable us to fix their position with perfect accuracy. This description applies to many ports on the Malabar coast; but from two circumstances mentioned by him; one, that they are not far distant from Cottonara, the country which produces pepper in great abundance; and the other, that, in sailing towards them, the course lay near Nitrias, the station of the pirates; I adopt the opinion of Major Rennell, that they were situated somewhere between Goa and Telli-cherry, and that probably the modern Meerzaw or Merjee is the Musiris of the ancients, and Barcelore their Barace.ⁱ

As in these two ports was the principal staple of the trade between Egypt and India, when in its most flourishing state, this seems to be the proper place for inquiring into the nature of the commerce which the ancients, particularly the Romans, carried on with that country, and for enumerating the commodities most in request, which they

^h Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 23.

* From this curious detail, we learn how imperfect ancient navigation was, even in its most improved state. The voyage from Berenice to Ocelis could not have taken thirty days, if any other course had been held than that of servilely following the windings of the coast. The voyage from Ocelis to Musiris would be (according to Major Rennell) fifteen days' run for a European ship in the modern style of navigation, being about seventeen hundred and fifty marine miles, on a straight course; *Introd. p. xxxvii.* It is remarkable, that though the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* was written after the voyage of Hippalus, the chief object of the author of it is to describe the ancient course along the coasts of Arabia and Persia, to the mouth of the Indus, and from thence down the western shore of the continent to Musiris. I can account for this only by supposing, that from the unwillingness of mankind to abandon old habits, the greater part of the traders from Berenice still continued to follow that route to which they were accustomed. To go from Alexandria to Musiris, required (according to Pliny) ninety-four days. In the year 1788, the *Boddam*, a ship belonging to the English East India Company, of a thousand tons burden, took only fourteen days more to complete her voyage from Portsmouth to Madras. Such are the improvements which have been made in navigation.

ⁱ *Introd. p. xxxviii.*

imported from it. But as the operations of commerce, and the mode of regulating it, were little attended to in those states of antiquity, of whose transactions we have any accurate knowledge; their historians hardly enter into any detail concerning a subject of such subordinate importance in their political system; and it is mostly from brief hints, detached facts, and incidental observations, that we can gather information concerning it.^k

In every age, it has been a commerce of luxury, rather than of necessity, which has been carried on between Europe and India. Its elegant manufactures, spices, and precious stones, are neither objects of desire to nations of simple manners, nor are such nations possessed of wealth sufficient to purchase them. But at the time the Romans became masters of the Indian trade, they were not only (as has already been observed) in that stage of society when men are eager to obtain every thing that can render the enjoyment of life more exquisite, or add to its splendour, but they had acquired all the fantastic tastes formed by the caprice and extravagance of wealth. They were, of consequence, highly delighted with those new objects of gratification with which India supplied them in such abundance. The productions of that country, natural as well as artificial, seem to have been much the same in that age as in the present. But the taste of the Romans in luxury differed, in many respects, from that of modern times; and, of course, their demands from India differed considerably from ours.

^k It was the opinion of Plato, that in a well regulated commonwealth the citizens should not engage in commerce, nor the state aim at obtaining maritime power. Commerce, he contends, would corrupt the purity of their morals, and by entering into the sea-service, they would be accustomed to find pretexts for justifying conduct so inconsistent with what was manly and becoming, as would gradually relax the strictness of military discipline. It had been better for the Athenians, he asserts, to have continued to send annually the sons of seven of their principal citizens to be devoured by the Minotaur, than to have changed their ancient manners, and to have become a maritime power. In that perfect republic, of which he delineates the form, he ordains that the capital should be situated at least ten miles from the sea; *De Legibus*, lib. iv. ab initio. These ideas of Plato were adopted by other philosophers. Aristotle enters into a formal discussion of the question, Whether a state rightly constituted should be commercial or not? and though abundantly disposed to espouse sentiments opposite to those of Plato, he does not venture to decide explicitly with respect to it; *De Repub.* lib. vii. c. 6. In ages when such opinions prevail, little information concerning commerce can be expected.

In order to convey an idea of their demands as complete as possible, I shall, in the first place, make some observations on the three great articles of general importation from India. 1. Spices and aromatics. 2. Precious stones and pearls. 3. Silk. And then I shall give some account (as far as I can venture to do it from authentic information) of the assortment of cargoes, both outward and homeward bound, for the vessels fitted out at Berenice to different ports of India.

I. Spices and aromatics. From the mode of religious worship in the heathen world; from the incredible number of their deities, and of the temples consecrated to them, the consumption of frankincense and other aromatics, which were used in every sacred function, must have been very great. But the vanity of men occasioned a greater consumption of these fragrant substances, than their piety. It was the custom of the Romans to burn the bodies of their dead; and they deemed it a display of magnificence, to cover not only the body, but the funeral pile on which it was laid, with the most costly spices. At the funeral of Sylla, two hundred and ten burdens of spices were strewed upon the pile. Nero is reported to have burnt a quantity of cinnamon and cassia at the funeral of Pappœa, greater than the countries from which it was imported produced in one year. We consume in heaps these precious substances with the carcasses of the dead (says Pliny): We offer them to the gods only in grains.^m It was not from India, I am aware, but from Arabia, that aromatics were first imported into Europe; and some of them, particularly frankincense, were productions of that country. But the Arabians were accustomed, together with spices of native growth, to furnish foreign merchants with others of higher value, which they brought from India, and the regions beyond it. The commercial intercourse of the Arabians with the eastern parts of Asia, was not only early, but considerable. By means of their trading caravans, they conveyed into their own country all the valu-

^m Nat. Hist. lib. xii. c. 18.

able productions of the east, among which spices held a chief place. In every ancient account of Indian commodities, spices and aromatics of various kinds form a principal article.ⁿ Some authors assert that the greater part of those purchased in Arabia were not the growth of that country, but brought from India.^o That this assertion was well founded, appears from what has been observed in modern times. The frankincense of Arabia, though reckoned the peculiar and most precious production of the country, is much inferior in quality to that imported into it from the east; and it is chiefly with the latter that the Arabians at present supply the extensive demands of various provinces of Asia for this commodity.^p It is upon good authority, then, that I have mentioned the importation of spices as one of the most considerable branches of ancient commerce with India. In the Augustan age, an entire street in Rome seems to have been occupied by those who sold frankincense, pepper, and other aromatics.^q

II. Precious stones, together with which pearls may be classed, seem to be the article next in value imported by the Romans from the east. As these have no pretension to be of any real use, their value arises entirely from their beauty and their rarity, and even when estimated most moderately, is always high. But among nations far advanced in luxury, when they are deemed not only ornaments, but marks of distinction, the vain and the opulent vie so eagerly with one another for the possession of them, that they rise in price to an exorbitant and almost incredible height. Diamonds, though the art of cutting them was imperfectly known to the ancients, held a high place in estimation among them, as well as among us. The comparative value of other precious stones varied according to the diversity of tastes and the caprice of fashion. The immense number of them mentioned by Pliny, and the laborious care with which he describes and arranges them,^r will astonish, I should suppose, the most skilful lapidary or

ⁿ Peripl. Mar. Eryth. p. 22. 28. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 156. A; lib. xv. p. 1018. A.
^o Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1129. C. ^p Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, tom. i. p. 126.
^q Hor. lib. ii. epist. 1. ^r Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvii.

jeweller of modern times, and shews the high request in which they were held by the Romans.

But among all the articles of luxury, the Romans seem to have given the preference to pearls.⁵ Persons of every rank purchased them with eagerness; they were worn on every part of dress; and there is such a difference, both in size and in value, among pearls, that while such as were large and of superior lustre adorned the wealthy and the great, smaller ones and of inferior quality gratified the vanity of persons in more humble stations of life. Julius Cæsar presented Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with a pearl, for which he paid 48,457*l.* The famous pearl earrings of Cleopatra were in value 161,458*l.*⁶ Precious stones, it is true, as well as pearls, were found not only in India, but in many different countries, and all were ransacked in order to gratify the pride of Rome. India, however, furnished the chief part, and its productions were allowed to be most abundant, diversified, and valuable.

III. Another production of India in great demand at Rome, was silk; and when we recollect the variety of elegant fabrics into which it may be formed, and how much these have added to the splendour of dress and furniture, we

⁵ Pliny, lib. ix. c. 35. *Principium ergo culmenque omnium rerum prætij Margaritæ tenent.* In lib. xxxvii. c. 4, he affirms, *Maximum in rebus humanis prætium, non solum inter gemmas, habet Adamas.* These two passages stand in such direct contradiction to one another, that it is impossible to reconcile them, or to determine which is the most conformable to truth. I have adhered to the former, because we have many instances of the exorbitant price of pearls, but none, as far as I know, of diamonds having been purchased at a rate so high. In this opinion I am confirmed by a passage in Pliny, lib. xix. c. 1; having mentioned the exorbitant price of *Asbestos*, he says, "*æquat prætia excellentium Margaritarum;*" which implies, that he considered pearls to be of higher price than any other commodity.

⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. 35. Pliny has devoted two entire books of his *Natural History*, lib. xii. and xiii., to the enumeration and description of the spices, aromatics, ointments, and perfumes, the use of which luxury had introduced among his countrymen. As many of these were the productions of India, or of the countries beyond it, and as the trade with the East was carried on to a great extent in the age of Pliny, we may form some idea of the immense demand for them, from the high price at which they continued to be sold in Rome. To compare the prices of the same commodities in ancient Rome, with those now paid in our own country, is not a gratification of curiosity merely, but affords a standard by which we may estimate the different degree of success with which the Indian trade has been conducted in ancient and modern times. Many remarkable passages in ancient authors, concerning the extravagant price of precious stones and pearls among the Romans, as well as the general use of them by persons of all ranks, are collected by Meursius de *Lux. Romanorum*, cap. 5; and by Stanislaus Robierzycki, in his treatise on the same subject, lib. ii. c. 1. The English reader will receive sufficient information from Dr. Arbuthnot, in his valuable *Tables of ancient coins, weights, and measures*, p. 172, &c.

cannot wonder at its being held in such estimation by luxurious people. The price it bore was exorbitant; but it was deemed a dress too expensive and too delicate for men," and was appropriated wholly to women of eminent rank and opulence. This, however, did not render the demand for it less eager, especially after the example of the dissolute Elagabalus introduced the use of it among the other sex, and accustomed men to the disgrace (as the severity of ancient ideas accounted it) of wearing this effeminate garb. Two circumstances concerning the traffic of silk among the Romans merit observation. Contrary to what usually takes place in the operations of trade, the more general use of that commodity seems not to have increased the quantity imported, in such proportion as to answer the growing demand for it, and the price of silk was not reduced during the course of two hundred and fifty years from the time of its being first known in Rome. In the reign of Aurelian, it still continued to be valued at its weight in gold. This, it is probable, was owing to the mode in which that commodity was procured by the merchants of Alexandria. They had no direct intercourse with China, the only country in which the silk-worm was then reared, and its labour rendered an article of commerce. All the silk which they purchased in the different ports of India that they frequented, was brought thither in ships of the country; and either from some defect of skill in managing the silk-worm, the produce of its ingenious industry among the Chinese was scanty, or the intermediate dealers found greater advantage in furnishing the market of Alexandria with a small quantity at a high price, than to lower its value by increasing the quantity. The other circumstance which I had in view is more extraordinary, and affords a striking proof of the imperfect communication of the ancients with remote nations, and of the slender knowledge which they had of their natural productions or arts. Much as the manufactures of silk were admired, and often as silk is mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors,

they had not, for several centuries after the use of it became common, any certain knowledge either of the countries to which they were indebted for this favourite article of elegance, or of the manner in which it was produced. By some, silk was supposed to be a fine down adhering to the leaves of certain trees or flowers; others imagined it to be a delicate species of wool or cotton; and even those who had learned that it was the work of an insect, shew, by their descriptions, that they had no distinct idea of the manner in which it was formed.* It was in consequence of an event that happened in the sixth century of the Christian era, of which I shall hereafter take notice, that the real nature of silk became known in Europe.

The other commodities usually imported from India will be mentioned in the account, which I now proceed to give, of the cargoes sent out and brought home in the ships employed in the trade with that country. For this we are indebted to the Circumnavigation of the Erythræan sea, ascribed to Arrian, a curious though short treatise, less known than it deserves to be, and which enters into some details concerning commerce, to which there is nothing similar in any ancient writer. The first place in India, in which the ships from Egypt, while they followed the ancient course of navigation, were accustomed to trade, was Patala in the river Indus. They imported into it

* M. Mahudel, in a memoir read in the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres in the year 1719, has collected the various opinions of the ancients concerning the nature and origin of silk, which tend all to prove their ignorance with regard to it. Since the publication of M. Mahudel's memoir, P. du Halde has described a species of silk, of which I believe he communicated the first notice to the moderns. "This is produced by small insects nearly resembling snails. They do not form cocoons either round or oval like the silk-worm, but spin very long threads, which fasten themselves to trees and bushes as they are driven by the wind. These are gathered and wrought into silk stuffs, coarser than those produced by domestic silk-worms. The insects which produce this coarse silk are wild." Description de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. folio, p. 207. This nearly resembles Virgil's description,

Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.—Georg. II. 212.

An attentive reader of Virgil will find, that, besides all the other qualities of a great descriptive poet, he possessed an extensive knowledge of natural history. The nature and productions of the wild silk-worms are illustrated at greater length in the large collection of Mémoires concernant l'Histoire, les Sciences, les Arts, &c. des Chinois, tom. ii. p. 575; &c.; and by Pere de Mailla, in his voluminous History of China, tom. xiii. p. 434. It is a singular circumstance in the history of silk, that, on account of its being an excretion of a worm, the Mahomedans consider it as an unclean dress; and it has been decided, with the unanimous assent of all the doctors, that a person wearing a garment made entirely of silk, cannot lawfully offer up the daily prayers enjoined by the Koran. Herbel. Bibl. Orient. artic. *Harir*.

woollen cloth of a slight fabric, linen in chequer-work, some precious stones, and some aromatics unknown in India, coral, storax, glass vessels of different kinds, some wrought silver, money, and wine. In return for these, they received spices of various kinds, sapphires, and other gems, silk stuffs, silk-thread, cotton cloths,^y and black pepper. But a far more considerable emporium on the same coast was Barygaza, and on that account the author, whom I follow here, describes its situation and the mode of approaching it, with great minuteness and accuracy. Its situation corresponds entirely with that of Baroach, on the great river Nerbuddah, down the stream of which, or by land-carriage, from the great city of Tagara, across high mountains,^z all the productions of the interior country were conveyed to it. The articles of importation and exportation in this great mart were extensive and various. Besides these already mentioned, our author enumerates among the former, Italian, Greek, and Arabian wines, brass, tin, lead, girdles or sashes of curious texture, melilot, white glass, red arsenic, black lead, gold and silver coin. Among the exports he mentions the onyx, and other gems, ivory, myrrh, various fabrics of cotton, both plain and ornamented with flowers, and long pepper.^a At Musiris, the next emporium of note on that coast, the articles imported were much the same as at Barygaza; but as it lay nearer to the eastern parts of India, and seems to have had much communication with them, the commodities exported from it were more numerous and more valuable. He specifies particularly pearls in great abundance and of extraordinary beauty, a variety of silk stuffs, rich perfumes, tortoise-shell,

^y If the use of the cotton manufactures of India had been common among the Romans, the various kinds of them would have been enumerated in the *Law de Publicanis et Vectigalibus*, in the same manner as the different kinds of spices and precious stones. Such a specification would have been equally necessary for the direction both of the merchant and of the tax-gatherer.

^z This part of Arrian's *Periplus* has been examined with great accuracy and learning by Lieutenant Wilford; and from his investigation it is evident, that the Plithana of Arrian is the modern Pultana, on the southern banks of the river Godavery, two hundred and seventeen British miles south from Baroach; that the position of Tagara is the same with that of the modern Dowlatabad, and the high grounds across which the goods were conveyed to Baroach, are the Ballagunt mountains. The bearings and distances of these different places, as specified by Arrian, afford an additional proof (were that necessary) of the exact information which he had received concerning this district of India; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 369, &c.

^a *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 28.

different kinds of transparent gems, especially diamonds, and pepper in large quantities, and of the best quality.^b

The justness of the account given by this author of the articles imported from India, is confirmed by a Roman law, in which the Indian commodities subject to the payment of duties are enumerated.^c By comparing these two accounts, we may form an idea tolerably exact of the nature and extent of the trade with India in ancient times.

As the state of society and manners among the natives of India, in the earliest period in which they are known, nearly resembled what we observe among their descendants in the present age; their wants and demands were, of course, much the same. The ingenuity of their own artists was so able to supply these, that they stood little in need of foreign manufactures or productions, except some of the useful metals which their own country did not furnish in sufficient quantity; and then, as now, it was mostly with gold and silver that the luxuries of the East were purchased. In two particulars, however, our importations from India differ greatly from those of the ancients. The dress, both of the Greeks and Romans, was almost entirely woollen, which by their frequent use of the warm bath, was rendered abundantly comfortable. Their consumption of linen and cotton cloths was much inferior to that of modern times, when these are worn by persons in every rank of life. Accordingly, a great branch of modern importation from that part of India with which the ancients were acquainted, is in *piece-goods*; comprehending, under that mercantile term, the immense variety of fabrics which Indian ingenuity has formed of cotton. But as far as I have observed, we have no authority that will justify us in stating the ancient importation of these to be in any degree considerable.

In modern times, though it continues still to be chiefly a commerce of luxury that is carried on with India, yet, together with the articles that minister to it, we import, to a considerable extent, various commodities which are to be considered merely as the materials of our domestic manu-

^b Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 31, 32.

^c Digest, lib. xxxix, tit. iv. § 16. De publicanis et vectigalibus.

factures. Such are the cotton-wool of Indostan, the silk of China, and the saltpetre of Bengal. But in the accounts of ancient importations from India, raw silk and silk-thread excepted, I find nothing mentioned that could serve as the materials of any home-manufacture. The navigation of the ancients never having extended to China, the quantity of unwrought silk with which they were supplied, by means of the Indian traders, appears to have been so scanty, that the manufacture of it could not make an addition of any moment to their domestic industry.

After this succinct account of the commerce carried on by the ancients in India, I proceed to inquire what knowledge they had of the countries beyond the ports of Musiris and Barace, the utmost boundary towards the east to which I have hitherto traced their progress. The author of the Circumnavigation of the Erythræan sea, whose accuracy of description justifies the confidence with which I have followed him for some time, seems to have been little acquainted with that part of the coast which stretches from Barace towards the south. He mentions, indeed cursorily, two or three different ports, but gives no intimation that any of them were staples of the commerce with Egypt. He hastens to Comar, or Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula; and his description of it is so accurate, and so conformable to its real state, as shews his information concerning it to have been perfectly authentic.^d Near to this he places the pearl fishery of Colchos, the modern Kilkare, undoubtedly the same now carried on by the Dutch in the strait which separates the island of Ceylon from the continent; as adjacent to this he mentions three different ports, which appear to have been situated on the east side of the peninsula, now known by the name of the Coromandel coast. He describes these as *emporìa* or stations of trade;^e but from an attentive consideration of some circumstances in his account of them, I think it probable that the ships from Berenice did not sail to any these points, though they were supplied, as he informs us, with the commodities brought from Egypt, as well

^d Peripl. p. 33. D'Anville *Ant. de l'Inde*, 118, &c.

^e Peripl. p. 34.

as with the productions of the opposite coast of the peninsula; but these seem to have been imported in *country ships*.^f It was likewise in vessels of their own, varying in form and burden, and distinguished by different names, some of which he mentions, that they traded with the golden Chersonesus, or kingdom of Malacca, and the countries near the Ganges. Not far from the mouth of that river he places an island, which he describes as situated under the rising sun, and as the last region in the east that was inhabited.^g Of all these parts of India, the author of the Circumnavigation appears to have had very slender knowledge, as is manifest, not only from what he mentions concerning this imaginary island, and from his not attempting to describe them, but from his relating, with the credulity and love of the marvellous, which always accompany and characterize ignorance, that these remote regions were peopled with cannibals, and men of uncouth and monstrous forms.^h

I have been induced to bestow this attention in tracing the course delineated in the Circumnavigation of the Erythræan sea, because the author of it is the first ancient writer to whom we are indebted for any knowledge of the eastern coast of the great peninsula of India, or of the countries which lie beyond it. To Strabo, who composed his great work on geography in the reign of Augustus, India, particularly the most eastern parts of it, was little known. He begins his description of it with requesting the indulgence of his readers, on account of the scanty information he could obtain with respect to a country so remote, which Europeans had seldom visited, and many of them transiently only, in the functions of military service. He observes, that even commerce had contributed little towards an accurate investigation of the country, as few of the merchants from Egypt, and the Arabian gulf, had ever sailed as far as the Ganges; and from men so illiterate, intelligence that merited a full degree of confidence could scarcely be expected. His descriptions of India, particularly its interior provinces, are borrowed almost entirely

^f ΓΟΡΚΙΝΑ ΠΛΟΪΑ.^g Peripl. p. 36.^h Peripl. p. 35.

from the memoirs of Alexander's officers, with some slender additions from more recent accounts, and these so few in number, and sometimes so inaccurate, as to furnish a striking proof of the small progress which the ancients had made from the time of Alexander, in exploring that country. When an author, possessed of such discernment and industry as Strabo, who visited in person several distant regions, that he might be able to describe them with greater accuracy, relates, that the Ganges enters the ocean by one mouth,¹ we are warranted in concluding, that in his time there was either no direct navigation carried on to that great river, by the traders from the Arabian gulf, or that this voyage was undertaken so seldom, that science had not then derived much information from it.

The next author, in order of time, from whom we receive any account of India, is the elder Pliny, who flourished about fifty years later than Strabo. As in the short description of India, given in his Natural History, he follows the same guides with Strabo, and seems to have had no knowledge of the interior country, but what he derived from the memoirs of the officers who served under Alexander and his immediate successors, it is unnecessary to examine his description minutely. He has added, however, two valuable articles, for which he was indebted to more recent discoveries. The one is the account of the new course of navigation from the Arabian gulf to the coast of Malabar, the nature and importance of which I have already explained. The other is a description of the island of Taprobane, which I shall consider particularly, after inquiring into what Ptolemy has contributed towards our knowledge of the ancient state of the Indian continent.

Though Ptolemy, who published his works about four-score years after Pliny, seems to have been distinguished for his persevering industry, and talent for arrangement, rather than for an inventive genius; geography has been more indebted to him for its improvement, than to any other philosopher. Fortunately for that science, in forming his general system of geography, he adopted

the ideas, and imitated the practice of Hipparchus, who lived near four hundred years before his time. That great philosopher was the first who attempted to make a catalogue of the stars. In order to ascertain their position in the heavens with accuracy, he measured their distance from certain circles of the spheres, computing it by degrees, either from east to west, or from north to south. The former was denominated the longitude of the star, the latter its latitude. This mode he found to be of such utility, in his astronomical researches, that he applied it with no less happy effect to geography; and it is a circumstance worthy of notice, that it was by observing and describing the heavens, men were first taught to measure and delineate the earth with exactness. This method of fixing the position of places, invented by Hipparchus, though known to the geographers between his time and that of Ptolemy, and mentioned both by Strabo^k and by Pliny,^l was not employed by any of them. Of this neglect the most probable account seems to be, that as none of them were astronomers, they did not fully comprehend all the advantages geography might derive from this invention.^m These Ptolemy, who had devoted a long life to the improvement of astronomy, theoretical as well as practical, perfectly discerned, and, as in both Hipparchus was his guide, he, in his famous treatise on geography, described the different parts of the earth according to their longitude and latitude. Geography was thus established upon its proper principles, and intimately connected with astronomical observations and mathematical science. This work of Ptolemy soon rose high in estimation among the ancients.ⁿ During the middle ages, both in Arabia and

^k Lib. ii.

^l Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 12. 26. 70.

^m Strabo acknowledges his neglect of the improvements in geography which Hipparchus had deduced from astronomical observations, and justifies it by one of those logical subtleties which the ancients were apt to introduce into all their writings. "A geographer," says he (i. e. a describer of the earth), "is to pay no attention to what is out of the earth; nor will men, engaged in conducting the affairs of that part of the earth which is inhabited, deem the distinction and divisions of Hipparchus worthy of notice." Lib. ii. 194. C.

ⁿ What a high opinion the ancients had of Ptolemy we learn from Agathemerus, who flourished not long after him. "Ptolemy," says he, "who reduced geography into a regular system, treats of every thing relating to it, not carelessly, or merely ac-

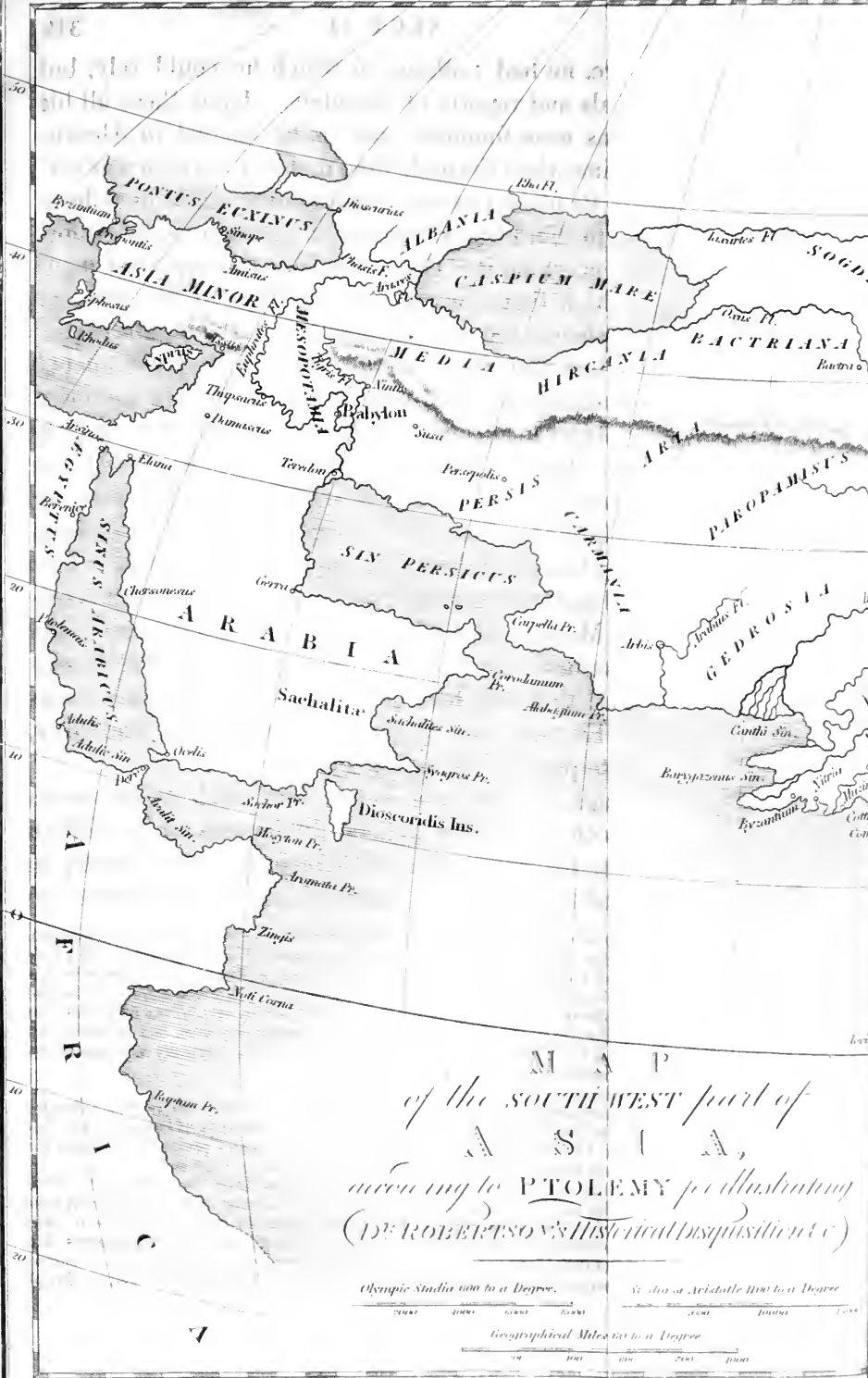
in Europe, the decisions of Ptolemy, in every thing relating to geography, were submitted to with an assent as implicit as was yielded to those of Aristotle in all other departments of science. On the revival of a more liberal spirit of inquiry in the sixteenth century, the merit of Ptolemy's improvements in geography was examined and recognized; that scientific language which he first rendered general, continues to be used, and the position of places is still ascertained in the same distinct and compendious manner, by specifying their longitude and latitude.

Not satisfied with adopting the general principles of Hipparchus, Ptolemy emulated him in the application of them; and, as that philosopher had arranged all the constellations, he ventured upon what was no less arduous, to survey all the regions of the earth which were then known, and with minute and bold decision he fixed the longitude and latitude of the most remarkable places in each of them. All his determinations, however, are not to be considered as the result of actual observation, nor did Ptolemy publish them as such. Astronomical science was confined, at that time, to a few countries. A considerable part of the globe was little visited, and imperfectly described. The position of a small number of places only had been fixed with any degree of accuracy. Ptolemy was therefore obliged to consult the itineraries and surveys of the Roman empire, which the political wisdom of that great state had completed with immense labour and expense.^o Beyond the precincts of

ording to ideas of his own, but attending to what had been delivered by more ancient authors, he adopted from them whatever he found consonant to truth." *Epitome Geogr. lib. i. c. 6.* edit. Hudson. From the same admiration of his work, Agathodæmon, an artist of Alexandria, prepared a series of maps for the illustration of it, in which the position of all the places mentioned by Ptolemy, with their longitude and latitude, is laid down precisely according to his ideas. *Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. iii. 412.*

^o As these public Surveys and Itineraries furnished the ancient geographers with the best information concerning the position and distances of many places, it may be proper to point out the manner in which they were completed by the Romans. The idea of a general survey of the whole empire was first formed by Julius Cæsar, and having been begun by him under authority of a decree of the senate, was finished by Augustus. As Rome was still far inferior to Greece in science, the execution of this great undertaking was committed to three Greeks, men of great abilities, and skilled in every part of philosophy. The survey of the eastern division of the empire was finished by Zenodorus in fourteen years five months and nine days. That of the northern division was finished by Theodorus in twenty years eight months and ten days. The southern division was finished in twenty-five years one month and ten days. *Æthici Cosmographia apud Geographos, editos à Hen. Stephano, 1577, p. 107.* This undertaking was worthy of those illustrious persons who planned it, and suited to the

50 60 70 80 90 100 110



M A P
of the SOUTH WEST part of
 A S I A,
according to PTOLEMY for illustrating
 (Dr ROBERTSON'S *Historical Disquisition &c*)

Olympic Stadium 100 to a Degree.

Stadia of Aristotle 100 to a Degree.



Geographical Miles to a Degree.



70 80 90 100 110 Longitude East



the empire, he had nothing on which he could rely, but the journals and reports of travellers. Upon these all his conclusions were founded; and as he resided in Alexandria at a time when the trade from that city to India was carried on to its utmost extent, this situation might have been expected to afford him the means of procuring ample information concerning it. But either from the imperfect manner in which that country was explored in his time, or from his placing too much confidence in the reports of persons who had visited it with little attention or discernment,^p his general delineation of the form of the Indian continent is the most erroneous that has been transmitted to us from antiquity. By an astonishing mistake, he has made the peninsula of India stretch from the Sinus Barygazenus, or Gulf of Cambay, from west to east, instead of extending, according to its real direction, from north to south.^q This error will appear the more unaccountable, when we recollect that Megasthenes had published a measurement of the Indian peninsula, which approaches near to its true dimensions; and that this had been adopted, with some variations, by Eratosthenes, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny, who wrote prior to the age of Ptolemy.^r

Although Ptolemy was led to form such an erroneous opinion concerning the general dimensions of the Indian continent, his information with respect to the country in detail, and the situation of particular places, was more ac-

magnificence of a great people. Besides this general survey, every new war produced a new delineation and measurement of the countries which were the seat of it. We may conclude from Vegetius, *Instit. Rei Militaris*, lib. iii. c. 6, that every governor of a Roman province was furnished with a description of it; in which were specified the distance of places in miles, the nature of the roads, the bye-roads, the short cuts, the mountains, the rivers, &c.; all these, says he, were not only described in words, but were delineated in a map, that in deliberating concerning his military movements, the eyes of a general might aid the decisions of his mind.

^p *Geogr. lib. i. c. 17.*

^q The consequence of this mistake is remarkable. Ptolemy, lib. vii. c. i. computes the latitude of Barrygaza, or Baroach, to be $17^{\circ} 20'$; and that of Cory, or Cape Comorin, to be $15^{\circ} 20'$, which is the difference of four degrees precisely; whereas the real difference between these two places is nearly fourteen degrees.

^r Strabo, lib. xv. 1010. B. Arrian, *Hist. Indie*, c. 3, 4. *Diod. Sicil. lib. ii. 148.* Plin. *Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 21.* Ramusio, the publisher of the most ancient and perhaps the most valuable collection of voyages, is the first person, as far as I know, who takes notice of this strange error of Ptolemy; *Viaggi*, vol. i. p. 181. He justly observes, that the author of the Circumnavigation of the Erythræan sea had been more accurate, and had described the peninsula of India, as extending from north to south; *Peripl. p. 24. 29.*

curate; and he is the first author possessed of such knowledge as enabled him to trace the sea-coast, to mention the most noted places situated upon it, and to specify the longitude and latitude of each from Cape Comorin eastward, to the utmost boundary of ancient navigation. With regard to some districts, particularly along the east side of the peninsula as far as the mouth of the Ganges, the accounts which he had received seem to have been so far exact, as to correspond more nearly perhaps with the actual state of the country, than the descriptions which he gives of any other part of India. M. D'Anville, with his usual industry and discernment, has considered the principal stations as they are fixed by him, and finds that they correspond to Kilkare, Negapatam, the mouth of the river Cauveri, Masulipatam, Point Gordeware, &c. It is foreign to the object of this Disquisition to enter into such a minute detail; but in several instances we may observe, that not only the conformity of position, but the similarity of ancient and modern names, is very striking. The great river Cauveri is by Ptolemy named Chaberis; Arcot, in the interior country, is Arcati Regia; and probably the whole coast has received its present name of Coromandel from *Sor Mandulam*, or the kingdom of Soræ, which is situated upon it.^s

In the course of one hundred and thirty-six years, which elapsed from the death of Strabo to that of Ptolemy, the commercial intercourse with India was greatly extended; the latter geographer had acquired such an accession of new information concerning the Ganges, that he mentions the names of six different mouths of that river, and describes their positions. His delineation, however, of that part of India which lies beyond the Ganges, is not less erroneous in its general form, than that which he gave of the peninsula, and bears as little resemblance to the actual position of those countries. He ventures, nevertheless, upon a survey of them, similar to that which he had made of the other great division of India, which I have already

^s Ptolem. Geogr. lib. vii. c. 1. D'Anville, Antiq. de l'Inde, 127, &c.

examined. He mentions the places of note along the coast, some of which he distinguishes as *emporìa*; but whether that name was given to them on account of their being staples of trade to the natives, in their traffic carried on from one district of India to another, or whether they were ports, to which vessels from the Arabian gulf resorted directly, is not specified. The latter I should think to be the idea which Ptolemy means to convey; but those regions of India were so remote, and, from the timid and slow course of ancient navigation, were probably so little frequented, that his information concerning them is extremely defective, and his descriptions more obscure, more inaccurate, and less conformable to the real state of the country, than in any part of his geography. That peninsula to which he gives the name of the Golden Chersonesus, he delineates as if it stretched directly from north to south, and fixes the latitude of Sabana Emporium, its southern extremity, three degrees beyond the line. To the east of this peninsula he places what he calls the Great Bay, and in the most remote part of it the station of Catigara, the utmost boundary of navigation in ancient times, to which he assigns no less than eight degrees and a half of southern latitude. Beyond this he declares the earth to be altogether unknown, and asserts that the land turns thence to the westward, and stretches in that direction until it joins the promontory of Prassum in Ethiopia, which, according to his idea, terminated the continent of Africa to the south.[†] In consequence of this error, no less unaccountable than enormous, he must have believed the Erythræan sea, in its whole extent from the coast of Africa to that of Cambodia, to be a vast bason, without any communication with the ocean.[‡]

[†] Ptolem. Geogr. lib. vii. c. 3. 5. D'Anville, Ant. de l'Inde, 187.

[‡] This error of Ptolemy justly merits the name of *enormous*, which I have given to it; and it will appear more surprising when we recollect, that he must have been acquainted, not only with what Herodotus relates concerning the circumnavigation of Africa by order of one of the Egyptian kings, lib. iv. c. 4, but with the opinion of Eratosthenes, who held that the great extent of the Atlantic ocean was the only thing which prevented a communication between Europe and India by sea; Strab. Geogr. lib. i. p. 113. A. This error, however, must not be imputed wholly to Ptolemy. Hipparchus, whom we may consider as his guide, had taught that the earth is not surrounded

Out of the confusion of those wild ideas, in which the accounts of ignorant or fabulous travellers have involved the geography of Ptolemy, M. D'Anville has attempted to bring order; and, with much ingenuity, he has formed opinions with respect to some capital positions, which have the appearance of being well founded. The peninsula of Malacca is, according to him, the Golden Chersonesus of Ptolemy; but instead of the direction which he has given it, we know that it bends some degrees towards the east, and that Cape de Romania, its southern extremity, is more than a degree to the north of the line. The gulf of Siam he considers as the Great Bay of Ptolemy, but the position on the east side of that bay, corresponding to Catigara, is actually as many degrees to the north of the equator, as he supposed it to be south of it. Beyond this he mentions an inland city, to which he gives the name of Thinæ or Sinæ Metropolis. The longitude which he assigns to it, is one hundred and eighty degrees from his first meridian in the Fortunate Island, and is the utmost point towards the east to which the ancients had advanced by sea. Its latitude he calculates to be three degrees south of the line. If, with M. D'Anville, we conclude the situation of Sin-hoa, in the western part of the kingdom of Cochin-China, to be the same with Sinæ Metropolis, Ptolemy has erred in fixing its position no less than fifty degrees of longitude, and twenty degrees of latitude.*

by one continuous ocean, but that it is separated by different isthmuses, which divide it into several large basons; Strab. lib. i. p. 11. B. Ptolemy, having adopted this opinion, was induced to maintain that an unknown country extended from Catigara to Prassum on the south-east coast of Africa; Geogr. lib. vii. c. 3. and 5. As Ptolemy's system of geography was universally received, this error spread along with it. In conformity to it the Arabian geographer Edrissi, who wrote in the twelfth century, taught that a continued tract of land stretched eastward from Sofala on the African coast, until it united with some part of the Indian continent; D'Anville, Antiq. p. 187. Annexed to the first volume of Gesta Dei per Francos, there is an ancient and very rude map of the habitable globe, delineated according to this idea of Ptolemy. M. Gosselin, in his map entitled Ptolemæi Systema Geographicum, has exhibited this imaginary tract of land which Ptolemy supposes to have connected Africa with Asia; Geographie des Grecs analysée.

* Ptolem. Geogr. lib. vii. c. 3. D'Anville, Limites du Monde connu des Anciens au-delà du Gange. Mem. de Literat. xxii. 604, &c. Ant. de l'Inde, Supplem. 161, &c.

• In this part of the Disquisition, as well as in the map prepared for illustrating it, the geographical ideas of M. D'Anville, to which Major Rennell has given the sanction of his approbation, Introd. p. xxxix., have been generally adopted. But M. Gosselin has lately published, "The Geography of the Greeks analyzed; or, the Systems

These errors of Ptolemy concerning the remote parts of Asia, have been rendered more conspicuous by a mistaken opinion of modern times engrafted upon them. Sinæ, the most distant station mentioned in his geography, has such a near resemblance in sound to China, the name by which the greatest and most civilized empire in the east is known to Europeans, that, upon their first acquaintance with it, they hastily concluded them to be the same; and of consequence it was supposed that China was known to the ancients, though no point seems to be more ascertained, than that they never advanced by sea beyond that boundary which I have allotted to their navigation.

Having thus traced the discoveries of India which the ancients made by sea, I shall next examine what additional knowledge of that country they acquired from their progress by land. It appears (as I have formerly related)

of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Ptolemy, compared with each other, and with the knowledge which the moderns have acquired;” a learned and ingenious work, in which he differs from his countrymen with respect to many of his determinations. According to M. Gossellin, the *Magnum Promontorium*, which M. D’Anville concludes to be Cape Romania, at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Malacca, is the point of Bragu, at the mouth of the great river Ava; near to which he places Zaba, supposed by M. D’Anville, and by Barros, *Decad. ii. liv. vi. c. 1*; to be situated on the strait of Sincapura or Malacca. The *Magnus Sinus* of Ptolemy he holds to be the same with the gulf of Martaban, not the gulf of Siam, according to M. D’Anville’s decision. The position of Catigara, as he endeavours to prove, corresponds to that of Mergui, a considerable port on the west coast of the kingdom of Siam, and that Thina, or Sinæ Metropolis, which M. D’Anville removes as far as Sjn-hoa, in the kingdom of Cochin-China, is situated on the same river with Mergui, and now bears the name of Tana-serim. The *Ibadij Insula* of Ptolemy, which M. D’Anville determines to be Sumatra, he contends is one of that cluster of small isles which lie off this part of the coast of Siam; p. 137—148. According to M. Gossellin’s system, the ancients never sailed through the straits of Malacca, had no knowledge of the island of Sumatra, and were altogether unacquainted with the Eastern ocean. If to any of my readers these opinions appear to be well founded, the navigation and commerce of the ancients in India must be circumscribed within limits still more confined than those which I have allotted to them. From the *Aycen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 7, we learn that Cheen was an ancient name of the kingdom of Pegu; as that country borders upon Ava, where M. Gossellin places the *Great Promontory*, this near resemblance of names may appear, perhaps, to confirm his opinion that Sinæ Metropolis was situated on this coast, and not so far east as M. D’Anville has placed it.

As Ptolemy’s geography of this eastern division of Asia is more erroneous, obscure, and contradictory than in any other part of his work, and as all the manuscript of it, both Greek and Latin, are remarkably incorrect in the two chapters which contain the description of the countries beyond the Ganges, M. D’Anville, in his *Memoir* concerning the limits of the world known to the ancients beyond the Ganges, has admitted into it a larger portion of conjecture than we find in the other researches of that cautious geographer. He likewise builds more than usual upon the resemblances between the ancient and modern names of places, though at all times he discovers a propensity, perhaps too great, to trace these, and to rest upon them. These resemblances are often, indeed, very striking, and have led him to many happy discoveries. But in perusing his works, it is impossible, I should think, not to perceive that some which he mentions are far fetched and fanciful. Whenever I follow him, I have adopted only such conclusions as seem to be established with his accustomed accuracy.

that there was a trade carried on early with India through the provinces that stretch along its northern frontier. Its various productions and manufactures were transported by land-carriage into the interior parts of the Persian dominions, or were conveyed, by means of the navigable rivers which flow through the Upper Asia, to the Caspian sea, and from that to the Euxine. While the successors of Seleucus retained the dominion of the East, this continued to be the mode of supplying their subjects with the commodities of India. When the Romans had extended their conquests so far that the Euphrates was the eastern limit of their empire, they found this trade still established, and as it opened to them a new communication with the East, by means of which they received an additional supply of luxuries for which they had acquired the highest relish, it became an object of their policy to protect and encourage it. As the progress of the caravans or companies of merchants, which travelled towards the countries whence they received the most valuable manufactures, particularly those of silk, was often interrupted, and rendered dangerous by the Parthians, who had acquired possession of all the provinces which extended from the Caspian sea to that part of Scythia or Tartary which borders on China, the Romans endeavoured to render this intercourse more secure by a negotiation with one of the monarchs of that great empire. Of this singular transaction there is, indeed, no vestige in the Greek or Roman writers; our knowledge of it is derived entirely from the Chinese historians, by whom we are informed that Antoun (the emperor Marcus Antonius), the king of the people of the Western ocean, sent an embassy with this view to Oun-ti, who reigned over China in the hundred and sixty-sixth year of the Christian era.^y What was the success of this attempt is not known, nor can we say whether it facilitated such an intercourse between these two remote nations as contributed towards the supply of their mutual wants. The

^y *Memoire sur les Liaisons et le Commerce des Romains, avec les Tartares et les Chinois, par M. de Guignes. Mem. de Literat. xxxii, 355, &c.*

design certainly was not unworthy of the enlightened emperor of Rome to whom it is ascribed.

It is evident, however, that in prosecuting this trade with China, a considerable part of the extensive countries to the east of the Caspian sea must have been traversed; and though the chief inducement to undertake those distant journeys was gain, yet in the course of ages, there must have mingled among the adventurers persons of curiosity and abilities, who could turn their attention from commercial objects to those of more general concern. From them such information was procured, and subjected to scientific discussion, as enabled Ptolemy to give a description of those inland and remote regions of Asia,² fully as accurate as that of several countries, of which, from their vicinity, he may have been supposed to have received more distinct accounts. The farthest point towards the east, to which his knowledge of this part of Asia extended, is Sera Metropolis, which from various circumstances appears to have been in the same situation with Kant-cheou, a city of some note in Chen-si, the most westerly province of the Chinese empire. This he places in the longitude of one hundred and seventy-seven degrees fifteen minutes, near three degrees to the west of Sinæ Metropolis, which he had described as the utmost limit of Asia discovered by sea. Nor was Ptolemy's knowledge of this district of Asia confined only to that part of it through which the caravans may be supposed to have proceeded directly in their route eastward; he had received likewise some general information concerning various nations towards the north, which, according to the position that he gives them, occupied parts of the great plain of Tartary, extending considerably beyond Lassa, the capital of Thibet, and the residence of the Dalai Lama.

The latitudes of several places in this part of Asia are fixed by Ptolemy with such uncommon precision, that we can hardly doubt of their having been ascertained by actual observation. Out of many instances of this, I shall

² Lib. vi. c. 11—18.

I select three of places situated in very different parts of the country under review. The latitude of Nagara, on the river Cophenes (the modern Attock), is, according to Ptolemy, thirty-two degrees and thirty minutes; which coincides precisely with the observation of an eastern geographer quoted by M. D'Anville.^a The latitude of Maracanda, or Samarcand, as fixed by him, is thirty-nine degrees fifteen minutes. According to the Astronomical Tables of Ulug Beg, the grandson of Timur, whose royal residence was in that city, it is thirty-nine degrees thirty-seven minutes.^b The latitude of Sera Metropolis, in Ptolemy, is thirty-eight degrees fifteen minutes; that of Kantcheou, as determined by the Jesuit missionaries, is thirty-nine degrees. I have enumerated these striking examples of the coincidence of his calculations with those established by modern observations, for two reasons: One, because they clearly prove that these remote parts of Asia had been examined with some considerable degree of attention; the other, because I feel great satisfaction, after having been obliged to mention several errors and defects in Ptolemy's geography, in rendering justice to a philosopher, who has contributed so much towards the improvement of that science. The facts which I have produced afford the strongest evidence of the extent of his information, as well as the justness of his conclusions concerning countries with which, from their remote situation, we might have supposed him to be least acquainted.

Hitherto I have confined my researches concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India to the continent; I return now to consider the discoveries which they had made, of the islands situated in various parts of the ocean with which it is surrounded, and begin, as I proposed, with Taprobane, the greatest and most valuable of them. This island lay so directly in the course of navigators who ventured beyond Cape Comorin, especially

^a Eclaircissements, &c. English Translation, p. 10.

^b Tab. Geogr. ap. Hudson, Geogr. Minores, iii. 145.

when, according to the ancient mode of sailing, they seldom ventured far from the coast; that its position, one should have thought, must have been determined with the utmost precision. There is, however, hardly any point in the geography of the ancients more undecided and uncertain. Prior to the age of Alexander the Great, the name of Taprobane was unknown in Europe. In consequence of the active curiosity with which he explored every country that he subdued or visited, some information concerning it seems to have been obtained. From his time almost every writer on geography has mentioned it, but their accounts of it are so various, and often so contradictory, that we can scarcely believe them to be describing the same island. Strabo, the earliest writer now extant, from whom we have any particular account of it, affirms that it was as large as Britain, and situated at the distance of seven days, according to some reports, and according to others, of twenty days' sailing from the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula; from which, contrary to what is known to be its real position, he describes it as stretching towards the west above five hundred stadia.^c Pomponius Mela, the author next in order of time, is uncertain whether he should consider Taprobane as an island, or as the beginning of another world; but as no person, he says, had ever sailed round it, he seems to incline towards the latter opinion.^d Pliny gives a more ample description of Taprobane, which, instead of bringing any accession of light, involves every thing relating to it in additional obscurity. After enumerating the various and discordant opinions of the Greek writers, he informs us, that ambassadors were sent by a king of that island to the Emperor Claudius, from whom the Romans learned several things concerning it which were formerly unknown, particularly that there were five hundred towns in the island, and that in the centre of it there was a lake three hundred and seventy-five miles in cir-

^c Strabo, lib. ii. 124. B. 180. B. 192. A. lib. xv. 1012. B.

^d De Situ Orbis, lib. iii. c. 7.

cumference. These ambassadors were astonished at the sight of the Great Bear and the Pleiades, being constellations which did not appear in their sky; and were still more amazed when they beheld their shadows point towards the north, and the sun rise on their left hand, and set on their right. They affirmed, too, that in their country the moon was never seen until the eighth day after the change, and continued to be visible only to the sixteenth. It is surprising to find an author so intelligent as Pliny relating all these circumstances without animadversion, and particularly that he does not take notice, that what the ambassadors reported concerning the appearance of the moon, could not take place in any region of the earth.

Ptolemy, though so near to the age of Pliny, seems to have been altogether unacquainted with his description of Taprobane, or with the embassy to the emperor Claudius. He places that island opposite to Cape Comorin, at no great distance from the continent, and delineates it as stretching from north to south no less than fifteen degrees, two of which he supposes to be south of the equator; and if his representation of its dimensions had been just, it was well entitled, from its magnitude, to be compared with Britain.^e Agathemerus, who wrote after Ptolemy, and was well acquainted with his geography, considers Taprobane as the largest of all islands, and assigns to Britain only the second place.^g

From this diversity of the descriptions given by ancient writers, it is not surprising that the moderns should have entertained very different sentiments with respect to the island in the Indian ocean, which was to be considered as the same with the Taprobane of the Greeks and Romans. As both Pliny and Ptolemy describe it as lying in part to the south of the equator, some learned men maintain Sumatra to be the island which corresponds to this description. But the great distance of Sumatra from the penin-

^e Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 22. ^f Ptol. lib. vii. c. 4. D'Anville, Ant. de l'Inde, p. 142.

^g Lib. ii. c. 3. apud Hudson. Geogr. Minor. vol. ii.

sula of India does not accord with any account which the Greek or Roman writers have given of the situation of Taprobane, and we have no evidence that the navigation of the ancients ever extended so far as Sumatra. The opinion more generally received is, that the Taprobane of the ancients is the island of Ceylon; and not only its vicinity to the continent of India, but the general form of the island, as delineated by Ptolemy, as well as the position of several places in it, mentioned by him, establish this opinion (notwithstanding some extraordinary mistakes, of which I shall afterward take notice) with a great degree of certainty:

The other islands, to the east of Taprobane, mentioned by Ptolemy, might be shewn (if such a detail were necessary) to be the Andaman and Nicobar islands in the gulf of Bengal.

After this long, and, I am afraid, tedious investigation of the progress made by the ancients, in exploring the different parts of India, and, after tracing them as far as they advanced towards the east either by sea or land, I shall offer some general remarks concerning the mode in which their discoveries were conducted, and the degree of confidence with which we may rely on the accounts of them, which could not have been offered with the same advantage until this investigation was finished.

The art of delineating maps, exhibiting either the figure of the whole earth, as far as it had been explored, or that of particular countries, was known to the ancients; and without the use of them to assist the imagination, it was impossible to have formed a distinct idea either of the one or of the other. Some of these maps are mentioned by Herodotus and other early Greek writers. But no maps prior to those which were formed in order to illustrate the geography of Ptolemy, have reached our times, in consequence of which it is very difficult to conceive what was the relative situation of the different places mentioned by the ancient geographers, unless when it is

precisely ascertained by measurement.^b As soon, however, as the mode of marking the situation of each place, by specifying its longitude and latitude, was introduced, and came to be generally adopted, every position could be described in compendious and scientific terms. But still the accuracy of this new method, and the improvement which geography derived from it, depends upon the mode in which the ancients estimated the latitude and longitude of places.

Though the ancients proceeded in determining the latitude and longitude of places upon the same principles with the moderns, yet it was by means of instruments very inferior in their construction to those now used, and without the same minute attention to every circumstance that may affect the accuracy of an observation, an attention of which long experience only can demonstrate the necessity. In order to ascertain the latitude of any place, the ancients observed the meridian altitude of the sun, either by means of the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon, or by means of an astrolabe, from which it was easy to compute how many degrees and minutes the place of observation was distant from the equator. When neither of these methods could be employed, they inferred the latitude of any place from the best accounts which they could procure of the length of its longest day.

^b The author of the Circumnavigation of the Erythraean sea has marked the distances of many of the places which he mentions, with such accuracy as renders it a nearer approach, than what is to be found in any writer of antiquity, to a complete survey of the coast from Myos-hormus, on the west side of the Arabian gulf, along the shores of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and Caramania, to the mouth of the Indus, and thence down the west coast of the Indian Peninsula to Musiris and Barace. This adds to the value of this short treatise, which, in every other respect, possesses great merit. It may be considered a remarkable proof of the extent and accuracy of this author's intelligence concerning India, that he is the only ancient writer who appears in any degree to have been acquainted with the great division of the country, which still subsists, viz. Indostan Proper, comprehending the northern provinces of the Peninsula, and the Deccan, comprehending the southern provinces. "From Barygaza (says he) the continent stretches to the south; hence that district is called Dacinabades, for, in the language of the country, the south is called Dachaños;" Periplus, p. 29. As the Greeks and Romans, when they adopt any foreign name, always gave it a termination peculiar to their own language, which the grammatical structure of both tongues rendered in some degree necessary, it is evident that Dachaños is the same with Deccan, which word has still the same signification, and is still the name of that division of the Peninsula. The northern limit of the Deccan at present is the river Narbudda, where our author likewise fixes it. Periplus, ibid.

With respect to determining the longitude of any place, they were much more at a loss, as there was only one set of celestial phenomena to which they could have recourse. These were the eclipses of the moon (for those of the sun were not then so well understood as to be subservient to the purposes of geography): the difference between the time at which an eclipse was observed to begin or to end at two different places, gave immediately the difference between the meridians of those places. But the difficulty of making those observations with accuracy, and the impossibility of repeating them often, rendered them of so little use in geography, that the ancients in determining longitudes were obliged, for the most part, to have recourse to actual surveys, or to the vague information which was to be obtained from the reckonings of sailors, or the itineraries of travellers.

But though the ancients, by means of the operations which I have mentioned, could determine the position of places with a considerable degree of accuracy at land, it is very uncertain whether or not they had any proper mode of determining this at sea. The navigators of antiquity seem rarely to have had recourse to astronomical observation. They had no instruments suited to a moveable and unsteady observatory; and though, by their practice of landing frequently, they might in some measure have supplied that defect, yet no ancient author, as far as I know, has given an account of any astronomical observation made by them during the course of their voyages. It seems to be evident from Ptolemy, who employs some chapters in shewing how geography may be improved, and its errors may be rectified, from the reports of navigators,¹ that all their calculations were founded solely upon reckoning, and were not the result of observation. Even after all the improvements which the moderns have made in the science of navigation, this mode of computing by reckoning is known to be so loose and uncertain, that from it alone, no conclusion can be deduced with any

¹ Lib. i. c. 7—14.

great degree of precision. Among the ancients, this inaccuracy must have been greatly augmented, as they were accustomed in their voyages, instead of steering a direct course; which might have been more easily measured, to a circuitous navigation along the coast; and were unacquainted with the compass, or any other instrument, by which its bearings might have been ascertained. We find, accordingly, the position of many places which we may suppose to have been determined at sea, fixed with little exactness. When, in consequence of an active trade, the ports of any country were much frequented, the reckonings of different navigators may have served, in some measure, to correct each other, and may have enabled geographers to form their conclusions with a nearer approximation to truth. But in remote countries, which have neither been the seat of military operations, nor explored by caravans travelling frequently through them, every thing is more vague and undefined, and the resemblance between the ancient descriptions of them, and their actual figure, is often so faint that it can hardly be traced. The latitude of places, too, as might be expected, was in general much more accurately known by the ancients than their longitude. The observations by which the former was determined are simple, made with ease, and are not liable to much error. The other cannot be ascertained precisely without more complex operations, and the use of instruments much more perfect than any that the ancients seem to have possessed.^k Among the vast number of places,

^k Though, in deducing the latitudes of places from observations of the sun or stars, the ancient astronomers neglected several corrections which ought to have been applied, their results were sometimes exact to a few minutes, but at other times they appear to have been erroneous to the extent of two or even three degrees, and may perhaps be reckoned, one with another, to have come within half a degree of the truth. This part of the ancient geography would therefore have been tolerably accurate, if there had been a sufficient number of such determinations. These, however, were far from being numerous, and appear to have been confined to some of the more remarkable places in the countries which surround the Mediterranean sea.

When, from want of more accurate observations, the latitude was inferred from the length of the longest or shortest day, no great degree of precision was, in any case, to be expected, and least of all in the vicinity of the equator. An error of a quarter of an hour, which, without some mode of measuring time more accurate than ancient observers could employ, was not easily avoided, might produce, in such situations, an error of four degrees in the determination of the latitude.

With respect to places in the torrid zone, there was another resource for determining the latitude. This was by observing the time of the year when the sun was verti-

the position of which is fixed by Ptolemy, I know not if he approaches as near to truth in the longitude of any one; as he has done in fixing the latitude of the three cities which I formerly mentioned as a striking, though not singular, instance of his exactness.

These observations induce me to adhere to an opinion which I proposed in another place,¹ that the Greeks and Romans, in their commercial intercourse with India, were

cal to any place, or when bodies that stood perpendicular to the horizon had no shadow at noon-day; the sun's distance from the equator at that time, which was known from the principles of astronomy, was equal to the latitude of the place. We have instances of the application of this method in the determination of the parallels of Syene and Meroe. The accuracy which this method would admit of, seems to be limited to about half a degree, and this only on the supposition that the observer was stationary; for if he was travelling from one place to another, and had not an opportunity of correcting the observation of one day by that of the day following, he was likely to deviate much more considerably from the truth.

With respect to the longitude of places, as eclipses of the moon are not frequent, and could seldom be of use for determining it, and only when there were astronomers to observe them with accuracy, they may be left out of the account altogether when we are examining the geography of remote countries. The differences of the meridians of places were therefore anciently ascertained entirely by the bearings and distances of one place from another, and of consequence all the errors of reckonings, surveys, and itineraries, fell chiefly upon the longitude, in the same manner as happens at present in a ship which has no method of determining its longitude, but by comparing the dead-reckoning with the observations of the latitude; though with this difference, that the errors, to which the most skilful of the ancient navigators was liable, were far greater than what the most ignorant ship-master of modern times, provided with a compass, can well commit. The length of the Mediterranean measured, in degrees of longitude, from the Pillars of Hercules, to the Bay of Issus, is less than forty degrees; but in Ptolemy's maps, it is more than sixty, and, in general, its longitudes, counting from the meridian of Alexandria, especially towards the East, are erroneous nearly in the same proportion. It appears, indeed, that in remote seas the coasts were often delineated from an imperfect account of the distances sailed, without the least knowledge of the bearings or direction of the ship's course. Ptolemy, it is true, used to make an allowance of about one-third for the winding of a ship's course. *Geogr. lib. i. c. 12*; but it is plain, that the application of this general rule could seldom lead to an accurate conclusion. Of this there is a striking instance in the form which that geographer has given to the Peninsula of India. From the Barygazenum Promontorium to the place marked *Locus unde solvunt in Chrysen navigantes*, that is, from Surat on the Malabar coast, to about Narsapour on the Coromandel coast, the distance measured along the sea-shore is nearly the same with what it is in reality; that is, about five hundred and twenty leagues. But the mistake in the direction is astonishing, for the Malabar and Coromandel coast, instead of stretching to the south, and intersecting one another at Cape Comorin, in a very acute angle, are extended by Ptolemy almost in the same straight line from west to east, declining a little to the south. This coast is, at the same time, marked with several bays and promontories, nearly resembling, in their position, those which actually exist on it. All these circumstances compared together, point out very clearly what were the materials from which the ancient map of India was composed. The ships which had visited the coast of that country had kept an account of the time which they took to sail from one place to another, and had marked as they stood along shore, on what hand the land lay, when they shaped their course across a bay or doubled a promontory. This imperfect journal, with an inaccurate account, perhaps, of the latitude of one or two places, was probably all the information concerning the coast of India which Ptolemy was able to procure. That he should have been able to procure no better information from merchants who sailed with no particular view of exploring the coast, will not appear wonderful, if we consider that even the celebrated Pericles of Hanno would not enable a geographer to lay down the coast of Africa with more precision, than Ptolemy has delineated that of India.

seldom led, either by curiosity, or the love of gain, to visit the more eastern parts of it. A variety of particulars occur to confirm this opinion. Though Ptolemy bestows the appellation of *Emporia* on several places situated on the coast, which stretches from the eastern mouth of the Ganges to the extremity of the Golden Chersonesus, it is uncertain, whether from his having given them this name, we are to consider them as harbours frequented by ships from Egypt, or merely by vessels of the country. Beyond the Golden Chersonesus, it is remarkable that he mentions one *Emporium* only,^m which plainly indicates the intercourse with this region of India to have been very inconsiderable. Had voyages from the Arabian gulf to those countries of India been as frequent as to have entitled Ptolemy to specify so minutely the longitude and latitude of the great number of places which he mentions, he must, in consequence of this, have acquired such information as would have prevented several great errors into which he has fallen. Had it been usual to double Cape Comorin, and to sail up the Bay of Bengal to the mouth of the Ganges, some of the ancient geographers would not have been so uncertain, and others so widely mistaken, with respect to the situation and magnitude of the island of Ceylon. If the merchants of Alexandria had often visited the ports of the Golden Chersonesus, and of the Great Bay, Ptolemy's descriptions of them must have been rendered more correspondent to their real form, nor could he have believed several places to lie beyond the line, which are in truth some degrees on this side of it.

But though the navigation of the ancients may not have extended to the farther India, we are certain that various commodities of that country were imported into Egypt, and thence were conveyed to Rome, and to other parts of the empire. From circumstances which I have already enumerated, we are warranted in concluding, that these were brought in vessels of the country to Musiris, and to the other ports on the Malabar coast, which were, at that

^m Lib. vii. c. 2.

period, the staples of trade with Egypt. In a country of such extent as India, where the natural productions are various, and greatly diversified by art and industry, an active domestic commerce, both by sea and by land, must have early taken place among its different provinces. Of this we have some hints in ancient authors; and where the sources of information are so few and so scanty, we must rest satisfied with hints. Among the different classes or casts into which the people of India were divided, merchants are mentioned as one,ⁿ from which we may conclude trade to have been one of the established occupations of men in that country. From the author of the Circumnavigation of the Erythræan sea, we learn that the inhabitants of the Coromandel coast traded in vessels of their own with those of Malabar; that the interior trade of Barygaza was considerable; and that there was, at all seasons, a number of country ships to be found in the harbour of Musiris.^o By Strabo we are informed, that the most valuable productions of Taprobane were carried to different *Emporia* of India.^p In this way the traders from Egypt might be supplied with them, and thus could finish their voyages within the year, which must have been protracted much longer if they had extended as far towards the east as is generally supposed.

From all this it appears to be probable, that Ptolemy derived the information concerning the eastern parts of India, upon which he founds his calculations, not so much from any direct and regular intercourse between Egypt and these countries, as from the reports of a few adventurers, of whom an enterprising spirit, or the love of gain, prompted to proceed beyond the usual limits of navigation.

Though, from the age of Ptolemy, the trade with India continued to be carried on in its former channel, and both at Rome, the ancient capital of the empire, and Constantinople, the new seat of government, were supplied with the precious commodities of that country by the mer-

ⁿ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 22.

^o Perip. Mar. Erythr. 34. 30.

^p Lib. ii. 124. B.

chants of Alexandria, yet, until the reign of the emperor Justinian, we have no new information concerning the intercourse with the East by sea, or the progress which was made in the discovery of its remote regions. Under Justinian, Cosmas, an Egyptian merchant, in the course of his traffic, made some voyages to India, whence he acquired the surname of Indicopleustes; but afterward, by a transition not uncommon in that superstitious age, he renounced all the concerns of this life, and assumed the monastic character. In the solitude and leisure of a cell, he composed several works, one of which, dignified by him with the name of *Christian Topography*, has reached us. The main design of it is to combat the opinion of those philosophers, who assert the earth to be of a spherical figure, and to prove that it is an oblong plane, of twelve thousand miles in length from east to west, and of six thousand miles in breadth from north to south, surrounded by high walls, covered by the firmament as with a canopy or vault; that the vicissitude of day and night was occasioned by a mountain of prodigious height, situated in the extremities of the north, round which the sun moved; that when it appeared on one side of this mountain, the earth was illuminated, when concealed on the other side, the earth was left involved in darkness.^q But amidst those wild reveries, more suited to the credulity of his new profession, than to the sound sense characteristic of that in which he was formerly engaged, Cosmas seems to relate what he himself had observed in his travels, or what he had learned from others, with great simplicity and regard for truth.

He appears to have been well acquainted with the west coast of the Indian peninsula, and names several places situated upon it; he describes it as the chief seat of the pepper-trade, and mentions Male, in particular, as one of the most frequented ports on that account.^r From Male, it is probable that this side of the continent has de-

^q Cosmas ap. Montfaucon Collect. Patrum, ii. 113. &c. 138.

^r Cosm. lib. ii. p. 138. lib. xi. 337.

rived its modern name of Malabar; and the cluster of islands contiguous to it, that of the Maldives. From him too we learn, that the island of Taprobane, which he supposes to lie at an equal distance from the Persian gulf on the west, and the country of the Sinæ on the east, had become, in consequence of this commodious situation, a great staple of trade; that into it were imported the silk of the Sinæ, and the precious spices of the eastern countries, which were conveyed thence to all parts of India, to Persia, and to the Arabian gulf. To this island he gives the name of Silediba,^s nearly the same with that of Selenidib; or Serendib^c by which it is still known all over the East.

To Cosmas we are also indebted for the first information of a new rival to the Romans in trade having appeared in the Indian seas. The Persians, after having overturned the empire of the Parthians, and re-established the line of their ancient monarchs, seem to have surmounted entirely the aversion of their ancestors to maritime exertion, and made early and vigorous efforts in order to acquire a share in the lucrative commerce with India. All its considerable ports were frequented by traders from Persia, who, in return for some productions of their own country in request among the Indians, received the precious commodities, which they conveyed up the Persian gulf, and by means of the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris, distributed them through every province of their empire. As the voyage from Persia to India was much shorter than that from Egypt, and attended with less expense and danger, the intercourse between the two countries increased rapidly. A circumstance is mentioned by Cosmas which is a striking proof of this. In most of the cities of any note in India he found Christian churches established, in which the functions of religion were performed by priests ordained by the archbishop of Seleucia, the capital of the Persian empire, and who continued subject to his jurisdic-

^s Lib. xi. 336.

tion.^t India appears to have been more thoroughly explored at this period, than it was in the age of Ptolemy, and a greater number of strangers seem to have been settled there. It is remarkable, however, that, according to the account of Cosmas, none of these strangers were accustomed to visit the eastern regions of Asia, but rested satisfied with receiving their silk, their spices, and other valuable productions, as they were imported into Ceylon, and conveyed thence to the various marts of India.^u

The frequency of open hostilities between the emperors of Constantinople and the monarchs of Persia, together with the increasing rivalship of their subjects in the trade with India, gave rise to an event which produced a considerable change in the nature of that commerce. As the use of silk, both in dress and furniture, became gradually more general in the court of the Greek emperors, who imitated and surpassed the sovereigns of Asia in splendour and magnificence; and as China, in which, according to the concurring testimony of Oriental writers, the culture of silk was originally known,^x still continued to be the only country which produced that valuable commodity; the Persians, improving the advantages which their situation gave them over the merchants from the Arabian gulf, supplanted them in all the marts of India to which silk was brought by sea from the East. Having it likewise in their power to molest or to cut off the caravans, which, in order to procure a supply for the Greek empire, travelled by land to China, through the northern provinces of their kingdom, they entirely engrossed that branch of commerce. Constantinople was obliged to depend on the rival power for an article which luxury viewed and desired as essential to elegance. The Persians, with the usual rapacity of monopolists, raised the price of silk to such an exorbitant height,^y that Justinian, eager not only to obtain a full and certain supply of a commodity which was become of in-

^t Cosm. lib. iii. 178.

^u Lib. xi. 337.

^x Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. art. *Harir*.

^y Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 25.

dispensable use, but solicitous to deliver the commerce of his subjects from the exactions of his enemies, endeavoured, by means of his ally, the Christian monarch of Abyssinia, to wrest some portion of the silk-trade from the Persians. In this attempt he failed; but when he least expected it, he, by an unforeseen event, attained, in some measure, the object he had in view. Two Persian monks having been employed as missionaries in some of the Christian churches, which were established (as we are informed by Cosmas) in different parts of India, had penetrated into the country of the Seres or China. There they observed the labours of the silk-worm, and became acquainted with all the arts of man in working up its productions into such a variety of elegant fabrics. The prospect of gain, or perhaps an indignant zeal, excited by seeing this lucrative branch of commerce engrossed by unbelieving nations, prompted them to repair to Constantinople. There they explained to the emperor the origin of silk, as well as the various modes of preparing and manufacturing it, mysteries hitherto unknown, or very imperfectly understood in Europe, and encouraged by his liberal promises, they undertook to bring to the capital a sufficient number of those wonderful insects, to whose labours man is so much indebted. This they accomplished by conveying the eggs of the silk-worm in a hollow cane. They were hatched by the heat of a dunghill, fed with the leaves of a wild mulberry-tree, and they multiplied and worked in the same manner as in those climates where they first became objects of human attention and care.² Vast numbers of these insects were soon reared in different parts of Greece, particularly in the Peloponnesus. Sicily afterward undertook to breed silk-worms with equal success, and was imitated from time to time in several towns of Italy. In all these places extensive manufactures were established and carried on with silk of domestic production. The demand for silk from the east diminished of course, the subjects of the Greek emperors were no longer

² Procop. de Bello Gothic. lib. iv. c. 17.

obliged to have recourse to the Persians for a supply of it, and a considerable change took place in the nature of the commercial intercourse between Europe and India.²

SECT. III.

Intercourse with India, from the Conquest of Egypt by the Mahomedans, to the Discovery of the Passage by the Cape of Good Hope, and the Establishment of the Portuguese dominion in the East.

ABOUT fourscore years after the death of Justinian, an event happened, which occasioned a revolution still more considerable in the intercourse of Europe with the East. Mahomet, by publishing a new religion, seems to have animated his countrymen with a new spirit, and to have called forth latent passions and talents into exertion. The greatest part of the Arabians, satisfied from the earliest times with national independence and personal liberty, tended their camels, or reared their palm-trees, within the precincts of their own peninsula, and had little intercourse with the rest of mankind, unless when they sallied out to plunder a caravan, or to rob a traveller. In some districts, however, they had begun to add the labours of agriculture, and the business of commerce, to the occupations of pastoral life.^a These different orders of men, when prompted by the enthusiastic ardour with which the exhortations and example of Mahomet inspired them, displayed, at once, all the zeal of missionaries, and the ambition of conquerors. They spread the doctrine of their prophet, and extended the dominion of his successors, from the shores of the Atlantic to the frontier of China, with a rapidity of success to which there is nothing similar in the history of

A. D. 640. mankind. Egypt was one of its earliest conquests;

² The introduction of the silk-worm into Europe, and the effects which this produced, came under the view of Mr. Gibbon, in writing the History of the emperor Justinian, and though it was an incident of subordinate importance only, amidst the multiplicity of great transactions which must have occupied his attention, he has examined this event with accuracy, and related it with a precision, which would have done honour to an author who had no higher object of research. Vol. iv. p. 71, &c. Nor is it here only that I am called upon to ascribe to him this merit. The subject of my inquiries has led me several times upon ground which he had gone over, and I have uniformly received information from the industry and discernment with which he has surveyed it

^a Sale's Koran, Prelim. Dis. p. 32, 33.

and as they settled in that inviting country, and kept possession of it, the Greeks were excluded from all intercourse with Alexandria, to which they had long resorted as the chief mart of Indian goods. Nor was this the only effect which the progress of the Mahomedan arms had upon the commerce of Europe with India. Prior to their invasion of Egypt, the Arabians had subdued the great kingdom of Persia, and added it to the empire of their caliphs. They found their new subjects engaged in prosecuting that extensive trade with India, and the country to the east of it, the commencement and progress of which in Persia I have already mentioned; and they were so sensible of the great advantages derived from it, that they became desirous to partake of them. As the active powers of the human mind, when roused to vigorous exertions in one line, are most capable of operating with force in other directions; the Arabians, from impetuous warriors, soon became enterprising merchants. They continued to carry on the trade with India in its former channel from the Persian gulf, but it was with that ardour which characterizes all the early efforts of Mahomet's followers. In a short time they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation, and brought many of the most precious commodities of the East directly from the countries which produced them. In order to engross all the profit arising from the sale of them, the caliph Omar,^b a few years after the conquest of Persia, founded the city of Bassora, on the western banks of the great stream formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, with a view of securing the command of these two rivers, by which goods imported from India were conveyed into all parts of Asia. With such discernment was the situation chosen, that Bassora soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria.

This general information with respect to the trade of the Arabians with India, which is all that can be derived from the historians of that period, is confirmed and illustrated by the relation of a voyage from the Persian gulf towards the

^b Herbel, Biblioth. Orient. artic. *Basrah*. Abul. Pharas. Hist. Dynast. p. 113.

east, written by an Arabian merchant in the year of the Christian era 851, about two centuries after Persia was subjected to the caliphs, and explained by the Commentary of another Arabian, who had likewise visited the eastern parts of Asia.^c This curious relation, which enables us to fill up a chasm in the history of mercantile communication with India, furnishes materials for describing more in detail the extent of the Arabian discoveries in the East, and the manner in which they made them.

^c This voyage, together with the observations of Abu Zeid al Hasan of Siraf, was published by M. Renaudot, A. D. 1718, under the title of "Anciennes Relations des Indes, et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le Neuvieme Siecle, traduites de Arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces Relations." As M. Renaudot, in his remarks, represents the literature and police of the Chinese in colours very different from those of the splendid descriptions which a blind admiration had prompted the Jesuits to publish, two zealous missionaries have called in question the authenticity of these relations, and have asserted that the authors of them had never been in China; P. Premare Lettr. edifiantes et curieuses, tom. xix. p. 420, &c. P. Parennin, *ibid.* tom. xxi. p. 158, &c. Some doubts concerning their authenticity were entertained likewise by several learned men in England, on account of M. Renaudot's having given no notice of the manuscript which he translated, but that he found it in the library of M. le Comte de Seignelay. As no person had seen the manuscript since that time, the doubts increased, and M. Renaudot was charged with the crime of imposing upon the public. But the Colbert Manuscripts having been deposited in the king's library, as (fortunately for literature) most private collections are in France, M. de Guignes, after a long search, discovered the identical manuscript to which M. Renaudot refers. It appears to have been written in the 12th century; *Journal des Sçavans*, Dec. 1764, p. 315, &c. As I had not the French edition of M. Renaudot's book, my references are made to the English translation. The relation of the two Arabian travellers is confirmed in many points by their countryman Massoudi, who published his treatise on universal history, to which he gives the fantastical title of "Meadows of Gold, and Mines of Jewels," a hundred and sixty years after their time. From him, likewise, we receive such an account of India in the tenth century, as renders it evident that the Arabians had then acquired an extensive knowledge of that country. According to his description, the Peninsula of India was divided into four kingdoms. The first was composed of the provinces situated on the Indus, and the rivers which fall into it; the capital of which was Moultan. The capital of the second kingdom was Canoge, which, from the ruins of it still remaining, appears to have been a very large city; *Rennell's Memoirs*, p. 54. In order to give an idea of its populousness, the Indian historians assert, that it contained thirty thousand shops, in which betel-nut was sold, and sixty thousand sets of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to government: *Ferishta*, translated by Dow, vol. i. p. 32. The third kingdom was Cachemire. Massoudi, as far as I know, is the first author who mentions this paradise of India, of which he gives a short but just description. The fourth is the kingdom of Guzerate, which he represents as the greatest and most powerful; and he concurs with the two Arabian travellers in giving the sovereigns of it the appellation of Belhara. What Massoudi relates concerning India is more worthy of notice, as he himself had visited that country; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi*, tom. i. p. 9, 10. Massoudi confirms what the two Arabian travellers relate, concerning the extraordinary progress of the Indians in astronomical science. According to his account a temple was built during the reign of Brahmin, the first monarch of India, with twelve towers, representing the twelve signs of the zodiac; and in which was delineated a view of all the stars as they appear in the heavens. In the same reign was composed the famous *Sind-Hind*, which seems to be the standard treatise of Indian astronomy; *Notices, &c.* tom. i. p. 7. Another Arabian author, who wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century, divides India into three parts. The northern, comprehending all the provinces on the Indus. The middle, extending from Guzerate to the Ganges. The southern, which he denominates Comar, from Cape Comorin; *Notices, &c.* tom. ii. p. 46.

Though some have imagined that the wonderful property of the magnet, by which it communicates such virtue to a needle or slender rod of iron, as to make it point towards the poles of the earth, was known in the East long before it was observed in Europe, it is manifest both from the relation of the Mahomedan merchant, and from much concurring evidence, that not only the Arabians, but the Chinese, were destitute of this faithful guide, and that their mode of navigation was not more adventurous than that of the Greeks and Romans.^d They steered servilely along the coast, seldom stretched out to sea so far as to lose sight of land, and as they shaped their course in this timid manner, their mode of reckoning was defective, and liable to the same errors which I observed in that of the Greeks and Romans.^e

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the progress of the Arabians towards the east extended far beyond the gulf of Siam, the boundary of European navigation. They became acquainted with Sumatra, and the other islands of the great Indian Archipelago, and advanced as far as the city of Canton in China. Nor are these discoveries to be considered as the effect of the enterprising curiosity of individuals; they were owing to a regular commerce carried on from the Persian gulf with China, and all the intermediate countries. Many Mahomedans, imitating the example of the Persians described by Cosmas Indicopleustes, settled in India and the countries beyond it. They were so numerous in the city of Canton, that the emperor (as the Arabian authors relate) permitted them to have a *cadi* or judge of their own sect, who decided controversies among his countrymen by their own laws, and presided in all the functions of religion.^f In other places proselytes were gained to the Mahomedan faith, and the Arabian language was understood and spoken in almost every sea-port of any note. Ships from China and different

^d Relation, p. 2, 3, &c.

^e Renaudot. Inquiry into the Time when the Mahomedans first entered China, p. 143.

^f Relation, 7. Remarks, p. 19. Inquiry, p. 171, &c.

places of India traded in the Persian gulf,^s and by the frequency of mutual intercourse, all the nations of the East became better acquainted with each other.^b

A striking proof of this is the new information concerning China and India we receive from the two authors I have mentioned. They point out the situation of Canton, now so well known to Europeans, with a considerable degree of exactness. They take notice of the general use of silk among the Chinese. They are the first who mention their celebrated manufacture of porcelain, which on account of its delicacy and transparency, they compare to glass.

^s The naval skill of the Chinese seems not to have been superior to that of the Greeks, the Romans, or Arabians. The course which they held from Canton to Siraf, near the mouth of the Persian gulf, is described by their own authors. They kept as near as possible to the shore until they reached the island of Ceylon, and then doubling Cape Comorin, they sailed along the west side of the Peninsula, as far as the mouth of the Indus, and thence steered along the coast to the place of their destination; Mem. de Literat. tom. xxxii. p. 367.. Some authors have contended, that both the Arabians and Chinese were well acquainted with the mariner's compass, and the use of it in navigation; but it is remarkable that in the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages, there is no original name for the compass. They commonly call it *Bosola*, the Italian name, which shews that the knowledge of this useful instrument was communicated to them by the Europeans. There is not one single observation, of ancient date, made by the Arabians on the variation of the needle, or any instruction deduced from it, for the assistance of navigators. Sir John Chardin, one of the most learned and best informed travellers who has visited the East, having been consulted upon this point, returns for answer, "I boldly assert that the Asiatics are beholden to us for this wonderful instrument, which they had from Europe a long time before the Portuguese conquests. For, first, their compasses are exactly like ours, and they buy them of Europeans as much as they can, scarce daring to meddle with their needles themselves. Secondly, it is certain that the old navigators only coasted it along, which I impute to their want of this instrument to guide and instruct them in the middle of the ocean. We cannot pretend to say that they were afraid of venturing far from home, for the Arabians, the first navigators in the world in my opinion, at least for the eastern seas, have, time out of mind, sailed from the bottom of the Red sea, all along the coast of Africa; and the Chinese have always traded with Java and Sumatra, which is a very considerable voyage. So many islands uninhabited, and yet productive, so many lands unknown to the people I speak of, are a proof that the old navigators had not the art of sailing on the main sea. I have nothing but argument to offer touching this matter, having never met with any person in Persia or the Indies to inform me when the compass was first known among them, though I made inquiry of the most learned men in both countries. I have sailed from the Indies to Persia in Indian ships, when no European has been on board but myself. The pilots were all Indians, and they used the fore-staff and quadrant for their observations. These instruments they have from us, and made by our artists, and they do not in the least vary from ours, except that the characters are Arabic. The Arabians are the most skilful navigators of all the Asiatics or Africans: but neither they nor the Indians make use of charts; and they do not much want them: some they have, but they are copied from ours, for they are altogether ignorant of perspective." Inquiry when the Mahomedans first entered China, p. 141, &c. When M. Niehbuhr was at Cairo, he found a magnetic needle in the possession of a Mahomedan, which served to point out the Kaaba, and he gave it the name of *El Magnatis*, a clear proof of its European origin. Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. p. 169.

^b Relation, p. 8.

^c Some learned men, Cardan, Scaliger, &c. have imagined that the *Vasa Murrhina*, particularly described by Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvii. and occasionally mentioned by several ancient authors both Greek and Roman, were the true porcelain of

They describe the tea-tree, and the mode of using its leaves; and from the great revenue which was levied (as they inform us) from the consumption of it, tea seems to have been as universally the favourite beverage of the Chinese in the ninth century, as it is at present.^k

Even with respect to those parts of India, which the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to visit, the Arabians had acquired more perfect information. They mention a great empire established on the Malabar coast, governed by monarchs whose authority was paramount to that of every power in India. These monarchs were distinguished by the appellation of *Balchara*, a name yet known in India,^l and it is probable that the Samorin, or emperor of Calicut, so frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first voyages of the Portuguese to India, possessed some portion of their dominions. They celebrate the extraordinary progress which the Indians had made in astronomical knowledge, a circumstance which seems to have been little known to the Greeks and Romans, and assert that in this branch of science they were far superior to the most enlightened nations of the East, on which account their sovereign was denominated the King of Wisdom.^m Other peculiarities in the political institutions, the mode of judicial proceedings, the pastimes and the superstitions of the Indians, particularly the excruciating mortifications and penances of the Faquirs, might be produced as proofs of the superior knowledge which the Arabians had acquired of the manners of that people.

The same commercial spirit or religious zeal, which prompted the Mahomedans of Persia to visit the remotest regions of the East, animated the Christians of that kingdom. The Nestorian churches planted in Persia, under the

China. M. l'Abbé Le Bland and M. Larcher have examined this opinion, with full as much industry and erudition as the subject merited, in two Dissertations published in Mem. de Literat. tom. xliii. From them it is evident that the Vasa Murrhina were formed of a transparent stone dug out of the earth in some of the eastern provinces of Asia. These were imitated in vessels of coloured glass. As both were beautiful and rare, they were sold at a very high price to the luxurious citizens of Rome.

^k Relation, p. 21. 25. ^l Herbelot, artic. *Hend. & Belhar.* ^m Relation, p. 37, 38.

protection first of its native sovereigns, and afterward of its conquerors the caliphs, were numerous, and governed by respectable ecclesiastics. They had early sent missionaries into India, and established churches in different parts of it, particularly, as I have formerly related, in the island of Ceylon. When the Arabians extended their navigation as far as China, a more ample field, both for their commerce and their zeal, opened to their view. If we may rely on the concurring evidence of Christian authors, in the East as well as in the West, confirmed by the testimony of the two Mahomedan travellers, their pious labours were attended with such success, that in the ninth and tenth centuries the number of Christians in India and China was very considerable.ⁿ As the churches in both

ⁿ The progress of Christianity, and of Mahomedanism, both in China and India, is attested by such evidence as leaves no doubt with respect to it. This evidence is collected by Assemanus, *Biblioth. Orient.* vol. iv. p. 437, &c. 521, &c.; and by M. Renaudot, in two Dissertations annexed to *Anciennes Relations*; and by M. de la Croze, *Histoire de Christianisme des Indes*. In our own age, however, we know that the number of proselytes to either of these religions is extremely small, especially in India. A Gentoo considers all the distinctions and privileges of his cast, as belonging to him by an exclusive and incommunicable right. To convert, or to be converted, are ideas equally repugnant to the principles most deeply rooted in his mind; nor can either the Catholic or Protestant missionaries in India boast of having overcome these prejudices, except among a few in the lowest casts, or of such as have lost their cast altogether. This last circumstance is a great obstacle to the progress of Christianity in India. As Europeans eat the flesh of that animal which the Hindoos deem sacred, and drink intoxicating liquors, in which practices they are imitated by the converts to Christianity, this sinks them to a level with the Pariars, the most contemptible and odious race of men. Some Catholic missionaries were so sensible of this, that they affected to imitate the dress and manner of living of Brahmins, and refused to associate with the Pariars, or to admit them to the participation of the sacraments. But this was condemned by the apostolic legate Tournon, as inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion; *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, par M. Sonnerat, tom. i. p. 58, note. Notwithstanding the labours of missionaries for upwards of two hundred years (says a late ingenious writer), and the establishments of different Christian nations, who support and protect them, out of, perhaps, one hundred millions of Hindoos, there are not twelve thousand Christians, and those almost entirely *Chancalus*, or outcasts. Sketches relating to the history, religion, learning, and manners of the Hindoos, p. 48. The number of Mahomedans, or Moors, now in Indostan, is supposed to be near ten millions; but they are not the original inhabitants of the country, but the descendants of adventurers who have been pouring in from Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, ever since the invasion of Mahmoud of Gazna, A. D. 1002, the first Mahomedan conqueror of India. Orme *Hist. of Military Transact. in Indostan*, vol. i. p. 24. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient. artic. Gaznaviah*. As the manners of the Indians in ancient times seem to have been, in every respect, the same with those of the present age, it is probable that the Christians and Mahomedans, said to be so numerous in India and China, were chiefly foreigners, allured thither by a lucrative commerce, or their descendants. The number of Mahomedans in China has been considerably increased by a practice, common among them, of buying children in years of famine, whom they educate in the Mahomedan religion. *Hist. Gener. des Voyages*, tom. vi. p. 357.

these countries received all their ecclesiastics from Persia, where they were ordained by the *Catholicos*, or Nestorian Primate, whose supremacy they acknowledged, this became a regular channel of intercourse and intelligence; and to the combined effect of all these circumstances, we are indebted for the information we receive from the two Arabian writers,^o concerning those regions of Asia which the Greeks and Romans never visited.

But while both the Mahomedan and Christian subjects of the caliphs continued to extend their knowledge of the East, the people of Europe found themselves excluded almost entirely from any intercourse with it. To them the great port of Alexandria was now shut, and the new lords of the Persian gulf, satisfied with supplying the demand for Indian commodities in their own extensive dominions, neglected to convey them, by any of the usual channels, to the trading towns on the Mediterranean. The opulent inhabitants of Constantinople, and other great cities of Europe, bore this deprivation of luxuries, to which they had been long accustomed, with such impatience, that all the activity of commerce was exerted, in order to find a remedy for an evil which they deemed intolerable. The difficulties which were to be surmounted in order to accomplish this, afforded the most striking proof of the high estimation in which the commodities of the East were held at that time. The silk of China was purchased in Chensi, the westernmost province of that empire, and conveyed thence by a caravan, in a march of eighty or a hundred days, to the banks of the Oxus, where it was embarked, and carried down the stream of that river to the Caspian. After a dangerous voyage across that sea, and ascending the river Cyrus as far as it is navigable, it was conducted by a short land-carriage of five days to the river Phasis,^p which falls into the Euxine or Black sea. Thence, by an easy and well-known course, it was transported to Constantinople. The conveyance of commo-

^o Relation, p. 39.

^p Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 17.

dities from that region of the East, now known by the name of Indostan, was somewhat less tedious and operose. They were carried from the banks of the Indus by a route early frequented, and which I have already described, either to the river Oxus, or directly to the Caspian, from which they held the same course to Constantinople.

It is obvious, that only commodities of small bulk, and of considerable value, could bear the expense of such a mode of conveyance; and in regulating the price of those commodities, not only the expense, but the risk and danger of conveying them, were to be taken into account. In their journey across the vast plain extending from Samarcand to the frontier of China, caravans were exposed to the assaults and depredations of the Tartars, the Huns, the Turks, and other roving tribes which infest the north-east of Asia, and which have always considered the merchant and traveller as their lawful prey; nor were they exempt from insult and pillage in their journey from the Cyrus to the Phasis, through the kingdom of Colchis, a country noted, both in ancient and in modern times, for the thievish disposition of its inhabitants. Even under all these disadvantages, the trade with the East was carried on with ardour. Constantinople became a considerable mart of Indian and Chinese commodities, and the wealth which flowed into it in consequence of this, not only added to the splendour of that great city, but seems to have retarded, for some time, the decline of the empire of which it was the capital.

As far as we may venture to conjecture, from the imperfect information of contemporary historians, it was chiefly by the mode of conveyance which I have described, perilous and operose as it was, that Europe was supplied with the commodities of the East, during more than two centuries. Throughout that period the Christians and Mahomedans were engaged in almost uninterrupted hostilities; prosecuted with all the animosity which rivalry for power, heightened by religious zeal, naturally excites.

Under circumstances which occasioned such alienation, commercial intercourse could hardly subsist, and the merchants of Christendom either did not resort at all to Alexandria, and the ports of Syria, the ancient staples for the commodities of the East, after they were in possession of the Mahometans, or if the love of gain, surmounting their abhorrence of the infidels, prompted them to visit the marts which they had long frequented, it was with much caution and distrust.

While the difficulties of procuring the productions of the East were thus augmented, the people of Europe became more desirous of obtaining them. About this time some cities of Italy, particularly Amalphi and Venice, having acquired a greater degree of security or independence than they formerly possessed, began to cultivate the arts of domestic industry, with an ardour and ingenuity uncommon in the middle ages. The effect of these exertions was such an increase of wealth, as created new wants and desires, and formed a taste for elegance and luxury, which induced them to visit foreign countries in order to gratify it. Among men in this stage of their advancement, the productions of India have always been held in high estimation, and from this period they were imported into Italy in larger quantities, and came into more general use. Several circumstances which indicate this revival of a commercial spirit, are collected by the industrious Muratori, and from the close of the seventh century, an attentive observer may discern faint traces of its progress.^a

Even in enlightened ages, when the transactions of nations are observed and recorded with the greatest care, and the store of historical materials seems to be abundantly ample, so little attention has been paid to the operations of commerce, that every attempt towards a regular deduction of them, has been found an undertaking of the utmost difficulty. The era, however, to which I have

^a *Antiquit. Ital. medij Ævi*, ii. 400. 408. 410. 883. 885. 894. *Rer. Ital. Script.* ii. 487. *Histoire du Commerce de la Russie*, par M. Scherer, tom. i. p. 11, &c.

conducted this Disquisition, is one of the periods in the annals of mankind concerning which history furnishes most scanty information. As it was chiefly in the Greek empire, and in some cities of Italy, that any efforts were made to procure the commodities of India, and the other regions of the East, it is only from the historians of those countries we can expect to find any account of that trade. But from the age of Mahomet, until the time when the Comneni ascended the throne of Constantinople, a period of more than four centuries and a half, the Byzantine history is contained in meagre chronicles, the compilers of which seldom extended their views beyond the intrigues in the palace, the factions in the theatre, or the disputes of theologians. To them the monkish annalists of the different states and cities of Italy, during the same period, are (if possible) far inferior in merit; and in the early accounts of those cities which have been most celebrated for their commercial spirit, we search with little success for the origin or nature of that trade by which they first rose to eminence.^r It is manifest, however, from the slightest attention to the events which happened in the seventh and eighth centuries, that the Italian states, while their coasts were continually infested by Mahomedans, who had made some settlements there, and had subjected Sicily almost entirely to their dominion, could not trade with much

^r From the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, Doge of Venice, who was elevated to that high station at a time when his countrymen had established a regular trade with Alexandria, and imported from it all the productions of the East, it was natural to expect some information concerning their early trade with that country; but, except an idle tale concerning some Venetian ships which had sailed to Alexandria about the year 828, contrary to a decree of the state, and which stole thence the body of St. Mark; Murat. Script. Rer. Ital. vol. xii. lib. 8. c. 2. p. 170; I find no other hint concerning the communication between the two countries. On the contrary, circumstances occur which shew that the resort of Europeans to Egypt had ceased, almost entirely, for some time. Prior to the seventh and eighth centuries, the greater part of the public deeds in Italy and in other countries of Europe, were written upon paper fabricated of the Egyptian papyrus; but after that period, as Europeans seldom ventured to trade in Alexandria, almost all charters and other deeds are written upon parchment. Murat. Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi. vol. iii. p. 832. I have been induced both in the text and in this note, to state these particulars concerning the interruption of trade between the Christians and Mahometans so fully, in order to correct an error into which several modern authors have fallen, by supposing, that soon after the first conquests of the caliphs, the trade with India returned into its ancient channels, and the merchants of Europe resorted with the same freedom as formerly to the ports of Egypt and Syria.

confidence and security in Egypt and Syria. With what implacable hatred Christians viewed Mahomedans, as the disciples of an impostor, is well known; and as all the nations which professed the Christian faith, both in the East and West, had mingled the worship of angels and saints with that of the Supreme Being, and had adorned their churches with pictures and statues; the true Moslems considered themselves as the only assertors of the unity of God, and beheld Christians of every denomination with abhorrence, as idolaters. Much time was requisite to soften this mutual animosity, so far as to render intercourse in any degree cordial.

Meanwhile a taste for the luxuries of the East continued not only to spread in Italy, but, from imitation of the Italians, or from some improvement in their own situation, the people of Marseilles and other towns of France on the Mediterranean, became equally fond of them. But the profits exacted by the merchants of Amalphi or Venice, from whom they received those precious commodities, were so exorbitant as prompted them to make some effort to supply their own demands. With this view, they not only opened a trade with Constantinople, but ventured at times to visit the ports of Egypt and Syria.⁵ This eagerness of the Europeans, on the one hand, to obtain the productions of India, and on the other hand, considerable advantages which both the caliphs and their subjects derived from the sale of them, induced both so far to conceal their reciprocal antipathy, as to carry on a traffic manifestly for their common benefit. How far this traffic extended, and in what mode it was conducted by these new adventurers, the scanty information which can be gathered from contemporary writers, does not enable me to trace with accuracy. It is probable, however, that this communication would have produced insensibly its usual effect, of familiarising and reconciling men of hostile principles and discordant manners to one another, and a regular com-

⁵ Mem. de Literat. tom. xxxvii. p. 467, &c. 483.

merce might have been established gradually between Christians and Mahomedans, upon such equal terms, that the nations of Europe might have received all the luxuries of the East by the same channels in which they were formerly conveyed to them, first by the Tyrians, then by the Greeks of Alexandria, next by the Romans, and at last by the subjects of the Constantinopolitan empire.

But whatever might have been the influence of this growing correspondence, it was prevented from operating with full effect by the crusades, or expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land, which, during two centuries, occupied the professors of the two rival religions, and contributed to alienate them more than ever from each other. I have, in another work,^t contemplated mankind while under the dominion of this frenzy, the most singular perhaps, and the longest continued, of any that occurs in the history of our species; and I pointed out such effects of it upon government, upon property, upon manners and taste, as were suited to what were then the objects of my inquiry. At present my attention is confined to observe the commercial consequences of the crusades, and how far they contributed to retard or to promote the conveyance of Indian commodities into Europe.

To fix an idea of peculiar sanctity to that country, which the Author of our religion selected as the place of his residence while on earth, and in which he accomplished the redemption of mankind, is a sentiment so natural to the human mind, that, from the first establishment of Christianity, the visiting the holy places in Judea was considered as an exercise of piety, tending powerfully to awaken and to cherish a spirit of devotion. Through succeeding ages, the practice continued and increased in every part of Christendom. When Jerusalem was subjected to the Mahomedan empire, and danger was added to the fatigue and expense of a distant pilgrimage, the undertaking was viewed as still more meritorious. It was sometimes en-

^t See vol. iii. p. 40, &c.

joined as a penance to be performed by heinous transgressors. It was more frequently a duty undertaken with voluntary zeal, and in both cases it was deemed an expiation for all past offences. From various causes, which I have elsewhere enumerated,^t these pious visits to the Holy Land multiplied amazingly during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Not only individuals in the lower and middle ranks of life, but persons of superior condition, attended by large retinues, and numerous caravans of opulent pilgrims, resorted to Jerusalem.

In all their operations, however, men have a wonderful dexterity in mingling some attention to interest with those functions which seem to be most purely spiritual. The Mahomedan caravans, which, in obedience to the injunctions of their religion, visit the holy temple of Mecca, are not composed, as I shall hereafter explain more fully, of devout pilgrims only, but of merchants, who, both in going and returning, are provided with such an assortment of goods, that they carry on a considerable traffic.^u Even the Faquirs of India, whose wild enthusiasm seems to elevate them above all solicitude about the concerns of this world, have rendered their frequent pilgrimages subservient to their interest, by trading in every country through which they travel.^x In like manner, it was not by devotion alone that such numerous bands of Christian pilgrims were induced to visit Jerusalem. To many of them commerce was the chief motive of undertaking that distant voyage; and, by exchanging the productions of Europe for the more valuable commodities of Asia, particularly those of India, which at that time were diffused through every part of the caliph's dominions, they enriched themselves, and furnished their countrymen with

^t See vol. iii. pp. 40. 43.

^u Viagi di Ramusio, vol. i. p. 151, 152.

^x It is proper to remark (says Mr. Stewart) that the Indians have an admirable method of rendering their religion lucrative, it being usual for the Faquirs to carry with them, in their pilgrimages from the sea-coasts to the interior parts, pearls, corals, spices, and other precious articles, of small bulk, which they exchange, on their return, for gold dust, musk, and other things of a similar nature, concealing them easily in their hair, and in the cloths round their middle, carrying on, in proportion to their numbers, no inconsiderable traffic by these means. Account of the kingdom of Thibet, Philos. Transact. vol. lxxvii. part ii. p. 483.

such an additional supply of eastern luxuries, as augmented their relish for them.^y

But how faint soever the lines may be, which, prior to the crusades, mark the influence of the frequent pilgrimages to the East upon commerce, they became so conspicuous after the commencement of these expeditions, as to meet the eye of every observer. Various circumstances concurred towards this, from an enumeration of which it will appear, that, by attending to the progress and effects of the crusades, considerable light is thrown upon the subject of my inquiries. Great armies, conducted by the most illustrious princes and nobles of Europe, and composed of men of the most enterprising spirit in all the kingdoms of it, marched towards Palestine, through countries far advanced beyond those which they left, in every species of improvement. They beheld the dawn of prosperity in the republics of Italy, which had begun to vie with each other in the arts of industry, and in their efforts to engross the lucrative commerce with the East. They next admired the more advanced state of opulence and splendour in Constantinople, raised to a pre-eminence above all the cities then known, by its extensive trade, particularly that which it carried on with India and the countries beyond it. They afterward served in those provinces of Asia through which the commodities of the East were usually conveyed, and became masters of several cities which had been staples of that trade. They established the kingdom of Jerusalem, which subsisted near two hundred years. They took possession of the throne of the Greek empire, and governed it above half a century. Amidst such a variety of events and operations, the ideas of the fierce warriors of Europe gradually opened and improved; they became acquainted with the policy and arts of the people whom they subdued; they observed the sources of their wealth, and availed themselves of all this knowledge. Antioch and Tyre, when conquered by the crusaders, were flourishing

^y Gul. Tyr. lib. xvii. c. 4. p. 933. ap. Gesta Dei per Francos.

cities, inhabited by opulent merchants, who supplied all the nations trading in the Mediterranean with the productions of the East,² and as far as can be gathered from incidental occurrences, mentioned by the historians of the Holy War, who, being mostly priests and monks, had their attention directed to objects very different to those relating to commerce, there is reason to believe that, both in Constantinople, while subject to the Franks, and in the ports of Syria, acquired by the Christians, the long-established trade with the East continued to be protected and encouraged.

But though commerce may have been only a secondary object with the martial leaders of the crusades, engaged in perpetual hostilities with the Turks on one hand, and with the soldans of Egypt on the other, it was the primary object with the associates, in conjunction with whom they carried on their operations. Numerous as the armies were which assumed the cross, and enterprising as the fanatical zeal was with which they were animated, they could not have accomplished their purpose, or even have reached the seat of their warfare, without securing the assistance of the Italian states. None of the other European powers could either furnish a sufficient number of transports to convey the armies of the crusaders to the coast of Dalmatia, whence they marched to Constantinople, the place of general rendezvous; or were able to supply them with military stores and provisions in such abundance as to enable them to invade a distant country. In all the successive expeditions, the fleets of the Genoese, of the Pisans, or of the Venetians, kept on the coast as the armies advanced by land, and supplying them from time to time with whatever was wanting, engrossed all the profits of a branch of commerce, which, in every age, has been extremely lucrative. It was with all the interested attention of merchants, that the Italians afforded their aid. On the reduction of any place in which they found it for their interest to settle, they obtained

² Gul. Tyr. lib. xiii. c. 5. Alb. Aquens. Hist. Hieros. ap. Gesta Dei, vol. i. p. 247.

from the crusaders valuable immunities of different kinds; freedom of trade; an abatement of the usual duties paid for what was imported and exported, or a total exemption from them; the property of entire suburbs in some cities, and of extensive streets in others; and a privilege granted to every person who resided within their precincts, or who traded under their protection, of being tried by their own laws, and by judges of their own appointment.^a In consequence of so many advantages, we can trace, during the progress of the crusades, a rapid increase of wealth and of power in all the commercial states of Italy. Every port open to trade was frequented by their merchants, who, having now engrossed entirely the commerce of the East, strove with such active emulation to find new markets for the commodities which it furnished, that they extended a taste for them to many parts of Europe, in which they had hitherto been little known.

Two events happened, prior to the termination of the Holy War, which, by acquiring to the Venetians and Genoese the possession of several provinces in the Greek empire, enabled them to supply Europe more abundantly with all the productions of the East. The first was the conquest of Constantinople in the year 1204, by the Venetians, and the leaders of the fourth crusade. An account of the political interests and intrigues which formed this alliance, and turned the hallowed arms destined to deliver the holy city from the dominion of infidels, against a Christian monarch, is foreign from the design of this Disquisition. Constantinople was taken by storm, and plundered by the confederates. An earl of Flanders was placed on the Imperial throne. The dominions which still remained subject to the successors of Constantine were divided into four parts, one of which being allotted to the new emperor, for supporting the dignity and expense of government, an equal partition of the other three was made between the Venetians, and the chiefs of the crusade. The former, who, both in concerting and in con-

^a See vol. iii. p. 49.

ducting this enterprise, kept their eyes steadily fixed on what might be most for the emolument of their commerce, secured the territories of greatest value to a trading people. They obtained some part of the Peloponnesus, at that time the seat of flourishing manufactures, particularly of silk. They became masters of several of the largest and best cultivated islands in the Archipelago, and established a chain of settlements, partly military and partly commercial, extending from the Adriatic to the Bosphorus.^b Many Venetians settled in Constantinople, and without obstruction from their warlike associates, little attentive to the arts of industry, they engrossed the various branches of trade which had so long enriched that capital. Two of these particularly attracted their attention; the silk trade, and that with India. From the reign of Justinian, it was mostly in Greece, and some of the adjacent islands, that silk-worms, which he first introduced into Europe, were reared. The product of their labours was manufactured into stuffs of various kinds, in many cities of the empire. But it was in Constantinople, the seat of opulence and luxury, that the demand for a commodity of such high price was greatest, and there, of consequence, the commerce of silk naturally centred. In assorting cargoes for the several ports in which they traded, the Venetians had for some time found silk to be an essential article, as it continued to grow more and more into request in every part of Europe. By the residence of so many of their citizens in Constantinople, and by the immunities granted to them, they not only procured silk in such abundance, and on such terms, as enabled them to carry on trade more extensively, and with greater profit than formerly, but they became so thoroughly acquainted with every branch of the silk manufacture, as induced them to attempt the establishment of it in their own dominions. The measures taken for this purpose by individuals, as well as the regulations framed by the state, were concerted with so much

^b Danduli Chronic. ap. Murat. Script. Rer. Ital. vol. xii. p. 328. Mar. Sanuto Vite de Duchi di Venez. Murat. vol. xxii. p. 532.

prudence, and executed with such success, that in a short time the silk fabrics of Venice vied with those of Greece and Sicily, and contributed both to enrich the republic, and to enlarge the sphere of its commerce: At the same time the Venetians availed themselves of the influence which they had acquired in Constantinople, in order to improve their Indian trade. The capital of the Greek empire, besides the means of being supplied with the productions of the East, which it enjoyed in common with the other commercial cities of Europe, received a considerable portion of them by a channel peculiar to itself. Some of the most valuable commodities of India and China were conveyed overland, by routes which I have described, to the Black sea, and thence by a short navigation to Constantinople. To this market, the best stored of any except Alexandria, the Venetians had now easy access, and the goods which they purchased there, made an addition of great consequence to what they were accustomed to acquire in the ports of Egypt and Syria. Thus while the Latin empire in Constantinople subsisted, the Venetians possessed such advantages over all their rivals, that their commerce extended greatly, and it was chiefly from them every part of Europe received the commodities of the East.

The other event which I had in view, was the subversion of the dominions of the Latins in Constantinople, and the re-establishment of the Imperial family on the throne. This was effected after a period of fifty-seven years, partly by a transient effort of vigour, with which indignation at a foreign yoke animated the Greeks, and partly by the powerful assistance which they received from the republic of Genoa. The Genoese were so sensible of the advantages which the Venetians, their rivals in trade, derived from their union with the Latin emperors of Constantinople, that, in order to deprive them of these, they surmounted the most deep-rooted prejudices of their age, and combined with the schismatic Greeks to dethrone a monarch protected by the papal power, setting at defiance the thunders of the

Vatican, which at that time made the greatest princes tremble. This undertaking, bold and impious as it was then deemed, proved successful. In recompense for their signal services, the gratitude or weakness of the Greek emperor, among other donations, bestowed upon the Genoese, Pera, the chief suburb of Constantinople, to be held as a fief of the empire, together with such exemption from the accustomed duties on goods imported and exported, as gave them a decided superiority over every competitor in trade. With the vigilant attention of merchants, the Genoese availed themselves of this favourable situation. They surrounded their new settlement in Pera with fortifications. They rendered their factories on the adjacent coast places of strength.^c They were masters of the harbour of Constantinople more than the Greeks themselves. The whole trade of the Black sea came into their hands; and not satisfied with this, they took possession of part of the Chersonesus Taurica, the modern Crimea, and rendered Caffa, its principal town, the chief seat of their trade with the East, and the port in which all its productions, conveyed to the Black sea by the different routes I have formerly described, were landed.^d

In consequence of this revolution, Genoa became the greatest commercial power in Europe; and if the enterprising industry and intrepid courage of its citizens had been under the direction of wise domestic policy, it might have long held that rank. But never was there a contrast more striking, than between the internal administration of the two rival republics of Venice and Genoa. In the former, government was conducted with steady systematic prudence; in the latter, it was consistent in nothing but a fondness

^c Niceph. Gregor. lib. xi. c. 1. § 6; lib. xvii. c. 1. § 2.

^d Folieta Pist. Genuens. ap. Græv. Thes. Antiq. Ital. i. 587. De Marinis de Genuens. Dignit. ib. 1486. Niceph. Greg. lib. xiii. c. 12. Murat. Annual. d'Ital. lib. vii. c. 351. Caffa is the most commodious station for trade in the Black sea. While in the hands of the Genoese, who kept possession of it above two centuries, they rendered it the seat of an extensive and flourishing commerce. Even under all the disadvantages of its subjection, at present, to the Turkish government, it continues to be a place of considerable trade. Sir John Chardin, who visited it A. D. 1672, relates that during his residence of forty days there, about four hundred ships arrived at Caffa, or sailed from it. Voyages, i. 48. He observed there several remains of Genoese magnificence. The number of its inhabitants, according to M. Peysonel, amounts still to eighty thousand. Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. i. p. 15. He describes its trade as very great.

for novelty, and a propensity to change. The one enjoyed a perpetual calm, the other was agitated with all the storms and vicissitudes of faction. The increase of wealth which flowed into Genoa from the exertions of its merchants, did not counterbalance the defects in its political constitution; and even in its most prosperous state we may discern the appearance of symptoms which foreboded a diminution of its opulence and power.

As long, however, as the Genoese retained the ascendant which they had acquired in the Greek empire; the Venetians felt their commercial transactions with it to be carried on upon such unequal terms, that their merchants visited Constantinople seldom, and with reluctance; and in order to procure the commodities of the East in such quantities as were demanded in the various parts of Europe which they were accustomed to supply, they were obliged to resort to the ancient staples of that trade. Of these Alexandria was the chief, and the most abundantly supplied, as the conveyance of Indian goods by land through Asia, to any of the ports of the Mediterranean, was often rendered impracticable by the incursions of Turks, Tartars, and other hordes, which successively desolated that fertile country, or contended for the dominion of it. But under the military and vigorous government of the soldans of the Mamelukes, security and order were steadily maintained in Egypt, and trade, though loaded with heavy duties, was open to all. In proportion to the progress of the Genoese in engrossing the commerce of Constantinople and the Black sea,* the Venetians found it more and more necessary to enlarge their transactions with Alexandria.

But such an avowed intercourse with infidels being considered, in that age, as unbecoming the character of

* The rapacity and insolence of the Genoese settled in Constantinople, are painted by Nicephorus Gregorus, an eye-witness of their conduct, in very striking colours. "They," says he, "now, i. e. about the year 1340, dreamed that they had acquired the dominion of the sea, and claimed an exclusive right to the trade of the Euxine, prohibiting the Greeks to sail to Maotis, the Chersonesus, or any part of the coast beyond the mouth of the Danube, without a licence from them. This exclusion they extended likewise to the Venetians, and their arrogance proceeded so far as to form a scheme of imposing a toll upon every vessel passing through the Bosphorus." Lib. xviii. c. 2. § 1.

Christians, the senate of Venice, in order to silence its own scruples, or those of its subjects, had recourse to the infallible authority of the pope, who was supposed to be possessed of power to dispense with the rigorous observation of the most sacred laws, and obtained permission from him to fit out annually a specified number of ships for the ports of Egypt and of Syria.^f Under this sanction the republic concluded a treaty of commerce with the Soldans of Egypt, on equitable terms; in consequence of which the senate appointed one consul to reside in Alexandria, and another in Damascus, in a public character, and to exercise a mercantile jurisdiction, authorized by the Soldans. Under their protection, Venetian merchants and artisans settled in each of these cities. Ancient prejudices and antipathies were forgotten, and their mutual interests established, for the first time, a fair and open trade between Christians and Mahomedans.^g

While the Venetians and Genoese were alternately making those extraordinary efforts, in order to engross all the advantages of supplying Europe with the productions of the East, the republic of Florence, originally a commercial democracy, applied with such persevering vigour to trade, and the genius of the people, as well as the nature of their institutions, were so favourable to its progress, that the state advanced rapidly in power and the people in opulence. But as the Florentines did not possess any commodious sea-port, their active exertions were directed chiefly towards the improvement of their manufactures and domestic industry. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Florentine manufactures of various kinds, particularly those of silk and woollen cloth, appear, from the enumeration of a well-informed historian, to have been

^f A permission from the pope was deemed so necessary to authorize a commercial intercourse with infidels, that long after this period, in the year 1454, Nicholas V. in his famous bull in favour of prince Henry of Portugal, among other privileges, grants him a licence to trade with Mahomedans, and refers to similar concessions from pope Martin V.; and Eugenius to the kings of Portugal. Leibnitz Codex Jur. Gent. Diplom. Pars I. p. 489.

^g Sandi Storia Civile Veneziana, lib. v. c. 15. p. 218, &c.

very considerable.^h The connexion which they formed in different parts of Europe, by furnishing them with the productions of their own industry, led them to engage in another branch of trade, that of banking. In this, they soon became so eminent, that the money-transactions of almost every kingdom in Europe passed through their hands, and in many of them they were intrusted with the collection and administration of the public revenues. In consequence of the activity and success with which they conducted their manufactures and money-transactions, the former always attended with certain though moderate profit, the latter lucrative in a high degree, at a period when neither the interests of money, nor the premium on bills of exchange, were settled with accuracy, Florence became one of the first cities in Christendom, and many of its citizens extremely opulent. Cosmo di Medici, the head of a family which rose from obscurity by its success in trade, was reckoned the most wealthy merchant ever known in Europe;ⁱ and in acts of public munificence, as well as of private generosity, in the patronage of learning, and in the encouragement of useful and elegant arts, no monarch of the age could vie with him. Whether the Medici, in their first mercantile transactions, carried on any commerce with the East, I have not been able to discover.^k It is more probable, I should think, that their trade was confined to the

^h Giov. Villani Hist. Fiorent. ap. Murat. Script. Rer. Ital. vol. xiii. p. 823. Dell' Istorie Fiorentine, di Scip. Ammirato, lib. iv. p. 151; lib. viii. p. 299.

ⁱ Fr. Mich. Brutus Hist. Flor. p. 37. 62. Chron. Eugubinum ap. Murat. Script. Rer. Ital. vol. xiv. p. 1007. Denina. Revol. d'Italie, tom. vi. p. 263, &c.

^k Neither Jovius, the professed panegyrist of the Medici, nor Jo. M. Brutus, their detractor, though both mention the exorbitant wealth of the family, explain the nature of the trade by which it was acquired. Even Machiavel, whose genius delighted in the investigation of every circumstance which contributed to aggrandize or depress nations, seems not to have viewed the commerce of his country as a subject that merited any elucidation. Denina, who had entitled the first chapter of his eighteenth book, "The origin of the Medici and the Commencement of their Power and Grandeur," furnishes little information with regard to the trade carried on by them. This silence of so many authors is a proof that historians had not yet begun to view commerce as an object of such importance in the political state of nations, as to enter into any detail concerning its nature and effects. From the references of different writers to Scipio Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine; to Pagnini, Della Decima ed altri gravezze della Mercatura di Fiorentini, and to Balducci, Pratica della Mercatura, I should imagine that something more satisfactory might be learned concerning the trade both of the republic and the family of Medici; but I could not find any of these books either in Edinburgh or in London.

same articles with that of their countrymen. But as soon as the commonwealth, by the conquest of Pisa, had acquired a communication with the ocean, Cosmo di Medici, who had the chief direction of its affairs, endeavoured to procure for his country a share in that lucrative commerce which had raised Venice and Genoa so far above all other Italian states. With this view ambassadors were sent to Alexandria, in order to prevail with the Soldan to open that and the other ports of his dominions to the subjects of the republic, and to admit them to a participation in all the commercial privileges which were enjoyed by the Venetians. The negotiation terminated with such success, that the Florentines seem to have obtained some share in the Indian trade;¹ and soon after this period, we find spices enumerated among the commodities imported by the Florentines into England.^m

In some parts of this Disquisition concerning the nature and course of trade with the East, I have been obliged to grope my way, and often under the guidance of very feeble lights. But as we are now approaching to the period when the modern ideas, with respect to the importance of commerce, began to unfold, and attention to its progress and effects became a more considerable object of policy, we may hope to carry on what researches yet remain to be made with greater certainty and precision. To this growing attention we are indebted for the account which Ma-

¹ Leibnitz has preserved a curious paper, containing the instructions of the republic of Florence to the two ambassadors sent to the soldan of Egypt, in order to negociate this treaty with him, together with the report of these ambassadors on their return. The great object of the republic was to obtain liberty of trading in all parts of the soldan's dominions, upon the same terms with the Venetians. The chief privileges which they solicited were; 1. A perfect freedom of admission into every part belonging to the soldan, protection while they continued in it, and liberty of departure at what time they chose. 2. Permission to have a consul, with the same rights and jurisdiction as those of the Venetians; and liberty to build a church, a warehouse, and a bath, in every place where they settled. 3. That they should not pay for goods imported or exported higher duties than were paid by the Venetians. 4. That the effects of any Florentine who died in the dominions of the soldan should be consigned to the consul. 5. That the gold and silver coin of Florence should be received in payments. All these privileges (which shew on what equal and liberal terms Christians and Mahomedans now carried on trade) the Florentines obtained; but from the causes mentioned in the text, they seem never to have acquired any considerable share in the commerce with India. Leibnitz, *Mantissa Cod. Jur. Gent. Diplom. Pars altera*, p. 163.

^m Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 193.

rino Sanudo, a Venetian nobleman, gives of the Indian trade, as carried on by his countrymen, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. They were supplied, as he informs us, with the productions of the East in two different ways. Those of small bulk and high value, such as cloves, nutmegs, mace, gems, pearls, &c. were conveyed from the Persian gulf up the Tigris to Bassora, and thence to Bagdat, from which they were carried to some port on the Mediterranean. All more bulky goods, such as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, &c. together with some portion of the more valuable articles, were conveyed by the ancient route to the Red sea, and thence across the desert, and down the Nile to Alexandria. The goods received by the former route were, as Sanudo observes, of superior quality; but from the tediousness and expense of a distant land-carriage, the supply was often scanty, nor can he conceal (though contrary to a favourite project which he had in view when he wrote the treatise to which I refer) that, from the state of the countries through which the caravans passed, this mode of conveyance was frequently precarious and attended with danger.*

It was in Alexandria only that the Venetians found always a certain and full supply of Indian goods; and as these were conveyed thither chiefly by water-carriage, they might have purchased them at a moderate price, if the soldans had not imposed upon them duties which amounted to a third part of their full value. Under this and every other disadvantage, however, it was necessary to procure them, as from many concurring circumstances, particularly a more extensive intercourse established among the different nations of Europe, the demand for them continued to increase greatly, during the fourteenth century. By the irruptions of the various hostile tribes of barbarians, who took possession of the greater part of Europe, that powerful bond by which the Romans had united together all the people of their vast empire was entirely dissolved, and such discouragement was given to the communication of

* Mar. Sanuti Secreta Fidelium Crucis, p. 22, &c. ap. Bongarsium.

one nation with another, as would appear altogether incredible, if the evidence of it rested wholly upon the testimony of historians, and were not confirmed by what is still more authentic, the express enactment of laws. Several statutes of this kind, which disgrace the jurisprudence of almost every European nation, I have enumerated and explained in another work.^o But when the wants and desires of men multiplied, and they found that other countries could furnish the means of supplying and gratifying them, the hostile sentiments which kept nations at a distance from each other abated, and mutual correspondence gradually took place. From the time of the crusades, which first brought people, hardly known to one another, to associate and to act in concert during two centuries, in pursuit of one common end, several circumstances had co-operated towards accelerating this general intercourse. The people around the Baltic, hitherto dreaded and abhorred by the rest of Europe as pirates and invaders, assumed more pacific manners, and began now to visit their neighbours as merchants. Occurrences foreign from the subject of the present inquiry, united them together in the powerful commercial confederacy so famous in the middle ages, under the name of the Hanseatic League, and led them to establish the staple of their trade with the southern parts of Europe in Bruges. Thither the merchants of Italy, particularly those of Venice, resorted; and in return for the productions of the East, and the manufactures of their own country, they received not only the naval stores and other commodities of the north, but a considerable supply of gold and silver from the mines in various provinces of Germany, the most valuable and productive of any known at that time in Europe.^p Bruges continued to be the great mart or storehouse of European trade, during the period to which my inquiries extend. A regular communication, formerly unknown, was kept up there among all the kingdoms into which our continent is divided, and we are enabled to

^o See vol. iii. pp. 171. 48, &c.

^p Zimmerman's Polit. Survey of Europe, p. 102.

account for the rapid progress of the Italian states in wealth and power, by observing how much their trade, the source from which both were derived, must have augmented upon the vast increase in the consumption of Asiatic goods, when all the extensive countries towards the north-east of Europe were opened for their reception.

During this prosperous and improving state of Indian commerce, Venice received from one of its citizens such new information concerning the countries which produced the precious commodities that formed the most valuable article of its trade, as gave an idea of their opulence, their population, and their extent, which rose far above all the former conceptions of Europeans. From the time that the Mahomedans became masters of Egypt, as no Christian was permitted to pass through their dominions to the East,⁹ the direct intercourse of Europeans with India ceased entirely. The account of India by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century, is, as far as I know, the last which the nations of the West received from any person who had visited that country. But about the middle of the thirteenth century, the spirit of commerce, now become more enterprising and more eager to discover new routes which led to wealth, induced Marco Polo, a Venetian of a noble family, after trading for some time in many of the opulent cities of the Lesser Asia, to penetrate into the more eastern parts of that continent, as far as to the court of the Great Khan on the frontier of China. During the course of twenty-six years, partly employed in mercantile transactions, and partly in conducting negotiations with which the Great Khan intrusted him, he explored many regions of the East which no European had ever visited.

He describes the great kingdom of Cathay, the name by which China is still known in many parts of the East,⁵ and travelled through it from Chambalu or Peking, on its northern frontier, to some of its most southern provinces. He visited different parts of Indostan, and is the first who men-

⁹ Sanuto, p. 23.

⁵ Herbelot Bib. Orient. artic. *Khathai*. Stewart, Account of Thibet, Phil. Trans. lxxvii. 474. Voyage of A. Jinkinson. Hakluyt. i. 333.

tions Bengal and Guzzerat, by their present names, as great and opulent kingdoms. Besides what he discovered in his journeys by land, he made more than one voyage in the Indian ocean, and acquired some information concerning an island which he calls Zipangri or Cipango, probably Japan. He visited in person Java, Sumatra, and several islands contiguous to them, the island of Ceylon, and the coast of Malabar, as far as the gulf of Cambay, to all which he gives the names that they now bear. This was the most extensive survey hitherto made of the East, and the most complete description of it ever given by any European; and in an age which had hardly any knowledge of those regions but what was derived from the geography of Ptolemy, not only the Venetians, but all the people of Europe, were astonished at the discovery of immense countries open to their view beyond what had hitherto been reputed the utmost boundary of the earth in that quarter.⁵

⁵ The eastern parts of Asia are now so completely explored, that the first imperfect accounts of them, by Marco Polo, attract little of that attention which was originally excited by the publication of his travels; and some circumstances in his narrative have induced different authors to justify this neglect, by calling in question the truth of what he relates, and even to assert that he had never visited those countries which he pretends to describe. He does not, say they, ascertain the position of any one place by specifying its longitude and latitude. He gives names to provinces and cities, particularly in his description of Cathay, which have no resemblance to those which they now bear. We may observe, however, that as Marco Polo seems to have been in no degree a man of science, it was not to be expected that he should fix the position of places with geographical accuracy. As he travelled through China, either in the suit of the Great Khan, or in execution of his orders, it is probable that the names which he gives to different provinces and cities, are those by which they were known to the Tartars, in whose service he was, not their original Chinese names. Some inaccuracies which have been observed in the relation of his travels, may be accounted for, by attending to one circumstance, that it was not published from a regular journal, which, perhaps, the vicissitudes in his situation, during such a long series of adventures, did not permit him to keep, or to preserve. It was composed after his return to his native country, and chiefly from recollection. But notwithstanding this disadvantage, his account of those regions of the East, towards which my inquiries have been directed, contains information with respect to several particulars altogether unknown in Europe at that time, the accuracy of which is now fully confirmed. Mr. Marsden, whose accuracy and discernment are well known, traces his description of the island which he calls Java Minor, evidently Sumatra; from which it is apparent, that, as Marco Polo had resided a considerable time in that island, he had examined some parts with care, and had inquired with diligence concerning others. Hist. of Sumat. p. 281. I shall mention some other particulars with respect to India, which though they relate to matters of no great consequence, afford the best proof of his having visited these countries, and of his having observed the manners and customs of the people with attention. He gives a distinct account of the nature and preparation of sago, the principal article of subsistence among all the nations of Malayan race, and he brought the first specimen of this singular production to Venice. Ramus. lib. iii. c. 16. He takes notice, likewise, of the general custom of chewing betel, and his description of the mode of preparing it is the same with that still in use. Ramus. Viaggi, ii. p. 55. D. 56. B. He even descends into such detail as to mention the peculiar manner of feeding horses in India, which still continues. Ramus. p. 53. F. What is of greater importance, we

But while men of leisure and speculation occupied themselves with examining the discoveries of Marco Polo, which gave rise to conjectures and theories, productive of most important consequences, an event happened, that drew the attention of all Europe, and had a most conspicuous effect upon the course of that trade, the progress of which I am endeavouring to trace.

The event to which I allude, is the final conquest of the Greek empire by Mahomet II., and the establishing the seat of the Turkish government in Constantinople. The immediate effect of this great revolution was, that the Genoese residing in Pera, involved in the general calamity, were obliged not only to abandon that settlement, but all those which they had made on the adjacent sea-coast, after they had been in their possession near two centuries. Not long after, the victorious arms of the Sultan expelled them from Caffa, and every other place which they held in the Crimea. Constantinople was no longer a mart open to the nations of the West for Indian commodities, and no supply of them could now be obtained but in Egypt and the ports of Syria, subject to the Soldans of the Mamelukes. The Venetians, in consequence of the protection and privileges which they had secured by their commercial treaty with those powerful princes, carried on trade in every part of their dominions

learn from him that the trade with Alexandria continued, when he travelled through India, to be carried on in the same manner as I conjectured it to have been in ancient times. The commodities of the East were still brought to the Malabar coast by vessels of the country, and conveyed thence, together with pepper and other productions peculiar to that part of India, by ships which arrived from the Red sea. Lib. iii. c. 27. This, perhaps, may account for the superior quality which Sanudo ascribes to the goods brought to the coast of Syria from the Persian gulf, above those imported into Egypt by the Red sea. The former were chosen and purchased in the places where they grew or where they were manufactured, by the merchants of Persia, who still continued their voyages to every part of the East; while the Egyptian merchants, in making up their cargoes, depended upon the assortment of goods brought to the Malabar coast by the natives. To some persons in his own age, what Marco Polo related concerning the numerous armies and immense revenues of the eastern princes, appeared so extravagant (though perfectly consonant to what we now know concerning the population of China, and the wealth of Indostan), that they gave him the name of *Messer Marco Milioni*. Prefat. de Ramus. p. 4. But among persons better informed, the reception he met with was very different. Columbus, as well as the men of science with whom he corresponded, placed such confidence in the veracity of his relations, that upon them the speculations and theories which led to the discovery of the New World, were in a great measure founded. Life of Columbus by his Son, c. 7. and 8.

† Folieta Hist. Genu. 602. 626. Murat. Annali d'Ital. ix. 451.

with such advantage, as gave them a superiority over every competitor. Genoa, which had long been their most formidable rival, humbled by the loss of its possessions in the East, and weakened by domestic dissensions, declined so fast, that it was obliged to court foreign protection, and submitted alternately to the dominion of the dukes of Milan and the kings of France. In consequence of this diminution of their political power, the commercial exertions of the Genoese became less vigorous. A feeble attempt which they made to recover that share of the Indian trade which they had formerly enjoyed, by offering to enter into treaty with the Soldans of Egypt upon terms similar to those which had been granted to the Venetians, proved unsuccessful; and during the remainder of the fifteenth century, Venice supplied the greater part of Europe with the productions of the East, and carried on trade to an extent far beyond what had been known in those times.

The state of the other European nations was extremely favourable to the commercial progress of the Venetians. England, desolated by the civil wars which the unhappy contest between the houses of York and Lancaster excited, had hardly begun to turn its attention towards those objects and pursuits to which it is indebted for its present opulence and power. In France, the fatal effects of the English arms and conquests were still felt, and the king had neither acquired power, nor the people inclination, to direct the national genius and activity to the arts of peace. The union of the different kingdoms of Spain was not yet completed; some of its most fertile provinces were still under the dominion of the Moors, with whom the Spanish monarchs waged perpetual war; and, except by the Catalans, little attention was paid to foreign trade. Portugal, though it had already entered upon that career of discovery which terminated with most splendid success, had not yet made such progress in it as to be entitled to any high rank among the commercial states of Europe. Thus the Venetians, almost without rival or competitor, except from some of the inferior Italian states, were left at liberty to

concert and to execute their mercantile plans ; and their trade with the cities of the Hanseatic League, which united the north and south of Europe, and which hitherto had been common to all the Italians, was now engrossed, in a great measure, by them alone.

While the increasing demand for the productions of Asia induced all the people of Europe to court intercourse with the Venetians so eagerly, as to allure them, by various immunities, to frequent their sea-ports, we may observe a peculiarity in their mode of carrying on trade with the East, which distinguishes it from what has taken place in other countries in any period of history. In the ancient world; the Tyrians, the Greeks who were masters of Egypt, and the Romans, sailed to India in quest of those commodities with which they supplied the people of the West. In modern times, the same has been the practice of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and, after their example, of other European nations. In both periods loud complaints have been made, that in carrying on this trade every state must be drained of the precious metals, which, in the course of it, flow incessantly from the West to the East, never to return. From whatever loss might have been occasioned by this gradual but unavoidable diminution of their gold and silver (whether a real or only an imaginary loss, it is not incumbent upon me in this place to inquire or to determine), the Venetians were, in a great measure, exempted. They had no direct intercourse with India. They found in Egypt, or in Syria, warehouses filled with all the commodities of the East, imported by the Mahomedans ; and from the best accounts we have, with respect to the nature of their trade, they purchased them more frequently by barter, than with ready money. Egypt, the chief mart for Indian goods, though a most fertile country, is destitute of many things requisite in an improved state of society, either for accommodation or for ornament. Too limited an extent, and too highly cultivated to afford space for forests ; too level to have mines of the useful metals ; it must be supplied with timber for building, with iron, lead,

tin, and brass, by importation from other countries. The Egyptians, while under the dominion of the Mamelukes, seem not themselves to have traded in the ports of any Christian state, and it was principally from the Venetians that they received all the articles which I have enumerated. Besides these, the ingenuity of the Venetian artists furnished a variety of manufactures of woollen cloths, silk stuffs of various fabric, camblets, mirrors, arms, ornaments of gold and silver, glass, and many other articles, for all which they found a ready market in Egypt and Syria. In return they received from the merchants of Alexandria, spices of every kind, drugs, gems, pearls, ivory, cotton and silk, unwrought as well as manufactured, in many different forms, and other productions of the East, together with several valuable articles of Egyptian growth or fabric. In Aleppo, Baruth, and other cities, besides the proper commodities of India brought thither by land, they added to their cargoes the carpets of Persia, the rich wrought silks of Damascus, still known by the name taken from that city, and various productions of art and nature peculiar to Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. If, at any time, their demand for the productions of the East went beyond what they could procure in exchange for their own manufactures, that trade with the cities of the Hanseatic League, which I have mentioned, furnished them, from the mines of Germany, with a regular supply of gold and silver, which they could carry with advantage to the markets of Egypt and Syria.

From a propensity, remarkable in all commercial states, to subject the operations of trade to political regulation and restraint, the authority of the Venetian government seems to have been interposed, both in directing the importation of Asiatic goods, and in the mode of circulating them among the different nations of Europe. To every considerable staple in the Mediterranean a certain number of large vessels, known by the name of *Galleons* or *Caracks*, was fitted out on the public account, and returned

loaded with the richest merchandise," the profit arising from the sale of which must have been no slender addition to the revenue of the republic. Citizens, however, of every class, particularly persons of noble families, were encouraged to engage in foreign trade, and whoever employed a vessel of a certain burden for this purpose, received a considerable bounty from the state.⁵ It was in the same manner, partly in ships belonging to the public, and partly in those of private traders, that the Venetians circulated through Europe the goods imported from the East, as well as the produce of their own dominions and manufactures.

There are two different ways by which we may come at some knowledge of the magnitude of those branches of commerce carried on by the Venetians. The one, by attending to the great variety and high value of the commodities which they imported into Bruges, the storehouse from which the more northern nations of Europe were supplied. A full enumeration of these is given by a well-informed author, in which is contained almost every article deemed in that age essential to accommodation or to elegance.⁷ The other, by considering the effects of the Venetian trade upon the cities admitted to a participation of its advantages. Never did wealth appear more conspicuously in the train of commerce. The citizens of Bruges, enriched by it, displayed, in their dress, their buildings, and mode of living, such magnificence as even to mortify the pride and excite the envy of royalty.² Antwerp, when the staple was removed thither, soon rivalled Bruges in opulence and splendour. In some cities of Germany, particularly in Augsburg, the great mart for Indian commo-

⁵ Sabellicus, *Hist. Rer. Venet.* Dec. iv. lib. iii. p. 868. *Deiuna Revol. d'Italie*, tom. vi. 340.

⁷ Sandi Stor. *Ciu. Venez.* lib. viii. 891.

² Ludi Guicciardini *Descript. de Paesi Bassi*, p. 173.

² In the year 1301, Joanna of Navarre, the wife of Philip le Bel, king of France, having been some days in Bruges, was so much struck with the grandeur and wealth of that city, and particularly with the splendid appearance of the citizens' wives, that she was moved (says Guicciardini) by female envy to exclaim with indignation, "I thought that I had been the only queen here, but I find there are many hundreds more." *Descript. de Paesi Bassi*, p. 408.

dities in the interior parts of that extensive country, we meet with early examples of such large fortunes accumulated by mercantile industry, as raised the proprietors of them to high rank and consideration in the empire.

From observing this remarkable increase of opulence in all the places where the Venetians had an established trade, we are led to conclude, that the profit accruing to themselves from the different branches of it, especially that with the East, must have been still more considerable. It is impossible, however, without information much more minute than that to which we have access, to form an estimate of this with accuracy; but various circumstances may be produced to establish, in general, the justness of this conclusion. From the first revival of a commercial spirit in Europe, the Venetians possessed a large share of the trade with the East. It continued gradually to increase, and during a great part of the fifteenth century they had nearly a monopoly of it. This was productive of consequences attending all monopolies. Wherever there is no competition, and the merchant has it in his power to regulate the market, and to fix the price of the commodities which he vends, his gains will be exorbitant. Some idea of their magnitude, during several centuries, may be formed by attending to the rate of the premium or interest then paid for the use of money. This is undoubtedly the most exact standard by which to measure the profit arising from the capital stock employed in commerce; for, according as the interest of money is high or low, the gain acquired by the use of it must vary, and become excessive or moderate. From the close of the eleventh century to the commencement of the sixteenth, the period during which the Italians made their chief commercial exertions, the rate of interest was extremely high. It was usually twenty per cent., sometimes above that; and so late as the year 1500, it had not sunk below ten or twelve per cent. in any part of Europe.^a If the profits of a trade so extensive as that of the Venetians corresponded to this high value of money,

^a See vol. iii. p. 124, &c.

it could not fail of proving a source of great wealth, both public and private.^b The condition of Venice, accordingly, during the period under review, is described by writers of that age, in terms which are not applicable to that of any other country in Europe. The revenues of the republic, as well as the wealth amassed by individuals, exceeded whatever was elsewhere known. In the magnificence of their houses, in richness of furniture, in profusion of plate, and in every thing which contributed either towards elegance or parade in their mode of living, the nobles of Venice surpassed the state of the greatest monarchs beyond the Alps. Nor was all this display the effect of an ostentatious and inconsiderate dissipation, it was the natural consequence of successful industry, which, having accumulated wealth with ease, is entitled to enjoy it in splendour.^c

^b In the history of the reign of Charles V., (vol. iii. p. 168,) I observe, that, during the war excited by the famous League of Cambray, while Charles VIII. of France could not procure money at a less premium than forty-two per cent. the Venetians raised what sums they pleased at five per cent. But this, I imagine, is not to be considered as the usual commercial rate of interest at that period, but as a voluntary and public-spirited effort of the citizens, in order to support their country at a dangerous crisis. Of such laudable exertions, there are several striking instances in the history of the republic. In the year 1379, when the Genoese, after obtaining a great naval victory over the Venetians, were ready to attack their capital, the citizens, by a voluntary contribution, enabled the senate to fit out such a powerful armament as saved their country. Sabellicus, *Hist. Rer. Venet.* Dec. ii. lib. vi. p. 385. 390. In the war with Ferrara, which began in the year 1472, the senate, relying upon the attachment of the citizens to their country, required them to bring all their gold and silver plate, and jewels, into the public treasury, upon promise of paying the value of them at the conclusion of the war, with five per cent. of interest; and this requisition was complied with cheerfully. Petr. Cynæus de Bello Ferrar. ap. Murat. *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. xxi. p. 1016.

^c Two facts may be mentioned as proofs of an extraordinary extension of the Venetian trade at this period.—1. There is in Rymer's Great Collection a series of grants from the kings of England, of various privileges and immunities to Venetian merchants trading in England, as well as several commercial treaties with the republic, which plainly indicate a considerable increase of their transactions in that country. These are mentioned in their order by Mr. Anderson, to whose patient industry and sound understanding, every person engaged in any commercial research must have felt himself greatly indebted on many occasions.—2. The establishment of a bank by public authority, the credit of which was founded on that of the state. In an age and nation so well acquainted with the advantages which commerce derives from the institution of banks, it is unnecessary to enumerate them. Mercantile transactions must have been numerous and extensive before the utility of such an institution could be fully perceived, or the principles of trade could be so fully understood as to form the regulations proper for conducting it with success. Venice may boast of having given the first example to Europe of an establishment altogether unknown to the ancients, and which is the pride of the modern commercial system. The constitution of the bank of Venice was originally founded on such just principles, that it has served as a model in the establishment of banks in other countries, and the administration of its affairs has been conducted with so much integrity, that its credit has never been shaken. I cannot specify the precise year in which the bank of Venice was established by a law of the state. Anderson supposes it to have been A. D. 1157. *Chron. Deduct.* vol. i. p. 84. Sandi Stor. *Civil Venez.* part ii. vol. ii. p. 768; part iii. vol. ii. p. 892.

Never did the Venetians believe the power of their country to be more firmly established, or rely with greater confidence on the continuance and increase of its opulence, than towards the close of the fifteenth century, when two events (which they could neither foresee nor prevent) happened, that proved fatal to both. The one was the discovery of America. The other was the opening a direct course of navigation to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope. Of all occurrences in the history of the human race, these are undoubtedly among the most interesting; and as they occasioned a remarkable change of intercourse among the different quarters of the globe, and finally established those commercial ideas and arrangements which constitute the chief distinction between the manners and policy of ancient and of modern times, an account of them is intimately connected with the subject of this Disquisition, and will bring it to that period which I have fixed upon for its boundary. But as I have related the rise and progress of these discoveries at great length in another work,^d a rapid view of them is all that is requisite in this place.

The admiration or envy with which the other nations of Europe beheld the power and wealth of Venice, led them naturally to inquire into the causes of this pre-eminence; and among these, its lucrative commerce with the East appeared to be by far the most considerable. Mortified with being excluded from a source of opulence, which to the Venetians had proved so abundant, different countries had attempted to acquire a share of the Indian trade. Some of the Italian states endeavoured to obtain admission into the ports of Egypt and Syria, upon the same terms with the Venetians; but either by the superior interest of the Venetians in the court of the soldans, their negotiations for that purpose were rendered unsuccessful; or from the manifold advantages which merchants, long in possession of any branch of trade, have in a competition with new adventurers, all their exertions did not produce

^d Hist. of America, Books I. and II.

effects of any consequence.^e In other countries, various schemes were formed with the same view. As early as the year 1480, the inventive and enterprising genius of Columbus conceived the idea of opening a shorter and more certain communication with India, by holding a direct westerly course towards those regions, which, according to Marco Polo and other travellers, extended eastward far beyond the utmost limits of Asia known to the Greeks or Romans. This scheme, supported by arguments deduced from a scientific acquaintance with cosmography, from his own practical knowledge of navigation, from the reports of skilful pilots, and from the theories and conjectures of the ancients, he proposed first to the Genoese, his countrymen, and next to the king of Portugal, into whose service he had entered. It was rejected by the former from ignorance, and by the latter with circumstances most humiliating to a generous mind. By perseverance, however, and address, he at length induced the most wary and least adventurous court in Europe, to undertake the execution of his plan; and Spain, as the reward of this deviation from its usual cautious maxims, had the glory of discovering a new world, hardly inferior in magnitude to a third part of the habitable globe. Astonishing as the success of Columbus was, it did not fully accomplish his own wishes, or conduct him to those regions of the East, the expectation of reaching which was the original object of his voyage. The effects, however, of his discoveries were great and extensive. By giving Spain the possession of immense territories, abounding in rich mines, and many valuable productions of nature, several of which had

^e An Italian author of good credit, and a diligent inquirer into the ancient history of its different governments, affirms, that if the several states which traded in the Mediterranean had united together, Venice alone would have been superior to them all in naval power and in extent of commerce. Denina *Revolutions d'Italie* traduits par l'Abbé Jardin, lib. xviii. c. 6. tom. vi. p. 339. About the year 1420, the Doge Mocenigo gives a view of the naval force of the republic, which confirms this decision of Denina. At that time it consisted of three thousand trading vessels, of various dimensions, on board which were employed seventeen thousand sailors; of three hundred ships of greater force, manned by eight thousand sailors; and of forty-five large galleasses, or carracks, navigated by eleven thousand sailors. In public and private arsenals sixteen thousand carpenters were employed. Mar. Sanuto *Vite de Duchi de Venezia*, ap. Mur. *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. xxii. p. 959.

hitherto been deemed peculiar to India, wealth began to flow so copiously into that kingdom, and thence was so diffused over Europe, as gradually awakened a general spirit of industry, and called forth exertions, which alone must have soon turned the course of commerce into new channels.

But this was accomplished more speedily, as well as more completely, by the other great event which I mentioned, the discovery of a new route of navigation to the East by the Cape of Good Hope. When the Portuguese, to whom mankind are indebted for opening this communication between the most remote parts of the habitable globe, undertook their first voyage of discovery, it is probable that they had nothing farther in view than to explore those parts of the coast of Africa which lay nearest to their own country. But a spirit of enterprise, when roused and put into motion, is always progressive; and that of the Portuguese, though slow and timid in its first operations, gradually acquired vigour, and prompted them to advance along the western shore of the African continent, far beyond the utmost boundary of ancient navigation in that direction. Encouraged by success, this spirit became more adventurous, despised dangers which formerly appalled it, and surmounted difficulties which it once deemed insuperable. When the Portuguese found in the torrid zone, which the ancients had pronounced to be uninhabitable, fertile countries, occupied by numerous nations, and perceived that the continent of Africa, instead of extending in breadth towards the west, according to the opinion of Ptolemy, appeared to contract itself and to bend eastwards, more extensive prospects opened to their view, and inspired them with hopes of reaching India, by continuing to hold the same course which they had so long pursued.

After several unsuccessful attempts to accomplish what they had in view, a small squadron sailed from the Tagus, under the command of Vasco de Gama, an officer of rank, whose abilities and courage fitted him to conduct

the most difficult and arduous enterprises. From unacquaintance, however, with the proper season and route of navigation in that vast ocean through which he had to steer his course, his voyage was long and dangerous. At length he doubled that promontory, which for several years had been the object of terror and of hope to his countrymen. From that, after a prosperous navigation along the south-east of Africa, he arrived at the city of Melinda, and had the satisfaction of discovering there, as well as at other places where he touched, people of a race very different from the rude inhabitants of the western shore of that continent, which alone the Portuguese had hitherto visited. These he found to be so far advanced in civilization, and acquaintance with the various arts of life, that they carried on an active commerce, not only with the nations on their own coast, but with remote countries of Asia. Conducted by their pilots (who held a course with which experience had rendered them well acquainted), he sailed across the Indian ocean, and landed at Calecut, on the coast of Malabar, on the 22d of May, 1498, ten months and two days after his departure from the port of Lisbon.

The Samorin, or monarch of the country, astonished at this unexpected visit of an unknown people, whose aspect, and arms, and manners, bore no resemblance to any of the nations accustomed to frequent his harbours, and who arrived in his dominion by a route hitherto deemed impracticable, received them, at first, with that fond admiration which is often excited by novelty. But in a short time, as if he had been inspired with foresight of all the calamities now approaching India by this fatal communication opened with the inhabitants of Europe, he formed various schemes to cut off Gama and his followers. But from every danger to which he was exposed, either by the open attacks or secret machinations of the Indians, the Portuguese admiral extricated himself with singular prudence and intrepidity, and at last sailed from Calecut with his ships loaded, not only with the commodities peculiar to that

coast, but with many of the rich productions of the eastern parts of India.

On his return to Lisbon, he was received with the admiration and gratitude due to a man who, by his superior abilities and resolution, had conducted to such a happy issue an undertaking of the greatest importance, which had long occupied the thoughts of his sovereign, and excited the hopes of his fellow-subjects.^f Nor did this event interest the Portuguese alone. No nation in Europe beheld it with unconcern. For although the discovery of a new world, whether we view it as a display of genius in the person who first conceived an idea of that undertaking which led mankind to the knowledge of it, whether we contemplate its influence upon science by giving a more complete knowledge of the globe which we inhabit, or whether we consider its effects upon the commercial intercourse of mankind, be an event far more splendid than the voyage of Gama, yet the latter seems originally to have excited more general attention. The former, indeed, filled the minds of men with astonishment; it was some time however, before they attained such a sufficient knowledge of that portion of the earth now laid open to their view, as to form any just idea, or even probable conjecture, with respect to what might be the consequences of communication with it. But the immense value of the Indian trade, which both in ancient and in modern times had enriched every nation by which it was carried on, was a subject familiar to the thoughts of all intelligent men, and they at once perceived that the discovery of this new route of navigation to the East, must occasion great revolutions, not only in the course of commerce, but in the political state of Europe.

What these revolutions were most likely to be, and how they would operate, were points examined with particular attention in the cities of Lisbon and of Venice, but with feelings very different. The Portuguese, founding upon

^fAsia de Joao de Barros, dec. i. lib. iv. c. 11. Castagneda, Hist. de l'Inde trad. en François, liv. i. c. 2—28.

the rights to which, in that age, priority of discovery, confirmed by a papal grant, were supposed to confer, deemed themselves entitled to an exclusive commerce with the countries which they had first visited, began to enjoy, by anticipation, all the benefits of it, and to fancy that their capital would soon be what Venice then was, the great storehouse of eastern commodities to all Europe, and the seat of opulence and power. On the first intelligence of Gama's successful voyage, the Venetians, with the quick-sighted discernment of merchants, foresaw the immediate consequence of it to be the ruin of that lucrative branch of commerce which had contributed so greatly to enrich and aggrandize their country; and they observed this with more poignant concern, as they were apprehensive that they did not possess any effectual means of preventing, or even retarding, its operation.

The hopes and fears of both were well founded. The Portuguese entered upon the new career opened to them with activity and ardour, and made exertions, both commercial and military, far beyond what could have been expected from a kingdom of such inconsiderable extent. All these were directed by an intelligent monarch, capable of forming plans of the greatest magnitude with calm systematic wisdom, and of prosecuting them with unremitting perseverance. The prudence and vigour of his measures, however, would have availed little without proper instruments to carry them into execution. Happily for Portugal, the discerning eye of Emanuel selected a succession of officers to take the supreme command in India, who, by their enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity, accompanied with disinterested integrity, public spirit, and love of their country, have a title to be ranked with the persons most eminent for virtue and abilities in any age or nation. Greater things perhaps were achieved by them than were ever accomplished in so short a time. Before the close of Emanuel's reign, twenty-four years only after the voyage of Gama, the Portuguese had rendered themselves masters of the city of Malacca, in which the great staple

of trade carried on among the inhabitants of all those regions in Asia, which Europeans have distinguished by the general name of the East Indies, was then established. To this port, situated nearly at an equal distance from the eastern and western extremities of these countries, and possessing the command of that strait by which they keep communication with each other, the merchants of China, of Japan, of every kingdom on the continent, of the Moluccas, and all the islands in the Archipelago, resorted from the East; and those of Malabar, of Ceylon, of Coromandel, and of Bengal, from the West.^s This conquest secured to the Portuguese great influence over the interior commerce of India, while, at the same time, by their settlements of Goa and Diu, they were enabled to engross the trade of the Malabar coast, and to obstruct greatly the long-established intercourse of Egypt with India by the Red sea. Their ships frequented every port in the East where valuable commodities were to be found, from the Cape of Good Hope to the river of Canton; and along this immense stretch of coast, extending upwards of four thousand leagues,^h they had established for the conveniency or protection of trade, a chain of forts or factories. They had likewise taken possession of stations most favourable to commerce along the southern coast of Africa, and in many of the islands which lie between Madagascar and the Moluccas. In every part of the East they were received with respect, in many they had acquired the absolute command. They carried on trade there without rival or control; they prescribed to the natives the terms of their mutual intercourse; they often set what price they pleased on goods which they purchased; and were thus enabled to import from Indostan, and the regions beyond it, whatever is useful, rare, or agreeable, in greater abundance, and of more various kinds, than had been known formerly in Europe.ⁱ

Not satisfied with this ascendant which they had acquired in India, the Portuguese early formed a scheme, no

^s Decad. de Carros, dec i. liv. viii. c. 1. Osor. de reb. Eman. lib. vii. 213, &c.

^h Hist. Gener. des Voyages, tom. i. p. 140.

less bold than interested, of excluding all other nations from participating of the advantages of commerce with the East. In order to effect this, it was necessary to obtain possession of such stations in the Arabian and Persian gulfs, as might render them masters of the navigation of these two inland seas, and enable them both to obstruct the ancient commercial intercourse between Egypt and India, and to command the entrance of the great rivers, which facilitated the conveyance of Indian goods, not only through the interior provinces of Asia, but as far as Constantinople. The conduct of the measures for this purpose was committed to Alphonso Albuquerque, the most eminent of all the Portuguese generals who distinguished themselves in India. After the utmost efforts of genius and valour, he was able to accomplish one-half only of what the ambition of his countrymen had planned. By wresting the island of Ormuz, which commanded the mouth of the Persian gulf, from the petty princes, who, as tributaries to the monarchs of Persia, had established their dominion there, he secured to Portugal that extensive trade with the East which the Persians had carried on for several centuries. In the hands of the Portuguese, Ormuz soon became the great mart from which the Persian empire, and all the provinces of Asia to the west of it, were supplied with the productions of India; and a city which they built on that barren island, destitute of water, was rendered one of the chief seats of opulence, splendour, and luxury, in the Eastern World.ⁱ

The operations of Albuquerque in the Red sea were far from being attended with equal success. Partly by the vigorous resistance of the Arabian princes, whose ports he attacked, and partly by the damage his fleets sustained in a sea of which the navigation is remarkably difficult and dangerous, he was constrained to retire without effecting any settlement of importance.^k The ancient channel of intercourse with India by the Red sea still continued open to the Egyptians; but their commercial transactions

ⁱ Osorius de reb. gestis Eman. lib. x. p. 274, &c. Tavernier's Travels, book v. c. 23. Kœmpfer Amœnit. Exot. p. 756, &c.

^k Osorius, lib. ix. p. 248, &c.

in that country were greatly circumscribed and obstructed, by the influence which the Portuguese had acquired in every port to which they were accustomed to resort.

In consequence of this, the Venetians soon began to feel that decrease of their own Indian trade which they had foreseen and dreaded. In order to prevent the farther progress of this evil, they persuaded the soldan of the Mamelukes, equally alarmed with themselves at the rapid success of the Portuguese in the East, and no less interested to hinder them from engrossing that commerce, which had so long been the chief source of opulence both to the monarchs and to the people of Egypt, to enter into a negotiation with the pope and king of Portugal. The tone which the soldan assumed in this negotiation was such as became the fierce chief of a military government. After stating his exclusive right to the trade with India, he forewarned Julius II. and Emanuel, that if the Portuguese did not relinquish that new course of navigation by which they had penetrated into the Indian ocean, and cease from encroaching on that commerce, which from time immemorial had been carried on between the east of Asia and his dominions, he would put to death all the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, burn their churches, and demolish the holy sepulchre itself.¹ This formidable threat, which, during several centuries, would have made all Christendom tremble, seems to have made so little impression, that the Venetians, as the last expedient, had recourse to a measure which, in that age, was deemed not only reprehensible but impious. They incited the soldan to fit out a fleet in the Red sea, and to attack those unexpected invaders of a gainful monopoly, of which he and his predecessors had long enjoyed undisturbed possession. As Egypt did not produce timber proper for building ships of force, the Venetians permitted the soldan to cut it in their forests of Dalmatia, whence it was conveyed to Alexandria, and then carried partly by water and partly by land

¹ Osorius de rebus Eman. lib. iv. p. 110. edit. 1580. Asia de Barros. decad. i. lib. viii. c. 2.

to Suez. There twelve ships of war were built, on board of which a body of Mamelukes were ordered to serve, under the command of an officer of merit. These new enemies, far more formidable than the natives of India with whom the Portuguese had hitherto contended, they encountered with undaunted courage, and after some conflicts, they entirely ruined the squadron, and remained masters of the Indian ocean.^m

Soon after this disaster, the dominion of the Mamelukes was overturned, and Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, were subjected to the Turkish empire, by the victorious arms of Selim I. Their mutual interest quickly induced the Turks and Venetians to forget ancient animosities, and to cooperate towards the ruin of the Portuguese trade in India. With this view Selim confirmed to the Venetians the extensive commercial privileges which they had enjoyed under the government of the Mamelukes, and published an edict permitting the free entry of all the productions of the East, imported directly from Alexandria, into every part of his dominions, and imposing heavy duties upon such as were brought from Lisbon.ⁿ

But all these were unavailing efforts against the superior advantages which the Portuguese possessed in supplying Europe with the commodities of the East, in consequence of having opened a new mode of communication with it. At the same time, the Venetians, brought to the brink of ruin by the fatal league of Cambray, which broke the power and humbled the pride of the republic, were incapable of such efforts for the preservation of their commerce, as they might have made in the more vigorous age of their government, and were reduced to the feeble expedients of a declining state. Of this there is a remarkable instance in an offer made by them to the king of Portugal, in the year 1521, to purchase at a stipulated price all the spices imported into Lisbon, over and above what might be requisite for the consumption of his own subjects.

^m Asia de Barros, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 6. Lafitau, Hist. de Decouvertes des Portugais, i. 292, &c. Osor. lib. iv. p. 120.

ⁿ Sandi Stor. Civ. Venez. part. ii. 901. part iii. 432.

If Emanuel had been so inconsiderate as to close with this proposal, Venice would have recovered all the benefit of the gainful monopoly which she had lost. But the offer met with the reception that it merited, and was rejected without hesitation.*

The Portuguese, almost without obstruction, continued their progress in the East, until they established there a commercial empire; to which, whether we consider its extent, its opulence, the slender power by which it was formed, or the splendour with which the government of it was conducted, there had hitherto been nothing comparable in the history of nations. Emanuel, who laid the foundation of this stupendous fabric, had the satisfaction to see it almost completed. Every part of Europe was supplied by the Portuguese with the production of the East; and if we except some inconsiderable quantity of them, which the Venetians still continued to receive by the ancient channels of conveyance, our quarter of the globe had no longer any commercial intercourse with India, and the regions of Asia beyond it, but by the Cape of Good Hope.

Though from this period the people of Europe have continued to carry on their trade with India by sea, yet a considerable portion of the valuable productions of the East is still conveyed to other regions of the earth by land-carriage. In tracing the progress of trade with India, this branch of it is an object of considerable magnitude, which has not been examined with sufficient attention. That the ancients should have had recourse frequently to the tedious and expensive mode of transporting goods by land, will not appear surprising, when we recollect the imperfect state of navigation among them: the reason of this mode of conveyance being not only continued, but increased, in modern times, demands some explanation.

If we inspect a map of Asia, we cannot fail to observe that the communication throughout all the countries of that great continent to the west of Indostan and China,

* Osor. de Reb. Eman. lib. xii. 265.

though opened in some degree towards the south by the navigable rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, and towards the north by two inland seas, the Euxine and Caspian, must be carried on in many extensive provinces wholly by land. This, as I have observed, was the first mode of intercourse between different countries, and during the infancy of navigation it was the only one. Even after that art had attained some degree of improvement, the conveyance of goods by the two rivers formerly mentioned, extended so little way into the interior country, and the trade of the Euxine and Caspian seas were so often obstructed by the barbarous nations scattered along their shores, that partly on that account, and partly from the adherence of mankind to ancient habits, the commerce of the various provinces of Asia, particularly that with India and the regions beyond it, continued to be conducted by land.

The same circumstances which induced the inhabitants of Asia to carry on such a considerable part of their commerce with each other in this manner, operated with still more powerful effect in Africa. That vast continent, which little resembles the other divisions of the earth, is not penetrated with inland seas, like Europe and Asia, or by a chain of lakes like North America, or opened by rivers (the Nile alone excepted) of extended navigation. It forms one uniform, continuous surface, between the various parts of which there could be no intercourse from the earliest times, but by land. Rude as all the people of Africa are, and slender as the progress is which they have made in the arts of life, such a communication appears to have been early opened and always kept up. How far it extended in the more early periods to which my researches have been directed, and by what different routes it was carried on, I have not sufficient information to determine with accuracy. It is highly probable that from time immemorial, the gold, the ivory, the perfumes, both of the southern parts of Africa, and of its more northern districts, were conveyed either to the Arabian gulf or to Egypt, and exchanged for the spices and other productions of the East.

The Mahomedan religion, which spread with amazing rapidity over all Asia, and a considerable part of Africa, contributed greatly towards the increase of commercial intercourse by land in both these quarters of the globe, and has given it additional vigour, by mingling with it a new principle of activity, and by directing it to a common centre. Mahomet enjoined all his followers to visit once in their lifetime the Caaba, or square building in the temple of Mecca, the immemorial object of veneration among his countrymen, not only on account of its having been chosen (according to their tradition) to be the residence of man at his creation,^p but because it was the first spot on this earth which was consecrated to the worship of God;^q in order to preserve continually upon their minds a sense of obligation to perform this duty, he directed that all the multiplied acts of devotion which his religion prescribes, true believers should always turn their faces towards that holy place.^r In obedience to a precept solemnly enjoined and sedulously inculcated, large caravans of pilgrims assemble annually in every country where the Mahomedan faith is established. From the shores of the Atlantic on one hand, and from the most remote regions of the East on the other, the votaries of the prophet advance to Mecca. Commercial ideas and objects mingle with those of devotion, the numerous camels^s

^p Abul-Ghazi Bayadur Khan, Hist. General. des Tatars. p. 15.

^q Ohsson Tableau General de l'Empire Othoman, tom. iii. p. 150, &c. 289. edit. 8vo.

^r Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. artic. *Caaba & Keblah*.

^s When we take a view of the form and position of the habitable parts of Asia and Africa, we will see good reasons for considering the camel as the most useful of all the animals over which the inhabitants of these great continents have acquired dominion. In both, some of the most fertile districts are separated from each other by such extensive tracts of barren sands, the seats of desolation and drought, as seem to exclude the possibility of communication between them. But as the ocean, which appears, at first view, to be placed as an insuperable barrier between different regions of the earth, has been rendered, by navigation, subservient to their mutual intercourse, so, by means of the camel, which the Arabians emphatically call *The Ship of the Desert*, the most dreary wastes are traversed, and the nations which they disjoin are enabled to trade with one another. Those painful journeys, impracticable by any other animal, the camel performs with astonishing dispatch. Under heavy burdens of six, seven, and eight hundred weight, they can continue their march during a long period of time, with little food or rest, and sometimes without tasting water for eight or nine days. By the wise economy of Providence, the camel seems formed of purpose to be the beast of burden in those regions where he is placed, and where his service is most wanted. In all the districts of Asia and Africa, where deserts are most frequent and extensive, the camel abounds. This is his proper station, and beyond this the sphere of his activity does not extend far. He dreads alike the excesses of heat and of cold, and does not agree even with the mild climate of our temperate zone. As the first trade in Indian commodities, of which we have any authentic account, was carried on by means

of each caravan are loaded with those commodities of every country which are of easiest carriage and most ready sale. The holy city is crowded, not only with zealous devotees, but with opulent merchants. During the few days they remain there, the fair of Mecca is the greatest, perhaps, on the face of the earth. Mercantile transactions are carried on in it to an immense value, of which the dispatch, the silence, the mutual confidence and good faith in conducting them, are the most unequivocal proof. The productions and manufactures of India form a capital article in this great traffic, and the caravans on their return disseminate them through every part of Asia and Africa. Some of these are deemed necessary, not only to the comfort, but to the preservation of life, and others contribute to its elegance and pleasure. They are so various as to suit the taste of mankind in every climate, and in different stages of improvement; and are in high request among the rude natives of Africa, as well as the more luxurious inhabitants of Asia. In order to supply their several demands, the caravans return loaded with the muslins and chintzes of Bengal and the Deccan, the shawls of Cachemire, the pepper of Malabar, the diamonds of Golconda, the pearls of Kilcare, the cinnamon of Ceylon, the nutmeg, cloves, and mace of the Moluccas, and an immense number of other Indian commodities.

Besides these great caravans, formed partly by respect

of camels, Genesis xxxvii. 25, and as it is by employing them that the conveyance of these commodities has been so widely extended over Asia and Africa, the particulars which I have mentioned concerning this singular animal appeared to be necessary towards illustrating this part of my subject. If any of my readers desire more full information, and wish to know how the ingenuity and art of man have seconded the intentions of nature, in training the camel from his birth for that life of exertion and hardship to which he is destined, he may consult *Histoire Naturelle*, by M. le Comte de Buffon, artic. *Chameau et Dromedaire*, one of the most eloquent, and, as far as I can judge from examining the authorities which he has quoted, one of the most accurate descriptions given by that celebrated writer. M. Volney, whose accuracy is well known, gives a description of the manner in which the camel performs its journey, which may be agreeable to some of my readers. "In travelling through the desert, camels are chiefly employed because they consume little, and carry a great load. His ordinary burden is about seven hundred and fifty pounds; his food, whatever is given him, straw, thistles, the stones of dates, beans, barley, &c. With a pound of food a day, and as much water, he will travel for weeks. In the journey from Cairo to Suez, which is forty or forty-six hours, they neither eat nor drink; but these long fasts, if often repeated, wear them out. Their usual rate of travelling is very slow, hardly above two miles an hour; it is vain to push them, they will not quicken their pace, but, if allowed some short rest, they will travel fifteen or eighteen hours a day." *Voyage*, tom. ii. p. 383.

for a religious precept, and partly with a view to extend a lucrative branch of commerce, there are other caravans, and these not inconsiderable, composed entirely of merchants, who have no object but trade. These, at stated seasons, set out from different parts of the Turkish and Persian dominions, and proceeding to Indostan, and even to China, by routes which were anciently known, they convey by land-carriage the most valuable commodities of these countries to the remote provinces of both empires. It is only by considering the distance to which large quantities of these commodities are carried, and frequently across extensive deserts, which, without the aid of camels, would have been impassable, that we can form any idea of the magnitude of the trade with India by land, and are led to perceive, that in a Disquisition concerning the various modes of conducting this commerce, it is well entitled to the attention which I have bestowed in endeavouring to trace it.^t

^t In order to give an adequate idea of the extensive circulation of Indian commodities by land-carriage, it would be necessary to trace the route, and to estimate the number of the various caravans by which they are conveyed. Could this be executed with accuracy, it would be a curious subject of geographical research, as well as a valuable addition to commercial history. Though it is inconsistent with the brevity which I have uniformly studied in conducting this Disquisition, to enter into a detail of so great length, it may be proper here, for illustrating this part of my subject, to take such a view of two caravans which visit Mecca, as may enable my readers to estimate more justly the magnitude of their commercial transactions. The first is the caravan which takes its departure from Cairo in Egypt, and the other from Damascus in Syria; and I select these, both because they are the most considerable, and because they are described by authors of undoubted credit, who had the best opportunities of receiving full information concerning them. The former is composed not only of pilgrims from every part of Egypt, but of those which arrive from all the small Mahomedan states on the African coast of the Mediterranean, from the empire of Morocco, and even from the Negro kingdoms on the Atlantic. When assembled, the caravan consists at least of fifty thousand persons, and the number of camels employed in carrying water, provisions, and merchandise, is still greater. The journey, which, in going from Cairo, and returning thither, is not completed in less than a hundred days, is performed wholly by land; and as the route lies mostly through sandy deserts, or barren uninhabited wilds, which seldom afford any subsistence, and where often no sources of water can be found, the pilgrims always undergo much fatigue, and sometimes must endure incredible hardships. An early and good description of this caravan is published by Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 202, &c. Maillet has entered into a minute and curious detail with regard to it; *Descript. de l'Egypte*, part ii. p. 212, &c. Pocock has given a route, together with the length of each day's march, which he received from a person who had been fourteen times at Mecca, vol. i. p. 188. 261, &c.—The caravan from Damascus, composed of pilgrims from almost every province of the Turkish empire, is little inferior to the former in number, and the commerce which it carries on is hardly less valuable. *Voyage de Volney*, tom. ii. p. 251, &c. *Ohsson Tabl. Gener. de l'Empire Othom.* III. p. 275, &c. This pilgrimage was performed in the year 1741, by Khojeh Abdulkurreem, whom I formerly mentioned, p. 274, note. He gives the usual route from Damascus to Mecca, computed by hours, the common mode of reckoning a journey in the East, through countries little frequented. According to the most moderate estimate, the distance between the two cities, by his account, must be above a thousand miles; a great part of the journey is through a desert, and the pilgrims not only endure much fatigue, but are often exposed to great danger from the wild Arabs. *Memoirs*, p. 114, &c. It is a singular proof of the predatory spirit of the Arabs, that al-

SECT. IV.

General Observations.

THUS I have endeavoured to describe the progress of trade with India, both by sea and by land, from the earliest times in which history affords any authentic information concerning it, until an entire revolution was made in its nature, and

though all their independent tribes are zealous Mahomedans, yet they make no scruple in plundering the caravans of pilgrims, while engaged in performing one of the most indispensable duties of their religion. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the year 1757. Travels through Cyprus, Syria, &c. by Abbé Mariti, vol. ii. p. 117, &c. Engl. Translation. Great as these caravans are, we must not suppose that all the pilgrims who visit Mecca belong to them; such considerable additions are received from the extensive dominions of Persia, from every province of Indostan, and the countries to the east of it, from Abyssinia, from various states on the southern coast of Africa, and from all parts of Arabia, that when the whole are assembled they have been computed to amount to two hundred thousand. In some years the number is farther increased by small bands of pilgrims from several interior provinces of Africa, the names and situations of which are just beginning to be known in Europe. For this last fact we are indebted to the Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, formed by some British gentlemen, upon principles so liberal, and with views so public-spirited, as do honour to themselves and to their country. Proceedings, &c. p. 174.

In the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on the Slave Trade, other particulars are contained; and it appears that the commerce carried on by caravans in the interior parts of Africa is not only widely extended, but of considerable value. Besides the great caravan which proceeds to Cairo, and is joined by Mahomedan pilgrims from every part of Africa, there are caravans which have no object but commerce, which set out from Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and other states on the sea-coast, and penetrate far into the interior country. Some of them take no less than fifty days to reach the place of their destination; and, as the medium of their rate of travelling may be estimated at about eighteen miles a day, the extent of their journey may be easily computed. As both the time of their outset and their route are known, they are met by the people of all the countries through which they travel, who trade with them. Indian goods of every kind form a considerable article in this traffic, in exchange for which the chief commodity they can give is slaves. Part vi.

As the journeys of the caravans, which are purely commercial, do not commence at stated seasons, and their routes vary according to the convenience or fancy of the merchants of whom they are composed, a description cannot be given of them with the same degree of accuracy as of the great caravans which visit Mecca. But by attending to the accounts of some authors, and the occasional hints of others, sufficient information may be gathered to satisfy us, that the circulation of Eastern goods by these caravans is very extensive. The same intercourse which was anciently kept up by the provinces in the north-east of Asia with Indostan and China, and which I formerly described, still subsists. Among all the numerous tribes of Tartars, even of those which retain their pastoral manners in greatest purity, the demand for the productions of these two countries is very considerable. Voyages de Pallas, tom. i. p. 357, &c.; tom. ii. p. 422. In order to supply them with these, caravans set out annually from Boghlar, (Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 332.) Samarcand, Thibet, and several other places, and return with large cargoes of Indian and Chinese goods. But the trade carried on between Russia and China in this part of Asia is by far the most extensive and best known. Some connexion of this kind, it is probable, was kept up between them from the earliest period, but it increased greatly after the interior parts of Russia were rendered more accessible by the conquests of Zingis Khan and Tamerlane. The commercial nations of Europe were so well acquainted with the mode of carrying on this trade, that soon after the Portuguese had opened the communication with the East by the Cape of Good Hope, an attempt was made in order to diminish the advantages which they derived from this discovery, to prevail on the Russians to convey Indian and Chinese commodities through the whole extent of their empire, partly by land-carriage, and partly by means of navigable rivers to some port on the Baltic from which they might

the mode of carrying it on, by that great discovery which I originally fixed as the utmost boundary of my inquiries. Here, then, this Disquisition might have been terminated. But as I have conducted my readers to that period when a new order of ideas, and new arrangements of policy began to be introduced into Europe, in consequence of the value and importance of commerce being so thoroughly understood, that in almost every country the encouragement of it became the chief object of public attention; as we have now reached that point whence a line may be drawn which marks the chief distinction between the manners and political institutions of ancient and modern times, it will render the work more instructive and useful, to conclude it with some general observations, which naturally arise from a survey of both, and a comparison of the one with the other. These observations, I trust, will be found not only to have

be distributed through every part of Europe. Ramusio *Raccolto da Viaggi*, vol. i. p. 374. B. *Hist. du Commerce de la Russie*, par M. Schreder, tom. i. p. 13, 14. This scheme, too great for the monarch then on the throne of Russia to carry into execution, was rendered practicable by the conquests of Ivan Basilowitz, and the genius of Peter the Great. Though the capitals of the two empires were situated at the immense distance of six thousand three hundred and seventy-eight miles from each other, and the route lay for above three hundred miles through an uninhabited desert, (Bell's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 167.) caravans travelled from the one to the other. But though it had been stipulated, when this intercourse was established, that the number of persons in each caravan should not exceed two hundred, and though they were shut up within the walls of a Caravanserai during the short time they were suffered to remain in Pekin, and were allowed to deal only with a few merchants, to whom a monopoly of the trade with them had been granted; yet, notwithstanding all these restraints and precautions, the jealous vigilance with which the Chinese government excludes foreigners from a free intercourse with its subjects, was alarmed, and the admission of the Russian caravans into the empire was soon prohibited. After various negotiations, an expedient was at length devised, by which the advantages of mutual commerce were secured, without infringing the cautious arrangements of Chinese policy. On the boundary of the two empires, two small towns were built almost contiguous, Kiachta inhabited by Russians, and Maimatschin by Chinese. To these all the marketable productions of their respective countries are brought by the subjects of each empire; and the furs, the linen and woollen cloth, the leather, the glass, &c. of Russia, are exchanged for the silk, the cotton, the tea, the rice, the toys, &c. of China. By some well-judged concessions of the sovereign now seated on the throne of Russia, whose enlarged mind is superior to the illiberal maxims of many of her predecessors, this trade is rendered so flourishing, that its amount annually is not less than 800,000*l.* sterling, and it is the only trade which China carries on almost entirely by barter. Mr. Coxe, in his account of the Russian discoveries, has collected, with his usual attention and discernment, every thing relative to this branch of trade, the nature and extent of which were little known in Europe. Part ii. chap. ii. iii. iv. Nor is Kiachta the only place where Russia receives Chinese and Indian commodities. A considerable supply of both is brought by caravans of independent Tartars to Orenburg, on the river Jaik; *Voyage de Pallas*, tom. i. p. 355, &c.; to Troitzkaia, on the river Oui, and to other places which I might mention. I have entered into this long detail concerning the mode in which the productions of India and China are circulated through Russia, as it affords the most striking instance, I know, of the great extent to which valuable commodities may be conveyed by land-carriage.

an intimate connexion with the subject of my researches, and to throw additional light upon it; but will serve to illustrate many particulars in the general history of commerce, and to point out effects or consequences of various events, which have not been generally observed, or considered with that attention which they merited.

I. After viewing the great and extensive effects of finding a new course of navigation to India by the Cape of Good Hope, it may appear surprising to a modern observer, that a discovery of such importance was not made, or even attempted, by any of the commercial states of the ancient world. But in judging with respect to the conduct of nations in remote times, we never err more widely, than when we decide with regard to it, not according to the ideas and views of their age, but of our own. This is not, perhaps, more conspicuous in any instance, than in that under consideration. It was by the Tyrians, and by the Greeks, who were masters of Egypt, that the different people of Europe were first supplied with the productions of the East. From the account that has been given of the manner in which they procured these, it is manifest that they had neither the same inducements with modern nations, to wish for any new communication with India, nor the same means of accomplishing it. All the commercial transactions of the ancients with the East were confined to the ports on the Malabar coast, or extended, at farthest, to the island of Ceylon. To these staples the natives of all the different regions in the eastern parts of Asia brought the commodities which were the growth of their several countries, or the product of their ingenuity, in their own vessels, and with them the ships from Tyre and from Egypt completed their investments. While the operations of their Indian trade were carried on within a sphere so circumscribed, the conveyance of a cargo by the Arabian gulf, notwithstanding the expense of land-carriage, either from Elath to Rhinocolura, or across the desert to the Nile, was so safe and commodious, that the merchants of Tyre and Alexandria had little reason to be solicitous for the dis-

covery of any other. The situation of both these cities, as well as that of the other considerable commercial states of antiquity, was very different from that of the countries to which, in later times, mankind have been indebted for keeping up intercourse with the remote parts of the globe. Portugal, Spain, England, Holland, which have been most active and successful in this line of enterprise, all lie on the Atlantic ocean (in which every European voyage of discovery must commence), or have immediate access to it. But Tyre was situated at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, Alexandria not far from it; Rhodes, Athens, Corinth, which came afterward to be ranked among the most active trading cities of antiquity, lay considerably advanced towards the same quarter in that sea. The commerce of all these states was long confined within the precincts of the Mediterranean; and in some of them, never extended beyond it. The pillars of Hercules, or the straits of Gibraltar, were long considered as the utmost boundary of navigation. To reach this was deemed a signal proof of naval skill; and before any of these states could give a beginning to an attempt towards exploring the vast unknown ocean which lay beyond it, they had to accomplish a voyage (according to their ideas) of great extent and much danger. This was sufficient to deter them from engaging in an arduous undertaking, from which, even if attended with success, their situation prevented their entertaining hopes of deriving great advantage.^a

But could we suppose the discovery of a new passage to India to have become an object of desire or pursuit to any of these states, their science as well as practice of navigation was so defective, that it would have been hardly possible for them to attain it. The vessels which the an-

^a The only voyage of discovery in the Atlantic ocean towards the south, by any of the ancient commercial states in the Mediterranean, is that of Hanno, undertaken by order of the republic of Carthage. As the situation of that city, so much nearer the Straits than Tyre, Alexandria, and the other seats of ancient trade which have been mentioned, gave it more immediate access to the ocean; that circumstance, together with the various settlements which the Carthaginians had made in different provinces of Spain, naturally suggested to them this enterprise, and afforded them the prospect of considerable advantages from its success. The voyage of Hanno, instead of invalidating, seems to confirm the justness of the reasons which have been given, why no similar attempt was made by the other commercial states in the Mediterranean.

cients employed in trade were so small as not to afford stowage for provisions sufficient to subsist a crew during a long voyage. Their construction was such, that they could seldom venture to depart far from land, and their mode of steering along the coast (which I have been obliged to mention often) so circuitous and slow, that from these, as well as from other circumstances which I might have specified,^b we may pronounce a voyage from the Mediterranean to India by the Cape of Good Hope, to have been an undertaking beyond their power to accomplish, in such a manner as to render it, in any degree, subservient to commerce. To this decision, the account preserved by Herodotus, of a voyage performed by some Phenician ships employed by a king of Egypt, which, taking their departure from the Arabian gulf, doubled the southern promontory of Africa, and arrived at the end of three years, at the straits of Gades, or Gibraltar, at the mouth of the Nile,^c can hardly be considered as repugnant; for several writers of the greatest eminence among the ancients, and most distinguished for their proficiency in the knowledge of geography, regarded this account rather as an amusing tale, than the history of a real transaction; and either entertained doubts concerning the possibility of sailing round Africa, or absolutely denied it.^d But if what Herodotus relates concerning the course held by these Phenician ships had ever been received by the ancients with general assent, we can hardly suppose that any state could have been so wildly adventurous as to imagine that a voyage, which it required three years to complete, could be undertaken with a prospect of commercial benefit.

II. The rapid progress of the moderns in exploring

^b Goguet Orig. des Loix des Artes, &c. ii. 303. 329.

^c Lib. iv. c. 42.

^d Polyb. lib. iii. p. 193. edit. Casaub. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 6. Ptol. Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9. Though the intelligent authors whom I have quoted considered this voyage of the Phenicians as fabulous, Herodotus mentions a circumstance concerning it which seems to prove that it had really been performed. "The Phenicians," says he, "affirmed that, in sailing round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand, which to me appears not to be credible, though it may be deemed so by others." Lib. iv. c. 42. This, it is certain, must have happened, if they really accomplished such a voyage. The science of astronomy, however, was in that early period so imperfect, that it was by experience only that the Phenicians could come to the knowledge of this fact; they durst not, without this, have ventured to assert what would have appeared to be an improbable fiction. Even after what they related, Herodotus disbelieved it.

India, as well as the extensive power and valuable settlements which they early acquired there, mark such a distinction between their mode of conducting naval operations, and that of the ancients, as merits to be considered and explained with attention. From the reign of the first Ptolemy, to the conquest of Egypt by the Mahomedans, Europe had been supplied with the productions of the East by the Greeks of Alexandria, by the Romans while they were masters of Egypt, and by the subjects of the emperors of Constantinople, when that kingdom became a province of their dominions. During this long period, extending almost to a thousand years, none of those people, the most enlightened, undoubtedly, in the ancient world, ever advanced by sea, farther towards the east than the gulf of Siam, and had no regular established trade but with the ports on the coast of Malabar, or those in the island of Ceylon. They attempted no conquests in any part of India, they made no settlements, they erected no forts. Satisfied with an intercourse merely commercial, they did not aim at acquiring any degree of power or dominion in the countries where they traded, though it seems to be probable that they might have established it without much opposition from the natives, a gentle effeminate people, with whom, at that time, no foreign and more warlike race was mingled. But the enterprising spirit of the Portuguese was not long confined within the same limits; a few years after their arrival at Calecut, they advanced towards the east, into regions unknown to the ancients. The kingdoms of Cambodia, Cochin-China, Tonquin, the vast empire of China, and all the fertile islands in the great Indian Archipelago, from Sumatra to the Philippines, were discovered, and the Portuguese, though opposed in every quarter by the Mahomedans of Tartar or Arabian origin settled in many parts of India, enemies much more formidable than the natives, established there that extensive influence and dominion which I have formerly described.

Of this remarkable difference between the progress and

operations of the ancients and moderns in India, the imperfect knowledge of the former, with respect both to the theory and practice of navigation, seems to have been the principal cause. From the coast of Malabar to the Philippines, was a voyage of an extent far beyond any that the ancients were accustomed to undertake, and, according to their manner of sailing, must have required a great length of time to perform it. The nature of their trade with India was such, that they had not (as has been formerly observed) the same inducements with the moderns, to prosecute discovery with ardour; and, according to the description given of the vessels in which the merchants of Alexandria carried on their trade from the Arabian gulf, they appear to have been very unfit for that purpose. On all these accounts the ancients remained satisfied with a slender knowledge of India; and influenced by reasons proceeding from the same cause, they attempted neither conquest nor settlement there. In order to accomplish either of these, they must have transported a considerable number of men into India. But, from the defective structure of their ships, as well as from the imperfection of their art in navigating them, the ancients seldom ventured to convey a body of troops to any distance by sea. From Berenice to Musiris was to them, even after Hippalus had discovered the method of steering a direct course, and when their naval skill had attained to its highest state of improvement, a voyage of no less than seventy days. By the ancient route along the coast of Persia, a voyage from the Arabian gulf to any part of India must have been of greater length, and accomplished more slowly. As no hostile attack was ever made upon India by sea, either by the Greek monarchs of Egypt, though the two first of them were able and ambitious princes, or by the most enterprising of the Roman emperors, it is evident that they must have deemed it an attempt beyond their power to execute. Alexander the Great, and, in imitation of him, his successors, the monarchs of Syria, were the only persons in the ancient world who formed an idea of establishing their

dominion in any part of India ; but it was with armies led thither by land that they hoped to achieve this.

III. The sudden effect of opening a direct communication with the East, in lowering the price of Indian commodities, is a circumstance that merits observation. How compendious soever the ancient intercourse with India may appear to have been, it was attended with considerable expense. The productions of the remote parts of Asia, brought to Ceylon, or to the ports on the Malabar coast, by the natives, were put on board the ships which arrived from the Arabian gulf. At Berenice they were landed, and carried by camels two hundred and fifty-eight miles to the banks of the Nile. There they were again embarked, and conveyed down the river to Alexandria, whence they were dispatched to different markets. The addition to the price of goods by such a multiplicity of operations must have been considerable, especially when the rate chargeable on each operation was fixed by monopolists, subject to no control. But, after the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, its various commodities were purchased at first hand in the countries of which they were the growth or manufacture. In all these, particularly in Indostan and in China, the subsistence of man is more abundant than in any other part of the earth. The people live chiefly upon rice, the most prolific of all grains ; population, of consequence, is so great, and labour so extremely cheap, that every production of nature or of art is sold at a very low price. When these were shipped in different parts of India, they were conveyed directly to Lisbon, by a navigation, long indeed, but uninterrupted and safe, and thence circulated through Europe. The carriage of mercantile goods by water is so much less expensive than by any other mode of conveyance, that as soon as the Portuguese could import the productions of India in sufficient quantities to supply the demands of Europe, they were able to afford them at such a reduced price, that the competition of the Venetians ceased almost entirely, and the full stream of commerce flowed in its natural direction

towards the cheapest market. In what proportion the Portuguese lowered the price of Indian commodities, I cannot ascertain with precision, as I have not found in contemporary writers sufficient information with respect to that point. Some idea, however, of this, approaching perhaps near to accuracy, may be formed, from the computations of Mr. Munn, an intelligent English merchant. He has published a table of the prices paid for various articles of goods in India, compared with the prices for which they were sold in Aleppo, from which the difference appears to be nearly as three to one; and he calculates, that, after a reasonable allowance for the expense of the voyage from India, the same goods may be sold in England at half the price which they bear in Aleppo. The expense of conveying the productions of India up the Persian gulf to Bassora, and thence either through the Great or Little Desert to Aleppo, could not, I should imagine, differ considerably from that by the Red sea to Alexandria. We may therefore suppose, that the Venetians might purchase them from the merchants of that city, at nearly the same rate for which they were sold in Aleppo; and when we add to this, what they must have charged as their own profit in all the markets which they frequented, it is evident that the Portuguese might afford to reduce the commodities of the East to a price below that which has been mentioned, and might supply every part of Europe with them more than one-half cheaper than formerly. The enterprising schemes of the Portuguese monarchs were accomplished sooner, as well as more completely, than in the hour of most sanguine hope they could have presumed to expect; and, early in the sixteenth century, their subjects became possessed of a monopoly of the trade with India, founded upon the only equitable title, that of furnishing its productions in greater abundance, and at a more moderate price.

IV. We may observe, that, in consequence of a more plentiful supply of Indian goods, and at a cheaper rate, the demand for them increased rapidly in every part of Europe.

To trace the progress of this in detail, would lead me far beyond the period which I have fixed as the limit of this Disquisition, but some general remarks concerning it will be found intimately connected with the subject of my inquiries. The chief articles of importation from India, while the Romans had the direction of the trade with that country, have been formerly specified. But upon the subversion of their empire, and the settlement of the fierce warriors of Scythia^a and Germany in the various countries of Europe, the state of society, as well as the condition of individuals, became so extremely different, that the wants and desires of men were no longer the same. Barbarians, many of them not far advanced in their progress beyond the rudest state of social life, had little relish for those accommodations, and that elegance, which are so alluring to polished nations. The curious manufactures of silk, the precious stones and pearls of the East, which had been the ornament and pride of the wealthy and luxurious citizens of Rome, were not objects of desire to men, who, for a considerable time after they took possession of their new conquests, retained the original simplicity of their pastoral manners. They advanced, however, from rudeness to refinement in the usual course of progression which nations are destined to hold, and an increase of wants and desires requiring new objects to gratify them, they began to acquire a relish for some of the luxuries of India. Among these they had a singular predilection for the spiceries and aromatics which that country yields in such variety and abundance. Whence their peculiar fondness for these arose, it is not of importance to inquire. Whoever consults the writers of the middle ages, will find many particulars which confirm this observation. In every enumeration of Indian commodities which they give, spices are always mentioned as the most considerable and precious article.^e In their cookery, all dishes were highly seasoned with them. In every entertainment of parade, a profusion of them was deemed essential to magnificence. In every medical pre-

^e Jac. de Vitriac. Hist. Hieros. ap. Bongars. i. p. 1099. Wilh. Tyr. lib. xiii. c. 23.

scription they were principal ingredients.^f But considerable as the demand for spices had become, the mode in which the nations of Europe had hitherto been supplied with them was extremely disadvantageous. The ships employed by the merchants of Alexandria never ventured to visit those remote regions which produce the most valuable spices, and before they could be circulated through Europe, they were loaded with the accumulated profits received by four or five different hands through which they had passed. But the Portuguese, with a bolder spirit of navigation, having penetrated into every part of Asia, took in their cargo of spices in the places where they grew, and could afford to dispose of them at such a price, that, from being an expensive luxury, they became an article of such general use, as greatly augmented the demand for them. An effect similar to this may be observed with respect to the demand for other commodities imported from India, upon the reduction of their price by the Portuguese. From that period a growing taste for Asiatic luxuries may be traced in every country of Europe, and the number of ships fitted out for that trade at Lisbon continued to increase every year.^g

V. Lucrative as the trade with India was, and had long been deemed, it is remarkable that the Portuguese were suffered to remain in the undisturbed and exclusive possession of it, during the course of almost a century. In

^f Du Cange Glossar. Verb. *Aromatu, Species*. Henry's Hist. of G. Brit. vol. iv. p. 597, 598.

^g Notwithstanding this increasing demand for the productions of India, it is remarkable that during the sixteenth century some commodities which are now the chief articles of importation from the East, were either altogether unknown, or of little account. Tea, the importation of which, at present, far exceeds that of any other production of the East, has not been in general use in any country of Europe a full century; and yet, during that short period, from some singular caprice of taste, or power of fashion, the infusion of a leaf brought from the farthest extremity of the earth, of which it is perhaps the highest praise to say that it is innocuous, has become almost a necessary of life, in several parts of Europe, and the passion for it descends from the most elevated to the lowest orders in society. In 1785 it was computed that the whole quantity of tea imported into Europe from China was about nineteen millions of pounds, of which it is conjectured that twelve millions were consumed in Great Britain and the dominions depending upon it. Dodsley's Annual Register for 1784 and 1785. p. 156. In 1789 twenty-one millions of pounds were imported. The porcelain of China, now as common in many parts of Europe as if it were of domestic manufacture, was not known to the ancients. Marco Polo is the first among the moderns who mentions it. The Portuguese began to import it not long after their first voyage to China, A. D. 1517; but it was a considerable time before the use of it became extensive.

the ancient world, though Alexandria, from the peculiar felicity of its situation, could carry on an intercourse with the East by sea, and circulate its productions through Europe with such advantage, as gave it a decided superiority over every rival; yet various attempts (which have been described in their proper places) were made, from time to time, to obtain some share in a commerce so apparently beneficial. From the growing activity of the commercial spirit in the sixteenth century, as well as from the example of the eager solicitude with which the Venetians and Genoese exerted themselves alternately to shut out each other from any share in the Indian trade, it might have been expected that some competitor would have arisen to call in question the claim of the Portuguese to an exclusive right of traffic with the East, and to wrest from them some portion of it. There were, however, at that time, some peculiar circumstances in the political state of all those nations in Europe, whose intrusion, as rivals, the Portuguese had any reason to dread, which secured to them the quiet enjoyment of their monopoly of Indian commerce, during such a long period. From the accession of Charles V. to the throne, Spain was either so much occupied in a multiplicity of operations in which it was engaged by the ambition of that monarch, and of his son Philip II., or so intent on prosecuting its own discoveries and conquests in the New World, that

A. D. 1521. although, by the successful enterprise of Magellan, its fleets were unexpectedly conducted by a new course to that remote region of Asia which was the seat of the most gainful and alluring branch of trade carried on by the Portuguese, it could make no considerable effort to avail itself of the commercial advantages which it might have derived from that event. By the acquisition of the crown of Portugal, in the year 1580, the kings of Spain, instead of the rivals, became the protectors of the Portuguese trade, and the guardians of all its exclusive rights. Throughout the sixteenth century, the strength and resources of France were so much wasted by the fruitless

expeditions of their monarchs into Italy, by their unequal contest with the power and policy of Charles V. and by the calamities of the civil wars which desolated the kingdom upwards of forty years, that it could neither bestow much attention upon objects of commerce, nor engage in any scheme of distant enterprise. The Venetians, how sensibly soever they might feel the mortifying reverse of being excluded, almost entirely, from the Indian trade, of which their capital had been formerly the chief seat, were so debilitated and humbled by the league of Cambray, that they were no longer capable of engaging in any undertaking of magnitude. England, weakened (as was formerly observed) by the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, and just beginning to recover its proper vigour, was restrained from active exertion, during one part of the sixteenth century, by the cautious maxims of Henry VII. and wasted its strength during another part of it, by engaging inconsiderately in the wars between the princes on the continent. The nation, though destined to acquire territories in India more extensive and valuable than were ever possessed by any European power, had no such presentiment of its future eminence there, as to take an early part in the commerce or transactions of that country, and a great part of the century elapsed before it began to turn its attention towards the East.

While the most considerable nations in Europe found it necessary, from the circumstances which I have mentioned, to remain inactive spectators of what passed in the East, the Seven United Provinces of the Low Countries, recently formed into a small state, still struggling for political existence, and yet in the infancy of its power, ventured to appear in the Indian ocean as the rivals of the Portuguese; and, despising their pretensions to an exclusive right of commerce with the extensive countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, invaded that monopoly which they had hitherto guarded with such jealous attention. The English soon followed the example of

the Dutch, and both nations, at first by the enterprising industry of private adventurers, and afterward by the more powerful efforts of trading companies, under the protection of public authority, advanced with astonishing ardour and success in this new career opened to them. The vast fabric of power which the Portuguese had erected in the East (a superstructure much too large for the basis on which it had to rest) was almost entirely overturned, in as short time, and with as much facility, as it had been raised. England and Holland, by driving them from their most valuable settlements, and seizing the most lucrative branches of their trade, have attained to that pre-eminence in naval power and commercial opulence, by which they are distinguished among the nations of Europe.

VI. The coincidence, in point of time, of the discoveries made by Columbus in the west, and those of Gama in the east, is a singular circumstance, which merits observation, on account of the remarkable influence of those events in forming or strengthening the commercial connexion of the different quarters of the globe with each other. In all ages, gold and silver, particularly the latter, have been the commodities exported with the greatest profit to India. In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries, either for the necessaries or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art. But when the communication with India was rendered so much more easy, that the demand for its commodities began to increase far beyond what had been formerly known, if Europe had not been supplied with the gold and silver which it was necessary to carry to the markets of the East from sources richer and more abundant than her own barren and impoverished mines, she

must either have abandoned the trade with India altogether, or have continued it with manifest disadvantage. By such a continual drain of gold and silver, as well as by the unavoidable waste of both in circulation and in manufactures, the quantity of those metals must have gone on diminishing, and their value would have been so much enhanced, that they could not have continued long to be of the same utility in the commercial transactions between the two countries. But before the effects of this diminution could be very sensibly felt, America opened her mines, and poured in treasures upon Europe in the most copious stream to which mankind ever had access. This treasure, in spite of innumerable anxious precautions to prevent it, flowed to the markets where the commodities necessary for supplying the wants, or gratifying the luxury of the Spaniards, were to be found; and from that time to the present, the English and Dutch have purchased the productions of China and Indostan, with silver brought from the mines of Mexico and Peru. The immense exportation of silver to the East, during the course of two centuries, has not only been replaced by the continual influx from America, but the quantity of it has been considerably augmented, and at the same time the proportional rate of its value in Europe and in India has varied so little, that it is chiefly with silver that many of the capital articles imported from the East are still purchased.

While America contributed in this manner to facilitate and extend the intercourse of Europe with Asia, it gave rise to a traffic with Africa, which, from slender beginnings, has become so considerable, as to form the chief bond of commercial connexion with that continent. Soon after the Portuguese had extended their discoveries on the coast of Africa beyond the river Senegal, they endeavoured to derive some benefit from their new settlements there, by the sale of slaves. Various circumstances combined in favouring the revival of this odious traffic. In every part of America, of which the Spaniards took possession, they found that the natives, from the feebleness of their frame,

from their indolence, or from the injudicious manner of treating them, were incapable of the exertions requisite either for working mines, or for cultivating the earth. Eager to find hands more industrious and efficient, the Spaniards had recourse to their neighbours the Portuguese, and purchased from them negro slaves. Experience soon discovered that they were men of a more hardy race, and so much better fitted for enduring fatigue, that the labour of one negro was computed to be equal to that of four Americans;^h and from that time the number employed in the New World has gone on increasing with rapid progress. In this practice, no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion, the Spaniards have unhappily been imitated by all the nations of Europe, who have acquired territories in the warmer climates of the New World. At present the number of negro slaves in the settlements of Great Britain and France in the West Indies, exceeds a million; and as the establishment of servitude has been found, both in ancient and in modern times, extremely unfavourable to population, it requires an annual importation from Africa of at least fifty-eight thousand to keep up the stock.ⁱ If it were possible to ascertain, with equal exactness, the number of slaves in the Spanish dominions, and in North America, the total number of negro slaves might be well reckoned at as many more.

Thus the commercial genius of Europe, which has given it a visible ascendant over the three other divisions of the earth, by discerning their respective wants and resources, and by rendering them reciprocally subservient to one another, has established a union among them, from which it has derived an immense increase of opulence, of power, and of enjoyments.

VII. Though the discovery of a New World in the west, and the opening of a more easy and direct communication with the remote regions of the East, co-operated towards

^h See vol. v. p. 222, 223.

ⁱ Report of Lords of the Privy Council, A. D. 1788.

extending the commerce, and adding to the enjoyments, of Europe, a remarkable difference may be observed, with respect both to the time and the manner in which they produced these effects. When the Portuguese first visited the different countries of Asia, stretching from the coast of Malabar to China, they found them possessed by nations highly civilized, which had made considerable progress in elegant as well as useful arts, which were accustomed to intercourse with strangers, and well acquainted with all the advantages of commerce. But when the Spaniards began to explore the New World which they discovered, the aspect which it presented to them was very different. The islands were inhabited by naked savages, so unacquainted with the simplest and most necessary arts of life, that they subsisted chiefly on the spontaneous productions of a fertile soil and genial climate. The continent appeared to be a forest of immense extent, along the coast of which were scattered some feeble tribes, not greatly superior to the islanders in industry or improvement. Even its two large monarchies, which have been dignified with the appellation of civilized states, had not advanced so far beyond their countrymen, as to be entitled to that name. The inhabitants both of Mexico and Peru, unacquainted with the useful metals, and destitute of the address requisite for acquiring such command of the inferior animals as to derive any considerable aid from their labour, had made so little progress in agriculture, the first of all arts, that one of the greatest difficulties with which the small number of Spaniards, who overturned those highly extolled empires, had to struggle, was how to procure in them what was sufficient for their subsistence.

It was of consequence, with a very different spirit, that the intercourse with two countries, resembling each other so little in their degree of improvement, was begun and carried on. The Portuguese, certain of finding in the East, not only the productions with which the bountiful hand of nature has enriched that part of the globe, but various manufactures which had long been known and admired in

Europe, engaged in this alluring trade with the greatest eagerness. The encouragement of it, their monarchs considered as a chief object of government, towards which they directed all the power of the kingdom, and roused their subjects to such vigorous exertions in the prosecution of it, as occasioned that astonishing rapidity of progress which I have described. The sanguine hopes with which the Spaniards entered upon their career of discovery, met not with the same speedy gratification. From the industry of the rude inhabitants of the New World, they did not receive a single article of commerce. Even the natural productions of the soil and climate, when not cherished and multiplied by the fostering and active hand of man, were of little account. Hope, rather than success, incited them to persist in extending their researches and conquests; and as government derived little immediate benefit from these, it left the prosecution of them chiefly to private adventurers, by whose enterprising activity, more than by any effort of the state, the most valuable possessions of Spain in America were acquired. Instead of the instantaneous and great advantages which the Portuguese derived from their discoveries, above half a century elapsed before the Spaniards reaped any benefit of consequence from their conquests, except the small quantities of gold which the islanders were compelled to collect, and the plunder of the gold and silver employed by the Mexicans and Peruvians, as ornaments of their persons and temples, or as utensils of sacred or domestic use. It was not until the discovery of the mines of Potosi in Peru, in the year 1545, and of those of Sacotecas in Mexico, soon after, that the Spanish territories in the New World brought a permanent and valuable addition of wealth and revenue to the mother-country.

Nor did the trade with India differ more from that with America, in respect of the particular circumstances which I have explained, than in respect to the manner of carrying it on, after it grew to be a considerable object of political attention. Trade with the East was a simple mercantile transaction, confined to the purchase either of the

productions of the country, such as spices, precious stones, pearls, &c. or of the manufactures which abounded among an industrious race of men, such as silk and cotton stuffs, porcelain, &c. Nothing more was requisite in conducting this trade than to settle a few skilful agents in proper places, to prepare a proper assortment of goods for completing the cargoes of ships as soon as they arrived from Europe, or at the utmost to acquire the command of a few fortified stations, which might secure them admission into ports where they might careen in safety, and find protection from the insults of any hostile power. There was no necessity of making any attempt to establish colonies, either for the cultivation of the soil, or the conduct of manufactures. Both these remained, as formerly, in the hands of the natives.

But as soon as that wild spirit of enterprise, which animated the Spaniards who first explored and subdued the New World, began to subside, and when, instead of roving as adventurers from province to province in quest of gold and silver, they seriously turned their thoughts towards rendering their conquests beneficial by cultivation and industry, they found it necessary to establish colonies in every country which they wished to improve. Other nations imitated their example in the settlements which they afterward made in some of the islands, and on the continent of North America. Europe, after having desolated the New World, began to repeople it, and under a system of colonization (the spirit and regulations of which it is not the object of this Disquisition to explain) the European race has multiplied there amazingly. Every article of commerce imported from the New World, if we except the furs and skins purchased from the independent tribes of hunters in North America, and from a few tribes in a similar state on the southern continent, is the produce of the industry of Europeans settled there. To their exertions, or to those of hands which they have taught or compelled to labour, we are indebted for sugar, rum, cotton, tobacco, indigo, rice, and even the gold and silver extracted from the bowels of the earth. Intent on those

lucrative branches of industry, the inhabitants of the New World pay little attention to those kinds of labour which occupy a considerable part of the members of other societies, and depend, in some measure, for their subsistence, and entirely for every article of elegance and luxury, upon the ancient continent. Thus the Europeans have become manufacturers for America, and their industry has been greatly augmented by the vast demands for supplying the wants of extensive countries, the population of which is continually increasing. Nor is the influence of this demand confined solely to the nations which have a more immediate connexion with the American colonies; it is felt in every part of Europe that furnishes any article exported to them, and gives activity and vigour to the hand of the artisan in the inland provinces of Germany, as well as to those in Great Britain and other countries, which carry on a direct trade with the New World.

But while the discovery and conquest of America is allowed to be one principal cause of that rapid increase of industry and wealth, which is conspicuous in Europe during the two last centuries, some timid theorists have maintained, that throughout the same period Europe has been gradually impoverished, by being drained of its treasure in order to carry on its trade with India. But this apprehension has arisen from inattention to the nature and use of the precious metals. They are to be considered in two different lights; either as the signs which all civilized nations have agreed to employ, in order to estimate or represent the value both of labour and of all commodities, and thus to facilitate the purchase of the former and the conveyance of the latter from one proprietor to another; or gold and silver may be viewed as being themselves commodities, or articles of commerce, for which some equivalent must be given by such as wish to acquire them. In this light the exportation of the precious metals to the East should be regarded; for, as the nation by which they are exported must purchase them with the produce of its own labour and ingenuity, this trade must contribute,

though not in the same obvious and direct manner as that with America, towards augmenting the general industry and opulence of Europe. If England, as the price of Mexican and Peruvian dollars, which are necessary for carrying on its trade with India, must give a certain quantity of its woollen or cotton cloth or hardware, then the hands of an additional number of manufacturers are rendered active, and work to a certain amount must be executed, for which, without this trade, there would not have been any demand. The nation reaps all the benefit arising from a new creation of industry. With the gold and silver which her manufactures have purchased in the West, she is enabled to trade in the markets of the East, and the exportation of treasure to India, which has been so much dreaded, instead of impoverishing, enriches the kingdom.

VIII. It is the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and to the vigour and success with which the Portuguese prosecuted their conquests and established their dominion there, that Europe has been indebted for its preservation from the most illiberal and humiliating servitude that ever oppressed polished nations. For this observation I am indebted to an author, whose ingenuity has illustrated, and whose eloquence has adorned the history of the settlements and commerce of modern nations in the East and West Indies;ⁱ and it appears to me so well founded as to merit more ample investigation. A few years after the first appearance of the Portuguese in India, the dominion of the Mamelukes was overturned by the irresistible power of the Turkish arms, and Egypt and Syria were annexed as provinces to the Ottoman empire. If after this event the commercial intercourse with India had continued to be carried on in its ancient channels, the Turkish sultans, by being masters of Egypt and Syria, must have possessed the absolute command of it, whether the productions of the East were conveyed by the Red sea to Alexandria, or were transported by land-car-

ⁱ M. L'Abbé Raynal.

riage from the Persian gulf to Constantinople, and the ports of the Mediterranean. The monarchs who were then at the head of this great empire, were neither destitute of abilities to perceive the pre-eminence to which this would have elevated them, nor of ambition to aspire to it. Selim, the conqueror of the Mamelukes, by confirming the ancient privileges of the Venetians in Egypt and Syria, and by his regulations concerning the duties on Indian goods, which I have already mentioned, early discovered his solicitude to secure all the advantages of commerce with the East to his own dominions. The attention of Solyman the Magnificent, his successor, seems to have been equally directed towards the same object. More enlightened than any monarch of the Ottoman race, he attended to all the transactions of the European states, and had observed the power as well as opulence to which the republic of Venice had attained by engrossing the commerce with the East. He now beheld Portugal rising towards the same elevation by the same means. Eager to imitate and to supplant them, he formed a scheme suitable to his character for political wisdom and the appellation of *Institutor of Rules*, by which the Turkish historians have distinguished him, and established, early in his reign, a system of commercial laws in his dominions, by which he hoped to render Constantinople the great staple of Indian trade, as it had been in the prosperous ages of the Greek empire.^k For accomplishing this scheme, however, he did not rely on the operations of laws alone; he fitted out about the same time a formidable fleet in the Red sea, under the conduct of a confidential officer, with such a

A.D.1538. body of janizaries on board of it, as he deemed sufficient not only to drive the Portuguese out of all their settlements in India, but to take possession of some commodious station in that country, and to erect his standard there. The Portuguese, by efforts of valour and constancy, entitled to the splendid success with which they were crowned, repulsed his powerful armament in

^k Paruta Hist. Venet. lib. vii. p. 589. Sandi Stor. Civil. Venez. part ii. p. 901.

every enterprise it undertook, and compelled the shattered remains of the Turkish fleet and army to return with ignominy to the harbours from which they had taken their departure, with the most sanguine hopes of terminating the expedition in a very different manner.¹ Solyman, though he never relinquished the design of expelling the Portuguese from India, and of acquiring some establishment there, was so occupied, during the remainder of his reign, by the multiplicity of arduous operations in which an insatiable ambition involved him, that he never had leisure to resume the prosecution of it with vigour.

If either the measures of Selim had produced the effect which he expected, or if the more adventurous and extensive plan of Solyman had been carried into execution, the command of the wealth of India, together with such a marine as the monopoly of trade with that country has, in every age, enabled the power which possessed it to create and maintain, must have brought an accession of force to an empire already formidable to mankind, that would have rendered it altogether irresistible. Europe, at that period, was not in a condition to have defended itself against the combined exertions of such naval and military power supported by commercial wealth, and under the direction of a monarch whose comprehensive genius was able to derive from each its peculiar advantages, and to employ all with the greatest effect. Happily for the human race, the despotic system of Turkish government, founded on such illiberal fanaticism as has distinguished science in Egypt, in Assyria, and in Greece, its three favourite mansions in ancient times, was prevented from extending its dominion over Europe, and from suppressing liberty, learning, and taste, when beginning to make successful efforts to revive there, and again to bless, to enlighten, and to polish mankind.

¹ Asia de Barros, dec. iv. lib. x. c. 1, &c

APPENDIX.

I SHALL now endeavour to fulfil an engagement which I came under,^a to make some observations upon the genius, the manners, and institutions of the people of India, as far as they can be traced from the earliest ages to which our knowledge of them extends. Were I to enter upon this wide field with an intention of surveying its whole extent; were I to view each object which it presents to a philosophical inquirer, under all its different aspects, it would lead me into researches and speculations, not only of immense length, but altogether foreign from the subject of this Disquisition. My inquiries and reflections shall therefore be confined to what is intimately connected with the design of this work. I shall collect the facts which the ancients have transmitted to us concerning the institutions peculiar to the natives of India, and by comparing them with what we now know of that country, endeavour to deduce such conclusions as tend to point out the circumstances which have influenced the rest of mankind, in every age, to carry on commercial intercourse to so great an extent with that country.

Of this intercourse there are conspicuous proofs in the earliest periods concerning which history affords information. Not only the people contiguous to India, but remote nations, seem to have been acquainted, from time immemorial, with its commodities, and to have valued them so highly, that in order to procure them they undertook fatiguing, expensive, and dangerous journeys. Whenever men give a decided preference to the commodities of any particular country, this must be owing either to its possessing some valuable natural productions peculiar to its soil and

^a See page 280.

climate, or to some superior progress which its inhabitants have made in industry, art, and elegance. It is not to any peculiar excellence in the natural productions of India, that we must ascribe entirely the predilection of ancient nations for its commodities; for, pepper excepted, an article, it must be allowed, of great importance, they are little different from those of other tropical countries; and Ethiopia or Arabia might have fully supplied the Phenicians, and other trading people of antiquity, with the spices, the perfumes, the precious stones, the gold and silver, which formed the principal articles of their commerce.

Whoever then wishes to trace the commerce with India to its source, much search for it, not so much in any peculiarity of the natural productions of that country, as in the superior improvement of its inhabitants. Many facts have been transmitted to us, which, if they are examined with proper attention, clearly demonstrate, that the natives of India were not only more early civilized, but had made greater progress in civilization than any other people. These I shall endeavour to enumerate, and to place them in such a point of view as may serve both to throw light upon the institutions, manners, and arts of the Indians, and to account for the eagerness of all nations to obtain the productions of their ingenious industry.

By the ancient heathen writers, the Indians were reckoned among those races of men which they denominated *Autochthones* or *Aborigines*, whom they considered as natives of the soil, whose origin could not be traced.^b By the inspired writers, the wisdom of the east (an expression which is to be understood as a description of their extraordinary progress in science and arts) was early celebrated.^c In order to illustrate and confirm these explicit testimonies concerning the ancient and high civilization of the inhabitants of India, I shall take a view of their rank and condition as individuals; of their civil policy; of their laws and judicial proceedings; of their useful and elegant arts; of their sciences; and of their religious institutions; as far

^b Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 151.

^c 1 Kings, iv. 31.

as information can be gathered from the accounts of the Greek and Roman writers, compared with what still remains of their ancient acquirements and institutions.

I. From the most ancient accounts of India we learn, that the distinction of ranks and separation of professions were completely established there. This is one of the most undoubted proofs of a society considerably advanced in its progress. Arts in the early stages of social life are so few, and so simple, that each man is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. A savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skilful than his own.^d But when time has augmented the wants of men, the production of arts become so complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabric, that a particular course of education is requisite towards forming the artist to ingenuity in contrivance and expertness in execution. In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch out into more numerous and minute subdivisions. Prior to the records of authentic history, and even before the most remote era to which their own traditions pretend to reach, this separation of professions had not only taken place among the natives of India, but the perpetuity of it was secured by an institution which must be considered as the fundamental article in the system of their policy. The whole body of the people was divided into four orders or casts. The members of the first, deemed the most sacred, had it for their province to study the principles of religion; to perform its functions; and to cultivate the sciences. They were the priests, the instructors, and philosophers of the nation. The members of the second order were intrusted with the government and defence of the state. In peace they were its rulers and magistrates; in war they were the generals who commanded its armies and the soldiers who fought its battles. The third was composed of husbandmen and merchants;

^d See vol. v. p. 325, 326.

and the fourth of artisans, labourers, and servants. None of these can ever quit his own cast, or be admitted into another.^e The station of every individual is unalterably fixed; his destiny is irrevocable; and the walk of life is marked out, from which he must never deviate. This line of separation is not only established by civil authority, but confirmed and sanctioned by religion, and each order or cast is said to have proceeded from the Divinity in such a different manner, that to mingle and confound them would be deemed an act of most daring impiety.^f Nor is it between the four different tribes alone that such insuperable

^e Ayeen Akbery, iii. 81, &c. Sketches relating to the History, &c. of the Hindoos, p. 107, &c.

^f According to all the writers of antiquity, the Indians are said to be divided into seven tribes or casts. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1029. C. &c. Dioid. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 15^c, &c. Arrian. Indic. c. 10. They were led into this error, it is probable, by considering some of the subdivisions of the casts, as if they had been a distinct independent order. But that they were no more than four original casts, we learn from the concurring testimony of the best informed modern travellers. A most distinct account of these we have in "La Porte Ouverte, ou la vraye Representation de la Vie, des Mœurs, de la Religion, et du Service, des Brahmines, qui demeurent sur les Costes de Choromandel," &c. This was compiled before the middle of last century, by Abraham Roger, chaplain of the Dutch factory at Pullicate. By gaining the confidence of an intelligent Brahmin, he acquired information concerning the manners and religion of the Indians; more authentic and extensive than was known to Europeans prior to the late translations from the Sanskreet language. I mention this book, because it seems to be less known than it deserves to be. There remains now no doubt with respect either to the number or the functions of the casts, as both are ascertained from the most ancient and sacred books of the Hindoos, and confirmed by the accounts of their own institutions, given by Brahmins eminent for their learning. According to them, the different casts proceeded from Brahma, the immediate agent of the creation under the Supreme Power, in the following manner, which establishes both the rank which they were to hold, and the office which they were required to perform.

The *Brahmin*, from the mouth (wisdom): To pray, to read, to instruct.

The *Chehetree*, from the arms (strength): To draw the bow, to fight, to govern.

The *Bice*, from the belly or thighs (nourishment): To provide the necessaries of life by agriculture and traffic.

The *Sooder*, from the feet (subjection): To labour, to serve.

The prescribed occupations of all these classes are essential in a well regulated state. Subordinate to them is a fifth, or adventitious class, denominated *Burrin Sunkur*, supposed to be the offspring of an unlawful union between persons of different casts. These are mostly dealers in petty articles of retail trade. Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. xlvi. and xcix. This adventitious class is not mentioned, as far as I know, by any European author. The distinction was too nice to be observed by them, and they seem to consider the members of this cast as belonging to the *Sooder*. Besides these acknowledged casts, there is a race of unhappy men, denominated, on the Coromandel coast, *Pariars*, and in other parts of India, *Chandalas*. These are outcasts from their original order, who by their misconduct have forfeited all the privileges of it. Their condition is, undoubtedly, the lowest degradation of human nature. No person of any cast will have the least communication with them. Sonnerat, tom. i. p. 55, 56. If a *Pariar* approach a *Nayr*, i. e. a warrior of high cast, on the Malabar coast, he may put him to death with impunity. Water or milk are considered as defiled even by their shadow passing over them, and cannot be used until they are purified. Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 243. It is almost impossible for words to express the sensation of vileness that the name of *Pariar* or *Chandala* conveys to the mind of a *Hindoo*. Every *Hindoo* who violates the rules or institutions of his cast sinks into this degraded situation. This it is which renders *Hindoos* so resolute in adhering to

barriers are fixed; the members of each cast adhere invariably to the professions of their forefathers. From generation to generation, the same families have followed, and will always continue to follow, one uniform line of life.

Such arbitrary arrangements of the various members which compose a community, seem, at first view, to be adverse to improvement either in science or in arts; and by forming around the different orders of men artificial barriers which it would be impious to pass, tend to circum-

the institutions of their tribe, because the loss of cast is, to them, the loss of all human comfort and respectability; and is a punishment, beyond comparison, more severe than excommunication in the most triumphant period of papal power.

The four original castes are named, and their functions described in the Mahabarat, the most ancient book of the Hindoos, and of higher authority than any with which Europeans are hitherto acquainted. *Baghvat-Geeta*, p. 130. The same distinction of castes was known to the author of *Heeto-pades*, another work of considerable antiquity, translated from the *Sanskreet*, p. 251.

The mention of one circumstance respecting the distinction of castes has been omitted in the text. Though the line of separation be so drawn, as to render the ascent from an inferior to a higher cast absolutely impossible, and it would be regarded as a most enormous impiety, if one in a lower order should presume to perform any function belonging to those of a superior cast; yet, in certain cases, the Pundits declare it to be lawful for persons of a higher class to exercise some of the occupations allotted to a class below their own, without losing their cast by doing so. Pref. of Pundits to the *Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 100. Accordingly we find Prahmins employed in the service of their princes, not only as ministers of state, *Orme's Fragments*, p. 207, but in subordinate stations. Most of the officers of high rank in the army of Sevagi, the founder of the Mahratta state, were Brahmins, and some of them Pundits or learned Brahmins. *Ibid.* p. 97. Hurry Punt and Purseram Bhow, who commanded the Mahratta forces, which acted in conjunction with the army of lord Cornwallis against Tippoo Saib, were Brahmins. Many seapoys in the service of the East India Company, particularly in the Bengal presidency, are of the Brahmin cast.

Another fact concerning the castes deserves notice. An immense number of pilgrims, amounting in some years to more than one hundred and fifty thousand, visit the pagoda of Jaggernaut in Orissa (one of the most ancient and most revered places of Hindoo worship), at the time of the annual festival in honour of the deity to whom the temple is consecrated. The members of all the four castes are allowed promiscuously to approach the altar of the idol, and seating themselves without distinction eat indiscriminate of the same food. This seems to indicate some remembrance of a state prior to the institutions of castes, when all men were considered as equal. I have not such information as enables me to account for a practice so repugnant to the first ideas and principles of the Hindoos, either sacred or civil. *Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 102. *Tavernier*, book ii. c. 9. *Anquetil. Disc. Prelim.* p. 81. *Sketches*, p. 96.

Some of my readers must have observed, that I have not mentioned the numerous orders of Indian devotees, to all of whom European writers gave the appellation of *Faquirs*; a name by which the Mahomedans distinguish fanatical monks of their own religion. The light in which I have viewed the religious institutions of the Hindoos, did not render it necessary that I should consider the Indian *Faquirs* particularly. Their number, the rigour of their mortifications, the excruciating penances which they voluntarily undergo, and the high opinion which the people entertain of their sanctity, have struck all travellers who had visited India, and their descriptions of them are well known. The powerful influence of enthusiasm, the love of distinction, and the desire of obtaining some portion of that reverence and those honours which the Brahmins are born to enjoy, may account for all the extraordinary things which they do and suffer. One particular concerning them merits notice. This order of devotees appears to have been very ancient in India. The description of the *Germani*, which Strabo takes from Megasthenes, applies, almost in every circumstance, to the modern *Faquirs*. *Lib. xv. p. 1040. B.*

scribe the operations of the human mind within a narrower sphere than nature has allotted to them. When every man is at full liberty to direct his efforts towards those objects and that end which the impulse of his own mind prompts him to prefer, he may be expected to attain that high degree of eminence to which the uncontrolled exertions of genius and industry naturally conduct. The regulations of Indian policy, with respect to the different orders of men, must necessarily, at some times, check genius in its career, and confine to the functions of an inferior cast, talents fitted to shine in a higher sphere. But the arrangements of civil government are made, not for what is extraordinary, but for what is common; not for the few, but for the many. The object of the first Indian legislators was to employ the most effectual means of providing for the subsistence, the security, and happiness of all the members of the community over which they presided. With this view they set apart certain races of men for each of the various professions and arts necessary in a well-ordered society, and appointed the exercise of them to be transmitted from father to son in succession. This system, though extremely repugnant to the ideas which we, by being placed in a very different state of society, have formed, will be found, upon attentive inspection, better adapted to attain the end in view, than a careless observer, at first sight, is apt to imagine. The human mind bends to the law of necessity, and is accustomed not only to accommodate itself to the restraints which the condition of its nature, or the institutions of its country, impose, but to acquiesce in them. From his entrance into life, an Indian knows the station allotted to him, and the functions to which he is destined by his birth. The objects which relate to these, are the first that present themselves to his view. They occupy his thoughts, or employ his hands; and, from his earliest years, he is trained to the habit of doing with ease and pleasure that which he must continue through life to do. To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection conspicuous in many of the Indian

manufactures; and though veneration for the practices of their ancestors may check the spirit of invention, yet, by adhering to these, they acquire such an expertness and delicacy of hand, that Europeans, with all the advantages of superior science, and the aid of more complete instruments, have never been able to equal the exquisite execution of their workmanship. While this high improvement of their more curious manufactures excited the admiration, and attracted the commerce, of other nations, the separation of professions in India, and the early distribution of the people into classes, attached to particular kinds of labour, secured such abundance of the more common and useful commodities, as not only supplied their own wants, but ministered to those of the countries around them.

To this early division of the people into casts, we must likewise ascribe a striking peculiarity in the state of India; the permanence of its institutions, and the immutability in the manners of its inhabitants. What now is in India always was there, and is likely still to continue: neither the ferocious violence and illiberal fanaticism of its Mahomedan conquerors, nor the power of its European masters, have effected any considerable alteration. The same distinctions of condition take place, the same arrangements in civil and domestic society remain, the same maxims of religion are held in veneration, and the same sciences and arts are cultivated.⁵ Hence, in all ages, the trade with

⁵ What I have asserted in the text is in general well-founded. It is the opinion, however, of gentlemen who have seen much of India, and who observed all they saw with a discerning eye, that the conquests both of the Mahomedans and of the Europeans have had some effect upon the manners and customs of the natives. They imagine that the dress which the Hindoos now wear, the turban, the jumah, and long drawers, is an imitation of that worn by their Mahomedan conquerors. The ancient dress of the Indians, as described by Arrian, *Hist. Indic.* c. 16, was a muslin cloth thrown loosely about their shoulders, a muslin shirt reaching to the middle of the leg, and their beards were dyed various colours; which is not the same with that used at present. The custom of secluding women, and the strictness with which they are confined, is likewise supposed to have been introduced by the Mahomedans. This supposition is in some measure confirmed by the drama of Sacontala, translated from the Sanskreet. In that play several female characters are introduced, who mingle in society, and converse as freely with men, as women are accustomed to do in Europe. The author, we may presume, describes the manners, and adheres to the customs, of his own age. But while I mention this remark, it is proper, likewise, to observe, that, from a passage in Strabo, there is reason to think, that in the age of Alexander the Great, women in India were guarded with the same jealous attention as at present. "When their princes (says he, copying Megasthenes) set out upon a public hunt, they are accompanied by a number of their women, but along the road in which they travel ropes are stretched on each side, and if any man approach near to them, he is instantly

India has been the same; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities, with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has always been considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns.^b According to the accounts which I have given of the cargoes anciently imported from India, they appear to have consisted of nearly the same articles with those of the investments in our own times; and whatever difference we may observe in them seems to have arisen, not so much from any diversity in the nature of the commodities with the Indians prepared for sale, as from a variety in the tastes, or in the wants, of the nations which demanded them.

II. Another proof of the early and high civilization of the people of India, may be deduced from considering their political constitution and form of government. The Indians trace back the history of their own country through an immense succession of ages, and assert, that all Asia, from the mouth of the Indus on the west, to the confines of

put to death." Lib. xv. p. 1037. A. In some parts of India, where the original manners of the people may be supposed to subsist in greatest purity, particularly in the high country towards the sources of the Indus, women of rank reside in private apartments, secluded from society. Forster's Travels, vol. i. p. 228. Women even of the Brahmin cast appear in the streets without a veil; and it is only, as I am informed, in the houses of persons of high rank or great opulence, that a distinct quarter or haram is allotted to the women. The influence of European manners begins to be apparent among the Hindoos who reside in the town of Calcutta. Some of them drive about in English chariots, sit upon chairs, and furnish their houses with mirrors. Many circumstances might be mentioned, were this the proper place, which, it is probable, will contribute to the progress of this spirit of imitation.

^b It is amusing to observe how exactly the ideas of an intelligent Asiatic coincide with those of the Europeans on this subject. "In reflecting," says he, "upon the poverty of Turan [the countries beyond the Oxus] and Arabia, I was at first at a loss to assign a reason why these countries have never been able to retain wealth, whilst, on the contrary, it is daily increasing in Indostan. Timour carried into Turan the riches of Turkey, Persia, and Indostan, but they are all dissipated; and, during the reigns of the four first caliphs, Turkey, Persia, part of Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Spain, were their tributaries; but still they were not rich. It is evident, then, that this dissipation of the riches of a state, must have happened either from extraordinary drains, or from some defect in the government. Indostan has been frequently plundered by foreign invaders, and not one of its kings ever gained for it any acquisition of wealth; neither has the country many mines of gold and silver, and yet Indostan abounds in money and every other kind of wealth. The abundance of specie is undoubtedly owing to the large importation of gold and silver in the ships of Europe, and other nations, many of whom bring ready money in exchange for the manufactures and natural productions of the country. If this is not the cause of the prosperous state of Indostan, it must be owing to the peculiar blessing of God." *Memoirs of Kojeh Abdul-kureem, a Cashmeerian of distinction*, p. 42.

China on the east, and from the mountains of Thibet on the north, to Cape Comorin on the south, formed a vast empire, subject to one mighty sovereign, under whom ruled several hereditary princes and rajahs. But their chronology, which measures the life of man in ancient times by thousands of years, and computes the length of the several periods, during which it supposes the world to have existed, by millions, is so wildly extravagant, as not to merit any serious discussion. We must rest satisfied, then, until some more certain information is obtained with respect to the ancient history of India, with taking the first accounts of that country, which can be deemed authentic, from the Greeks who served under Alexander the Great. They found kingdoms of considerable magnitude established in that country. The territories of Porus and of Taxiles comprehended a great part of the Panjab, one of the most fertile and best cultivated countries in India. The kingdom of the Prasij, or Gandaridæ, stretched to a great extent on both sides of the Ganges. All the three, as appears from the ancient Greek writers, were powerful and populous.

This description of the partition of India into states of such magnitude, is alone a convincing proof of its having advanced far in civilization. In whatever region of the earth there has been an opportunity of observing the progress of men in social life, they appear at first in small independent tribes or communities. Their common wants prompt them to unite; and their mutual jealousies, as well as the necessity of securing subsistence, compel them to drive to a distance every rival who might encroach on those domains which they consider as their own. Many ages elapse before they coalesce, or acquire sufficient foresight to provide for the wants, or sufficient wisdom to conduct the affairs, of a numerous society, even under the genial climate, and in the rich soil of India, more favourable perhaps to the union and increase of the human species than any other part of the globe; the formation of such extensive states, as were established in that country when first

visited by Europeans, must have been a work of long time; and the members of them must have been long accustomed to exertions of useful industry.

Though monarchical government was established in all the countries of India to which the knowledge of the ancients extended, the sovereigns were far from possessing uncontrolled or despotic power. No trace, indeed, is discovered there, of any assembly, or public body, the members of which, either in their own right, or as representatives of their fellow-citizens, could interpose in enacting laws, or in superintending the execution of them. Institutions destined to assert and guard the rights belonging to men in social state, how familiar soever the idea may be to the people of Europe, never formed a part of the political constitution in any great Asiatic kingdom. It was to different principles that the natives of India were indebted for restrictions which limited the exercise of regal power. The rank of individuals was unalterably fixed, and the privileges of the different casts were deemed inviolable. The monarchs of India, who were all taken from the second of the four classes formerly described, which is intrusted with the functions of government and exercise of war, behold among their subjects an order of men far superior to themselves in dignity, and so conscious of their own pre-eminence, both in rank and in sanctity, that they would deem it degradation and pollution, if they were to eat of the same food with their sovereign.^k Their persons are sacred, and even for the most heinous crimes, they cannot be capitally punished; their blood must never be shed.^l To men in this exalted station monarchs must look up with respect, and reverence them as the ministers of religion, and the teachers of wisdom. On important occasions, it is the duty of sovereigns to consult them, and to be directed by their advice. Their admonitions, and even their censures, must be received with submissive respect. This right of the Brahmins to offer their opinion with respect to the ad-

^k Orme's Dissert. vol. i. p. 4. Sketches, &c. p. 113.

^l Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xxi. § 10. p. 275. 283, &c.

ministration of public affairs was not unknown to the ancients;^m and in some accounts preserved in India of the events which happened in their own country, princes are mentioned, who, having violated the privileges of the casts, and disregarded the remonstrances of the Brahmins, were deposed by their authority and put to death.ⁿ

While the sacred rights of the Brahmins opposed a barrier against the encroachments of regal power on the one hand, it was circumscribed on the other by the ideas which those who occupied the highest stations in society entertained of their own dignity and privileges. As none but the members of the cast next in rank to that which religion has rendered sacred, could be employed in any function of the state, the sovereigns of the extensive kingdoms anciently established in India, found it necessary to intrust them with the superintendence of the cities and provinces too remote to be under their own immediate inspection. In these stations they often acquired such wealth and influence, that offices conferred during pleasure, continued hereditarily in their families, and they came gradually to form an intermediate order between the sovereign and his subjects; and, by the vigilant jealousy with which they maintained their own dignity and privileges, they constrained their rulers to respect them, and to govern with moderation and equity.

Nor were the benefits of these restraints upon the power of the sovereign confined wholly to the two superior orders in the state; they extended, in some degree, to the third class employed in agriculture. The labours of that numerous and useful body of men are so essential to the preservation and happiness of society, that the greatest attention was paid to render their condition secure and comfortable. According to the ideas which prevailed among the natives of India (as we are informed by the first Europeans who visited their country), the sovereign is considered as the sole universal proprietor of all the land in his dominions,

^m Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1029. C.

ⁿ Account of the Qualities requisite in a Magistrate, prefixed by the Pundits to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. cii. and vi.

and from him is derived every species of tenure by which his subjects can hold it. These lands were let out to the farmers who cultivated them, at a stipulated rent, amounting usually to a fourth part of their annual produce paid in kind.^o In a country where the price of work is extremely low, and where the labour of cultivation is very inconsiderable, the earth yielding its productions almost spontaneously, where subsistence is amazingly cheap, where few clothes are needed, and houses are built and furnished at little expense, this rate cannot be deemed exorbitant or oppressive. As long as the husbandman continued to pay the established rent, he retained possession of the farm, which descended, like property, from father to son.

These accounts given by ancient authors of the condition and tenure of the renters of land in India, agree so perfectly with what now takes place, that it may be considered almost as a description of the present state of its cultivation. In every part of India where the native Hindoo princes retain dominion, the *Ryots*, the modern name by which the renters of land are distinguished, hold their possessions by a lease, which may be considered as perpetual, and at a rate fixed by ancient surveys and valuations. This arrangement has been so long established, and accords so with the ideas of the natives, concerning the distinctions of casts, and the functions allotted to each, that it has been inviolably maintained in all the provinces subject either to Mahomedans or Europeans; and, to both, it serves as the basis on which their whole system of finance is founded:^p

^o Strab. lib. xv. p. 1030. A. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 53.

^p That the monarchs of India were the sole proprietors of land, is asserted in most explicit terms by the ancients. The people (say they) pay a land-tax to their kings, because the whole kingdom is regal property. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1030. A. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 153. This was not peculiar to India. In all the great monarchies of the East, the sole property of land seems to be vested in the sovereign as lord paramount. According to Chardin, this is the state of property in Persia, and lands were let by the monarch to the farmers who cultivated them, on conditions nearly resembling those granted to the Indian Ryots. Voyages, tom. iii. p. 339, &c. 4to. M. Volney gives a similar account of the tenure by which lands are held in one of the great provinces of the Turkish empire. Voy. en Syrie, &c. tom. ii. p. 369, &c. The precise mode, however, in which the Ryots of Indostan held their possessions, is a circumstance in its ancient political constitution, with respect to which gentlemen of superior discernment, who have resided long in the country, and filled some of the highest stations in government, have formed very different opinions. Some have imagined that grants of land were made by the sovereign to villages or small communities, the inhabitants of which, under the direction of their own chiefs or heads-men, laboured it in common, and di-

In a more remote period, before the original institutions of India were subverted by foreign invaders, the industry of

vided the produce of it among them in certain proportions. *Descript. de l'Ind. par. M. Bernouilli, tom. ii. 223, &c.* Others maintain, that the property of land has been transferred from the crown to hereditary officers of great eminence and power, denominated *Zemindars*, who collect the rents from the Ryots, and parcel out the lands among them. Others contend, that the office of the Zemindars is temporary and ministerial, that they are merely collectors of revenue, removeable at pleasure, and the tenure by which the Ryots hold their possessions is derived immediately from the sovereign. This last opinion is supported with great ability by Mr. Grant, in an Inquiry into the Nature of Zeminary Tenures in the landed Property of Bengal, &c. This question still continues to be agitated in Bengal, and such plausible arguments have been produced in support of the different opinions, that although it be a point extremely interesting, as the future system of British finance in India appears likely to hinge, in an essential degree, upon it, persons well acquainted with the state of India have not been able to form a final and satisfactory opinion on this subject. Captain Kirkpatrick's *Introd. to the Institutes of Ghazan Khan, New Asiatic Miscel. N^o II. p. 130.* Though the sentiments of the Committee of Revenue, composed of persons eminent for their abilities, lean to a conclusion against the hereditary right of Zemindars in the soil, yet the Supreme Council, in the year 1786, declined, for good reasons, to give any decisive judgment on a subject of such magnitude.—This note was sent to the press before I had it in my power to peruse Mr. Rouse's ingenious and instructive dissertation concerning the landed property of Bengal. In it he adopts an opinion contrary to that of Mr. Grant, and maintains, with that candour and liberality of sentiment which are always conspicuous where there is no other object in view but the discovery of truth, that the Zemindars of Bengal possess their landed property by hereditary right. Were I possessed of such knowledge either of the state of India, or of the system of administration established there, as would be requisite for comparing these different theories, and determining which of them merits the preference, the subject of my researches does not render it necessary to enter into such a disquisition. I imagine, however, that the state of landed property in India might be greatly illustrated by an accurate comparison of it with the nature of feudal tenures; and I apprehend that there might be traced there a succession of changes taking place in much the same order as has been observed in Europe, from which it might appear, that the possession of land was granted at first during pleasure, afterward for life, and at length became perpetual and hereditary property. But even under this last form, when land is acquired either by purchase or inheritance, the manner in which the right of property is confirmed and rendered complete, in Europe by a charter, in India by a *Sunnud* from the sovereign, seems to point out what was its original state. According to each of the theories which I have mentioned, the tenure and condition of the Ryots nearly resemble the description which I have given of them. Their state, we learn from the accounts of intelligent observers, is as happy and independent as falls to the lot of any race of men employed in the cultivation of the earth. The ancient Greek and Roman writers, whose acquaintance with the interior parts of India was very imperfect, represent the fourth part of the annual produce of land as the general average of rent paid to the sovereign. Upon the authority of a popular author who flourished in India prior to the Christian era, we may conclude that the sixth part of the people's income was, in his time, the usual portion of the sovereign. *Sacotala, Act. V. p. 53.* It is now known that what the sovereign receives from land varies greatly in different parts of the country, and is regulated by the fertility or barrenness of the soil, the nature of the climate, the abundance or scarcity of water, and many other obvious circumstances. By the account given of it, I should imagine that in some districts, it has been raised beyond its due proportion. One circumstance with respect to the administration of revenue in Bengal merits notice, as it redounds to the honour of the emperor Akber, the wisdom of whose government I have often had occasion to celebrate. A general and regular assessment of revenue in Bengal was formed in his reign. All the lands were then valued, and the rent of each inhabitant and of each village ascertained. A regular gradation of accounts was established. The rents of the different inhabitants who lived in one neighbourhood being collected together, formed the account of a village; the rents of several villages being next collected into one view, formed the accounts of a larger portion of land. The aggregate of these accounts exhibited the rent of a district, and the sum total of the rents of all the districts in Bengal, formed the account of the revenue of the whole province. From the reign of Akber to the government of Jaffier Ali Cawn, A. D. 1757, the annual amount of revenue, and the modes of levying it,

the husbandmen, on which every member of the community depended for subsistence, was as secure as the tenure by which he held his lands was equitable. Even war did not interrupt his labours or endanger his property. It was not uncommon, we are informed, that while two hostile armies were fighting a battle in one field, the peasants were ploughing or reaping in the next field in perfect tranquillity.^a These maxims and regulations of the ancient legislators of India have a near resemblance to the system of those ingenious speculators on political economy in modern times, who represent the produce of land as the sole source of wealth in every country; and who consider the discovery of this principle, according to which they contend that the government of nations should be conducted, as one of the greatest efforts of human wisdom. Under a form of government, which paid such attention to all the different orders of which the society is composed, particularly the cultivators of the earth, it is not wonderful that the ancients should describe the Indians as a most happy race of men; and that the most intelligent modern observers should celebrate the equity, the humanity, and mildness of Indian policy. A Hindoo Rajah, as I have been informed by persons well acquainted with the state of India, resembles more a father presiding in a numerous family of his own children, than a sovereign ruling over inferiors, subject to his dominion. He endeavours to secure their happiness with vigilant solicitude; they are attached to him with the most tender affection and inviolable fidelity. We can hardly conceive men to be placed in any state more favourable to their acquiring all the advantages derived from social union. It is only when the mind is perfectly at ease, and neither feels nor dreads oppression, that it employs its active powers in forming numerous arrangements of police, for securing its enjoyments and increasing them. Many arrangements of this nature the

continued with little variation. But in order to raise the sum which he had stipulated to pay the English on his elevation, he departed from the wise arrangements of Akber, many new modes of assessment were introduced, and exactions multiplied.

^a Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1030. A.

Greeks, though accustomed to their own institutions, the most perfect at that time in Europe, observed, and admired among the Indians, and mention them as instances of high civilization and improvement. There were established among the Indians three distinct classes of officers, one of which had it in charge to inspect agriculture, and every kind of country work. They measured the portions of land allotted to each renter. They had the custody of the *Tanks* or public reservoirs of water, without a regular distribution of which, the fields in a torrid climate cannot be rendered fertile. They marked out the course of the highways; along which, at certain distances, they erected stones, to measure the road and direct travellers.^r To officers of a second class was committed the inspection of the police in cities; their functions, of course, were many and various; some of which only I shall specify. They appropriated houses for the reception of strangers; they protected them from injury, provided for their subsistence, and, when seized with any disease, they appointed physicians to attend them; and, on the event of their death, they not only buried them with decency, but took charge of their effects, and restored them to their relations. They kept exact registers of births and of deaths; they visited the public markets, and examined weights and measures. The third class of officers superintended the military department; but, as the objects to which their attention was directed are foreign from the subject of my inquiries, it is unnecessary to enter into any detail with respect to them.^s

As manners and customs in India descend almost without variation from age to age, many of the peculiar institutions which I have enumerated still subsist there. There is still the same attention to the construction and preservation of tanks, and the distribution of their waters. The direction of roads, and placing stones along them, is still

^r I shall mention only one instance of their attention to this useful regulation of police. Lahore, in the Panjab, is distant from Agra, the ancient capital of Indostan, five hundred miles. Along each side of the road between these two great cities, there is planted a continued row of shady trees, forming an avenue, to which (whether we consider its extent, its beauty, or utility in a hot climate) there is nothing similar in any country. Rennell's Memoir, p. 69.

^s Strabo. lib. xv. p. 1034, A. &c. Diol. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 154.

an object of police. *Choultries*, or houses built for the accommodation of travellers, are frequent in every part of the country, and are useful as well as noble monuments of Indian munificence and humanity. It is only among men in the most improved state of society, and under the best forms of government, that we discover institutions similar to those which I have described; and many nations have advanced far in their progress, without establishing arrangements of police equally perfect.

III. In estimating the progress which any nation has made in civilization, the object that merits the greatest degree of attention, next to its political constitution, is the spirit of the laws and nature of the forms by which its judicial proceedings are regulated. In the early and rude ages of society, the few disputes with respect to property which arise, are terminated by the interposition of the old men, or by the authority of the chiefs in every small tribe or community; their decisions are dictated by their own discretion, or founded on plain and obvious maxims of equity. But as the controversies multiply, cases similar to such as have been formerly determined must recur, and the awards upon these grow gradually into precedents, which serve to regulate future judgments. Thus, long before the nature of property is defined by positive statutes, or any rules prescribed concerning the mode of acquiring or conveying it, there is gradually formed, in every state, a body of customary or common law, by which judicial proceedings are directed, and every decision conformable to it is submitted to with reverence, as the result of the accumulated wisdom and experience of ages.

In this state the administration of justice seems to have been in India when first visited by Europeans. Though the Indians, according to their account, had no written laws, but determined every controverted point, by recollecting what had been formerly decided;† they assert that justice was dispensed among them with great accuracy,‡

† Strabo, lib. xv. 1035. D.

‡ Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 154.

and that crimes were most severely punished. But in this general observation is contained all the intelligence which the ancients furnish concerning the nature and forms of judicial proceedings in India. From the time of Megasthenes, no Greek or Roman of any note appears to have resided long enough in the country, or to have been so much acquainted with the customs of the natives, as to be capable of entering into any detail with respect to a point of so great importance in their policy. Fortunately, the defects of their information have been amply supplied by the more accurate and extensive researches of the moderns. During the course of almost three centuries, the number of persons who have resorted from Europe to India has been great. Many of them who have remained long in the country, and were persons of liberal education and enlarged minds, have lived in such familiar intercourse with the natives, and acquired so competent a knowledge of their languages, as enabled them to observe their institutions with attention, and to describe them with fidelity. Respectable as their authority may be, I shall not, in what I offer for illustrating the judicial proceedings of the Hindoos, rest upon it alone, but shall derive my information from sources higher and more pure.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century Akber the Sixth, in descent from Tamerlane, mounted the throne of Indostan. He is one of the few sovereigns entitled to the appellation both of Great and Good, and the only one of Mahomedan race, whose mind appears to have arisen so far above all the illiberal prejudices of that fanatical religion in which he was educated, as to be capable of forming a plan worthy of a monarch who loved his people, and was solicitous to render them happy. As, in every province of his extensive dominions, the Hindoos formed the great body of his subjects, he laboured to acquire a perfect knowledge of their religion, their sciences, their laws, and institutions; in order that he might conduct every part of his government, particularly the administration of justice, in a manner as much accommodated as possible to their

own ideas.* In this generous undertaking he was seconded with zeal by his vizier Abul Fazel, a minister whose understanding was not less enlightened than that of his master. By their assiduous researches, and consultation of learned men,^y such information was obtained as enabled Abul Fazel to publish a brief compendium of Hindoo jurisprudence in the *Ayeen Akberry*,^z which may be considered as the first genuine communication of its principles to persons

A. D. 1773. of a different religion. About two centuries afterward, the illustrious example of Akber was imitated and surpassed by Mr. Hastings, the governor-general of the British settlements in India. By his authority, and

* We cannot place the equitable and mild government of Akber in a point of view more advantageous, than by contrasting it with the conduct of other Mahomedan princes. In no country did this contrast ever appear more striking than in India. In the thousandth year of the Christian era, Mahmud of Ghazna, to whose dominion were subjected the same countries which formed the ancient kingdom of Bactria, invaded Indostan. Every step of his progress in it was marked with blood and desolation. The most celebrated pagodas, the ancient monuments of Hindoo devotion and magnificence, were destroyed, the ministers of religion were massacred, and with undistinguishing ferocity the country was laid waste, and the cities were plundered and burnt. About four hundred years after, Mahmud Timur, or Tamerlane, a conqueror of higher fame, turned his irresistible arms against Indostan; and though born in an age more improved, he not only equalled, but often so far surpassed the cruel deeds of Mahmud, as to be justly branded with the odious name of the "Destroying Prince," which was given to him by the Hindoos, the undeserving victims of his rage. A rapid but striking description of their devastations may be found in Mr. Orme's Dissertation on the Establishments made by the Mahomedan conquerors in Indostan. A more full account of them is given by Mr. Gibbon, vol. v. p. 646; vol. vi. p. 339, &c. The arrogant contempt with which bigoted Mahomedans view all the nations who have not embraced the religion of the prophet, will account for the unrelenting rigour of Mahmud and Timur towards the Hindoos, and greatly enhances the merit of the tolerant spirit and moderation with which Akber governed his subjects. What impression the mild administration of Akber made upon the Hindoos, we learn from a beautiful letter of Jesswant Sing, rajah of Joudpore, to Aurengzebe, his fanatical and persecuting successor. "Your royal ancestor, Akber, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness; whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or of Mahomed; were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour; insomuch that his people, in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection which he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of *Juggot Grow*, Guardian of Mankind.—If your Majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in his presence. Distinctions of colours are of his ordination. 'It is he who gives existence. In your temples, to his Name, the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion and customs of other men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the painter; and justly has the poet said, 'Presume not to arraign or to scrutinize the various works of Power Divine.'" For this valuable communication we are indebted to Mr. Orme. Fragments, notes, p. xcvi. I have been assured by a gentleman who has read this letter in the original, that the translation is not only faithful but elegant.

^y *Ayeen Akberry*, A. vol. iii. p. 95.

^z Vol. iii. p. 197, &c.

under his inspection, the most eminent Pundits, or Brahmins learned in the laws, of the provinces over which he presided, were assembled at Calcutta; and in the course of two years, compiled, from their most ancient and, approved authors, sentence by sentence, without addition or diminution, a full code of Hindoo laws;^a which is, undoubtedly, the most valuable and authentic elucidation of Indian policy and manners that has been hitherto communicated to Europe.

According to the Pundits, some of the writers upon whose authority they found the decrees which they have inserted in the Code, lived several millions of years before their time;^b and they boast of having a succession of expounders of their laws from that period to the present. Without entering into any examination of what is so extravagant, we may conclude, that the Hindoos have in their possession treatises concerning the laws and jurisprudence of their country, of more remote antiquity than are to be found in any other nation. The truth of this depends not upon their own testimony alone, but it is put beyond doubt by one circumstance, that all these treatises are written in the Sanskreet language, which has not been spoken for many ages in any part of Indostan, and is now understood by none but the most learned Brahmins. That the Hindoos were a people highly civilized, at the time when their laws were composed, is most clearly established by internal evidence contained in the code itself. Among nations beginning to emerge from barbarism, the regulations of law are extremely simple, and applicable only to a few obvious cases of daily occurrence. Men must have been long united in a social state, their transactions must have been numerous and complex, and judges must have determined an immense variety of controversies to which these gave rise, before the system of law becomes so voluminous and comprehensive as to direct the judicial proceedings of a nation far advanced in improvement. In that early age of the Roman republic, when the laws of the Twelve Tables

^a Preface to the Code, p. x.

^b *Ibid.* p. xxxviii.

were promulgated, nothing more was required than the laconic injunctions which they contain for regulating the decisions of courts of justice; but, in a later period, the body of civil law, ample as its contents are, was found hardly sufficient for that purpose. To the jejune brevity of the Twelve Tables, the Hindoo Code has no resemblance, but with respect to the number and variety of points it considers, it will bear a comparison with the celebrated Digest of Justinian; or with the systems of jurisprudence in nations most highly civilized. The articles of which the Hindoo Code is composed, are arranged in natural and luminous order. They are numerous and comprehensive, and investigated with that minute attention and discernment which are natural to a people distinguished for acuteness and subtilty of understanding, who have been long accustomed to the accuracy of judicial proceedings, and acquainted with all the refinements of legal practice. The decisions concerning every point (with a few exceptions occasioned by local prejudices and peculiar customs) are founded upon the great and immutable principles of justice which the human mind acknowledges and respects, in every age, and in all parts of the earth. Whoever examines the whole work, cannot entertain a doubt of its containing the jurisprudence of an enlightened and commercial people. Whoever looks into any particular title, will be surprised with a minuteness of detail and nicety of distinctions, which, in many instances, seem to go beyond the attention of European legislation; and it is remarkable that some of the regulations which indicate the greatest degree of refinement, were established in periods of the most remote antiquity. "In the first of the sacred law tracts (as is observed by a person to whom Oriental literature, in all its branches, has been greatly indebted), which the Hindoos suppose to have been revealed by Menu, some millions of years ago, there is a curious passage on the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to adventures at sea; an exception which the sense of mankind approves,

and which commerce absolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of Charles I. that our English jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts."c It is likewise worthy of notice, that though the natives of India have been distinguished in every age for the humanity and mildness of their disposition, yet such is the solicitude of their lawgivers to preserve the order and tranquillity of society, that the punishments which they inflict on criminals are (agreeably to an observation of the ancients already mentioned) extremely rigorous. " Punishment (according to a striking personification in the Hindoo Code) is the magistrate; punishment is the inspirer of terror; punishment is the nourisher of the subjects; punishment is the defender from calamity; punishment is the guardian of those that sleep; punishment, with a black aspect and a red eye, terrifies the guilty."d

IV. As the condition of the ancient inhabitants of India, whether we consider them as individuals or as members of society, appears from the preceding investigation, to have been extremely favourable to the cultivation of useful and elegant arts; we are naturally led to inquire whether the progress which they actually made in them was such as might have been expected from a people in that situation. In attempting to trace this progress we have not the benefit of guidance equal to that which conducted our researches concerning the former articles of inquiry. The ancients, from their slender acquaintance with the interior state of India, have been able to communicate little information with respect to the arts cultivated there; and though the moderns, during their continued intercourse with India for three centuries, have had access to observe them with great attention, it is of late only, that by studying the languages now and formerly spoken in India, and by consulting and translating their most eminent authors, they have begun to enter into that path of inquiry which leads with certainty to a thorough knowledge of the state of arts cultivated in that country.

c Sir. Wm. Jones's Third Discourse, *Asiat. Research.* p. 428.

d Code, ch. xxi. § 8.

One of the first arts which human ingenuity aimed at improving, beyond what mere necessity requires, was that of building. In the brief remarks which the subject of my inquiries leads me to make on the progress of this art in India, I shall confine my attention wholly to those of highest antiquity. The most durable monuments of human industry are public buildings. The productions of art, formed for the common purposes of life, waste and perish in using them; but works destined for the benefit of posterity subsist through ages, and it is according to the manner in which these are executed, that we form a judgment with respect to the degree of power, skill, and improvement to which the people by whom they were erected had attained. In every part of India monuments of high antiquity are found. These are of two kinds, such as were consecrated to the offices of religion, or fortresses built for the security of the country. In the former of these, to which Europeans, whatever their structure may be, give the general name of *Pagodas*, we may observe a diversity of style, which both marks the gradual progress of architecture, and throws a light on the general state of arts and manners in different periods. The most early pagodas appear to have been nothing more than excavations in mountainous parts of the country, formed probably in imitation of the natural caverns to which the first inhabitants of the earth retired for safety during the night, and where they found shelter from the inclemency of the seasons. The most celebrated, and, as there is reason to believe, the most ancient of all these, is the pagoda in the island of Elephanta, at no great distance from Bombay. It has been hewn by the hands of man out of a solid rock, about half way up a high mountain, and formed into a spacious area, nearly 120 feet square. In order to support the roof, and the weight of the mountain that lies above it, a number of massy pillars, and of a form not inelegant, have been cut out of the same rock, at such regular distances, as on the first entrance presents to the eye of the spectator an appearance both of beauty and of strength. Great part of

the inside is covered with human figures in high relief, of gigantic size as well as singular forms, and distinguished by a variety of symbols, representing, it is probable, the attributes of the deities whom they worshipped, or the actions of the heroes whom they admired. In the isle of Salsette, still nearer to Bombay, are excavations in a similar style, hardly inferior in magnificence, and destined for the same religious purposes.

These stupendous works are of such high antiquity, that as the natives cannot, either from history or tradition, give any information concerning the time in which they were executed, they uniformly ascribe the formation of them to the power of superior beings. From the extent and grandeur of these subterranean mansions, which intelligent travellers compare to the most celebrated monuments of human power and art in any part of the earth, it is manifest that they could not have been formed in that state of social life where men continue divided into small tribes, unaccustomed to the efforts of persevering industry. It is only in states of considerable extent, and among people long habituated to subordination, and to act with concert, that the idea of such magnificent works is conceived, or the power of accomplishing them can be found.

That some such powerful state was established in India at the time when the excavations in the islands of Elephanta and Salsette were formed, is not the only conclusion to be drawn from a survey of them; and the style in which the sculptures with which they are adorned is executed, indicates a considerable improvement in art at that early period. Sculpture is the imitative art in which man seems to have made the first trial of his own talents. But even in those countries where it has attained to the highest degree of perfection, its progress has been extremely slow. Whoever has attended to the history of this art in Greece, knows how far removed the first rude essay to represent the human form, was from any complete delineation of it.^e But the different groupes of figures which

^e Winkelman's *Hist. de l'Art. chez les Anciens*, tom. i. p. 32, &c.

still remain entire in the Pagoda of Elephanta, however low they must rank if they be compared with the more elegant works of Grecian or even Etruscan artists, are finished in a style considerably superior to the hard inexpressible manner of the Egyptians, or to the figures in the celebrated palace of Persepolis. In this light they have appeared to persons abundantly qualified to appreciate their merit, and from different drawings, particularly those of Niebuhr, a traveller equally accurate in observing, and faithful in describing, we must form a favourable opinion of the state of arts in India at that period.

It is worthy of notice, that although several of the figures in the caverns at Elephanta be so different from those now exhibited in pagodas as objects of veneration, that some learned Europeans have imagined they represent the rites of a religion more ancient than that now established in Indostan, yet by the Hindoos themselves the caverns are considered as hallowed places of their own worship, and they still resort thither to perform their devotions, and honour the figures there, in the same manner with those in their own pagodas. In confirmation of this, I have been informed by an intelligent observer, who visited this subterraneous sanctuary, in the year 1782, that he was accompanied by a sagacious Brahmin, a native of Benares, who, though he had never been in it before that time, recognised at once all the figures; was well acquainted with the parentage, education, and life of every deity or human personage there represented, and explained with fluency the meaning of the various symbols by which the images were distinguished. This may be considered as a clear proof that the system of mythology now prevalent in Benares, is not different from that delineated in the caverns of Elephanta. Mr. Hunter, who visited Elephanta in the year 1784, seems to consider the figures there as representing deities who are still objects of worship among the Hindoos.^f One circumstance serves to confirm the justness of this opinion. Several of the most conspicuous

^f Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 286, &c

personages in the groupes at Elephanta are decorated with the *Zennar*, the sacred string or cord peculiar to the order of Brahmins, an authentic evidence of the distinction of casts having been established in India at the time when these works were finished.

2. Instead of caverns, the original places of worship, which could be formed only in particular situations, the devotion of the people soon began to raise temples in honour of their deities in other parts of India. The structure of these was at first extremely simple. They were pyramids of large dimension, and had no light within but what came from a small door. After having been long accustomed to perform all the rites of religion in the gloom of caverns, the Indians were naturally led to consider the solemn darkness of such a mansion as sacred. Some pagodas in this first style of building still remain in Indostan. Drawings of two of these at Deogur, and of a third near Tanjore in the Carnatic, all fabrics of great antiquity, have been published by Mr. Hodges,^g and though they are rude structures, they are of such magnitude as must have required the power of some considerable state to rear them.

3. In proportion to the progress of the different countries of India in opulence and refinement, the structure of their temples gradually improved. From plain buildings they became highly ornamented fabrics, and, both by their extent and magnificence, are monuments of the power and taste of the people by whom they were erected. In this highly finished style there are pagodas of great antiquity in different parts of Indostan, particularly in the southern provinces, which were not exposed to the destructive violence of Mahomedan zeal.^h In order to assist my readers

g N^o VI.

^h I have not attempted a description of any subterraneous excavations but those of Elephanta, because none of them have been so often visited, or so carefully inspected. In several parts of India, there are, however, stupendous works of a similar nature. The extent and magnificence of the excavations in the island of Salsetta are such, that the artist employed by Governor Boon to make drawings of them, asserted that it would require the labour of forty thousand men for forty years to finish them. *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 336. Loose as this mode of estimation may be, it conveys an idea of the impression which the view of them made upon his mind. The pagodas of Ellore, eighteen miles from Aurungabad, are likewise hewn out of the solid rock, and if they do not equal those of Elephanta and Salsetta in magnitude, they surpass them

in forming such an idea of these buildings as may enable them to judge with respect to the early state of arts in India, I shall briefly describe two, of which we have the most accurate accounts. The entry to the pagoda of Chillumbrum near Porto Novo on the Coromandel coast, held in high veneration on account of its antiquity, is by a stately gate under a pyramid a hundred and twenty-two feet in height, built with large stones about forty feet long, and more than five feet square, and all covered with plates of copper, adorned with an immense variety of figures neatly executed. The whole structure extends one thousand three hundred and thirty-two feet in one direction, and nine hundred and thirty-six in another. Some of the ornamental parts are finished with an elegance entitled to the admiration of the most ingenious artists.¹ The pagoda of Seringham, superior in sanctity to that of Chillumbrum, surpasses it as much in grandeur; and fortunately I can convey a more perfect idea of it by adopting the words of an elegant and accurate historian. This pagoda is situated about a mile from the western extremity

far in their extent and number. M. Thevenot, who first gave any description of these singular mansions, asserts, that for above two leagues all around the mountain nothing is seen but pagodas. *Voy. part. iii. chap. 44.* They were examined at greater leisure and with more attention by M. Anquetil du Perron; but as his long description of them is not accompanied with any plan or drawing, I cannot convey a distinct idea of the whole. It is evident, however, that they are the works of a powerful people, and among the innumerable figures in sculpture with which the walls are covered, all the present objects of Hindoo worship may be distinguished. *Zend-avesta. Disc. Prelim. p. 233.* There are remarkable excavations in a mountain at Mavalipuram near Sadras. This mountain is well known on the Coromandel coast by the name of the *Seven Pagodas*. A good description of the works there, which are magnificent and of high antiquity, is given, *Asiat. Researches, vol. i. p. 145, &c.* Many other instances of similar works might be produced if it were necessary. What I have asserted, p. 437, concerning the elegance of some of the ornaments in Indian buildings, is confirmed by Colonel Call, chief engineer at Madras, who urges this as a proof of the early and high civilization of the Indians. "It may safely be pronounced," says he, "that no part of the world has more marks of antiquity for arts, sciences, and civilization, than the peninsula of India, from the Ganges to Cape Comorin. I think the carvings on some of the pagodas and choultries, as well as the grandeur of the work, exceeds any thing executed now-a-days, not only for the delicacy of the chisel, but the expense of construction, considering, in many instances, to what distances the component parts were carried, and to what heights raised." *Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxii. p. 354.* I am happy to find my idea, that the first temples erected by the Hindoos were formed upon the model of those caverns in which the rites of religion were originally celebrated, confirmed and more fully unfolded by Mr. Hodges. In a short dissertation on the primitive standard, or prototype of the different styles of architecture, viz. the Egyptian, Hindoo, Moorish, Gothic, and Chinese, he has examined and illustrated that curious subject with great ingenuity. *Travels in India, p. 63—77.*

¹ *Mem. de Literat. tom. xxxii. p. 44, &c. Voy. de M. Sonnerat, tom. i. p. 217.*

of the island of Seringham, formed by the division of the great river Caveri into two channels. "It is composed of seven square enclosures, one within the other, the walls of which are twenty-five feet high, and four thick. These enclosures are three hundred and fifty feet distant from one another, and each has four large gates, with a high tower; which are placed, one in the middle of each side of the enclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in circumference, and its gateway to the south is ornamented with pillars, several of which are single stones thirty-three feet long, and nearly five in diameter; and those which form the roof are still larger; in the inmost enclosures are the chapels. About half a mile to the east of Seringham, and nearer to the Caveri than the Coleroon, is another large pagoda, called Jembikisma; but this has only one enclosure. The extreme veneration in which Seringham is held, arises from a belief that it contains that identical image of the god Wistchnu, which used to be worshipped by the god Brahma. Pilgrims from all parts of the peninsula come here to obtain absolution, and none come without an offering of money; and a large part of the revenue of the island is allotted for the maintenance of the Brahmins who inhabit the pagoda; and these, with their families, formerly composed a multitude not less than forty thousand souls, maintained, without labour, by the liberality of superstition. Here, as in all the other great pagodas of India, the Brahmins live in a subordination which knows no resistance, and slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no wants."^k

The other species of public buildings which I mentioned, were those erected for the defence of the country. From the immense plains of Indostan, there arise, in different parts, eminences and rocks formed by nature to be places of strength. Of these the natives early took possession, and fortifying them with works of various kinds, rendered them almost impregnable stations. There seems to have been, in some distant age, a period of general turbu-

^k Orme's Hist. of Milit. Transact. of Indostan, vol. i. p. 178.

lence and danger in India, when such retreats were deemed essentially necessary to public safety; for among the duties of magistrates prescribed by the Pundits, one is, "that he shall erect a strong fort in the place where he chooses to reside; and shall build a wall on all the four sides of it, with towers and battlements, and shall make a full ditch around it."¹ Of these fortresses several remain, which, both from the appearance of the buildings, and from the tradition of the natives, must have been constructed in very remote times. Mr. Hodges has published views of three of these, one of Chunar Gur, situated upon the river Ganges, about sixteen miles above the city of Benares;^m the second, of Gwallior, about eighty miles to the south of Agra;ⁿ the third of Bidjegur, in the territory of Benares.^o They are all, particularly Gwallior, works of considerable magnitude and strength. The fortresses in Bengal, however, are not to be compared with several in the Deccan. Asseergur, Burhampour, and Dowlatabad, are deemed by the natives to be impregnable;^p and I am assured by a good judge, that Asseergur is indeed a most stupendous work, and so advantageously situated, that it would be extremely difficult to reduce it by force. Adoni, of which Tippoo Sultaun lately rendered himself master, is not inferior to any of them, either in strength or importance.^q

Nor is it only from surveying their public works that we are justified in asserting the early proficiency of the Indians in elegant and useful arts: we are led to form the same conclusion by a view of those productions of their ingenuity, which were the chief articles of their trade with foreign nations. Of these the labours of the Indian loom and needle have, in every age, been the most celebrated; and fine linen is conjectured, with some probability, to have been called by the ancients *Sindon*, from the name of the river Indus or Sindus, near which it was wrought in the highest perfection.^r The cotton manufactures of India seem anciently to have been as much admired as they are

¹ Introd. to Code of Gentoo Laws, p. cxi. ^m No. I. ⁿ No. II. ^o No. III.
^p Rennel, Mem. p. 133. 139. ^q Historical and Political View of the Deccan, p. 13.
^r Sir William Jones's Third Discourse, p. 428.

at present, not only for their delicate texture, but for the elegance with which some of them are embroidered, and the beautiful colour of the flowers with which others are adorned. From the earliest period of European intercourse with India, that country has been distinguished for the number and excellence of the substances for dying various colours, with which it abounded.^s The dye of the deep blue colour in highest estimation among the Romans, bore the name of *Indicum*.^t From India, too, the substance used in dying a bright red colour, seems to have been imported;^u and it is well known that both in the cotton and silk stuffs which we now receive from India, the blue and the red are

^s Strab. lib. xv. p. 1018. A ; 1024. B. ^t Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 6. § 27.

^u Salmasius Exercit. Plinianæ in Solin. 180, &c. 810. Salmasius de Homonymis, Hyles Jatrice, c. 107. India, says Strabo, produces a variety of substances which dye the most admirable colours. That the *Indicum* which produced the beautiful blue colour is the same with the *Indigo* of the moderns, we may conclude not only from the resemblance of the name, and the similarity of the effects, but from the description given by Pliny in the passage which I have quoted in the text. He knew that it was a preparation of a vegetable substance, though he was ill-informed both concerning the plant itself, and the process by which it was fitted for use ; which will not appear surprising, when we recollect the account formerly given of the strange ignorance of the ancients with respect to the origin and preparation of silk. From the colour of Indigo, in the form in which it was imported, it is denominated by some authors, *Atramentum Indicum*, and *Indicum Nigrum*, Salmas. Exercit. p. 180, and is mentioned under the last of these names, among the articles of importation from India. Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 22. The colour of the modern Indigo, when undiluted, resembles that of the ancient Indicum, being so intensely coloured as to appear black. Delaval's Experiments, Inquiry into the Cause of the Changes of Colours, Pref. p. xxiii. Indigo is the principal dye-stuff used by the natives of Sumatra, and is much cultivated in that island ; but the mode of preparing it differs from that which is common among the people of Indostan. Marsden, Hist. of Sumatra, p. 77. There has been lately found in the Circar of Rajamundry a new species of Indigo, denominated the *Tree Indigo*, which, as it grows wild and in great abundance, promises to be a discovery of considerable use. Oriental Repertory, No. I. p. 39, &c. The *Gum Lacca*, used in dying a red colour, was likewise known to the ancients, and by the same name which it now bears. Salmas. Exercit. p. 813. This valuable substance, of such extensive utility in painting, dying, japanning, varnishing, and in the manufacture of sealing-wax, is the production of a very minute insect. These insects fix themselves upon the succulent extremities of the branches of certain trees, and are soon glued to the place on which they settle, by a thick pellucid liquid, which exudes from their bodies, the gradual accumulation of which forms a complete cell for each insect, which is the tomb of the parent, and the birth-place of its offspring. This glutinous substance, with which the branches of trees are entirely covered, is the Gum-lacca. An account of its formation, nature, and use, is given in the Philos. Trans. vol. lxxi. part ii. p. 374, in a concise, accurate, and satisfactory manner. Some curious observations upon this insect are published by Mr. Roxburgh, who cultivates the study of Natural History in India with great assiduity and success. Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 361. It is remarkable that Ctesias seems to have received an account tolerably distinct of the insect by which the Guma-lacca is produced, and celebrates the beauty of the colour which it dyes. Excerpta ex Indic. ad calc. Herodot. edit. Wesseling, p. 830. *Indian Dyers* was the ancient name of those who dyed either the fine blue or the fine red, which points out the country whence the materials they used were brought. Salmas. ib. p. 810. From their dying cotton stuffs with different colours, it is evident that the ancient Indians must have made some considerable proficiency in chemical knowledge. Pliny, lib. xxxv. c. ii. § 42, gives an account of this art as far as it was known anciently. It is precisely the same with that now practised in calico-printing.

the colours of most conspicuous lustre and beauty. But however much the ancients may have admired these productions of Indian art, some circumstances, which I have already mentioned, rendered their demand for the cotton manufactures of India far inferior to that of modern times; and this has occasioned the information concerning them which we receive from the Greek and Roman writers to be very imperfect. We may conclude, however, from the wonderful resemblance of the ancient state of India to the modern, that, in every period, the productions of their looms were as various as beautiful. The ingenuity of the Indians in other kinds of workmanship, particularly in metals and in ivory, is mentioned with praise by ancient authors, but without any particular description of their nature.^x Of these early productions of Indian artists, there are now some specimens in Europe, from which it appears that they were acquainted with the method of engraving upon the hardest stones and gems; and, both in the elegance of their designs and in neatness of execution, had arrived at a considerable degree of excellence. An ingenious writer maintains, that the art of engraving on gems was probably an Indian invention, and certainly was early improved there, and he supports this opinion by several plausible arguments.^y The Indian engraved gems of which he has published descriptions, appear to be the workmanship of a very remote period, as the legends on them are in the Sanskreet language.^z

But it is not alone from the improved state of mechanic arts in India, that we conclude its inhabitants to have been highly civilized; a proof of this, still more convincing, may be deduced from the early and extraordinary productions of their genius in the fine arts. This evidence is rendered more interesting, by being derived from a source of knowledge which the laudable curiosity of our countrymen has opened to the people of Europe within these few years. That all the science and literature possessed by the

^x Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1044. B. Dionys. Perieges, vers. 1016.

^y Raspe's Introd. to Tassie's Descript. Catal. of Engraved Gems, &c. p. xii. &c.

^z Ibid. vol. i. p. 74; vol. ii. plate xiii.

Brahmins, were contained in books written in a language understood by a few only of the most learned among them, is a fact which has long been known; and all the Europeans settled in India during three centuries, have complained that the Brahmins obstinately refused to instruct any person in this language. But at length, by address, mild treatment, and a persuasion that the earnestness with which instruction was solicited, proceeded not from any intention of turning their religion into derision, but from a desire of acquiring a perfect knowledge of their sciences and literature, the scruples of the Brahmins have been overcome. Several British gentlemen are now completely masters of the Sauskreet language. The mysterious veil, formerly deemed impenetrable, is removed; and in the course of five years, the curiosity of the public has been gratified by two publications as singular as they were unexpected. The one is a translation by Mr. Wilkins, of an Episode from the *Mahabarat*, an epic poem in high estimation among the Hindoos, composed according to their account by Kreesna Dwypayen Veias, the most eminent of all their Brahmins, above three thousand years before the Christian era. The other is *Sacontala*, a dramatic poem, written about a century before the birth of Christ, translated by sir W. Jones. I shall endeavour to give my readers such a view of the subject and composition of each of these, as may enable them to estimate, in some measure, the degree of merit which they possess.

The *Mahabarat* is a voluminous poem, consisting of upwards of four hundred thousand lines. Mr. Wilkins has translated more than a third of it; but only a short episode, entitled *Baghvat-Geeta*, is hitherto published, and from this specimen we must form an opinion with respect to the whole. The subject of the poem is a famous civil war between two branches of the royal house of Bhaurat. When the forces on each side were formed in the field, and ready to decide the contest by the sword, Arjoon, the favourite and pupil of the god Kreesna, who accompanied him in this hour of danger, requested of him to cause his

chariot to advance between the two hostile armies. He looked at both armies, and beheld on either side, none but grandsires, uncles, cousins, tutors, sons, and brothers, near relations or bosom friends; and when he had gazed for a while, and saw these prepared for the fight, he was seized with extreme pity and compunction, and uttered his sorrow in the following words:—"Having beheld, *O Kreesna!* my kindred thus waiting anxious for the fight, my members fail me, my countenance withereth, the hair standeth an end upon my body, and all my frame trembleth with horror; even *Gandeev*, my bow, escapeth from my hand, and my skin is parched and dried up.—When I have destroyed my kindred, shall I longer look for happiness? I wish not for victory, *Kreesna*; I want not dominion; I want not pleasure; for what is dominion and the enjoyments of life, or even life itself, when those for whom dominion, pleasure, and enjoyment were to be coveted, have abandoned life and fortune, and stand here in the field ready for the battle. Tutors, sons, and fathers, grandsires and grandsons, uncles, nephews, cousins, kindred, and friends! Although they would kill me, I wish not to fight them; no not even for the dominion of the three regions of the universe, much less for this little earth." In order to remove his scruples, *Kreesna* informs him what was the duty of a prince of the *Chehteree* or military cast, when called to act in such a situation, and incites him to perform it by a variety of moral and philosophical arguments, the nature of which I shall have occasion to consider particularly in another part of this Dissertation. In this dialogue between *Kreesna* and his pupil, there are several passages which give a high idea of the genius of the poet. The speech of *Arjoon* I have quoted, in which he expresses the anguish of his soul, must have struck every reader as beautiful and pathetic; and I shall afterward produce a description of the Supreme Being, and of the reverence wherewith he should be worshipped, which is sublime. But while these excite our admiration, and con-

firm us in the belief of a high degree of civilization in that country where such a work was produced, we are surprised at the defect of taste and of art in the manner of introducing this Episode. Two powerful armies are drawn up in battle-array, eager for the fight; a young hero and his instructor are described as standing in a chariot of war between them; that surely was not the moment for teaching him the principles of philosophy, and delivering eighteen lectures of metaphysics and theology.

With regard, however, both to the dramatic and epic poetry of the Hindoos, we labour under the disadvantage of being obliged to form an opinion from a single specimen of each, and that of the latter, too (as it is only a part of a large work), an imperfect one. But if, from such scanty materials, we may venture upon any decision, it must be, that of the two, the drama seems to have been conducted with the most correct taste. This will appear from the observations which I now proceed to make upon *Sacotala*.

It is only to nations considerably advanced in refinement, that the drama is a favourite entertainment. The Greeks had been for a good time a polished people; *Alcæus* and *Sappho* had composed their odes, and *Thales* and *Anaximander* had opened their schools, before tragedy made its first rude essay in the cart of *Thespis*; and a good time elapsed before it attained to any considerable degree of excellence. From the drama of *Sacotala*, then, we must form an advantageous idea of the state of improvement in that society to whose taste it was suited. In estimating its merit, however, we must not apply to it rules of criticism drawn from the literature and taste of nations with which its author was altogether unacquainted; we must not expect the unities of the Greek theatre; we must not measure it by our own standard of propriety. Allowance must be made for local customs, and singular manners, arising from a state of domestic society, an order of civil policy, and a system of religious opinions, very different from those established in Europe. *Sacotala* is not a regular drama, but, like some of the plays early ex-

hibited on the Spanish and English theatres, is a history and dialogue, unfolding events which happened in different places, and during a series of years. When viewed in this light, the fable is in general well arranged, many of the incidents are happily chosen, and the vicissitudes in the situation of the principal personages are sudden and unexpected. The unravelling of the piece, however, though some of the circumstances preparatory to it be introduced with skill, is at last brought about by the intervention of superior beings, which has always a bad effect, and discovers some want of art. But as Sacontala was descended of a celestial nymph, and under the protection of a holy hermit, this heavenly interposition may appear less marvellous, and is extremely agreeable to the Oriental taste. In many places of this drama it is simple and tender, in some pathetic; in others there is a mixture of comic with what is more serious. Of each examples might be given. I shall select a few of the first, both because simplicity and tenderness are the characteristic beauties of the piece, and because they so little resemble the extravagant imagery and turgid style conspicuous in almost all the specimens of Oriental poetry which have hitherto been published.

Sacontala, the heroine of the drama, a princess of high birth, had been educated by a holy hermit in a hallowed grove, and had passed the early part of her life in rural occupations and pastoral innocence. When she was about to quit this beloved retreat, and repair to the court of a great monarch, to whom she had been married, Cana, her foster-father, and her youthful companions, thus bewailed their own loss, and express their wishes for her happiness, in a strain of sentiment and language perfectly suited to their pastoral character.

“Hear, O ye trees, of this hallowed forest, hear and proclaim that Sacontala is going to the palace of her wedded lord; she who drank not, though thirsty, before you were watered; she who cropped not, through affection for you, one of your fresh leaves, though she would have been pleased with such an ornament for her locks; she, whose

chief delight was in the season when your branches are spangled with flowers !”

Chorus of Wood Nymphs.—“ May her way be attended with prosperity ! May propitious breezes sprinkle, for her delight, the odoriferous dust of rich blossoms ! May pools of clear water, green with the leaves of the lotos, refresh her as she walks ! and may shady branches be her defence from the scorching sun-beams !”

Sacotala, just as she was departing from the grove, turns to Cana :—“ Suffer me, venerable father, to address this Madhavi-creeper, whose red blossoms inflame the grove.”—*Cana.* “ My child, I know thy affection for it.”—*Sacont.* “ O most radiant of shining plants, receive my embraces, and return them with thy flexible arms ! From this day, though removed at a fatal distance, I shall for ever be thine.—O beloved father, consider this creeper as myself !” As she advances, she again addresses Cana :

“ Father ! when yon female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones with which she is pregnant, shall be delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message, with tidings of her safety.—Do not forget.”

—*Cana.* “ My beloved ! I will not forget it.”—*Sacotala* [*stopping*]. “ Ah ! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe and detains me !”—*Cana.* “ It is thy adopted child, the little fawn, whose mouth, when the sharp points of Cusa grass had wounded it, has been so often smeared by thee with the healing oil of Ingudi ; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of Synmaka grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.”—

Sacont. “ Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me who must leave our common dwelling-place ?—As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care.—Return, poor thing, return——we must part.” [*She bursts into tears.*]

—*Cana.* “ Thy tears, my child, ill suit the occasion ; we shall all meet again : be firm ; see the direct road before thee, and follow it. When the big tear lurks beneath thy

beautiful eye-lashes, let thy resolution check its first efforts to disengage itself.—In thy passage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, and the true path seldom distinguished, the traces of thy feet must needs be unequal; but virtue will press thee right onward.”^b

From this specimen of the Indian drama, every reader of good taste, I should imagine, will be satisfied, that it is only among a people of polished manners and delicate sentiments that a composition so simple and correct could be produced or relished. I observe one instance in this drama of that wild extravagance so frequent in Oriental poetry. The monarch, in replacing a bracelet which had dropped from the arm of Sacontala, thus addresses her: “Look, my darling, this is the new moon which left the firmament in honour of superior beauty, and having descended on your enchanting wrist, hath joined both its horns round it in the shape of a bracelet.”^c But this is the speech of an enraptured young man to his mistress, and in every age and nation exaggerated praise is expected from the mouth of lovers. Dramatic exhibitions seem to have been a favourite amusement of the Hindoos, as well as of other civilized nations. “The tragedies, comedies, farces, and musical pieces of the Indian theatre, would fill as many volumes as that of any nation in ancient or modern Europe. They are all in verse where the dialogue is elevated, and in prose where it is familiar; the men of rank and learning are represented speaking pure Sanskreet, and the women Pracrit, which is little more than the language of the Brahmins, melted down by a delicate articulation to the softness of Italian; while the low persons of the drama speak the vulgar dialects of the several provinces which they are supposed to inhabit.”^{d*}

^b Act iv. p. 47, &c.

^c Act iii. p. 36.

^d Preface to Sacont. by Sir William Jones, p. ix.

* As Sanskreet literature is altogether a new acquisition to Europe, Baghvat-Geeta, the first translation from that language, having been published so late as A. D. 1785, it is intimately connected with the subject of my inquiries, and may afford entertainment to some of my readers, after having reviewed in the text, with a greater degree of critical attention, the two Sanskreet works most worthy of notice, to give here a succinct account of other compositions in that tongue with which we have been made acquainted. The extensive use of the Sanskreet language is a circumstance which merits particular attention. “The grand source of Indian literature (says Mr. Hal-

V. The attainments of the Indians in science, furnish an additional proof of their early civilization. By every

hed, the first Englishman who acquired the knowledge of Sanskreet), the parent of almost every dialect from the Persian gulf to the China seas, is the Sanskreet, a language of the most venerable and unfathomable antiquity; which, although at present shut up in the libraries of Brahmins, and appropriated solely to the records of their religion, appears to have been current over most of the Oriental world; and traces of its original extent may still be discovered in almost every district of Asia. I have been often astonished to find the similitude of Sanskreet words with those of Persian and Arabic, and even of Latin and Greek; and those not in technical and metaphorical terms, which the mutation of refined arts and improved manners might have occasionally introduced, but in the ground-work of language, in monosyllables, in the names of numbers, and the appellations of such things as would be first discriminated on the immediate dawn of civilization. The resemblance which may be observed in the characters on the medals and signets of various districts of Asia, the light which they reciprocally reflect upon each other, and the general analogy which they all bear to the same grand prototype, afford another ample field for curiosity. The coins of Assam, Napaul, Cashmeere, and many other kingdoms, are all stamped with Sanskreet characters, and mostly contain allusions to the old Sanskreet mythology. The same conformity I have observed on the impression of seals from Bootan and Thibet. A collateral inference may likewise be deduced from the peculiar arrangement of the Sanskreet alphabet, so very different from that of any other quarter of the world. This extraordinary mode of combination still exists in the greatest part of the East, from the Indus to Pegu, in dialects now apparently unconnected, and in characters completely dissimilar; and it is a forcible argument that they are all derived from the same source. Another channel of speculation presents itself in the names of persons and places, of titles and dignities, which are open to general notice, and in which, to the farthest limits of Asia, may be found manifest traces of the Sanskreet." Preface to the Grammar of the Bengal Language, p. 3. After this curious account of the Sanskreet tongue, I proceed to enumerate the works which have been translated from it, besides the two mentioned in the text.—1. To Mr. Wilkins we are indebted for *Heeto-pades* or *Amicable Instruction*, in a series of connected fables, interspersed with moral, prudential, and political maxims. This work is in such high esteem throughout the East, that it has been translated into every language spoken there. It did not escape the notice of the emperor Akber, attentive to every thing that could contribute to promote useful knowledge. He directed his vizier, Abul Fazel, to put it into a style suited to all capacities, and to illustrate the obscure passages in it, which he accordingly did, and gave it the title of *The Criterion of Wisdom*. At length, these fables made their way into Europe, and have been circulated there with additions and alterations, under the names of Pilpay and Esop. Many of the Sanskreet apologies are ingenious and beautiful, and have been copied or initiated by the fabulists of other nations. But in some of them the characters of the animals introduced are very ill sustained; to describe a tiger as extremely devout, and practising charity, and other religious duties, p. 16; or an old mouse well read in the *Neete Sastras*, i. e. Systems of morality and policy, p. 24; a cat reading religious books, p. 35, &c. discovers a want of taste, and an inattention to propriety. Many of the moral sayings, if considered as detached maxims, are founded upon a thorough knowledge of life and manners, and convey instruction with elegant simplicity. But the attempt of the author to form his work into a connected series of fables, and his mode of interweaving with them such a number of moral reflections in prose and in verse, renders the structure of the whole so artificial, that the perusal of it becomes often unpleasant. Akber was so sensible of this, that, among other instructions, he advises his vizier to abridge the long digressions in that work. By these strictures it is far from my intention to detract in the smallest degree from the merit of Mr. Wilkins. His country is much indebted to him for having opened a new source of science and taste. The celebrity of the *Heeto-pades*, as well as its intrinsic merit, notwithstanding the defects which I have mentioned, justify his choice of it, as a work worthy of being made known to Europe in its original form. From reading this and his other translations, no man will refuse him the praise, to which he modestly confines his pretensions, "of having drawn a picture which we suppose to be a true likeness, although we are unacquainted with the original." Pref. p. xiv.—2. In the first number of the *New Asiatic Miscellany*, we have a translation of a celebrated composition in the East, known by the title of the *Five Gems*. It consists of stanzas by five poets who attended the court of Abissura, king of Bengal. Some of these stanzas are simple and elegant.—

person who has visited India in ancient or modern times, its inhabitants, either in transactions of private business, or in the conduct of political affairs, have been deemed not inferior to the people of any nation in sagacity, or in acuteness of understanding. From the application of such talents to the cultivation of science, an extraordinary degree of proficiency might have been expected. The Indians were, accordingly, early celebrated on that account, and some of the most eminent of the Greek philosophers travelled into India, that, by conversing with the sages of that country, they might acquire some portion of the knowledge for which they were distinguished.* The accounts, however, which we receive from the Greeks and Romans, of the sciences which attracted the attention of the Indian philosophers, or of the discoveries which they had made in them, are very imperfect. To the researches of a few intelligent persons, who have visited India during the course of the three last centuries, we are indebted for more ample and authentic information. But from the reluctance with which the Brahmins communicate their sciences to strangers, and the inability of Europeans to

3. An ode translated from Wulli; in which that extravagance of fancy, and those far-fetched and unnatural conceits, which so often disgust Europeans with the poetical compositions of the East, abound too much. The editor has not informed us to whose knowledge of the Sanskreet we are indebted for these two translations.—4. Some original grants of land, of very ancient dates, translated by Mr. Wilkins. It may seem odd, that a charter or legal conveyance of property should be ranked among the literary compositions of any people. But so widely do the manners of the Hindoos differ from those of Europe, that as our lawyers multiply words and clauses, in order to render a grant complete, and to guard against every thing that may invalidate it, the *Pundits* seem to dispatch the legal part of the deed with brevity, but, in a long preamble and conclusion, make an extraordinary display of their own learning, eloquence, and powers of composition, both in prose and verse. The preamble to one of these deeds is an encomium of the monarch who grants the land, in a bold strain of Eastern exaggeration: “When his innumerable army marched, the heavens were so filled with the dust of their feet that the birds of the air could rest upon it.”—“His elephants moved like walking mountains, and the earth oppressed by their weight mouldered into dust.” It concludes with denouncing vengeance against those who should venture to infringe this grant: “Riches and the life of man are as transient as drops of water upon the leaf of the lotus. Learning this truth, O man! do not attempt to deprive another of his property.” *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 123, &c. The other grant which appears to be still more ancient, is not less remarkable. Both were found engraved on plates of copper. *Ib.* p. 357, &c.—5. The translation of part of the *Shaster*, published by colonel Dow, in the year 1768, ought perhaps to have been first mentioned. But as this translation was not made by him from the Sanskreet, but taken from the mouth of a Brabmin, who explained the *Shaster* in Persian, or in the vulgar language of Bengal, it will fall more properly under notice when we come to inquire into the state of science among the Hindoos, than in this place, where we are endeavouring to give some idea of their taste and composition.

* Brukeri Hist. Philosoph. vol. i. p. 190.

acquire much knowledge of them, while, like the mysteries of their religion, they were concealed from vulgar eyes in an unknown tongue, this information was acquired slowly, and with great difficulty. The same observation, however, which I made concerning our knowledge of the state of the fine arts among the people of India, is applicable to that of their progress in science, and the present age is the first furnished with sufficient evidence upon which to found a decisive judgment with respect to either.

Science, when viewed as disjoined from religion, the consideration of which I reserve for another head, is employed in contemplating either the operations of the understanding, the exercise of our moral powers, or the nature and qualities of external objects. The first is denominated logic; the second ethics; the third physics, or the knowledge of nature. With respect to the early progress in cultivating each of these sciences in India, we are in possession of facts which merit attention.

But, prior to the consideration of them, it is proper to examine the ideas of the Brahmins with respect to mind itself, for if these were not just, all their theories concerning its operations must have been erroneous and fanciful. The distinction between matter and spirit appears to have been early known by the philosophers of India, and to the latter they ascribed many powers of which they deemed the former to be incapable; and when we recollect how inadequate our conceptions are of every object that does not fall under the cognizance of the senses, we may affirm (if allowance be made for a peculiar notion of the Hindoos which shall be afterward explained) that no description of the human soul is more suited to the dignity of its nature than that given by the author of the Mahabarat. "Some," says he, "regard the soul as a wonder, others hear of it with astonishment, but no one knoweth it. The weapon divideth it not; the fire burneth it not; the water corrupteth it not; the wind drieth it not away; for it is indivisible, inconsumable, incorruptible; it is eternal, universal, permanent, immovable: it is invisible, inconceivable, and

unalterable.”^f After this view of the sentiments of the Brahmins concerning mind itself, we may proceed to consider their ideas with respect to each of the sciences, in that tripartite arrangement which I mentioned.

1st, Logic and Metaphysics. On no subject has the human understanding been more exercised than in analyzing its own operations. The various powers of the mind have been examined and defined. The origin and progress of our ideas have been traced ; and proper rules have been prescribed, of proceeding from the observation of facts to the establishment of principles, or from the knowledge of principles to form arrangements of science. The philosophers of ancient Greece were highly celebrated for their proficiency in these abstruse speculations ; and in their discussions and arrangements, discovered such depth of thought and acuteness of discernment, that their systems of Logic, particularly that of the Peripatetic school, have been deemed most distinguished efforts of human reason.

But since we became acquainted, in some degree, with the literature and science of the Hindoos, we find that as soon as men arrive at that stage in social life, when they can turn their attention to speculative inquiries, the human mind will, in every region of the earth, display nearly the same powers, and proceed in its investigations and discoveries by nearly similar steps. From Abul Fazel's compendium of the philosophy^g of the Hindoos, the knowledge of which he acquired, as he informs us, by associating intimately with the most learned men of the nation ; from the specimen of their logical discussions contained in that portion of the Shastra published by colonel Dow,^h and from many passages in the Baghvat-Geeta, it appears that the same speculations which occupied the philosophers of Greece had engaged the attention of the Indian Brahmins ; and the theories of the former, either concerning the qualities of external objects, or the nature of our own ideas,

^f Baghvat-Geeta, p. 37.

^g Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 95, &c.

^h Dissertation, p. xxxix, &c.

were not more ingenious than those of the latter. To define with accuracy, to distinguish with acuteness, and to reason with subtlety, are characteristics of both; and in both the same excess of refinement, in attempting to analyze those operations of mind which the faculties of man were not formed to comprehend, led sometimes to the most false and dangerous conclusions. That sceptical philosophy, which denies the existence of the material world, and asserts nothing to be real but our own ideas, seems to have been known in India as well as in Europe;¹ and the sages of the East, as they were indebted to philosophy for the knowledge of many important truths, were not more exempt than those of the West from its delusions and errors.

2d, Ethics. This science, which has for its object to ascertain what distinguishes virtue from vice, to investigate what motives should prompt men to act, and to prescribe rules for the conduct of life, as it is of all others the most interesting, seems to have deeply engaged the attention of the Brahmins. Their sentiments with respect to these points were various, and, like the philosophers of Greece, the Brahmins were divided into sects, distinguished by maxims and tenets often diametrically opposite. That sect with whose opinions we are, fortunately, best acquainted, had established a system of morals, founded on principles the most generous and dignified which unassisted reason is capable of discovering. Man, they taught, was formed not for speculation or indolence, but for action. He is born, not for himself alone, but for his fellow-men. The happiness of the society of which he is a member, the good of mankind, are his ultimate and highest objects. In choosing what to prefer or to reject, the justness and propriety of his own choice are the only considerations to which he should attend. The events which may follow his actions are not in his own power, and whether they be prosperous or adverse, as long as he is satisfied with the purity of the motives which induced him to act, he can enjoy that approbation of his own mind, which constitutes genuine happiness, independent of the power of fortune or

¹ Dow's Dissertation, p. lviii. Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 128.

the opinions of other men. "Man (says the author of the Mahabarat) enjoyeth not freedom from action. Every man is involuntarily urged to act by those principles which are inherent in his nature. He who restraineth his active faculties, and sitteth down with his mind attentive to the objects of his senses, may be called one of an astrayed soul. The man is praised, who, having subdued all his passions, performeth with his active faculties all the functions of life, unconcerned about the event.^k Let the motive be in the deed, and not in the event. Be not one whose motive for action is the hope of reward. Let not thy life be spent in inaction. Depend upon application, perform thy duty, abandon all thought of the consequence, and make the event equal, whether it terminate in good or in evil; for such an equality is called *Yog* [*i. e.* attention to what is spiritual]. Seek an asylum then in wisdom alone; for the miserable and unhappy are so on account of the event of things. Men who are endued with true wisdom are unmindful of good or evil in this world. Study then to obtain this application of thy understanding, for such application in business is a precious art. Wise men who have abandoned all thought of the fruit which is produced from their actions, are freed from the chains of birth, and go to the regions of eternal happiness."^l

From these and other passages which I might have quoted, we learn that the distinguishing doctrines of the Stoical school were taught in India many ages before the birth of Zeno, and inculcated with a persuasive earnestness nearly resembling that of Epictetus; and it is not without astonishment that we find the tenets of this manly active philosophy, which seem to be formed only for men of the most vigorous spirit, prescribed as the rule of conduct to a race of people more eminent (as is generally supposed) for the gentleness of their disposition than for the elevation of their minds.

3d, Physics. In all the sciences which contribute towards extending our knowledge of nature, in mathematics, mechanics, and astronomy, arithmetic is of elementary

^k Baghrat-Geeta, p. 44.

^l Ibid. p. 40.

use. In whatever country then we find that such attention has been paid to the improvement of arithmetic as to render its operations most easy and correct, we may presume that the sciences depending upon it have attained a superior degree of perfection. Such improvement of this science we find in India. While, among the Greeks and Romans, the only method used for the notation of numbers was by the letters of the alphabet, which necessarily rendered arithmetical calculation extremely tedious and operose, the Indians had, from time immemorial, employed for the same purpose the ten ciphers, or figures, now universally known, and by means of them performed every operation in arithmetic with the greatest facility and expedition. By the happy invention of giving a different value to each figure according to its change of place, no more than ten figures are needed in calculations the most complex, and of any given extent; and arithmetic is the most perfect of all the sciences. The Arabians, not long after their settlement in Spain, introduced this mode of notation into Europe, and were candid enough to acknowledge that they had derived the knowledge of it from the Indians. Though the advantages of this mode of notation are obvious and great, yet so slowly do mankind adopt new inventions, that the use of it was for some time confined to science; by degrees, however, men of business relinquished the former cumbersome method of computation by letters, and the Indian arithmetic came into general use throughout Europe.^m It is now so familiar and simple, that the ingenuity of the people, to whom we are indebted for the invention, is less observed and less celebrated than it merits.

The astronomy of the Indians is a proof still more conspicuous of their extraordinary progress in science. The attention and success with which they studied the motions of the heavenly bodies were so little known to the Greeks and Romans, that it is hardly mentioned by them but in the most cursory manner.ⁿ But as soon as the Mahomedans established an intercourse with the natives of India, they

^m Montucla Hist. des Mathemat. tom. i. p. 360, &c.

ⁿ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1047. A. Dion. Perieg. v. 1175.

observed, and celebrated the superiority of their astronomical knowledge. Of the Europeans who visited India after the communication with it by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, M. Bernier, an inquisitive and philosophical traveller, was one of the first who learned that the Indians had long applied to the study of astronomy, and had made considerable progress in that science.^o His information, however, seems to have been very general and imperfect. We are indebted for the first scientific proof of the great proficiency of the Indians in astronomical knowledge, to M. de la Loubere, who, on his return from his embassy to Siam, brought with him an extract from a Siamese manuscript, which contained tables and rules for calculating the places of the sun and moon. The manner in which these tables were constructed rendered the principles on which they were founded extremely obscure, and it required a commentator as conversant in astronomical calculation as the celebrated Casini, to explain the meaning of this curious fragment. The epoch of the Siamese tables corresponds to the 21st of March, A. D. 638. Another set of tables was transmitted from Chrisnabouram, in the Carnatic, the epoch of which answers to the 10th of March, A. D. 1491. A third set of tables came from Narsapour, and the epoch of them goes no farther back than A. D. 1569. The fourth and most curious set of tables was published by M. le Gentil, to whom they were communicated by a learned Brahmin of Tirvalore, a small town on the Coromandel coast, about twelve miles west of Negapatam. The epoch of these tables is of high antiquity, and coincides with the beginning of the celebrated era of the Calyougham or Collee Jogue, which commenced, according to the Indian account, three thousand one hundred and two years before the birth of Christ.^p

^o Voyages, tom. ii. p. 145, &c.

^p As many of my readers may be unacquainted with the extravagant length of the four eras or periods of Indian chronology, it may be proper to give an account of them from Mr. Halhed's Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. xxxvi.

1. The *Suttee Jogue* (or age of purity) is said to have lasted three million two hundred thousand years; and they hold that the life of man was extended in that age to one hundred thousand years; and that his stature was twenty-one cubits.

2. The *Tirtah Jogue* (in which one third of mankind was corrupted) they suppose to

These four sets of tables have been examined and compared by M. Bailly, who with singular felicity of genius has conjoined an uncommon degree of eloquence with the patient researches of an astronomer, and the profound in-

have consisted of two million four hundred thousand years, and that men lived to the age of ten thousand years.

3. The *Dwapaar Jogue* (in which half of the human race became depraved) endured one million six hundred thousand years; and the life of man was then reduced to a thousand years.

4. The *Collee Jogue* (in which all mankind are corrupted, or rather lessened, for that is the true meaning of *Collee*) is the present era, which they suppose ordained to subsist four hundred thousand years, of which near five thousand are already past; and the life of man in that period is limited to one hundred years.

If we suppose the computation of time in the Indian chronology to be made by solar or even by lunar years, nothing can be more extravagant in itself, or more repugnant to our mode of calculating the duration of the world, founded on sacred and infallible authority. Some attempts have been made by learned men, particularly by M. Bailly, in a very ingenious dissertation on that subject, to bring the chronology of the Hindoos to accord somewhat better with that of the Old Testament; but as I could not explain the principles upon which he founds his conclusions, without entering into long and intricate discussions foreign from the subject of this Dissertation, and as I cannot assent to some of his opinions, I shall rest satisfied with referring to his *Astron. Indienne*, Disc. Prelim. p. lxxvii. and leave my readers to judge for themselves. I am happy to observe that a memoir on the Chronology of the Hindoos will be published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Society of Bengal, and I hope that some learned member of that body will be able, from his acquaintance with the languages and history of the country, to throw light upon a subject which its connexion with religion and science renders extremely interesting. From one circumstance, however, which merits attention, we may conclude, that the information which we have hitherto received concerning the chronology of the Hindoos is very incorrect. We have, as far as I know, only five original accounts of the different Jogues or eras of the Hindoos. The first is given by M. Roger, who received it from the Brahmins on the Coromandel coast. According to it, the Suttee Jogue is a period of one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years; the Tirtah Jogue is one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand years; the Dwapaar Jogue is eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years. The duration of the Collee Jogue he does not specify. *Porte Ouverte*, p. 179. The next is that of M. Bernier, who received it from the Brahmins of Benares. According to him, the duration of the Suttee Jogue was two million five hundred thousand years; that of Tirtah Jogue one million two hundred thousand years; that of the Dwapaar Jogue is eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years. Concerning the period of the Collee Jogue, he likewise is silent. *Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 160. The third is that of Colonel Dow, according to which the Suttee Jogue is a period of fourteen million of years; the Tirtah Jogue one million eighty thousand; the Dwapaar Jogue seventy-two thousand; and the Collee Jogue thirty-six thousand years. *Hist. of Hindost.* vol. i. p. 2. The fourth account is that of M. de Gentil, who received it from the Brahmins of the Coromandel coast; and as his information was acquired in the same part of India, and derived from the same source with that of M. Roger, it agrees with his in every particular. *Mem. de l'Academ. des Sciences pour 1772*, tom. ii. part ii. p. 170. The fifth is the account of M. Halhed, which I have already given. From this discrepancy, not only of the total numbers, but of many of the articles in the different accounts, it is manifest that our information concerning Indian chronology is hitherto as uncertain as the whole system of it is wild and fabulous. To me it appears highly probable, that when we understand more thoroughly the principles upon which the fictitious eras or Jogues of the Hindoos have been formed, we may be more able to reconcile their chronology to the true mode of computing time, founded on the authority of the Old Testament; and may likewise find reason to conclude, that the account given by their astronomers of the situation of the heavenly bodies, at the beginning of the Collee Jogue, is not established by actual observation, but the result of retrospective calculation. Whoever undertakes to investigate farther the chronology of the Hindoos, will derive great assistance from a memoir of Mr. Marsden on that subject, in which he has explained the nature of their year and the several eras in use among them, with much ingenuity and precision. *Philos. Transact.* vol. lxxx. part ii. p. 560.

vestigations of a geometrician. His calculations have been verified, and his reasonings have been illustrated and extended by Mr. Playfair, in a very masterly Dissertation, published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.⁹

Instead of attempting to follow them in reasonings and calculations, which from their nature are often abstruse and intricate, I shall satisfy myself with giving such a general view of them as is suited to a popular work. This, I hope, may convey a proper idea of what has been published concerning the astronomy of India, a subject too curious and important to be omitted in any account of the state of science in that country; and, without interposing any judgment of my own, I shall leave each of my readers to form his own opinion.

It may be considered as the general result of all the inquiries, reasonings, and calculations, with respect to Indian astronomy, which have hitherto been made public, “That the motion of the heavenly bodies, and more particularly their situation at the commencement of the different epochs to which the four sets of tables refer, are ascertained with great accuracy; and that many of the elements of their calculations, especially for very remote ages, are verified by an astonishing coincidence with the tables of the modern astronomy of Europe, when improved by the latest and most nice deductions from the theory of gravitation.” These conclusions are rendered peculiarly interesting, by the evidence which they afford of an advancement in science unexampled in the history of rude nations. The Indian Brahmins, who annually circulate a kind of almanac, containing astronomical predictions of some of the more remarkable phenomena in the heavens, such as the new and full moons, the eclipses of the sun and moon, are in possession of certain methods of calculation, which, upon examination, are found to involve in them a very extensive system of astronomical knowledge. M. le Gentil, a French astronomer, had an opportunity, while in India, of observing two eclipses of the moon which had been cal-

culated by a Brahmin, and he found the error in either to be very inconsiderable.

The accuracy of these results is less surprising than the justness and scientific nature of the principles on which the tables, by which they calculate, are constructed. For the method of predicting eclipses, which is followed by the Brahmins, is of a kind altogether different from any that has been found in the possession of rude nations in the infancy of astronomy. In Chaldæa, and even in Greece, in the early ages, the method of calculating eclipses was founded on the observation of a certain period or cycle, after which the eclipses of the sun and moon return nearly in the same order; but there was no attempt to analyze the different circumstances on which the eclipse depends, or to deduce its phenomena from a precise knowledge of the motions of the sun and moon. This last was reserved for a more advanced period, when geometry, as well as arithmetic, were called in to the assistance of astronomy, and, if it was attempted at all, seems not to have been attempted with success before the age of Hipparchus. It is a method of this superior kind, founded on principles and on analysis of the motions of the sun and moon, which guides the calculations of the Brahmins, and they never employ any of the grosser estimations, which were the pride of the first astronomers in Egypt and Chaldæa.

The Brahmins of the present times are guided in their calculations by these principles, though they do not now understand them; they know only the use of the tables which are in their possession, but are unacquainted with the method of their construction. The Brahmin who visited M. le Gentil at Pondicherry, and instructed him in the use of the Indian tables, had no knowledge of the principles of his art, and discovered no curiosity concerning the nature of M. le Gentil's observations, or about the instruments which he employed. He was equally ignorant with respect to the authors of these tables: and whatever is to be learned concerning the time or place of their construction, must be deduced from the tables themselves.

One set of these tables (as was formerly observed) profess to be as old as the beginning of the Calyougham, or to go back to the year 3102 before the Christian era; but as nothing (it may be supposed) is easier than for an astronomer to give to his tables what date he pleases, and by calculating backwards, to establish an epoch of any assigned antiquity, the pretensions of the Indian astronomy to so remote an origin are not to be admitted without examination.

That examination has accordingly been instituted by M. Bailly, and the result of his inquiries is asserted to be, that the astronomy of India is founded on observations which cannot be of a much later date than the period above mentioned. For the Indian tables represent the state of the heavens at that period with astonishing exactness; and there is between them and the calculations of our modern astronomy such a conformity with respect to those ages, as could result from nothing, but from the authors of the former having accurately copied from nature, and having delineated truly the face of the heavens, in the age wherein they lived. In order to give some idea of the high degree of accuracy in the Indian tables, I shall select a few instances of it, out of many that might be produced. The place of the sun for the astronomical epoch at the beginning of the Calyougham, as stated in the tables of Tirvalore, is only forty-seven minutes greater than by the tables of M. de la Caille, when corrected by the calculations of M. de la Grange. The place of the moon, in the same tables, for the same epoch, is only thirty-seven minutes different from the tables of Mayer. The tables of Ptolemy, for that epoch, are erroneous no less than ten degrees with respect to the place of the sun, and eleven degrees with respect to that of the moon. The acceleration of the moon's motion, reckoning from the beginning of the Calyougham to the present time, agrees, in the Indian tables, with those of Mayer to a single minute. The inequality of the sun's motion, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, which were both greater in former ages than they are now, as represented in the tables of Tirvalore, are almost of the precise quantity

that the theory of gravitation assigns to them three thousand years before the Christian era. It is accordingly for those very remote ages (about 5000 years distant from the present) that their astronomy is most accurate, and the nearer we come down to our own times, the conformity of its results with ours diminishes. It seems reasonable to suppose, that the time when its rules are most accurate, is the time when the observations were made on which these rules are founded.

In support of this conclusion, M. Bailly maintains that none of all the astronomical systems of Greece or Persia, or of Tartary, from some of which it might be suspected that the Indian tables were copied, can be made to agree with them, especially when we calculate for very remote ages. The superior perfection of the Indian tables becomes always more conspicuous as we go farther back into antiquity. This shews, likewise, how difficult it is to construct any astronomical table which will agree with the state of the heavens for a period so remote from the time when the tables were constructed, as four or five thousand years. It is only from astronomy in its most advanced state, such as it has attained in modern Europe, that such accuracy is to be expected.

When an estimate is endeavoured to be made of the geometrical skill necessary for the construction of the Indian tables and rules, it is found to be very considerable; and, besides the knowledge of elementary geometry, it must have required plane and spherical trigonometry, or something equivalent to them, together with certain methods of approximating to the values of geometrical magnitudes, which seem to rise very far above the elements of any of those sciences. Some of these last mark also very clearly (although this has not been observed by M. Bailly), that the places to which these tables are adapted, must be situated between the tropics, because they are altogether inapplicable at a greater distance from the equator.

From this long induction, the conclusion which seems

obviously to result is, that the Indian astronomy is founded upon observations which were made at a very early period; and when we consider the exact agreement of the places which they assign to the sun and moon, and other heavenly bodies, at that epoch, with those deduced from the tables of De la Caille and Mayer, it strongly confirms the truth of the position which I have been endeavouring to establish concerning the early and high state of civilization in India.

Before I quit this subject, there is one circumstance which merits particular attention. All the knowledge which we have hitherto acquired of the principles and conclusions of Indian astronomy is derived from the southern part of the Carnatic, and the tables are adapted to places situated between the meridian of Cape Comorin and that which passes through the eastern part of Ceylon.^r The Brahmins in the Carnatic acknowledge that their science of astronomy was derived from the north, and that their method of calculations is denominated *Fakiam*, or New, to distinguish it from the *Siddantam*, or ancient method established at Benares, which they allow to be much more perfect; and we learn from Abul Fazel, that all the astronomers of Indostan rely entirely upon the precepts contained in a book called *Soorej Sudhant*, composed in a very remote period.^s It is manifestly from this book that the method to which the Brahmins of the south gave the name of *Siddantam* is taken. Benares has been from time immemorial the Athens of India, the residence of the most learned Brahmins, and the seat both of science and literature. There, it is highly probable, whatever remains of the ancient astronomical knowledge and discoveries of the Brahmins is still preserved.^t In an enlightened age and nation, and during a reign distinguished by a succession of the most splendid and successful undertakings to extend the knowledge of nature, it is an object worthy of public attention, to take measures for obtaining possession

^r Bailly, Dis. Prelim. p. xvii.

^s Ayeen Akbery. iii. p. 8.

^t M. Bernier, in the year 1668, saw a large hall in Benares filled with the works of the Indian philosophers, physicians, and poets. Voy. ii. p. 148.

of all that time has spared of the philosophy and inventions of the most early and most highly civilized people of the East. It is with peculiar advantages Great Britain may engage in this laudable undertaking. Benares is subject to its dominion; the confidence of the Brahmins has been so far gained as to render them communicative; some of our countrymen are acquainted with that sacred language in which the mysteries both of religion and of science are recorded; movement and activity have been given to a spirit of inquiry throughout all the British establishments in India; persons who visited that country with other views, though engaged in occupations of a very different kind, are now carrying on scientific and literary researches with ardour and success. Nothing seems now to be wanting but that those intrusted with the administration of the British empire in India, should enable some person capable, by his talents and liberality of sentiment, of investigating and explaining the more abstruse parts of Indian philosophy, to devote his whole time to that important object. Thus Great Britain may have the glory of exploring fully that extensive field of unknown science, which the Academicians of France had the merit of first opening to the people of Europe.^u

^u In the public buildings of India, we find proofs and monuments of the proficiency of the Brahmins in science, particularly of their attention to astronomical observation. Their religion enjoins, that the four sides of a pagoda should face the four cardinal points. In order to execute this with accuracy, they take a method described by M. Le Gentil, which discovers a considerable degree of science. He carefully examined the position of one of their pagodas, and found it to be perfectly exact. *Voy. tom. i. p. 133.* As some of their pagodas are very ancient, they must have early attained such a portion of knowledge as was requisite for placing them properly. On the ceilings of choultrys, and other ancient edifices, the twelve signs of the zodiac are often delineated; and from their resemblance to those which are now universally used, it is highly probable that the knowledge of these arbitrary symbols was derived from the East. Colonel Call has published a drawing of the signs of the zodiac, which he found on the ceiling of a choultry at Verdapettah, in the Madura country. *Phil. Transact. vol. lxii. p. 353.* I have a drawing of them in my possession, differing from his in some of the figures, but I cannot say in what particular place it was found. Sir Robert Barker describes an observatory at Benares, which he visited A. D. 1772. In it he found instruments for astronomical observation, of very large dimensions, and constructed with great skill and ingenuity. Of all these he has published drawings. *Phil. Transact. vol. lxvii. p. 598.* According to traditionary account, this observatory was built by the emperor Abker. The view which Sir Robert took of it was a hasty one. It merits a more attentive inspection, in order to determine whether it was constructed by Abker, or erected in some more early period. Sir Robert intimates, that none but Brahmins who understood the Sanskreet, and could consult the astronomical tables written in that language, were capable of calculating eclipses. P. Tiessenthaler describes, in a very cursory manner, two observatories

VI. The last evidence which I shall mention of the early and high civilization of the ancient Indians, is deduced from the consideration of their religious tenets and practices. The institutions of religion, publicly established in all the extensive countries stretching from the banks of the Indus to Cape Comorin, present to view an aspect nearly similar. They form a regular and complete system of superstition, strengthened and upheld by every thing which can excite the reverence and secure the attachment of the people. The temples consecrated to their deities are magnificent, and adorned not only with rich offerings, but with the most exquisite works in painting and sculpture, which the artists, highest in estimation furnished with instruments of extraordinary magnitude, at Jepour and Ougein, in the country of Malwa. Bernouilli, tom. i. p. 316. 347. But these are modern structures.

Since the first edition of the Historical Disquisition was published, the *Souriak Sedantum*, or, according to a more correct orthography, the *Súrya Siddhánta*, on the principles of which I had observed that all the Indian astronomy is founded, has been discovered at Benares by sir Robert Chambers. He immediately communicated this valuable work to Samuel Davis, esq. who has favoured the world with a translation of several considerable extracts from it.

The *Súrya Siddhánta* is composed in the Sanskreet language, and professes to be a divine revelation, (as Abul Fazel had related, *Ayeen Akbery*, iii. p. 8.) communicated to mankind more than two million of years ago, towards the close of the *Sutty* or *Satya Jogue*, the first of the four fabulous ages into which the Hindoo mythologists divide the period during which they suppose the world to have existed. But when this accompaniment of fiction and extravagance is removed, there is left behind a very rational and elaborate system of astronomical calculation. From this Mr. Davis has selected what relates to the calculation of eclipses, and has illustrated it with great ingenuity. The manner in which that subject is treated has so close an affinity to the methods formerly brought from India, and of which I have given some account, as to confirm strongly the opinion that the *Súrya Siddhánta* is the source from which all the others are derived. How far the real date of this work may be ascertained from the rules and tables which it contains, will be more clearly established when a translation of the whole is published. In the mean time it is evident, that what is already known with respect to these rules and tables, is extremely favourable to the hypothesis which ascribes a very high antiquity to the astronomy of the Brahmins.

The circumstance, perhaps, most worthy of attention, in the extracts now referred to, is the system of trigonometry included in the astronomical rules of the *Súrya Siddhánta*. *Asiat. Research*. ii. p. 245. 249. It may be shewn that this system is founded on certain geometrical theorems, which, though modern mathematicians be well acquainted with, were certainly unknown to Ptolemy and the Greek geometers.

It is with pleasure, too, we observe, that Mr. Davis has in his possession several other ancient books of Hindoo astronomy, and that there is reason to expect from him a translation of the whole *Súrya Siddhánta*.

It must be added, that we also learn from the second volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, that some vestiges of algebraical calculation have been discovered among the Brahmins; particularly rules for the solution of certain arithmetical questions, with which it would seem that nothing but algebra could have furnished them. *Asiat. Research*. ii. p. 468. note, 487. 495.

My friend, Mr. Professor Playfair, has examined that extract, from the *Súrya Siddhánta*, which gives an account of the ancient Hindoo system of trigonometry, and has discovered the principles on which it is founded. It is with pleasure I announce, that the result of this examination will be communicated soon to the public, and will afford an additional proof of the extraordinary progress which the natives of India had early made in the most abstruse sciences

among them, were capable of executing. The rites and ceremonies of their worship are pompous and splendid, and the performance of them not only mingles in all the more momentous transactions of common life, but constitutes an essential part of them. The Brahmins, who, as ministers of religion, preside in all its functions, are elevated above every other order of men, by an origin deemed not only more noble, but acknowledged to be sacred. They have established among themselves a regular hierarchy and gradation of ranks, which, by securing subordination in their own order, adds weight to their authority, and gives them a more absolute dominion over the minds of the people. This dominion they support by the command of the immense revenues with which the liberality of princes, and the zeal of pilgrims and devotees, have enriched their pagodas.*

It is far from my intention to enter into any minute detail with respect to this vast and complicated system of superstition. An attempt to enumerate the multitude of deities which are the objects of adoration in India; to describe the splendour of worship in their pagodas, and the immense variety of their rites and ceremonies; to recount the various attributes and functions which the craft of priests, or the credulity of the people, have ascribed to their divinities; especially if I were to accompany all this with the review of the numerous and often fanciful speculations and theories of learned men on this subject, would require a work of great magnitude. I shall, therefore, on this, as on some of the former heads, confine myself to the precise point which I have kept uniformly in view, and by considering the state of religion in India, I shall endeavour not only to throw additional light on the state of civilization in that country, but I flatter myself that, at the same time, I shall be able to give what may be considered as a sketch and outline of the history and progress of superstition and false religion in every region of the earth.

* Roger Porte Ouverte, p. 39. 209, &c.

I. We may observe, that in every country, the received mythology, or system of superstitious belief, with all the rites and ceremonies which it prescribes, is formed in the infancy of rude and barbarous times. True religion is as different from superstition in its origin, as in its nature. The former is the offspring of reason cherished by science, and attains to its highest perfection in ages of light and improvement. Ignorance and fear give birth to the latter, and it is always in the darkest periods that it acquires the greatest vigour. That numerous part of the human species whose lot is labour, whose principal and almost sole occupation is to secure subsistence, has neither leisure nor capacity for entering into that path of intricate and refined speculation, which conducts to the knowledge of the principles of rational religion. When the intellectual powers are just beginning to unfold, and their first feeble exertions are directed towards a few objects of primary necessity and use; when the faculties of the mind are so limited as not to have formed general and abstract ideas; when language is so barren as to be destitute of names to distinguish any thing not perceivable by some of the senses; it is preposterous to expect that men should be capable of tracing the relation between effects and their causes; or to suppose that they should rise from the contemplation of the former to the discovery of the latter, and form just conceptions of one Supreme Being, as the Creator and Governor of the universe. The idea of creation is so familiar, wherever the mind is enlarged by science, and illuminated by revelation, that we seldom reflect how profound and abstruse the idea is, or consider what progress man must have made in observation and research, before he could arrive at any distinct knowledge of this elementary principle in religion. But even in its rude state, the human mind, formed for religion, opens to the reception of ideas, which are destined, when corrected and refined, to be the great source of consolation amidst the calamities of life. These apprehensions, however, are originally indistinct and perplexed, and seem to be suggested rather by the dread of impend-

ing evils, than to flow from gratitude for blessings received. While nature holds on her course with uniform and undisturbed regularity, men enjoy the benefits resulting from it, without much inquiry concerning its cause. But every deviation from this regular course rouses and astonishes them. When they behold events to which they are not accustomed, they search for the causes of them with eager curiosity. Their understanding is often unable to discover these, but imagination, a more forward and ardent faculty of the mind, decides without hesitation. It ascribes the extraordinary occurrences in nature to the influence of invisible beings, and supposes the thunder, the hurricane, and the earthquake, to be the immediate effect of their agency. Alarmed by these natural evils, and exposed at the same time, to many dangers and disasters, which are unavoidable in the early and uncivilized state of society, men have recourse for protection to power superior to what is human, and the first rites or practices which bear any resemblance to acts of religion, have it for their object to avert evils which they suffer or dread.^y

II. As superstition and false religion take their rise in every country, from nearly the same sentiments and apprehensions, the invisible beings, who are the first objects of veneration, have everywhere a near resemblance. To conceive an idea of one superintending mind, capable of arranging and directing all the various operations of nature, seems to be an attainment far beyond the powers of man in the more early stages of his progress. His theories, more suited to the limited sphere of his own observation, are not so refined. He supposes that there is a distinct cause of every remarkable effect, and ascribes to a separate power every event which attracts his attention, or excites his terror. He fancies that it is the province of one deity to point the lightning, and, with an awful sound, to hurl the irresistible thunderbolt at the head of the guilty; that an-

^y In the History of America (vol. v. p. 368, &c.) I have given nearly a similar account of the origin of false religion. Instead of labouring to convey the same ideas in different language, I have inserted here some paragraphs in the same words I then used.

other rides in the whirlwind, and, at his pleasure, raises or stills the tempest; that a third rules over the ocean; that a fourth is the god of battles; that while malevolent powers scatter the seeds of animosity and discord, and kindle in the breast those angry passions which give rise to war, and terminate in destruction, others of a nature more benign; by inspiring the hearts of men with kindness and love, strengthen the bond of social union, augment the happiness, and increase the number of the human race.

Without descending farther into detail, or attempting to enumerate that infinite multitude of deities to which the fancy or the fears of men have allotted the direction of the several departments in nature, we may recognise a striking uniformity of features in the systems of superstition established throughout every part of the earth. The less men have advanced beyond the state of savage life, and the more slender their acquaintance with the operations of nature, the fewer were their deities in number, and the more compendious was their theological creed; but as their mind gradually opened, and their knowledge continued to extend, the objects of their veneration multiplied, and the articles of their faith became more numerous. This took place remarkably among the Greeks in Europe, and the Indians in Asia, the two people in those great divisions of the earth, who were most early civilized, and to whom, for that reason, I shall confine all my observations. They believed, that over every movement in the natural world, and over every function in civil or domestic life, even the most trivial, a particular deity presided. The manner in which they arranged the stations of these superintending powers, and the offices which they allotted to each, were in many respects the same. What is supposed to be performed by the power of Jupiter, of Neptune, of Æolus, of Mars, of Venus, according to the mythology of the West, is ascribed in the East to the agency of Agnée, the god of fire; Varoon, the god of oceans; Vayoo, the god of wind;² Cama, the god of love; and a variety of other divinities.

² Baghvat-Geeta, p. 94.

The ignorance and credulity of men having thus peopled the heavens with imaginary beings, they ascribed to them such qualities and actions as they deemed suitable to their character and functions. It is one of the benefits derived from true religion, that by setting before men a standard of perfect excellence, which they should have always in their eye, and endeavour to resemble, it may be said to bring down virtue from heaven to earth, and to form the human mind after a divine model. In fabricating systems of false religion, the procedure is directly the reverse. Men ascribe to the beings whom they have deified, such actions as they themselves admire and celebrate. The qualities of the gods who are the objects of adoration, are copied from those of the worshippers who bow down before them; and thus many of the imperfections peculiar to men, have found admittance into heaven. By knowing the adventures and attributes of any false deity, we can pronounce, with some degree of certainty, what must have been the state of society and manners when he was elevated to that dignity. The mythology of Greece plainly indicates the character of the age in which it was formed. It must have been in times of the greatest licentiousness, anarchy, and violence, that divinities of the highest rank could be supposed capable of perpetrating actions, or of being influenced by passions, which, in more enlightened periods, would be deemed a disgrace to human nature; it must have been when the earth was still infested with destructive monsters, and mankind, under forms of government too feeble to afford them protection, were exposed to the depredations of lawless robbers, or the cruelty of savage oppressors, that the well-known labours of Hercules, by which he was raised from earth to heaven, could have been necessary, or would have been deemed so highly meritorious. The same observation is applicable to the ancient mythology of India. Many of the adventures and exploits of the Indian deities are suited to the rudest ages of turbulence and rapine. It was to check disorder, to redress wrongs, and to clear the earth of powerful oppressors, that Vishnou, a

divinity of the highest order, is said to have become successively incarnate, and to have appeared on earth in various forms.^a

III. The character and functions of those deities which superstition created to itself as objects of its veneration, having everywhere a near resemblance, the rites of their worship were everywhere extremely similar. Accordingly, as deities were distinguished, either by ferocity of character or licentiousness of conduct, it is obvious what services must have been deemed most acceptable to them. In order to conciliate the favour, or to appease the wrath of the former, fasts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the means employed. Their altars were always bathed in blood; the most costly victims were slaughtered; even human sacrifices were not unknown, and were held to be the most powerful expiations. In order to gain the goodwill of the deities of the latter description, recourse was had to institutions of a very different kind, to splendid ceremonies, gay festivals, heightened by all the pleasures of poetry, music, and dancing, but often terminating in scenes of indulgence too indecent to be described. Of both these, instances occur in the rites of Greek and Roman worship, which I need not mention to my learned readers.^b In the East the ceremonial of superstition is nearly the same. The manners of the Indians, though distinguished from the time when they became known to the people of the West, for mildness, seem, in a more remote period, to have been in a greater degree similar to those of other nations. Several of their deities were fierce and awful in their nature, and were represented in their temples under the most terrific forms. If we did not know the dominion of superstition over the human mind, we should hardly believe, that a ritual of worship suited to the character of such deities could have been established among a gentle people. Every act of religion, performed in honour of

^a Voyage de Sonnerat, tom. i. p. 156, &c.

^b Strabo, lib. viii. p. 581, A; lib. xii. p. 837, C.

some of their gods, seems to have been prescribed by fear. Mortifications and penances so rigorous, so painful, and so long continued, that we read the accounts of them with astonishment and horror, were multiplied. Repugnant as it is to the feelings of a Hindoo to shed the blood of any creature that has life, many different animals, even the most useful, the horse and the cow, were offered up as victims upon the altars of some of their gods ;^c and what is still more strange, the pagodas of the East were polluted with human sacrifices as well as the temples of the West.^d But religious institutions, and ceremonies of a less severe kind, were more adapted to the genius of the people, formed, by the extreme sensibility both of their mental and corporeal frame, to an immoderate love of pleasure. In no part of the earth was there a connexion between the gratification of sensual desire and the rites of public religion, displayed with more avowed indecency than in India. In every pagoda there was a band of women set apart for the service of the idol honoured there, and devoted from their early years to a life of pleasure ; for which the Brahmins prepared them by an education which added so many elegant accomplishments to their natural charms, that what they gained by their profligacy, often brought no inconsiderable accession to the revenue of the temple. In every function performed in the pagodas, as well as in every public procession, it is the office of these women to dance before the idol, and to sing hymns in his praise ; and it is difficult to say, whether they trespass most against decency by the gestures they exhibit, or by the verses which they recite. The walls of the pagoda are covered with paintings, in a style no less indelicate ;^e and in the innermost recess of the temple, for it would be profane to call it the sanctuary, is placed the *Lingam*, an emblem of productive power too gross to be explained.^f

^c Ayeen Abkery, vol. iii. p. 241. Roger Porte Ouverte, p. 251.

^d Heeto-pades, p. 185—322. Asiat. Researches, vol. i. p. 265. Voyage de Sonnerat, vol. i. p. 207. Roger, p. 251.

^e Voyage de Gentil. vol. i. p. 244, 260. Preface to Code of Gentoo Laws, p. lvii.

^f Roger Porte Ouverte, p. 157. Voyage de Sonnerat, vol. i. p. 41. 175. Sketches, vol. i. p. 203. Hamilton's Trav. vol. i. p. 379.

IV. How absurd soever the articles of faith may be which superstition has adopted, or how unhallowed the rites which it prescribes, the former are received in every age and country with unhesitating assent, by the great body of the people, and the latter observed with scrupulous exactness. In our reasonings concerning religious opinions and practices which differ widely from our own, we are extremely apt to err. Having been instructed ourselves in the principles of religion, worthy in every respect of that divine wisdom by which they were dictated, we frequently express wonder at the credulity of nations in embracing systems of belief which appear to us so directly repugnant to right reason, and sometimes suspect that tenets so wild and extravagant do not really gain credit with them. But experience may satisfy us, that neither our wonder nor suspicions are well founded. No article of the public religion was called in question by those people of ancient Europe, with whose history we are best acquainted, and no practice which it enjoined appeared improper to them. On the other hand, every opinion that tended to diminish the reverence of men for the gods of their country, or to alienate them from their worship, excited among the Greeks and Romans that indignant zeal which is natural to every people attached to their religion by a firm persuasion of its truth. The attachment of the Indians, both in ancient and modern times, to the tenets and rites of their ancestors, has been, if possible, still greater. In no country, of which we have any account, were precautions taken with so much solicitude to place the great body of the people beyond the reach of any temptation to doubt or disbelief. They not only were prevented (as I have already observed the great bulk of mankind must always be, in every country) from entering upon any speculative inquiry, by the various occupations of active and laborious life, but any attempt to extend the sphere of their knowledge was expressly prohibited. If one of the Sooder cast, by far the most numerous of the four, into which the whole nation was divided, presumed

to read any portion of the sacred books, in which all the science known in India is contained, he was severely punished; if he ventured to get it by heart, he was put to death.^g To aspire after any higher degree of knowledge than the Brahmins have been pleased to teach, would be deemed not only presumption but impiety. Even the higher casts depended entirely for instruction on the Brahmins, and could acquire no portion of science but what they deigned to communicate. By means of this, a devout reverence was universally maintained for those institutions which were considered as sacred; and though the faith of the Hindoos has been often tried by severe persecutions excited by the bigotry of their Mahomedan conquerors, no people ever adhered with greater fidelity to the tenets and rites of their ancestors.^h

V. We may observe, that when science and philosophy are diffused through any country, the system of superstition is subjected to a scrutiny from which it was formerly exempt, and opinions spread which imperceptibly diminish its influence over the minds of men. A free and full examination is always favourable to truth, but fatal to error. What is received with implicit faith in ages of darkness, will excite contempt or indignation in an enlightened period. The history of religion in Greece and Italy, the only countries of Europe which, in ancient times, were distinguished for their attainments in science, confirms the truth of this observation. As soon as science made such progress in Greece as rendered men capable of discerning the wisdom, the foresight, and the goodness displayed in creating, preserving, and governing the world, they must have perceived, that the characters of the divinities which were proposed as the objects of adoration in their temples, could not entitle them to be considered as the presiding powers in nature. A poet might address Jupiter as the father of gods and men, who governed both by eternal laws; but to a philosopher, the son of Saturn, the story of whose life is a

^g Code of Gentoo Laws, ch. xxi. § 7.

^h Orme's Fragment, p. 102. Sounerat. vol. i. p. 124.

series of violent and licentious deeds, which would render any man odious or despicable, must have appeared altogether unworthy of that station. The nature of the religious service celebrated in their temples must have been no less offensive to an enlightened mind, than the character of the deities in honour of whom it was performed. Instead of institutions, tending to reclaim men from vice, to form or to strengthen habits of virtue, or to elevate the mind to a sense of its proper dignity, superstition either occupied its votaries in frivolous unmeaning ceremonies, or prescribed rites, which operated, with fatal influence, in inflaming the passions and corrupting the heart.

It is with timidity, however, and caution, that men venture to attack the established religion of their country, or to impugn opinions which have been long held sacred. At first, some philosophers endeavoured, by allegorical interpretations and refined comments, to explain the popular mythology, as if it had been a description of the powers of nature, and of the various events and resolutions which take place in the system of the material world, and endeavoured, by this expedient to palliate many of its absurdities. By degrees, bolder theories concerning religion were admitted into the schools of science. Philosophers of enlarged views, sensible of the impiety of the popular superstition, formed ideas concerning the perfections of one Supreme Being, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, as just and rational as have ever been attained by the unassisted powers of the human mind.

If from Europe we now turn to Asia, we shall find, that the observation which I have made upon the history of false religion holds equally true there. In India as well as in Greece, it was by cultivating science that men were first led to examine and to entertain doubts with respect to the established systems of superstition; and when we consider the great difference between the ecclesiastical constitution (if I may use that expression) of the two countries, we are apt to imagine that the established system lay more open to examination in the latter than in the former. In Greece

there was not any distinct race or order of men set apart for performing the functions of religion, or to serve as hereditary and interested guardians of its tenets and institutions. But in India the Brahmins were born the ministers of religion, and they had an exclusive right of presiding in all the numerous rites of worship which superstition prescribed as necessary to avert the wrath of Heaven, or to render it propitious. These distinctions and privileges secured to them a wonderful ascendant over their countrymen; and every consideration that can influence the human mind, the honour, the interest, the power of their order, called upon them to support the tenets, and to maintain the institutions and rites, with which the preservation of this ascendant was so intimately connected.

But as the most eminent persons of the cast devoted their lives to the cultivation of science, the progress which they made in all the branches of it (of which I have given some account) was great, and enabled them to form such a just idea of the system of nature, and of the power, wisdom, and goodness displayed in the formation and government of it, as elevated their minds above the popular superstition, and led them to acknowledge and reverence one Supreme Being, "the Creator of all things (to use their own expressions), and from whom all things proceed."^h

This is the idea which Abul Fazel, who examined the opinions of the Brahmins with the greatest attention and candour, gives of their theology. "They all," says he, "believe in the unity of the Godhead, and although they hold images in high veneration, it is only because they represent celestial beings, and prevent the thoughts of those who worship them from wandering."ⁱ The sentiments of the most intelligent Europeans who have visited India, coincide perfectly with his, in respect to this point. The accounts which Mr. Bernier received from the Pundits of Benares, both of their external worship, and of one Sovereign Lord being the sole object of their devotion, is precisely the same with that given by Abul Fazel.^k Mr. Wil-

^h Baghvat-Geeta, p. 84.

ⁱ Aycen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 3.

^k Voyage, tom. ii. p. 159.

kins, better qualified perhaps than any European ever was to judge with respect to this subject, represents the learned Brahmins of the present times as Theists, believers in the unity of God.¹ Of the same opinion is M. Sonnerat, who resided in India seven years, in order to inquire into the manners, sciences, and religion of the Hindoos.^m The Pundits, who translated the Code of Gentoo Laws, declare, "that it was the Supreme Being, who, by his power, formed all creatures of the animal, vegetable, and material world, from the four elements of fire, water, air, and earth, to be an ornament to the magazine of creation; and whose comprehensive benevolence selected man, the centre of knowledge, to have dominion and authority over the rest; and, having bestowed upon this favourite object judgment and understanding, gave him supremacy over the corners of the world."ⁿ

Nor are these to be regarded as refined sentiments of later times. The Brahmins being considered by the Mahomedan conquerors of India as the guardians of the national religion, have been so studiously depressed by their fanatical zeal, that the modern members of that order are as far inferior to their ancestors in science as in power. It is from the writings of their ancient Pundits that they derive the most liberal sentiments which they entertain at present, and the wisdom for which they are now celebrated has been transmitted to them from ages very remote.

That this assertion is well founded we are enabled to pronounce with certainty, as the most profound mysteries of Hindoo theology, concealed with the greatest care from the body of the people, have been unveiled by the translations from the Sanskreet language lately published. The principal design of the Baghvat-Geeta, an episode in the Mahabarat, a poem of the highest antiquity, and of the greatest authority in India, seems to have been to establish the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, and from a just view of the divine nature to deduce an idea of what worship will be most acceptable to a perfect Being. In it,

¹ Preface to Baghvat-Geeta, p. 24.

^m Voyage, tom. i. p. 198.

ⁿ Prelim. Discourse, p. lxxiii.

amidst much obscure metaphysical discussion, some ornaments of fancy unsuited to our taste, and some thoughts elevated to a tract of sublimity into which, from our habits of reasoning and judging, we will find it difficult to follow them,^o we find descriptions of the Supreme Being entitled to equal praise with those of the Greek philosophers which I have celebrated. Of these I shall now produce one to which I formerly alluded, and refer my readers for others to the work itself: "O mighty Being," says Arjoon, "who art the prime Creator, eternal God of gods, the World's Mansion! Thou art the incorruptible Being, distinct from all things transient. Thou art before all gods, the ancient *Pooroosh* [i. e. vital soul], and the Supreme Supporter of the universe. Thou knowest all things, and art worthy to be known; thou art the Supreme Mansion, and by thee, O infinite Form, the universe was spread abroad! reverence be unto thee before and behind; reverence be unto thee on all sides; O thou who art all in all! Infinite is thy power and thy glory.—Thou art the Father of all things, animate and inanimate. Thou art the wise Instructor of the whole, worthy to be adored. There is none like unto thee; where, then, in the three worlds, is there one above thee? Wherefore I bow down; and, with my body prostrate upon the ground, crave thy mercy, Lord! worthy to be adored; for thou shouldest bear with me, even as a father with his son, a friend with his friend, a lover with his beloved."^p A description of the Supreme Being is given in one of the sacred books of the Hindoos, from which it is evident what were the general sentiments of the learned Brahmins concerning the divine nature and perfections: "As God is immaterial, he is above all conception; as he is invisible, he can have no form; but from what we behold of his works, we may conclude, that he is eternal, omnipotent, knowing all things, and present everywhere."^q

To men capable of forming such ideas of the Deity, the public service in the pagodas must have appeared

^o Mr. Hastings's Letter, prefixed to the Baghvat-Geeta, p. 7.

^p Baghvat-Geeta, p. 94, 95.

^q Dow's Dissert. p. xl.

to be an idolatrous worship of images, by a superstitious multiplication of frivolous or immoral rites; and they must have seen that it was only by sanctity of heart, and purity of manners, men could hope to gain the approbation of a Being perfect in goodness. This truth Veias labours to inculcate in the Mahabarat, but with the prudent reserve and artful precautions natural to a Brahmin, studious neither to offend his countrymen, nor to diminish the influence of his own order. His ideas concerning the mode of worshipping the Deity, are explained in many striking passages of the poem; but unwilling to multiply quotations, I satisfy myself with referring to them.^r

When we recollect how slowly the mind of man opens to abstract ideas, and how difficult (according to an observation in the Mahabarat) an invisible path is to corporeal beings, it is evident that the Hindoos must have attained a high degree of improvement before their sentiments rose so far superior to the popular superstition of their country. The different states of Greece had subsisted long, and had made considerable progress in refinement, before the errors of false religion began to be detected. It was not until the age of Socrates, and in the schools of philosophy established by his disciples, that principles adverse to the tenets of the popular superstition were much propagated.

A longer period of time elapsed before the Romans, a nation of warriors and statesmen, were enlightened by science, or ventured upon any free disquisition concerning the objects or the rites of worship, authorized by their ancestors. But in India the happy effects of progress in science were much more early conspicuous. Without adopting the wild computations of Indian chronology, according to which, the Mahabarat was composed above four thousand years ago, we must allow, that it is a work of very great antiquity, and the author of it discovers an acquaintance with the principles of theology, of morals,

^r Baghvat-Geeta, p. 55. 67. 75. 97. 119.

and of metaphysics, more just and rational than seems to have been attained, at that period, by any nation whose history is known.

But so unable are the limited powers of the human mind to form an adequate idea of the perfections and operations of the Supreme Being, that in all the theories concerning them, of the most eminent philosophers in the most enlightened nations, we find a lamentable mixture of ignorance and error. From these the Brahmins were not more exempt than the sages of other countries. As they held that the system of nature was not only originally arranged by the power and wisdom of God, but that every event which happened was brought about by his immediate interposition, and as they could not comprehend how a being could act in any place unless where it was present, they supposed the Deity to be a vivifying principle diffused through the whole creation, a universal soul that animated each part of it.^s Every intelligent nature, particularly the souls of men, they conceived to be portions separated from this great spirit,^t to which, after fulfilling their destiny on earth, and attaining a proper degree of purity, they would be again reunited. In order to efface the stains with which a soul, during its residence on earth, has been defiled, by the indulgence of sensual and corrupt appetites, they taught that it must pass, in a long succession of transmigrations, through the bodies of different animals, until, by what it suffers and what it learns in the various forms of its existence, it shall be so thoroughly refined from all pollution as to be rendered meet for being absorbed into the divine essence, and returns like a drop into that unbounded ocean from which it originally issued.^u These doctrines of the Brahmins, concerning the Deity, as the soul which pervades all nature, giving activity and vigour to every part of it, as well as the final reunion of all intelligent creatures to their

^s Baghvat-Geeta, p. 65. 78. 85. Bernier, tom. ii. p. 163.

^t Dow's Dissert. p. xliii.

^u Voy. de Sonnerat, vol. i. p. 192. 200. Baghvat-Geeta, p. 39. 115.
Dow's Dissert. p. xliii.

primeval source, coincide perfectly with the tenets of the stoical school. It is remarkable, that after having observed a near resemblance in the most sublime sentiments of their moral doctrine, we should likewise discover such a similarity in the errors of their theological speculations.*

The human mind, however, when destitute of superior guidance, is apt to fall into a practical error with respect to religion, of a tendency still more dangerous. When philosophers, by their attainments in science, began to acquire such just ideas of the nature and perfections of the Supreme Being, as convinced them that the popular system of superstition was not only absurd but impious, they were fully aware of all the danger which might arise from communicating what they had discovered to the people, incapable of comprehending the force of those reasons which had swayed with them, and so zealously attached to established opinions, as to revolt against any attempt to detect their falsehood. Instead, therefore, of allowing any ray of that knowledge which illuminated their own minds to reach them, they formed a theory to justify their own conduct, and to prevent the darkness of that cloud which hung over the minds of their fellow-men from being ever dispelled. The vulgar and unlearned, they contended, had no right to truth. Doomed by their condition to remain in ignorance, they were to be kept in order by delusion, and allured to do what is right, or deterred from venturing upon what is wrong, by the hope of those imaginary rewards which superstition promises, and the dread of those punishments which it threatens. In confirmation of this, I might quote the doctrine of most of the philosophic sects, and produce the words of almost every eminent Greek and Roman writer. It will be sufficient, however, to lay before my readers a remarkable passage in Strabo, to whom I have been so often indebted in the course of my researches, and who was not less qua-

* Lipsij *Physiol. Stoicor.* lib. i. *Dissert.* viii. xxi. Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus, *passim*.

lified to judge with respect to the political opinions of his contemporaries, than to describe the countries which they inhabited. "What is marvellous in fable, is employed," says he, "sometimes to please, and sometimes to inspire terror, and both these are of use, not only with children, but with persons of mature age. To children we propose delightful fictions, in order to encourage them to act well, and such as are terrible, in order to restrain them from evil. Thus when men are united in society, they are incited to what is laudable, by hearing the poets celebrate the splendid actions of fabulous story, such as the labours of Hercules and Theseus, in reward for which they are now honoured as divinities, or by beholding their illustrious deeds exhibited to public view in painting and sculpture. On the other hand, they are deterred from vice, when the punishments inflicted by the gods upon evil doers are related, and threats are denounced against them in awful words, or represented by frightful figures, and when men believe that these threats have been really executed upon the guilty. For it is impossible to conduct women and the gross multitude, and to render them holy, pious, and upright, by the precepts of reason and philosophy; superstition, or the fear of the gods, must be called in aid, the influence of which is founded on fictions and prodigies. For the thunder of Jupiter, the egis of Minerva, the trident of Neptune, the torches and snakes of the furies, the spears of the gods, adorned with ivy, and the whole ancient theology, are all fables, which the legislators who formed the political constitution of states employ as bugbears to overawe the credulous and simple."^y

These ideas of the philosophers of Europe were precisely the same which the Brahmins had adopted in India, and according to which they regulated their conduct with respect to the great body of the people. As their order had an exclusive right to read the sacred books, to cultivate and to teach science, they could more effectually prevent

^y Strabo, lib. i. p. 36, B.

all who were not members of it from acquiring any portion of information beyond what they were pleased to impart. When the free circulation of knowledge is not circumscribed by such restrictions, the whole community derives benefit from every new acquisition in science, the influence of which, both upon sentiment and conduct, extends insensibly from the few to the many, from the learned to the ignorant. . . . But wherever the dominion of false religion is completely established, the body of the people gain nothing by the greatest improvements in knowledge. Their philosophers conceal from them, with the utmost solicitude, the truths which they have discovered, and labour to support that fabric of superstition which it was their duty to have overturned. They not only enjoin others to respect the religious rites prescribed by the laws of their country, but conform to them in their own practice, and with every external appearance of reverence and devotion, bow down before the altars of deities, who must inwardly be the objects of their contempt. Instead of resembling the teachers of true religion in the benevolent ardour with which they have always communicated to their fellow-men the knowledge of those important truths with which their own minds were enlightened and rendered happy, the sages of Greece, and the Brahmins of India, carried on, with studied artifice, a scheme of deceit, and, according to an emphatic expression of an inspired writer, they *detained* the truth in unrighteousness.² They knew and approved what was true, but among the rest of mankind they laboured to support and to perpetuate what is false.

Thus I have gone through all the particulars which I originally proposed to examine, and have endeavoured to discover the state of the inhabitants of India with respect to each of them. If I had aimed at nothing else than to describe the civil policy, the arts, the sciences, the religious institutions of one of the most ancient and most numerous race of men, that alone would have led me into inquiries and discussions both curious and instructive: I

² Rom. i. 18.

own, however, that I have all along kept in view an object more interesting, as well as of greater importance, and entertain hopes, that if the account which I have given of the early and high civilization of India, and of the wonderful progress of its inhabitants in elegant arts and useful science, shall be received as just and well established, it may have some influence upon the behaviour of Europeans towards that people. Unfortunately for the human species, in whatever quarter of the globe the people of Europe have acquired dominion, they have found the inhabitants not only in a state of society and improvement far inferior to their own, but different in their complexion, and in all their habits of life. Men in every stage of their career are so satisfied with the progress made by the community of which they are members, that it becomes to them a standard of perfection, and they are apt to regard people whose condition is not similar, with contempt, and even aversion. In Africa and America, the dissimilitude is so conspicuous, that in the pride of their superiority, Europeans thought themselves entitled to reduce the natives of the former to slavery, and to exterminate those of the latter. Even in India, though far advanced beyond the two other quarters of the globe in improvement, the colour of the inhabitants, their effeminate appearance, their unwarlike spirit, the wild extravagance of their religious tenets and ceremonies, and many other circumstances, confirmed Europeans in such an opinion of their own pre-eminence, that they have always viewed and treated them as an inferior race of men. Happy would it be if any of the four European nations, who have successively acquired extensive territories and power in India, could altogether vindicate itself from having acted in this manner. Nothing, however, can have a more direct and powerful tendency to inspire Europeans, proud of their own superior attainments in policy, science, and arts, with proper sentiments concerning the people of India, and to teach them a due regard for their natural rights as men, than their being accustomed, not only to consider the Hindoos of the present times as

a knowing and ingenious race of men, but to view them as descended from ancestors who had attained to a very high degree of improvement, many ages before the least step towards civilization had been taken in any part of Europe. It was by an impartial and candid inquiry into their manners, that the emperor Akber was led to consider the Hindoos as no less entitled to protection and favour than his other subjects, and to govern them with such equity and mildness, as to merit from a grateful people the honourable appellation of "The Guardian of Mankind." It was from a thorough knowledge of their character and acquirements, that his vizier Abul Fazel, with a liberality of mind unexampled among the Mahomedans, pronounces a high encomium on the virtues of the Hindoos, both as individuals and as members of society, and celebrates their attainments in arts and sciences of every kind.^a If I might presume to hope that the description which I have given of the manners and institutions of the people of India could contribute in the smallest degree, and with the remotest influence, to render their character more respectable, and their condition more happy, I shall close my literary labours, with the satisfaction of thinking that I have not lived or written in vain.

^a Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 2. 81. 95.

END OF VOL. II.





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