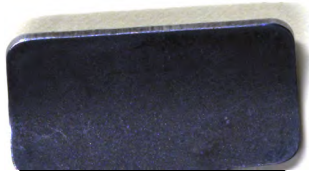

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T. S. Hughes

AN ESSAY

ON THE

POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE;

ITS CONNECTION WITH

The Government of Great Britain,

AND THE

GENERAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES.

BY

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ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE THIRD TO THE
ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA."

WITH A MEMOIR AND PORTRAIT.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

THOMAS S. HUGHES.

THOMAS SMART HUGHES, eldest surviving son of the Rev. Hugh Hughes, Curate of Nuneaton, Warwickshire, and also incumbent of Wolsey and Hardwick, was born at Nuneaton, August 25, 1786.

He received his earliest instruction from the Rev. J. S. Cobbold, first as a boy at the Nuneaton Grammar School, and afterwards, as a private pupil, at Wilby in Suffolk. Even at that time he already began to show decided signs, not only of his future ability, but of the special form in which it was to develop itself. Quickness in acquisition, especially of language, considerable imagination and originality, and great refinement of taste, were at all times more characteristic of his mind, than any unusual powers of reasoning or of thought: and these intellectual qualities were naturally accordant with the warm and affectionate temper, passionately excitable,* and often childlike in its simplicity and enthusiasm, which remained, even to the last, almost unaffected by the experience of life. It was not to be expected that such a disposition could pass through the world without

* "*Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis esset.*"

being subject to many delusions and much embarrassment ; but it was one singularly attractive to all with whom it came in contact ; and at no one period of his life, whether in childhood, youth, or manhood, did it fail to secure him warm and lasting friendships, wherever he was really known.

These qualities, already appearing in their first imperfect forms, were seen to require a wider sphere for their due development. Accordingly in 1801 he was sent to Shrewsbury School, which was at that time just entering, under the auspices of Dr. S. Butler, (afterwards Bishop of Lichfield,) on that successful career which raised it to the highest rank in the classical schools of England. Nor were the expectations under which he entered the school at all disappointed ; for, during the three years which he spent there, until he became a member of the University of Cambridge in 1803, his growth both in ability and character amply justified the hopes of his parents, and gained him the especial approbation and kindness of the head master. Mr. Hughes himself always looked back to this period of his life, with those feelings of more than ordinary gratitude, and even veneration, towards Dr. Butler, which old Shrewsbury men will easily understand. Nor did the affection between them by any means cease with the school-relations, from which it arose. During the period of Mr. Hughes's university career, his letters to his old master are full of respectful, but enthusiastic affection, and those received in return are equally remarkable for kind and unabated interest in all his pursuits and hopes ; for indeed he was one of the first of the Shrewsbury men distinguished at the university, and there were none, even afterwards, in whose success Dr. Butler felt greater pride and pleasure. In later times, moreover, that same friendship continued, without a moment's interruption, until the Bishop of Lichfield's death.

Mr. Hughes was entered as a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, in October 1803. His first year there

was, to a great extent, wasted. He was at all times singularly open to the influence of those with whom he associated, and he appears then to have fallen into an idle set, and to have, for the first and last time in his life, yielded to the indolent tone of such society. But in his second year he was enabled to shake off this temptation, and he accordingly set to work with a resolute and successful determination to recover his lost ground. He continued to devote himself almost entirely to classical study, to which his natural taste and powers inclined. For mathematical and metaphysical studies indeed he never cared, and he pursued them at this time no further than was sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the university course. But in his own chosen path of study he reaped an ample harvest of success. Besides college prizes and distinctions, he gained the Browne medals for the Latin ode "Mors Nelsoni," in 1806, and for the Greek ode, "In obitum Gulielmi Pitt," in 1807; and (after the B.A. degree) the Members' Prize for the Latin Essay in 1809 and 1810. These prizes, much as they are valued now, were of even higher value at a time when they were in fact the only composition prizes given by the university,¹ and when, moreover, the only higher classical distinctions open in the three years of undergraduate residence, and consequently the objects of the closest competition, were three or four university scholarships. Nor is it to be forgotten that on each occasion Mr. Hughes "succeeded against opponents, who are now the most celebrated scholars of this age and nation."²

The Tripos had not yet established a regular and adequate system of classical distinction; and accordingly,

¹ Since that time the Chancellor's English Medal (1813), the Camden Medal (1841), the Porson Prize (1817), and the Davies' (1810), Bell (1810), Pitt (1814), Tyrwhitt (1819), and Crosse (1833) Scholarships have been established.

² Printed from a testimonial given, in 1827, by the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, late Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, to whose great kindness this memoir owes the most valuable portion of its information.

when Mr. Hughes took his B.A. degree in 1809, it was merely that of a senior optime, the Chancellor's Medals (which were then the only rewards of classical proficiency proposed to commencing bachelors,) being obtained in that year by the present Bishop of London and Mr. Ward. But the reputation which he gained at the university was, nevertheless, of the very highest rank. The style of classical study in those days was, generally speaking, somewhat different from that which was then arising, and which now prevails, at Cambridge. It was probably less scientific in its investigation of great principles of language, and less accurate in its inductions as to classical usage, but certainly more artistic, and perhaps more able to use its knowledge with freedom. To this older school Mr. Hughes decidedly belonged, and he joined to its qualities an extensive acquaintance with general literature, and the power of a good English style. Such was his public reputation: but with any of his old college friends, the remembrance of the private esteem and affection, which he enjoyed and deserved, as at all other times, so especially at that period of life, proverbial for its free and warm friendships, will outlast even the impression of his talents and academical success.

Almost immediately after taking his B.A. degree, Mr. Hughes was appointed to an assistant mastership at Harrow, under Dr. George Butler, the late Dean of Peterborough. In respect of classical scholarship and intellectual ability, he was eminently qualified for any such position, and it can excite no surprise to find that he left behind him a character for "sound and accomplished scholarship." His own quick and affectionate temperament gave him that power of sympathizing with the impulsive nature of boyhood, which is no less necessary to a master, and no doubt secured to him many personal attachments. But the monotony of a systematic work, which must be, to a great extent, mechanical, was unsuited to his disposition, and he had scarcely suffi-

cient discernment of character to be very successful in any post of government. After two years, therefore, he found the position irksome, and returned to Cambridge. The best fruit of his residence at Harrow was his acquaintance with Dr. G. Butler. Their intimacy, arising naturally out of school relations, ripened in after times, and by more continued intercourse, into a close and lasting friendship; and there were few, beyond the circle of Mr. Hughes's immediate family, by whom he was more deeply regretted than by the Dean of Peterborough.

Shortly after his return to Cambridge (where he was elected to a foundation fellowship at St. John's on the first opportunity), Mr. Hughes (Dec. 1812) having accepted the post of travelling tutor to Mr. R. Townley Parker, of Cuerden Hall, Lancashire, visited Spain, Italy, Sicily, Greece and Albania, during a tour of about two years. Travelling was always to him a source of almost unalloyed pleasure. It could scarcely be otherwise to one so full of spirits and physical energy, incapable of bodily fatigue or apprehension, and sanguine to a fault; so quick moreover in observation and sense of beauty, and so full of the ready disposition to admire, and to see good in all things; a disposition certainly much happier, and probably much truer in its discernment, than the captious spirit of criticism which so often assumes the character of penetration.

It was not till some years after his return that he published the history of his 'Travels in Greece and Albania' (2 vols. quarto), a work which was very favourably received, and which soon passed through two editions. The interest of all books of travels, except when they chronicle great natural or scientific discoveries, is naturally lessened by the lapse of a few years. 'Greece and Albania,' which were then lands almost unknown to the ordinary tourist, and accessible only with great difficulty, are now within the reach of every one, and have been described again and again by subsequent travellers. But Mr. Hughes's travels must always have the interest which belongs to the nar-

rative of a man who observes and thinks for himself, with all the previous advantage of an education which has made him familiar with the thoughts of others; and in particular, the sketch there given of the history and character of the famous Ali Pasha, whom they had many opportunities of seeing familiarly at Joannina, is still one of the best extant.¹

After his return to England he resumed his university career with renewed energy and increased reputation. In September 1815 he was ordained Deacon upon his fellowship, and was soon appointed to an assistant tutorship at St. John's College. Before, however, he entered upon the duties of that post, an offer was made him (in 1815) of a fellowship and tutorship at Trinity Hall. This offer he accepted, wishing, perhaps, for a more independent position, and a college less predominantly mathematical than St. John's.

But the new sphere unfortunately proved to be too narrow; the society was necessarily limited, and the general proficiency of the undergraduates scarcely high enough to give scope to high classical talents. The step, therefore, seems to have been an unfortunate one in itself, and probably exercised an untoward influence over his future prospects. The fact is, that the large colleges at Cambridge, by their disproportionate magnitude, oppress the smaller ones. The extent of their society, and the closeness of their competitions, attract talent, and train it to especial excellence, although it may reasonably be doubted whether the greater approach to equality in these respects in the sister university may not produce a better effect on the tone of the body as a whole. Accordingly, by his migration, Mr. Hughes rather threw himself out of the line of university distinction, and the eminence which so often follows it in after life; and the step, of course, once taken, was almost irrevocable.

¹ In the 2nd edition he also added a notice of the Greek war of independence, in the success of which he was deeply interested.

In 1817 he once more received the offer of a fellowship at Emmanuel College, and he was glad thus to enter upon a wider sphere, although one far from equal to that which he had left.

In his new collegiate position he was elected Proctor in that same year. The office, as all university men know, is an honourable, but by no means an agreeable one. Its difficulty arises chiefly from the contrast between the theoretical strictness of university discipline (belonging, as it does, in great measure to bygone time, and to a very different state, both of society at large and the undergraduate body itself), and the laxity of practice which has, perhaps inevitably, succeeded. A strict adherence to the letter of the law is apt, not only to cause difficulty and unpopularity, which should be no sufficient obstacles, but also to do more harm than good, by rousing a spirit of opposition, and losing that support of opinion, without which, like the old Roman Censorship, it ceases to have any effective power. A departure from the spirit of the university discipline leads, of course, to disorder and evil; and deprives its younger members of an external assistance, with which they are not strong enough to dispense. But Mr. Hughes, at any rate, overcame these difficulties most successfully. His natural energy, and intense indignation against all which he deemed unworthy, forbade any laxity in the discharge of his duty; but, at the same time, did not prevent his securing universal popularity and respect.

In this same year, while still holding the Proctorship, he gained the Seatonian Prize, by his poem on Belshazzar's Feast. The character of English prize poems is not generally very high. Polished versification, and a certain conventional stock of poetical imagery, are supposed to be all that can be expected in productions which are called forth by the offer of a prize, and cannot therefore be considered as not spontaneous utterances of an inborn power. This may or may not be generally true. But certainly no

one can read a line of 'Belshazzar's Feast' without feeling that it contains much more than this; that there is life in it—real imagination and graphic power—as well as artificial beauty. The best proof of this was the unusual sensation which it created at the time, astonishing even Mr. Hughes's most intimate friends by the discovery of a vein of talent hitherto untouched; and that its reputation was not confined to the university, we have still a living evidence in the well-known painting of Belshazzar's Feast by Mr. Martin, the first idea of which that accomplished artist himself attributed to Mr. Hughes's poem. A work, which can inspire others, must have a living inspiration of its own.

In 1819 he received priest's orders, and was almost immediately appointed by the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Herbert Marsh, to be his domestic and examining chaplain. He, however, remained at Emmanuel, where he became Dean and Greek Lecturer, still, as usual, sustaining his high character as a scholar, and gaining new friendships in private intercourse; but he must, nevertheless, have felt that the influence belonging to a high position in a large college, and the prospects which it opens for future life, had been to a great extent sacrificed.

In 1822 he published a work of a more fugitive but a more popular character, 'An Address to the People of England in the cause of the Greeks.' The publication was "occasioned by the late inhuman massacres in Scio," and elsewhere, which disgraced the Turkish cause in the Greek war of independence. It is written in all the fervour of a righteous indignation, in behalf of a people in whom Mr. Hughes had learnt to take a deep interest since his travels in their oppressed country; and its object is to assert the essential barbarism of the Turkish character, and the hopelessness of sustaining a stationary and effete despotism. Its language is, of course, coloured by strong excitement, and its conclusions may seem to have been now contradicted by the many efforts which the

Ottoman government has made towards national improvement; but the unfortunate fact that these efforts have been, to a great extent, enforced and sustained from pressure from without, against the feelings of the main body of the Turkish people, must still shake confidence in their stability, and their value as real indications of civilization. It is at any rate certain that the establishment of the "independent Greek Empire," which Mr. Hughes hopes for, is the object of the wishes, if not the hopes, of many farsighted politicians of our own day, as the only trustworthy solution of the difficulties of the "Eastern Question." But, whatever may be thought of its conclusions, the pamphlet is rendered painfully interesting by the details of personal experience which it records, and is eminently characteristic of its author, in its ardent love of right, and hatred of oppression.

In Christmas 1822, he was appointed Christian Advocate, and held that office for the usual period of six years.* The errors which it called on him to combat are now of no great moment. There were some scandalous writings of a Mr. Gamaliel Smith, undertaking to prove the imposture of St. Paul's life, and his corruption of the "Religion of Jesus," by that process of minute cavil and "criticism" which was then much in fashion, although now scorned and exposed by a more sweeping infidelity: there were Essays 'on the Eternity of Matter,' and 'against the Divine Institution of the Sabbath,' both occupying the old familiar ground on their respective questions; and there were also some of the many attempts of Unitarians to disprove the Divinity of our Lord by the passages which establish His true humanity. These were the subjects which occupied his pen. There is no want of vigour in his handling of them; but theological controversy, as may be easily imagined, was not his natural ground; and his publications as Christian Advocate, like the writings

* The approbation of the University was shown by his being twice chosen for the post.

which called them forth, will hardly retain any permanent interest.

In 1823 he finally quitted his collegiate life, for in the April of that year he married Miss Forster, the daughter of the Rev. J. Forster, of Great Yarmouth; but, still unwilling to relinquish the society of Cambridge, he fixed his residence as curate at Chesterton (about two miles distant), and, after about two years, he returned to Cambridge itself, and lived there, with but occasional absences, until about a year before his death. His occupations were still chiefly literary, although he not unfrequently had some pastoral charge; which (as usual in Cambridge) was undertaken without any adequate remuneration, except the pleasure arising from the discharge of clerical duty, and more particularly of the offices of charity, to which it naturally gave scope.

His undiminished reputation as a scholar was indicated by his appointment as one of the First Examiners for the New Classical Tripos of 1824. He afterwards performed the same duty in 1826 and 1828, and rejoiced that the University had at last done due justice to his favourite path of study. It had not been done without an amount of opposition difficult even to conceive now, when steps so much more extensive and important have been taken in the same direction.

In 1827 he was collated, by his friend Bishop Marsh, to a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of Peterborough, but this did not withdraw him from Cambridge, except during the two months of annual residence.

In the same year (1827), however, on the vacancy of the head-mastership of Rugby School, he became a candidate. His testimonials, after all due allowance for conventional language, indicate by their extent and the variety of sources from which they were drawn, an extensive reputation, and intimate friendship with the first

¹ The same is to be said of the living of Fiskerton to which he was presented by the Chapter in 1832.

men and scholars of the day. But in any case (as has been before said) it may well have been doubted whether Mr. Hughes could have filled such a position with satisfaction to himself or real benefit to the school; and, if he could have foreseen how much the welfare of all the schools of England, and of the cause of Christian education itself, were to depend on the appointment to that head-mastership, he would hardly have been a competitor against Arnold.

His failure even then was not felt as a subject of any deep regret. His place evidently was at Cambridge, and his work was to be done with the pen. In 1831 he engaged in a more important literary undertaking, the edition of the writings of some of the great Divines of the English Church, in a cheap and popular form, with a biographical memoir of each writer, and a summary, in the form of an analysis, prefixed to each of their works. The collection contained the works of Bishop Hall, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, and Sherlock, and the task of the editor was one of considerable labour and difficulty, although it was not proposed to perform it with the elaborate research which has distinguished later works of the same kind. The narratives and summaries are vigorously written, and may generally be relied upon; the text does not seem to have differed materially from that of former editions.

His chief work, the Continuation of the History of England, was undertaken in 1834, at the request of the late Mr. A. J. Valpy. It was written, in the first instance, with great rapidity, to meet the requirements of a cheap monthly issue; but Mr. Hughes, naturally unwilling to send forth the fruit of much thought and research in an inaccurate form, gladly availed himself of a subsequent opportunity of publishing it with very considerable corrections throughout, and with a large portion actually rewritten. It is from this latter issue, the preparation of which almost equalled the labour of the first, that the present edition is reprinted.

It would be out of place to enter here into any criticism of the work, which may better speak for itself. It maintains its place as a standard authority; its general fidelity and accuracy have never been questioned; and of its style and spirit its readers may very safely be left to judge.

It may easily be imagined, from Mr. Hughes's character, that the deep historic philosophy of a Hallam, or a Guizot, and the laboriously minute research of many modern historians, could not be expected from him. His qualifications for the task were of a different order, tending rather to a lively, graphic view of events and persons, than to the tracing of the profounder lessons of history, or to the discovery of unknown facts and motives. It might have seemed indeed that his natural warmth and strong political feelings would be a more serious hindrance, as militating against the necessary impartiality of the work. In some instances it may have been so, especially as, although reluctantly, he was induced to bring down the narrative to his own time. But the true remedy against partiality is not to be sought in an absence of enthusiasm and political interest, which holds itself aloof, in a fancied superiority, from the great principles involved in the struggles of a free nation, and is incapable of being really fair to any, because it has no sympathy, and, therefore, no full understanding of either side. This disposition is very successful in discovering the falsehood, which taints all human actions, but it passes unconsciously by the truths which lie deeper still. The only real safeguard against partiality is a love of truth in oneself, and a readiness to believe it in others. It is not to be expected that a man's sympathy in all causes can be equal; he must love what he thinks the right, and hate what seems the wrong; but the spirit of truth, and the charity "which rejoices not in iniquity," will enable him to distinguish between men and principles, and to do justice, even where he must fail to sympathize. This is the impartiality, without which

History cannot be written, and at which Mr. Hughes most certainly aimed.

With the publication of the history his literary life ended. Other projects were entertained, such as an English edition of Strabo in conjunction with Dr. Lee and Mr. Akerman, a compilation of commentaries on the Bible, &c. ; but he was not permitted to execute them.

He continued to reside at Cambridge, although he had some offers of good positions elsewhere, until 1846, still enjoying its society, and taking a warm interest both in the university movements, and the political elections of the time ; but naturally living now more within the circle of his increasing family. His home attachments were very deep and tender, and he never forgot and never quite recovered the shock of the first loss in that beloved circle by the death of his younger son in 1844.

In May 1846 he was presented to the vicarage of Edgeware, Middlesex, by his old friend Dr. Lee. Having resigned his other living, he at once removed to Edgeware, and entered actively on the duties of a parish priest, which he had so long laid aside. But he was not to execute them long. During the year 1847 he had complained of an undefined feeling of illness, and a loss of his naturally robust health and energy, caused perhaps, or at any rate increased, by some serious pecuniary anxieties. He still, however, pursued his ordinary employments, and seemed to be as usual, although he was not without vague forebodings of some coming change. But, on August 8th, he was seized with sudden and alarming illness, which proved afterwards to be disease of the heart ; and after three days of much suffering and partial insensibility he died on the 11th.

It would be out of place here to say how deeply he was grieved for in his family, or how severely his loss was felt by his parishioners, especially in the lower class. It would be needless to add, that one who made and kept so many friendships would be more than usually

regretted by a wider circle. These are matters to be treasured up by the affection of private remembrance, but his public memorial is in his works. By them men must judge of his character, and of the services he has rendered to posterity; and if in them there is anything, either useful or elevating, if they have served to forward the cause of truth, and kindle an enthusiasm for what is good and right, if they have helped men to trace out some few pages of the handwriting of God, in the visible creation, in the nobler field of history, or the sacred precincts of theology itself, then they will not have been written in vain.

PRELIMINARY ESSAY
ON THE
POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE,
AND
ITS CONNEXION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

THE balance of power in Europe is a result of that federative union between its different states, which professor Heeren calls the 'States-system.' The relations of this system were produced, as he observes, by the progress of civilization, which necessarily increases the points of contact among neighboring states: still they presuppose certain general objects, in which the common interest was concerned. Of this nature were the Italian wars—the affairs of religion after the reformation—the necessity of opposing the advances of the Turks—the commerce of the colonies, which was constantly increasing in value, and the commercial interests to which it gave rise. To all this there remains to be added, the facility of communication which printing and the establishment of posts afford; whence the christian nations of Europe became, in a manner, morally united into one community, which was only politically divided.¹

In this confederation, until a few years since, the monarchical principle exerted a predominant influence; scarcely a republic beside that of the united Netherlands having any weight in the system: hence the effects arising from the movements of great popular parties would have been unfelt and unknown, but for the intervention of religious dissensions: hence also the management of public affairs, becoming more and more concen-

¹ Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, &c., Oxford, 1834, vol. i. p. 9.

trated in the hands of princes and their ministers, led to that cabinet policy which has been so long prevalent in Europe. The principles of this federative system was first disclosed by Lorenzo de' Medici, to sustain the independence of Florence : but though it terminated with him, it sprang up again in Italy, amid the contests of France and Austria for that beautiful country ; and its central point was thenceforward fixed in the Germanic empire ; which, being important to all, and dangerous to none, was peculiarly fitted to give strength and stability to the growth of such a confederation. One important consequence of this system was the recognised sanctity of legitimate possession—a second was the adoption of a principle called the ' Balance of Power ;' i. e. an attention paid by all the states to the preservation of their mutual independence, in preventing any particular nation from rising to such a degree of power as might be inconsistent with the general liberty.

The history of the States-system is divided by professor Heeren into three periods ; the first extending from the end of the fifteenth century to the accession of Louis XIV. ; i. e. from 1492 to 1661 ;—the second, from 1661 to the death of Frederic the Great, and the commencement of political changes in Europe in 1786—the third, from this latter period to the present times. The first is styled by him the political-religious period ; the second, the mercantile-military ; the third, the political-revolutionary and constitutional period ; in which he recognises successively, the rise, the establishment, and the dissolution of the ' Balance of Power.' In the first two periods and in the early part of the last, the northern European system, comprising Russia, Sweden, Poland, and Denmark, must be kept separate from that of the south, in which all the other states are included, with the exception of Prussia ; for this, after its aggrandisement, formed a connecting link, as it were, between them both.

In the States-system, at its commencement, Spain, France, Austria, the German empire, and England, with the papal and Turkish powers, were the most important members in determining its political relations : of these, Spain, by means of her great American possessions, seemed to have the most brilliant prospects, though France had been enlarged by the acquisition of Bretagne, and strengthened by the policy of Louis XI. The Austrian monarchy was yet in a state of formation ; while the German empire had acquired a more perfect organization, by that established order and recognition of rights, which it owed to Maximilian I. The pope appeared in a twofold capacity,

as spiritual head of the church, and as temporal ruler of its states; a power strangely daring in its resistance and opposition to public opinion, though it had scarcely any other foundation on which it could rest: but it knew its own importance in the wants and jealousies of other potentates. The Porte, by the establishment of a regular corps of janissaries, and a formidable navy, was at the summit of its European greatness. Portugal was occupied in foreign discoveries and conquests. Venice was fast sinking into a rich but weak commercial establishment; while in England a variety of causes contributed to exalt monarchical power: the people being weary of those political disorders by which they had been so long harassed, and the nobles being extirpated or impoverished by the civil wars, nothing was left to withstand the cool and crafty ambition of Henry VII., the first monarch who succeeded peaceably to the throne after the long contest between the red and white roses.

Though the English parliament had received its distinguishing features, it was still, and long continued to be, a body almost without a soul; yet its peculiar organization and temperament rendered it more capable of future energy than any other political association. Before the union with Scotland, and while bad government kept Ireland in a state of hostility, England rarely entered into combination with continental states, though the possession of Calais gave her both a claim and a power. In after times indeed, when Elizabeth had fixed the national character on the basis of protestantism, when Cromwell had taught nations to fear and respect her naval force, and when William had fixed her throne on popular rights and privileges, England, enriched by commerce and illustrious by valor, became a central point, on which the balance of power rested—the very key-stone of history; her name being connected with every grand arrangement in which the cause of man was interested.

It has been found convenient, for the sake of clearness and distinction, to separate the general periods of the States-system into smaller divisions: accordingly the first division of the first general period is measured from the end of the 15th century to 1515; being occupied with the attempts of the French kings, Charles VIII. and Louis XII., to increase their power by Italian acquisitions: they were successfully resisted both in the north and in the south; and France retained nothing of her conquests but the claims which led to them. In these contests were displayed chiefly the craft and treachery of Ferdinand of

Spain; the unconcentrated activity of Maximilian; and the blind lust for aggrandisement of Louis XII.; but no grand interest, no great character appeared, as a moving spring in politics; neither did the art of war, nor that of political economy, make much progress: the influence of extended commerce and distant colonization scarcely came into play; for the revenue drawn by Spain from the West Indies was not yet large; and the principles of her colonial government were not developed.

The second division of this period extends from 1515 to 1556; involving those furious contests between Charles V. and Francis I., from which the great principle, called the balance of power, may be said actually to have emerged.

Both these princes became candidates for the imperial throne at the death of Maximilian; and as Charles was successful, the union of the crowns of Austria, Spain, and Germany on one head appeared fraught with danger to European liberty; especially when the victory of Pavia seemed to constitute Charles master also of Italy. He was prevented from becoming arbiter of Europe, not more by the defective organization of his armies, than by the awakened jealousy of England and the Italian states: of this Francis was aware, when, with singular bad faith, he mentally protested against the treaty at Madrid, by which, after renouncing all claims on Italy, Flanders, and Artois, he ceded the duchy of Burgundy to his conqueror. A second contest soon became unavoidable; and a secret treaty was formed between Francis, the pope, Venice, and the duke of Milan; which Henry VIII. of England also was induced by great promises to join. It was during this contest that unhappy Rome fell a prey to the imperial forces under the constable Bourbon; and a secret alliance was formed, under pretext of a commercial treaty, between the French monarch, and sultan Solyman II., the conqueror of Rhodes, and terror of Europe. The result, however, at the peace of Cambray, was an extension of the emperor's power in Italy, confirmed by his reconciliation with the pope, and followed by his coronation at Bologna: an hereditary dukedom was established in Florence, and the constitution of Genoa settled as it long afterwards remained.

The third contest between these two rivals had its origin in the articles of the last treaty. Francis could not endure the loss of Italy, especially of Milan; so he determined on war, though unable to induce Henry VIII. or the German protestants to join him: he succeeded however in contracting

an alliance with pope Clement VII., by the marriage of his second son, the duke of Orleans, with Catherine de' Medici, niece of his holiness:—a union, which, though it effected nothing at the time, owing to the pope's death, became afterwards of great importance. The French alliance with the Ottoman Porte was now openly declared.

Italy, as before, was the chief, though not the only scene of war; for the seizure of Savoy and Piedmont by Francis did not prevent an irruption of the emperor into the southern part of France. The contests, however, neither in Piedmont nor Picardy were decisive; but a common danger, arising from the formidable advance of Solyman into Hungary, hastened the ten years' truce of Nice, which was concluded under the mediation of pope Paul III., though without the consent or knowledge of the sultan: its conditions were, that each power should retain what it possessed, their respective claims being referred to the pope: hence it happened, that the feudal investiture of Milan remained undetermined; and the refusal of it to Francis, as well as the murder of his ambassadors in their passage through that state, determined him to engage in a fourth war, when only four years of the truce had expired.

He succeeded, not only in renewing his alliance with Solyman and the Venetians, but in adding to it Cleves, Denmark, and even Sweden; though these two last-mentioned powers were of little importance on either side. The emperor, in the mean time, persuaded Henry VIII. to join him in a league and a combined assault on France: yet the peace of Crespy was concluded in 1544, without procuring for either party the object of his contention. A period however was soon afterwards put to the rivalry of these monarchs; Charles being occupied with his ambitious schemes in Germany, while Henry and Francis forgot their animosities in the grave; both dying in 1547. Under Henry II. indeed, the son and successor of Francis, hostilities were renewed with the emperor; but these arose entirely from transactions in Germany. The variable policy of Francis, with respect to religion, was succeeded by the inflexible severity of Henry II.; who, during his whole reign, exerted, but in vain, every effort to eradicate from his dominions the doctrines of the reformation. His death was regarded by the protestants of France as a merciful interposition of Divine Providence.

The consequences of the preceding struggles were, 1. a practical application of the balance of power to the system, through the opposition of its two principal states: 2. a closer

connexion among all parts of southern Europe, through the Turkish alliance, the affairs of Hungary, and the participation of England in continental wars: 3. the preservation of her independence to France, by which the projects of Charles so far were frustrated.

But it is time to advert to that great principle of the reformation, which now began to exert an extraordinary influence in the state of European politics, when every other interest which could animate them was languishing; when all the energies attached to national representation, like those of the Spanish cortes, the British parliament, and the states-general of France, began to disappear, or to become unimportant; and when the threads of political power were in the hands of some few potentates, who only abused the trust, by weaving them into a web of wretched intrigue, for the gratification of their own passions. Many causes contributed to render Germany a favorable scene for the commencement of the reformation. In no other land had that flame, derived from the crusades, which awakened mankind from the slumber of the dark ages, been kept more alive; in no other land had the commerce, which those expeditions encouraged, established a larger class of free citizens, on whose prosperity, enlightened views, and liberal spirit, the future fate of nations depended: the old and continued contests between popes and emperors, had disposed many to resist the pretensions of Roman pontiffs, whose frequent success in the prosecution of their claims, by encouraging them to aggravate abuses, had prepared the people to receive impressions unfavorable to their religion: besides, the numbers of independent jurisdictions in the empire afforded protection to preachers of the reformed doctrines, which could not have existed under a government more simply constructed: Germany therefore was the cradle of the reformation; and there it first assumed that political character, which doubled its importance. The intermixture indeed of politics and religion was in this case unavoidable; because the efforts of the reformers were directed, not only against errors of doctrine, but against the usurpations of a hierarchy which had interwoven itself into the constitution and administration of every European state; so that an opposition of religious principles, interesting and influencing all classes, gave to each individual a direct and personal interest in the foreign policy of his country. The summons and appearance of Luther before the diet of Worms in 1521, imparted to his cause the character of a state trial; while his proscription by the emperor, and the

undisguised protection afforded him by several princes of his own and other countries, laid the foundation of future schisms in the empire.

The signal success of the reformation in various parts of Germany, kept alive as it was by the strenuous labors of Luther, and the newly-invented art of printing, produced two events which opened the eyes of European powers more clearly to discern its political tendency: these were, the war of the peasants in Suabia, and the secularisation of Prussia, a territory which had belonged to the Teutonic order from the middle of the 13th century. Here was the loss of a whole country to the popedom, and an example by which other ecclesiastical princes might profit. These circumstances, and that threatening attitude which the battle of Pavia enabled the emperor to assume, led to the first alliances distinguished by a difference of religious faith: several Roman catholic states leagued themselves together at Dessau in 1525; and the most prominent among the reformers effected a union at Torgau in 1526. These combinations did not contemplate aggressive measures; but peace could not have been long preserved, had not the plan of calling a general council held out hope.

The two next diets were important to the protestants: that of Spire, in 1529, against the intolerant decrees of which they entered a protest, gave them a distinguishing name; while that of Augsburg, in 1530, produced their confession of faith, showing that the principles of the two parties were irreconcilable. When Charles concluded the peace of 1529, he thought it necessary, for the support of his authority, to declare himself protector of the ancient and established religion: hence he determined to adopt coercive measures with the protestants, which produced a counter-association for their mutual defence in the league of Smalcald, in 1531. The speedy renewal of foreign war with the Turks again favored the reformers: by a treaty concluded at Nuremberg, and ratified at the diet of Ratisbon in 1532, the emperor granted them liberty of conscience, until a general council should meet. His hands were scarcely free from the Mussulman, when he became engaged in the restoration of duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, the anabaptist war of Munster, and the Tunisian expedition; all which occupied him till his third war with Francis; when it would have been dangerous to attack the protestants, whose alliance was strenuously courted by that prince: the league of Smalcald was therefore enlarged and

renewed for ten years in 1536. The German policy of Charles was founded on his notions of the imperial power; and as these were very vague, his plans necessarily corresponded with them: the league of Smalcald was the first event which gave to his ideas any determinate form: in it he saw an armed opposition, and a rebellion against the sovereignty of the empire; so he determined to crush it.

The protestants, having in vain demanded a general council, earnestly pressed on Charles the necessity of appointing a conference between a select number of divines from each party, to examine the points in dispute: for this purpose a diet was convened at Ratisbon in 1541, notwithstanding the pope's opposition: nothing satisfactory however being settled at this meeting, the emperor persuaded a majority of its members to sanction an edict, declaring a few speculative points on which the divines had agreed, to be decided, and referring all the rest to a general council; or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod; and, in case of failure there, to a diet of the empire. The protestants being very much dissatisfied with this edict, Charles issued a private declaration, exempting them from whatever they thought injurious or oppressive in it, and confirming to them the possession of their former privileges. These concessions were rendered necessary by the prospect of a rupture with France, and the rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary: hence also he obtained from the protestants liberal supplies of men and money, for his favorite expedition against Algiers. The council of Trent was convoked in 1542, but did not finally open till December, 1545; when by reason of its very form and first decision, the protestants were unable to take any part in it. In the mean time the crafty Charles had concluded the peace of Crespy with his antagonist Francis; which left the protestant associates unprotected, and gave signal for war: this however was directed not so much, according to the pope's desire, against the states which were considered guilty of heresy, as against the leaguers of Smalcald, who impugned the imperial authority. In this enterprise the emperor was flattered by appearances of decisive success; for the disunion and imprudence of the confederates soon brought the whole body to an unqualified submission; the single city of Magdeburg alone continuing to resist the imperial arms. John Frederic, elector of Saxony, having been taken prisoner at the battle of Muhlburg, April 24, 1547, the electorate was bestowed on duke Maurice, his son-in-law; while the death of Francis I., by removing the only rival that could embarrass his

measures, (for Solyman had turned his arms toward Persia) seemed to complete the assurance of Charles's triumph. In the mean time, elated with success, he proceeded to enforce by authority a uniformity of religious opinions; and the confederates were compelled to accept, under an ordinance denominated 'the *interim*,' a restoration of almost all the abuses which had been renounced. The emperor having determined to carry this ordinance into effect, the spirit of the protestants was again roused: Maurice of Saxony, who had joined him, under a selfish policy, though probably with a mistaken reliance on his promises, embraced this critical moment for declaring himself protector of the liberties of Germany; having effected a confederacy with France, which had been projected by the protestants when they leagued together at Smalcald. Unable to resist so powerful a union, or to repeat the artifices by which he had ruined the former, Charles yielded to necessity, and ceded to the protestants, by the treaty of Passau, in 1552, the free and equal exercise of their religion.

This treaty, however, having been concluded by Maurice without the concurrence of his ally Henry II., the war which continued between the French king and the emperor delayed the meeting of a diet for its ratification. This at length assembled at Augsburg, Sept. 21, 1555; and after a discussion of six months, secured to both parties an interval of tranquillity: but as its benefits were confined to those who embraced the confession of Augsburg, such limitation, together with the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*² sowed the seeds of future discord.

Soon after these events, Charles, having failed in his favorite object of uniting the two crowns on one head, resigned that of Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip II., and that of the empire to his brother Ferdinand I.; closing his own career at Valladolid, Sept. 21, 1558. The long reign of this monarch was a most important period for Europe, during which the energies of its principal states, developed and exercised by his restless ambition, were brought within the action of their mutual influences; at the same time a religious separation was effected, generating an opposition of political interests, and, through that opposition, a system of federative relations among the various governments. Moreover, while the influence of

² 'The *reservatum ecclesiasticum* respected the question, whether the future freedom of religion should be extended only to the secular orders, or also to the ecclesiastical. The protestants, to a man, were bent on the latter; but the catholics neither would nor could grant it.'—Heeren, vol. i. p. 73.

the German reformation particularly appeared in its dividing the empire into two great parties, the struggles of which were so instrumental to the federative arrangements of European states; the contemporaneous reformation of Geneva served, by its ecclesiastical arrangement, to infuse into those states a spirit of civil independence, when the common welfare required such a reinforcement of liberal principles to oppose the general exaltation of monarchical authority: the whiggism of our own government, and the political advantages derived from its influence, may be traced to this source. The same reformation gave to the new republic of the united Netherlands an ecclesiastical establishment suited to the genius of its government, which has exercised an important agency on the federative system of Europe: it also produced in the adjacent realm of France a religious party, which, though crushed for a time by the powerful monarchy that enclosed it, still survived the disaster, and mainly contributed to a revolution in that country, which, putting an end to an exhausted system of federative relations, gave a beginning to new political combinations. The great result however of the reformation at the time of which we have just been treating, was the increased interest attaching itself to the German empire, which thenceforth became the true point of balance in the European system. At the end of this period, 1558, protestant opinions prevailed throughout Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Hesse, Mecklenburg, Holstein, and some smaller states in the north; within the Palatinate, Baden and Wirtemberg in the south; as well as within most of the important cities of the empire: Geneva, with great part of Switzerland, as already has been observed, admitted the new doctrines without delay: in England the struggle was going on; while in France and the Netherlands, as well as in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, the reformation obtained a footing, though not such as to ensure its future success. In the mean time, this very reformation, though it was a decided separation from a corrupt church which had ceased to inculcate genuine Christianity, so reacted on that church itself as to moderate its abuses, and for a time to increase its stability. Not only was the powerful, intelligent, and zealous association of jesuits formed for the advancement of papal dominion; but doctrines, which had been received on tradition alone, and interpreted with some degree of latitude, were, in the council of Trent, sanctioned by formal authority, and defined with scrupulous exactness: ceremonies also, which had been observed only in deference to ancient usage, were then declared

to be essential parts of religious worship. The distinct line however, thus drawn between the two contending systems, by which they were placed in more direct and permanent opposition, aided the reformation, as well as the political combinations that arose from its struggles.

In the preceding contests political economy made but little progress; neither were the higher branches of military tactics yet studied, though the art of war was improved by the establishment of a regular infantry. With regard to colonies, the Portuguese and Spaniards remained sole masters of the countries beyond the ocean, though deriving little advantage from them beyond a supply of precious metals; and the abundance of these only contributed to strengthen the erroneous opinion, that a nation's wealth depends on the gold and silver which it contains. The forms of government, as well as the religious doctrines of European states, were transferred to their transatlantic colonies; but one insuperable bar existed against an entire and national union. The white colonists held all that partook of color in complete subjection and degradation: no creole was capable of holding any office under government; and this physical distinction led eventually to the most important results.

The third division of the first period, from 1556 to 1618, is distinguished by the names of Elizabeth and Philip, William of Orange, and Henry IV. of France; names quite sufficient to indicate its character. The reformation became more than ever a leading principle in European policy: how indeed could it be otherwise, when the progress of protestantism was met by the open terrors of the inquisition and by the secret influence of jesuitism, exerted against it in almost every cabinet? Besides, every hope entertained of reconciliation through the council of Trent, vanished at its final dissolution in 1562; when vindictive anathemas were pronounced against all such as should refuse subscription to the peculiar doctrines of the Romish church.

A knowledge of the reformation was, by its intercourse with Germany, early conveyed to Spain, then subject to a common sovereign: but the new doctrines were here met and subdued by unsparring persecution; the most perfect and detestable form of the inquisition existing in this country and Portugal: but the blood of Spanish martyrs, unavailing as it was to the reformation of their country, did not flow in vain; for the cruelty to which their faith was subjected, inspired their fellow-subjects of the Netherlands with such horror of the inquisi-

tion as consolidated their resistance, and established in the United Provinces the reformed religion in connexion with civil liberty.

No country was so well adapted as Spain at this time to excite the commercial energies of Europe. Her possession of the Netherlands, now rising to the highest degree of prosperity, connected her with the trading interests of the whole continent: her vast resources enabled her to equip and support fleets with which she might provoke the exertions of all maritime powers; while her foreign dependencies and rich colonies presented objects of attraction, and splendid rewards, to the enterprise of her enemies.

Philip II., born and educated in Spain, did not entertain that predilection for the Netherlands which his father had cherished: the manners of the people were irksome to his haughty disposition, their privileges offensive to his love of arbitrary sway, and their toleration of the reformed doctrines insupportable to his bigotry. This last consideration determined him to adopt at once the most rigorous measures: he therefore not only republished some severe edicts, which Charles V. had been induced to revoke; but established, for the purpose of enforcing them, a tribunal similar in its nature to the Spanish inquisition. Other measures in conjunction with these served to exasperate popular discontent; and a confederacy, named the Compromise, was formed against the introduction of any inquisitorial tribunal; which was met by Philip with a violence that put an end to every scheme of moderation.

The duke of Alva, who commanded the Spanish armies, was a man fitted beyond all others to goad a dissatisfied people into rebellion, and to bring the first struggles of resistance into the organization of a settled plan. To complete so desirable an object, Providence seems to have raised up a noble champion of liberty in William of Orange, a man eminently qualified for guiding the efforts of his countrymen, by devotion to their cause, by singular dexterity in conciliating their affections, and by great skill in preserving the combination of a confederacy, which, without the pervading influence of his spirit, must soon have been dissolved in its own weakness. Seizing the proper moment for action, after every effort for conciliation had been made in vain, he took up the cause of freedom, and began the war in 1568, with some forces which his brother had levied in the protestant districts of Germany. This dreadful contest continued its devastations for 35 years, not being terminated

until 1607 : such was the severity of the discipline by which these new republicans were trained to independence.

To France the present period was for thirty years one of religious and civil wars, threatening to overturn the very throne itself. The due arrangement of a confederative system of policy appears to have required, that the house of Austria should, from contingent causes, acquire a predominance over the power of France. By the lax constitution of the empire alone could the principles of that policy have been propagated throughout Europe ; and the maritime superiority, acquired by the Spanish branch from its transatlantic discoveries, drew forth the naval energies of the Dutch and of the English ; preparing by these means the machinery of another period. France, encircled as she was by the extensive territories of the house of Austria, and pressed more especially by the power of Spain, was reduced to a temporary inferiority. To Spain indeed, separated from Germany, she might have been a formidable antagonist if religious dissensions had not paralyzed her strength : certainly nothing but the exhaustion which they created could have hindered her from accepting the proffered sovereignty of the Netherlands, and thus preventing the independence of that republic.

The interior adjustment of the French government required some intervals of repose, in which the attention of its rulers might be withdrawn from external interests, and employed in controlling the domestic struggles of the nation. Such an interval now occurred, at the end of which the magnanimous Henry IV., assisted by a wise and cautious minister, rescued his country from the horrors of anarchy, and raised it to a degree of power which induced him to meditate a political transformation of the whole European state. This project was frustrated by the dagger of an assassin : and France again became the prey of faction, until the vigorous hand of Richelieu grasped the helm : but a hatred of Spain took deep root in the nation, on account of the intrigues of Philip II. during its domestic troubles. We may here advert to an extraordinary adjustment of circumstances, which allowed the temporary prevalence of a protestant interest in such a government as that of France : it is only to be accounted for by the peculiar character of its sovereigns. The wavering conduct of Francis I. permitted the protestants to acquire strength, though merely as a religious sect : the steady severity of Henry II. animated them with a spirit of perseverance in their faith, while his weakness enabled their adversaries the Guises

to assume a preponderating power in the government: the feeble reign of Francis II., transient as it was, afforded an opportunity for that union, effected by the Bourbon princes with the protestants, which converted the latter into a political party: the minority of Charles IX., giving occasion to a more violent conflict of court factions, brought the two religious parties into open hostility, which was at length exasperated by a perfidious and cruel massacre of protestants: the yet remaining operation was effected by the artful management of Henry III., which determined the party of the Guises to seek in a great association named the League, a power independent of the crown, and able to control it. The preparatory acts of the drama were then completed; for the king, having first declared himself chief of the League, was compelled to have recourse, for his own safety, to that connexion with Henry of Navarre, which procured for the French protestants their temporary establishment.³ The struggle between the two sects, after Henry himself had been obliged to abjure the protestant faith, terminated in the edict of Nantz; which ensured to the reformers their civil and religious liberty, while it rendered to the Roman catholics that superiority which belongs to the religion of the state. The arrangement was evidently only temporary; for a republican confederacy, possessing fortified places, was set up within the monarchy; two different religious principles, connected with different political interests, were at work within the government: it was impossible but that one of these must in time prevail over the other.

That jealous apprehension of Austria, which occupied the heart of Henry to his last moments, was transmitted to his immediate successors. The Austrian house of Hapsburg had been weakened by a separation of the Spanish from the imperial crown; but it acquired new strength from the personal character of its own princes, whose main object was to preserve peace in Germany: though during this time the storm was gathering which was soon to burst forth in a general European war. The jesuits, who had established themselves in the Austrian dominions, were secretly, but busily employed: frequent collisions gave rise to controversies; and, the consequences were, associations on both sides; the Evangelical Union under the Elector palatine, and the Catholic League under the conduct of Bavaria; while the expulsion of Rudolph II. from the Austrian dominions, with the succession

³ See History Philosophically Considered, by G. Miller, D.D., London, 1832, vol. iii. p. 142.

secured to the bigoted Ferdinand of Stiria, and a closer connexion with the Spanish monarchy, gave rise to melancholy prospects. Happily for western Europe, at this time, the wild spirit of Mahometan conquest fell with Solyman II., who died in 1566, during his campaign in Hungary, to the complete possession of which country Austria arrived by progressive steps: but the position of Transylvania, which insisted on having its own princes, was a source of contention; while a yet greater might have been foreseen from the introduction of the new religion, though liberty of worship was allowed so early as 1606.

One of the most distinguishing features, however, of the foregoing period was the rivalry between Spain and England; the political character, and almost the existence of each power, being interwoven with its religious faith; both also being under rulers who felt an inordinate desire of interfering in the affairs of other nations, as well as ruling despotically over their own. Each country may be said to have acquired at this time its peculiar character as a state: in one, the maintenance of catholicism was made more than ever the basis of politics; the result of which was war with half of Europe, national degradation, and its consequent debility: in the other, protestantism, preserving the hierarchical forms as a support of the throne, and declaring the monarch to be supreme head of the church, became the very basis of the constitution; whence a conviction that church and state must stand or fall together, was deeply impressed on the public mind. Thus Elizabeth became the great antagonist of Philip II.; and the ensuing conflict with Spain calling forth the energies of her kingdom, laid the foundation of its greatness, by directing them to the attainment of maritime superiority.

Politics, during this period, were generally seen under the unfavorable aspect of bigotry, fanaticism, and intolerance; and though some few distinguished individuals rose far above the prejudices of their age, they were ever exposed to the conspiracies of assassins, by which several of them were sacrificed. Political economy began to attract that attention which necessity required; it was promoted in England by Elizabeth and her able ministers; in France by Sully: but the finance system of the Dutch, founded chiefly on indirect taxation, had the greatest influence on foreign states. The art of war, especially that of sieges, was advanced by the talents and experience of Henry IV., prince Maurice, and Alexander of Parma; but nothing like the naval power of England and Holland had yet been seen in Europe. During this period

the fall of the Portuguese dominion in the East Indies was accelerated; while the Dutch raised up their own with proportional rapidity, usurping almost the whole commerce of the east. The English however entered the field against them, and like their rivals perceived the great importance of conducting oriental commerce intirely by sea. Soon after the discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the English merchants made efforts to participate with Portugal in the trade of that country; but private capital was found too limited for a commerce, which, however lucrative, was attended with great risk, and required a considerable force to protect it: hence the original association of those opulent traders, who petitioned Elizabeth to grant them exclusive privileges. That princess, alive to every project for increasing the wealth of her country, sent an embassy to the emperor Akbar at Delhi, soliciting his favor and protection for her subjects trading in his dominions; but without waiting for the result, she granted a charter, December 31, 1600, which invested them with a monopoly of the trade for 15 years, and an unlimited power of purchasing lands; the direction of their affairs being committed to a governor, and committee of twenty-four, empowered to make any laws which should not be at variance with those of the realm; whilst to the crown was reserved a liberty of resuming the grant, on giving two years' notice, should it not prove profitable to the state. The original capital of these "adventurers," as they were then termed, amounted to £72,000, in shares of £50 each. Such was the first charter of a company of British merchants, who, in the course of a few years, by the enterprise and ambition of their agents, the hostile rivalry of other European nations, and the weakness or perfidy of Asiatic princes, found themselves driven into the possession of sovereign power, and called on to act as rulers over the extensive regions of the east.

Notwithstanding considerable success at first, the trade with India depended too much on the good-will and honesty of the natives, as well as on the address of local agents by whom the concerns of the company were managed: destitute of settlements and forts, they had neither accommodation nor security for their property and servants, but were subjected to every species of insult and injury from hostile rivals. Such checks however seem only to have excited their spirit of enterprise; and in 1609 they obtained a second charter, which was made perpetual; subject only to resumption by the crown, after three years' notice, in case of any national detriment resulting from the grant.

Though the British had received permission from the emperor to form settlements and factories on the shores of his realm, their efforts had been hitherto obstructed by the Portuguese, who arrogantly claimed an exclusive right to the whole commerce of the Indian seas. The company's ships were armed to oppose these pretensions: and in 1612, a fleet under captain Best defeated its antagonists in two actions. This success not only raised the reputation of the English, but enabled them to establish a factory at Surat under very propitious circumstances. At their request also, in 1614, James I. sent an embassy to the imperial court, then residing at Ajmere, with a view to place their commerce on a more liberal and secure foundation: all however that sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador, could obtain from the cautious policy of the emperor's son and ministers, influenced as they were by Portuguese intrigues, was a confirmation of former grants, with a right of appointing resident agents at some of the principal cities: but having sailed to Persia, he was much more successful with Shah Abbas, reigning sovereign of that country, who granted to the company all privileges necessary to promote their commerce in the Persian Gulf. Every effort made by the Portuguese to check the progress of the English served only to accelerate the success of the latter, by stimulating them to active and decisive measures: but the contest tended to derange the finances of the company, by involving it in the expenses of military equipments.

During this period the first British settlement was made in North America. Though Henry VII. issued a royal commission to John Cabot for discoveries on that coast, it led to nothing more than a claim of sovereignty over the country which he visited. A considerable time elapsed before the title was effectually asserted; for it was not until the reign of Elizabeth, when the power of England became extended by commerce, and her cupidity excited by the wealth which Spain derived from transatlantic possessions, that Raleigh took possession of the soil; on which he bestowed the appellation of Virginia, in honour of the 'virgin queen.' The hopes of the nation were at first greatly disappointed when no rich mines of gold and silver were discovered; nor was it until subsequent adventurers had surveyed higher latitudes of this great continent, and found a fertile soil, rich pastures, noble rivers and harbors, with magnificent scenes of forest vegetation, that opinions began to change in favor of a land which promised everything to industry and perseverance. The first charter was

granted to British settlers by James I., whose letters patent comprised that extensive region of America, which stretches along the sea-coast from the 34th to the 45th degree of northern latitude. This grant was divided between the London and the Plymouth company; the colonists of the former association being authorised and required to settle south of the 41st degree of latitude, and those of the latter, north of the 38th degree. A few adventurers, drawn together with difficulty by the London company, undertook the settlement of South Virginia, 1607, and in the same year built Jamestown on Chesapeake bay. After a long struggle with the difficulties of their situation, they succeeded in laying the foundation of that rich and powerful state, into which they introduced the cultivation of tobacco, and negro slavery, in 1616. The Plymouth company was more feeble than its rival, and therefore slower in action: the tract of country also allotted to it was more inhospitable in climate, as well as more wild and difficult of cultivation: in addition to which disadvantages, its first settlers were persons possessed of less capital and spirit, but more exposed to outrages: so that North Virginia, or what was afterwards called New England, became the subject of general detraction; and being continually encroached on by the French and Dutch, it would soon have been forsaken by its colonists, had not circumstances occurred in the mother country, which sent out shoals of brave spirits, to seek for civil and religious liberty in the untrodden wilderness of a new world. The government of each colony was by the charter of James vested in a council of thirteen, to reside in the projected settlements, with a board of control in England, consisting likewise of two councils of thirteen; the members of the several councils being nominated by the king, and obliged to act according to his instructions. Certain commercial privileges were granted to the settlers; and every right which they or their descendants could enjoy in their native land, was nominally secured to them after emigration: but all such rights and privileges were virtually annulled by clauses in the charter, which empowered this vain monarch to rule the colonies by his own laws, instructions, and appointments: in fact, the letters patent were soon followed by a code of ordinances for the internal administration of these settlements, drawn up by the royal hand itself, and considered as a pattern of legislative ingenuity. This code, while it confirmed the charter in several particulars, added to it many odious features: so that, after several revi-

sions, the colonists settled under its authority were tempted to establish, without waiting for the royal consent, representative forms of government similar to those of the mother country: hence a quarrel ensued between them and the king; and the company was broken up in 1624. Though these first attempts at foreign colonization were but feeble, as being only private enterprises permitted by government, yet they necessarily led, in connexion with Spanish and Portuguese pretensions, to a maintenance of the freedom of the sea, which England and Holland defended. France also made some settlements, which were important for the future, more than for the present time.

Fourth division of the first period: from 1618 to 1660.—The great and general wars which distinguished this portion of time originated in the closer connexion of interests among European states, in the nearer alliance which took place, on Ferdinand's election to the throne, between Austria and Spain, cemented as it was by the influence of the jesuits; in the policy and influence of cardinal Richelieu, exerted against the house of Hapsburg: and in the effect of these circumstances, which brought the northern powers, particularly Sweden, to take part in the contests of the south.

The celebrated war of thirty years, which made Germany a central point of European politics, is most important for its bearing on the law of nations. Its duration and extent never could have been anticipated: neither was it carried on from beginning to end according to one plan, or with one object; but during its course many extensive wars were joined to it, and swallowed up in its vortex: its great moving principle was the spirit of religious discussion.

The protestant party had spread themselves throughout Bohemia, as well as Austria and Hungary, where Bethlem Gabor, vaivode of Transylvania, seized the throne by their assistance. The first disturbances broke out at Prague in May, 1618, aused by abuses of power in the imperial governor; and the war was begun under Matthias the following year. The Bohemian protestants took up arms under the Count of Thurn; and Ernest of Mansfeld brought them succors from Germany. In August, 1619, the Bohemians chose Frederick V., elector palatine, for their king; who, as head of the protestant union, son-in-law of James I., and ally of Bethlem Gabor, possessed ample resources, had he known how to use them. Ferdinand II., however, being already in alliance with Spain, gained over the league by a

compact with Maximilian of Bavaria, and rendered the union impotent: Spinola, by the aid of Spanish troops from the Netherlands, transferred the seat of war to the palatinate in 1620: Maximilian and Tilly gained a victory on the white Mountain near Prague on the 8th of November, the same year; and in 1621, Frederick was outlawed, the palatinate dismembered, and the electoral dignity transferred to Bavaria. Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick were everywhere defeated by Tilly in 1622, and the following year; after which imperial despotism and spiritual tyranny were predominant throughout Germany: in the mean time, new and bolder projects were formed at Vienna and Madrid, where it was resolved to renew the contest with the united Netherlands. The suppression of protestant doctrines, and the overthrow of German and Dutch liberty, seemed to be inseparable.

In 1625, the circle of lower Saxony, the principal seat of the reformed religion, rising up in arms under Christian IV. of Denmark, as duke of Holstein, involved northern states in the strife: but the elevation of the celebrated Wallenstein to the command of an army raised by himself, was of much more importance, as it affected the course and character of the war, which from this time became in a great degree revolutionary.

In 1626, Mansfeld and Brunswick were defeated by Tilly and Wallenstein, as Christian himself was at Lutter; after which the Danish war was prosecuted by Wallenstein, who recovered the countries on the Baltic as far as Stralsund. In January, 1628, the dukes of Mecklenburg were put under the ban of the empire, and Wallenstein was invested with their territories: he held Pomerania also, and was created admiral of the fleets in the Baltic and the ocean. Peace was at length made with Christian IV. at Lubeck, May 12, 1629; on the condition that he should renounce all right of interference in German affairs as king of Denmark, and should sacrifice his allies. At this time, Ferdinand II., anxious to reduce the electoral princes and bishops to a state like that of Spanish grandees, and alive to the danger of alarming both religious parties at once, resolved to begin with the protestants; accordingly he issued an edict, ordering them to restore all the benefices and church lands which they had enjoyed since the treaty of Passau: but it was easier to issue such an order, than to carry it into execution; and the ambition of Ferdinand soon received effectual checks.

The distinguished success of Wallenstein, and the conduct of that extraordinary chieftain, who from the investiture of Mecklenburg came forward, not as a conqueror only, but as a ruling prince, unveiled his daring plans; and so exasperated even catholic as well as protestant states, that all implored peace and Wallenstein's discharge: hence, at the diet of electors held in Augsburg, the emperor was reduced to the necessity of resigning his general or his allies. Accordingly Wallenstein was dismissed, and Tilly appointed chief of the imperial forces and of the league.

This disgrace of Wallenstein was mainly due to the intrigues of cardinal Richelieu, who wished also to detach the German league from the interest of the emperor; but in this he failed. From the time when he became prime minister of France, he exerted himself in the prosecution of two grand objects: the first of these was to reduce the pride and privileges of the French nobles, for the purpose of consolidating monarchical dominion: the second was to oppose and counteract the power of Austria and Spain; for which purpose he found employment for the former in the Valteline; and for the latter in the war of Mantua, where he supported the pretensions made by the duke of Nevers to the succession. Much more important, however, with regard to the present contest was the influence which he used with Gustavus Adolphus to take a share in it. This celebrated hero landed in Germany, June 24, 1630; and in August, 1631, gained the great battle of Leipsic over Tilly, about three months after that general had involved Madgeburg in all the horrors of destruction. This victory of Gustavus gave a decided superiority to the protestant cause in the empire; and the great advantages which must result to a successful supporter of that cause in Germany were made more evident: the league fell asunder, and he became master of the countries from the Rhine to Bohemia, from the Baltic to Bavaria: but the misfortunes and death of Tilly brought back Wallenstein, whose ambitious plans were equally extensive. The views of each however were soon closed; for Gustavus Adolphus fell in the arms of victory on the field of Lutzen, November 6, 1632; and no long time elapsed before the assassination of Wallenstein took place at Eger, February 25, 1634: but the school of Gustavus produced men able to advance the cause in which he died; for while Oxenstiern supported it in the cabinet, Bernard of Saxe Weimar and Gustavus Horn overran the greater part of Germany with Swedish forces. In 1634 the fortune of war took a different turn;

Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, obtaining the command of the emperor's troops, gained a great battle over the Swedes at Nordlingen, drove them back into Pomerania in 1635, and compelled the Saxons to make a separate peace. Sweden appeared for some time incapable of maintaining her ground in Germany; but, having concluded a subsidy-treaty with France, she again advanced, when Baner and Wrangel gained a great victory at Wittstock, September 24, 1636, and inclined the scale once more in her favor.

The war became much extended and prolonged by the active share taken in it by France; whilst an alliance contracted by Richelieu with the Netherlands, the conquest and partition of which were aimed at by the cardinal, mixed up the German war with that of the Low Countries. The contest in the empire was now principally carried on by France, arming Germans against Germans; but as Bernard of Saxe Weimar, the great pupil of Gustavus, appeared desirous to fight for himself rather than for others, his removal was almost as much coveted by France as by Austria. After a career of victory on the Rhine and the reduction of Alsace, he died in 1639; when France took possession of Alsace and of the army which he left.

Under these circumstances a faint prospect of peace became visible. The alliance between Austria and Spain, which latter state was embarrassed by civil war in Portugal and Catalonia, had been less close since Ferdinand III. had succeeded his father on the imperial throne in 1637: the independence of the new elector Frederic William of Brandenburg, 1640, left less of hope to Austria and Sweden; and at the general diet, which was at length convened, the emperor yielded to what was designated a general amnesty: but though preliminaries were signed at Hamburg, December 25, 1641, the time and place of congress being fixed, the war was continued after Richelieu's death, whom cardinal Mazarin succeeded, through the hope which each party entertained of securing better terms for itself.

Besides, a new contest arose between Sweden and Denmark, which latter state had been gained over to the imperial interest. The Swedish general, Torstenson, was victorious at Holstein and Sleswick, in 1644: and entered Moravia the ensuing year. At length, the congress of peace was opened at Munster and Osnaburg; but negotiations were dragged on for three years, while the Swedes under Wrangel, and the French under the great Turenne, carried all the miseries of war, by

repeated invasions, into the south of Germany, and especially into Bavaria. These successes of his adversaries disposed the emperor to accept terms of accommodation; for which France was more inclined, since the united Netherlands had just concluded a separate peace with Spain, on the basis of their independence, while France itself was threatened with intestine war. In consequence of these favorable occurrences, the memorable peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster, October 24, 1648.

The most important points of this treaty consisted,—1. in an indemnification of foreign powers, as well as single states of the empire: 2. in the internal religious and political relations of the empire itself, and in the relation of some other foreign states to it. The foreign powers indemnified were France and Sweden; the German states were, Brandenburg, Hesse-Cassel, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick-Luneburg. In this indemnification, many ecclesiastical states were secularized, against which act the pope in vain protested. The internal relations of the empire were chiefly confined to points contested or uncertain: with respect to religion, the pacification of Passau was confirmed in its full extent, an equality of privileges being conceded to Lutherans and catholics.

In respect to the political relations of the empire, a general amnesty and restitution was agreed to; but an eighth electorate was created for the palatinate; that which had been taken away from it, together with the upper palatinate, being retained by Bavaria, to whom they were given during the war. To each state of the empire sovereignty within its own territories, and all rights in the diets, were secured; while the united Netherlands and Switzerland were acknowledged to be wholly independent on the German empire.

By this piece also the Germanic body politic obtained its determinate forms: the imperial power was constitutionally restricted within its narrowest limits; and the various potentates being in the fullest sense rulers of their respective states, the welfare of Germany became more attached to the territorial than to the imperial government.

With regard to the political system of Europe, the maintenance of the Germanic constitution acquired a weight in practical politics which could not soon be lost: it seemed indissolubly connected with the balance of power, which consequently became more distinctly acknowledged and confirmed. By the alliance of France and Sweden, which latter country rose to a high rank among constitutional powers, the

north and west of Europe came into closer connexion: this however soon languished for want of some common and permanent interest.

The war between France and Spain continued, because each power expected to gain by its prosecution, especially Spain; for she was disengaged from her contest in the Netherlands, while France was disturbed by domestic dissensions. Her fortune however changed for the worse, especially when Cromwell joined her adversary; and the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 confirmed the superiority of France, not so much by acquisitions of territory as by prospects which the marriage, concerted between Louis XIV. and the infanta of Spain, opened for the future.

The condition of Spain at the end of the reign of Philip IV. was greatly deteriorated. Philip II. had occasioned the dismemberment of the United Provinces, shaken the external power of his kingdom, and injured the national character, by establishing the inquisition in his realms. Philip III. put a stop to all improvement, and completed the national degradation by his expulsion of the Moors. Philip IV. succumbed to the power of France, and was unable to make head against the struggles of Portugal for independence; while the system of ministerial government introduced by himself and his successor accelerated the downfall of Spain: having fulfilled its important functions in forming the European system, it collapsed into a state of political inanition; still standing indeed on the principle of vitality, as a decayed tree will stand for a long period on its external bark, but leaving other states at liberty to advance without embarrassment.

Austria soon gained influence in Hungary and Bohemia sufficient to compensate for the loss of it in Germany: while the Turkish empire, that curse of Christendom, exhibited symptoms of decline common to all great monarchies in the east. England during this period was almost wholly occupied with domestic commotions; and while its royal dignity was extinguished, that of France became aggrandised, and her national influence over the affairs of Europe extended by the talents of Richelieu and Mazarin.

Both to the forms and to the fundamental maxims of practical policy this period was important. The forms were rendered much more definite by Richelieu, that great founder of cabinet policy; but the web at the same time became more complicated. Never before had Europe seen negotiations of such extent or consequence; and henceforth nothing seemed

too much to be transacted by a congress. With regard to political maxims, the book of Grotius, published in 1625, taught rulers that there existed a law of nations; and the British Revolution under Charles I. caused the question relating to the rights of a king and of his subjects to be thoroughly discussed. The maxims of freedom and equality of rights, promulgated by the independents, though they were not received and acted on by the English, were transferred to North America. The colonies in that country were now making such rapid strides, that their importance was sensibly felt by the nation. The persecution of puritans, civil commotions, and despair of any redress of grievances in England, drove numbers across the Atlantic; while the various states, comprised under the general denominations of Virginia and New England, began to separate, and, as was before observed, received constitutional governments: these, though intended to be dependent on the royal authority, contained within themselves the elements of that republicanism which became afterwards so largely developed. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, was settled, in 1627, by many enthusiastic lovers of civil and religious liberty; and the introduction of a free representative system took place so early as 1634; in which year the state of Rhode Island was founded by emigrants from this settlement. From the same state proceeded the first colonists of Connecticut in 1636; as also those of New Hampshire and Maine in 1637, subject however to the government of Massachusetts. In 1643 these provinces united together in a federative union for common defence, under the name of New England: even at the present day the origin of its inhabitants is discernible in their habits, manners, and general disposition.

Pennsylvania was a settlement of quakers, for whom William Penn framed a wise, consistent code of laws; and the prosperity of this colony, together with the mild manners of its inhabitants, rendered it easy to be governed. The provinces around it, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, chiefly consisted of cessions made to the British crown by the Dutch and Swedes. The charter of Maryland was obtained from Charles I. in 1632, for the avowed purpose of providing an asylum for Roman catholics, whom the king reluctantly persecuted. Lord Baltimore was appointed absolute proprietary, saving the allegiance due to the crown, license of settlement being given to all British subjects: they, with their posterity, were entitled to all the rights and liberties of Englishmen, having power to make laws for the province, if

not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England. North and South Carolina were granted by Charles II. to some persons of rank, for whom the celebrated Locke drew up a theory of government, which was not found to succeed in practice: besides, these colonies endured so many evils from the anomalous characters of their first settlers, puritans, cavaliers, and French hugenots, as also from the arbitrary sway of the proprietaries, that while the provinces of New England clung to their charters as the guardians of their rights, the Carolinas sought relief by an appeal to the throne, renouncing the proprietary government and establishing a royal governor; their laws being enacted in a provincial assembly, like those in Virginia; which province soon rose to a very high state of prosperity, chiefly through the introduction of the tobacco-plant.

The American settlements suffered greatly by the revolution in England; especially Maryland and Virginia: the inhabitants of this latter province were the last British subjects that submitted to the arms of Cromwell, and the first colonists who proclaimed Charles II. In 1660 the famous navigation act of 1651 was renewed, embracing the North American colonies; a plain acknowledgment of their value to the mother country. In 1686 James II. determined to overthrow the proprietary governments; but more serious affairs at home prevented the execution of his design.

The French also fixed their views on both Indies, and their colonies began to rise into importance. While their attempts, under Richelieu, to acquire a share of the East Indian trade, were unsuccessful, their plantations on several of the West Indian islands thrived greatly; but still remained private property. The English possessions also in the West Indies consisted of settlements made by individuals on some of the smaller Antilles, and were little valued till the sugar-cane began to thrive in Barbados, where it had been introduced from Brazil. This, and the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, laid the foundation of British commerce in that part of the world. Spain lost the colonies of Portugal when the latter regained her independence; but she retained her own. Portugal lost nearly all her East Indian possessions to the Dutch, but retained her colonial importance by the possession of Brazil. The commerce and manufactures of the Dutch, favored as they were by national liberty, became so flourishing as to awaken the jealousy of their neighbors: their East Indian colonies increased to a great extent, and apparently possessed a strong

bulwark in the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope: their extensive carrying-trade, however, received a severe blow from the navigation act of Cromwell.

British commerce in the East was on the verge of ruin, until the Protector in some measure restored it by a renewal of its privileges. In 1616 the company possessed numerous factories both on the continent and in the islands; but from the latter they were driven by the Dutch, after a course of calculating cold-blooded policy, terminating in the abominable massacre of Amboyna; since which time the English have abandoned to their rivals almost all insular commerce in the east. That catastrophe, added to the bad faith of government, and some radical defects in the constitution of the company, the smallness of their capital, their increased expenditure, their want of forts, and a consequent reliance on the precarious protection of native governments, had brought their affairs to the lowest ebb, when accident led to the formation of a settlement in Bengal, which has since proved the source of their vast prosperity. The company were indebted to the professional skill of a physician, named Boughton, for this origin of their extraordinary power: he obtained for them the privilege of settlement from the emperor Shah Jehan, as well as from the nabob of Bengal; and in 1636 they built a factory at Hoogley, about 100 miles from the mouth of the Ganges. At this place the Dutch and Portuguese also established factories; but during the reign of James II. the British company's servants so irritated the native powers by their imprudent conduct, that they found it necessary to move twenty-five miles down the river, to a village called Chuttaruttee. Having there in 1698 obtained a grant of land from the Mogul, on the condition of an annual rent, they began to construct Fort William; under shelter of which Calcutta, the great city of palaces, and capital of modern India, has gradually arisen. About the same period another station was obtained by purchase, on the coast of the Carnatic; where Fort St. David was built, and made subordinate to the government of Madras. In the troubles of the Revolution, their very existence as a corporation was nearly annihilated; but in 1651 their interests began to revive; and the war brought on between the English and Dutch by the celebrated navigation act, humbled the latter so much, that, in suing for peace, they promised to make satisfaction to our East India company for injuries done to its trade; but this promise was eluded by the forms of a treaty. The commerce of the company now began to be

encumbered by the enterprises of private traders, until Cromwell granted a new charter, on a joint stock capital of £739,782; though half only of that sum was actually subscribed. Their hopes fell with the death and energetic reign of the protector, but unexpectedly revived with the privileges granted by a charter from Charles II. in 1661; which not only confirmed those of Elizabeth and James, but added many new and important rights. They were now allowed to erect forts; to appoint governors, officers, and judges for the trial of civil and criminal causes; to make war and peace with the 'infidels of India;' to raise men in England for their settlements: and to send back any British subjects who were found residing in the country, or sailing in the Indian seas, without their permission. The right of voting was now limited to proprietors of £500 stock.

Political economy made no great progress during the foregoing period: Richelieu and Mazarin merely provided for the necessities of the moment; and even in the united Netherlands, loans were the sole support of war, though the example of that state showed the vast resources which lay in manufactures and foreign commerce. In military art the great Gustavus Adolphus struck out a new line of tactics, by the introduction of quicker motion, making the files less deep, and adopting lighter arms, with an improved artillery.

The beginning of the sixteenth century was an epoch for the north of Europe, as well as for the west. In its five principal states, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, and Prussia, as it then existed, revolutions took place, which either determined, or materially influenced, their future forms of government. These changes were brought about by two important events; the re-establishment of the Swedish throne, at the dissolution of the union of Colmar, 1524; and the reformation, which was so favorably received in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, that its prevalence soon became very general: in the last-mentioned state it formed the basis of its constitution: it affected all the subsequent relations of Prussia, and in a great degree prepared the future fate of Poland. The history of the Gothic or Germanic nations of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, may be comprised in three general periods: the first preceding the dissolution of the union of Colmar; the second, between that event and the treaty of Westphalia; the third, extending from this treaty to our own times. The first exhibits these nations as influencing the southern states only by occasional agency, and maintaining

with them no settled combination of political interests. The second period presents them as entering into a more orderly arrangement; first, as they were permanently distributed into two governments, at the dissolution of the triple union; and next, as these were successively engaged in the German war, attaching themselves as satellites to the great system which the southern governments were beginning to form. In the third period we shall see them separating themselves from the southern states, and constituting a distinct northern system, as influenced by the superior attraction of Russia.

In the early part of the 17th century fierce hostilities were carried on by the Poles and Swedes, in which the balance of success was greatly in favor of the latter. The long and active part which Sweden took in the thirty years' war gave to the north a period of repose; but the jealousy of Sweden entertained by Denmark broke out in repeated wars; the former, however, gained a decided superiority over her rival at the peace of Westphalia. In 1655, war commenced between Sweden and Poland, because John Casimir, king of the latter country, would not renounce his pretensions to the Swedish throne, and acknowledge those of Charles Gustavus. In this contest, the ill success of Poland, which was at the same time engaged in a Russian war, added to the bold schemes of Charles Gustavus, who aimed also at the subjugation of Denmark, and the establishment of a great monarchy in the north, roused the energies of neighbouring states, until nearly half of Europe was occupied in counteracting his ambitious plans. These however were frustrated by his sudden death: after which peace was concluded at Copenhagen, May 27, 1660, under the mediation of France and the maritime powers; also between Sweden and Poland, in the same year, at Oliva, when John Casimir renounced all claims to the throne of Sweden, and resigned to that power the greatest part of Livonia, Esthonia, and the isle of Oesel. The duke of Courland, taken captive by the Swedes, was released and restored to his dominions. In 1661, peace was also concluded between Sweden and Russia, conquests being mutually restored.

In the mean time, the elector Frederick William, under whom the house of Brandenburg rose to great importance, ably availed himself of these contests to break the feudal relations which connected Prussia with Poland. Appearing at first inclined to side with Sweden, he purchased this independence by the treaty of Welau: but when he penetrated into the design of Charles Gustavus to render him a vassal of the

Swedish crown, he soon showed himself active in opposition to his plan of establishing a northern monarchy. The treaty of Oliva confirmed the entire independence of Prussia. To Denmark the storm which had thus arisen occasioned a revolution in its government, by which Frederic III. acquired an hereditary and absolute sovereignty.

Second period of the States-System.—If the general character of the last period derived its tone and color from the interference of religion with politics, that of the present was equally affected by the influence of money; a consequence of advancing civilization, which induced governments to undertake numerous projects of an expensive nature. Men now discovered that a certain relation always exists between the means of government and the prosperity of the nation; therefore they endeavoured to promote the wealth of the latter through trade and manufactures, increasing the value of raw materials by the application of ingenious arts: but as navigation and foreign commerce depend mainly on colonies, these naturally acquired greater importance; and the maritime powers began to obtain a manifest preponderance in the system. Hence, during peace, there was generated a continual distrust and an envy of those states which were supposed to gain by the losses of others: during war attempts were made to annihilate an enemy's commerce, and the system of privateering was put in practice: the contest also extended itself to the colonies, and neutral trade suffered various restrictions and oppressions.

This mercantile character of the age had a peculiar effect on its military system: from the continual dissensions which it produced arose the institution of standing armies, which attained to its height under Louis XIV. and Frederic the Great. This rendered tranquillity in peace more secure, while it mitigated the evils of war: yet nations must grow ripe for subjugation in proportion as they lay aside generally the instruments of defence.

Though frequent attempts were made during this period by single states to acquire a preponderance by destroying the balance of power, yet were they always frustrated; and their failure served only to confirm it. The relations of different countries were drawn closer by the agency of diplomacy, which soon acquired great perfection and authoritative influence: hence the enlarged system of foreign embassies.

First Division of the Second Period: from 1661 to 1700.—This is often called the age of Louis XIV.; in which France

became the great opposing power against Austria, and acquired a predominance in the European states: this she effected, not only by her arms, population, situation, and extent of territory, but by her superior refinement and the domination of her language. The regal power had been advanced greatly by the policy of Richelieu, though the constitution of the kingdom was too complicated to admit of a pure despotism: the rights of the nobility and clergy, the parliaments, and many local privileges, kept it in check, and confined its attacks chiefly to individuals; so that the national spirit was not extinguished.

With regard the internal relations of the other southern nations, each seemed adapted to exalt France by serving as her foil. Spain languished in a passive state of insignificance under Charles II., while England's profligate monarch and his venal ministers became actual pensioners of the crafty Louis. The united Netherlands had weakened their power on land by the vast increase of their marine: Austria was engaged with the Turks, and her emperor in the hands of the jesuits; nor could the Germanic empire conceal its weak points from the penetrating eye of Louis, who soon discovered what might be effected there by policy and force: but in the political system of Europe, as it now existed, there was no room for the ambitious plans which he meditated.

The commercial spirit excited in France by the genius of Colbert, acted no less strongly on Europe, than the spirit of conquest produced by the ambition of Louis, supported as this was by Louvois in the cabinet, and by Turenne in the field. The king's favorite scheme, which had also been that of Richelieu, was the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands; for this would immediately have established the sovereignty of France in Europe. Meanwhile a maritime war broke out between the English and the Dutch, when Louis took up arms to enforce his claims on these countries, founded principally on the *jus devolutionis* by the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. of Spain: after the peace of Breda, however, a triple alliance was formed at the Hague, between England, Holland, and Sweden, to counteract such an aggression; which being one of the few energetic measures in the disgraceful reign of Charles II., seemed to restore England to her proper station, while it increased the consequence of Holland. The terms of this treaty, however, and of that of Aix la Chapelle, which followed it in 1668, pleased neither France nor Spain: though the pride of Louis was mortified by the stop thus put to his conquests, yet a renunciation of his

unjust pretensions was not required: even twelve conquered fortresses, on the frontiers of the Netherlands, were left in his possession, as if to invite a future attack. Our surprise, indeed, is lessened, though our indignation is strongly excited, when we are told that the English monarch was actuated by no views of general policy; but that his motives were, 1, to gain a little temporary popularity with his own subjects; 2, to ruin de Wit by detaching him from France; and in consequence of his fall, to raise up the family of Orange in the United Provinces.⁴ With regard to Sweden the affair was merely a matter of financial speculation: hence it happened that when France determined to take revenge on Holland, and to gain, if possible, an accession of strength by conquest, she found no difficulty in breaking up the triple alliance, and persuading England and Sweden to become her allies.⁵

It was principally owing to the negotiations which preceded the peace of Aix la Chapelle, that the influence of Louis was established in the German empire: none of the inferior states could resist his proposals of neutrality, subsidies, and marriages. Cologne and Munster became allies; Austria and Spain were silenced; the duke of Lorraine, as a friend of the latter power, was expelled the country; and even de Wit himself was deluded. With such care and precaution were measures taken to secure success: yet when the storm of war burst on the republic, it passed over its battlements and left them uninjured. By the destruction of de Wit, Louis himself became instrumental in raising up a hero, who nobly withstood his ambitious projects, as the first prince of Orange had withstood those of Philip II. The career, however, of William III. was more splendid, because he contended not only for the liberty of his own country, but for that of Europe combined with it: he contended also with success both in the cabinet and in the field.

In 1672 Louis made his grand attack on Holland by sea and land. Amsterdam was preserved only by the whole country around it being laid under water; a revolution took

⁴ Mémoires de Gourville, tom. ii. Macpherson's History of Britain, vol. i.

⁵ A secret alliance was formed between England and France by the cabal ministry, not merely to produce the fall of the republic, but also of the British constitution: and in consideration of subsidies, as usual, an alliance was soon afterwards made with Sweden, April 24, 1672, nominally only for protection. Sir William Temple, having been deceived by the king, retired into private life.—Heeren, vol. i. p. 218.

place at the Hague; de Wit and his brother fell victims to popular fury; and William III. was made hereditary stadtholder. All other states were filled with consternation at the imminent danger of the republic; England made a separate peace with her; she found allies in Austria, Spain, Germany, and Brandenburg; while France could not, without great trouble, induce Sweden to engage so far in the contest as to find employment for Brandenburg and the Empire. The Spanish Netherlands and the country of the Upper Rhine subsequently became the principal scenes of combat; on the former of which Condé, and on the latter Turenne, displayed great military talents. The republic, that important member in the European system, was saved as soon as the war was removed from its boundaries; but unoffending countries had to suffer in a foreign cause, and its weaker allies had the cost of making satisfaction to France, whose arms were generally victorious.

After fruitless attempts to bring about a peace at Cologne, Nimeguen was selected as a place for a general congress: negotiations however went on slowly; England resumed an imposing attitude; but her exertions were paralysed through the infamous conduct of Charles, who was bribed by Louis with £300,000. The French monarch also contrived to make a separate peace with the republic, Aug. 10, 1678, by which the old commercial relations between the two countries were restored. In September Louis concluded a treaty with Spain, retaining Franche Comté, with twelve fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands: and in February, 1679, he made peace with the emperor, keeping possession of Freyburg. Thus France held a successful contest with the better half of Europe; showing herself as great in the cabinet as in the field, and acquiring possessions which laid the Netherlands at all times open to her attacks.

Louis, instead of setting bounds to his ambition, employed the leisure which this peace afforded him, in perfecting his plans of absolute sovereignty, keeping up a large army, and raising his marine to 100 ships of the line and 60,000 seamen. Many acts of violence and aggression were perpetrated by France on all sides; but by the unwearied exertions of the prince of Orange, a defensive alliance was formed to preserve the peace of Nimeguen; and a truce of twenty years was finally settled: but the elements of strife had been for some time gathering, and it was not possible long to defer the explosion. Besides, the greatness of Louis began to show

symptoms of decline: the death of Colbert in 1683 relaxed the sinews of his power; his revocation of the edict of Nantz deprived his country of its most ingenious and industrious artizans, while it involved him in difficulties with the protestant powers, who were become unaccustomed to such scenes: his insolent treatment of the pope was the last insult offered by him to the dignity of sovereigns which was suffered to pass with impunity.

An ambitious attempt made by Louis to obtain the electorate of Cologne for the cardinal de Furstemburg, one of his own creatures, in opposition to the emperor, showed the necessity of a new league, while it rekindled war in Germany and the Low Countries. The empire, Spain, and Holland were principals in this association at Augsburg; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy afterwards joined it; so that the accession of England alone seemed requisite to make it complete, when an event occurred, which in itself would have rendered war inevitable. The English Revolution raised William III. to the throne of his father-in-law; and the reception given to James II. by the French monarch was virtually a declaration of hostilities. In the course of three months so widely were the flames of war extended, that there was scarcely a neutral state in Europe; nay, they reached even to the East and West Indies; so that it seemed impossible but that the contest now begun must end either in the subjection or in the pre-eminence of France: neither, however, occurred: the superiority of the French generals, trained in the school of Turenne, still remained; though the exhaustion of the revenue became apparent, since Colbert had not formed a financial school: on the other hand, the persevering wisdom and unshaken courage of William enabled him, not only to pacify the disturbances of England, but to place her in the proud position of chief arbitress of Europe.

The aim of France was to separate the members of the grand confederacy: this she effected by gaining over the duke of Savoy, who procured the neutrality of Spain and Austria in Italy: hence distrust among the allies on one side, and on the other a desire of Louis to complete his projects regarding the Spanish throne, brought about the celebrated treaty of Ryswick, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden. The concessions made by France were considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force, though one great object of the war had been to procure a renunciation of them, according to the treaty of the

Pyrenees. It was stipulated that Louis should acknowledge William as the legitimate sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, conquests being mutually restored. All acquisitions and annexations in Catalonia and in the Low Countries, except a few villages necessary to adjust boundaries, were restored to Spain. Freyburg, Brisac, and Philipsburg were given up to the emperor; France retaining the annexations in Alsace, together with Strasburg. The duchies of Lorraine and Bar returned to their native prince; and thus the principal object of the alliance, the freedom and independence of the states, was maintained.

The wars undertaken for this end, which terminated in three such treaties of peace, placed the importance of the balance of power in so strong a light, that there was no danger of its speedy abandonment. Soon after the signature of this treaty, the army of the emperor, under prince Eugene, gained a great victory over the Turks, with whom Louis had entered into negotiations, secretly encouraging them to war against the christian powers. By the treaty of Carlowitz, January 26, 1699, these barbarians were obliged to cede all Hungary on this side the Drave, with Transylvania and Sclavonia to Austria; Asoph, on the Palus Mæotis, to the aspiring young sovereign of Russia, Peter I.; Podolia to the Poles; and the Morea, with several places in Dalmatia to Venice. After this, the Ottoman power was no longer formidable to Europe.

In Spain the germs of decay were so fully developed, that it would be difficult to account for the continuance of its political existence, did we not know how much vitality there is in a great established monarchy.

French influence increased in a greater degree than French power: even the expulsion of the hugenots contributed to this by a diffusion of the language and manners of France. Jansenism, as opposed to jesuitism, and therefore allied to freedom of thought and inquiry, began gradually to acquire a political character, and to become a vehicle of opposition to the government.

In the united Netherlands, William had formed a political, rather than a military school; and his maxims of policy, which were 'opposition to France,' and 'union with England,' continued in operation long after his death.

With respect to the Germanic empire, changes were introduced among its princes by the influence of the French court. Louis found his interest in treating them as petty powers; by which means individuals began to acquire increased importance,

and through them the whole, though in a less degree. An elector of Brandenburg was able to throw a very considerable weight into the scale of European politics ; and the creation of a new electorate for Hanover was an occurrence of general interest.

Austria by her religious persecutions raised violent disturbances in Hungary ; but an advantage was derived from them in the union of that country with Transylvania, and the erection of it into an hereditary monarchy. Hence all danger from the Turks on this side was greatly diminished.

But no kingdom experienced such important changes as England ; changes which determined not only its internal constitution, but its future character as a leading state in the European system, and the powerful opponent of France. The supremacy of the protestant religion, and constitutional liberty, were the results of that Revolution which placed William on the British throne ; and both were formally ratified by the bill of rights. The evident advantages of this constitution consisted in the increased practical authority of parliament, especially of the houses of commons, and the unrestrained intercourse of the sovereign with that branch of the legislature by means of his ministers, whose weight and responsibility were thus increased, while the maintenance of a parliamentary majority was the basis of their efficiency. Unity among themselves was also requisite ; and provision was made for this by the manner of forming and arranging the cabinet. No nation, as then constituted, could possess within itself so much political spirit as England : her own freedom rendered her the great agent of independence in the European system ; and the protection of this independence was not vested, as during the Austrian ascendancy, in an arbitrary government, inconsistently crushing at home that liberty which it supported abroad ; but in a nation of freemen, making common cause with the friends of rational independence throughout the world. Henceforward the British constitutional monarchy was held forth to admiration as a model of good government ; but even this constitution, as a very sagacious observer remarks,⁶ ' unavoidably contained within itself the seeds of corruption. These lay in the imperfect state of representation : yet not so much in that alone as in the subsequent abuses of the elective franchise, by which ministers endeavored to secure a majority in parliament. Foreign powers had ample cause to use circumspection in their relations with England ; for a change of ministers implied a

⁶ Heeren, vol. i. p. 239.

change of political maxims, and the successors deemed themselves but slightly bound by the engagements of their predecessors.'

The adjustment of the continental policy of England, as before observed, was founded on a rivalry with France, originating in commercial jealousy, and permanently fixed by the sagacity of William III. 'His knowledge of foreign politics,' says Burke, 'his keen insight into the ambition of France, his powerful foresight of the consequences that must inevitably follow French victory, to the liberties of all nations; and even his sudden and singular possession of the secrets of national prosperity in a kingdom so new to him as England, constituted the king not merely the first man in rank, but the first in council; not merely the head of the government, but the government. On the head of that individual might have rested the whole question, whether within those twenty years there was to be an independent state in Europe: whether Europe was to be more than an immense dungeon, and France the holder of the chain.' Too weak to resist France by land, England attached herself to the house of Hapsburg, now the second continental power: her closer connexion with the united Netherlands was a consequence of William's accession to her throne: the fortunate circumstance of his being a native of Holland, gave him decisive influence in a country where a defection from his system would have hazarded the fate of Europe: under that influence Holland rejected every allurement and resisted every menace; with destruction at her very gates, she nobly refused to make a separate treaty, or detach her interests from those of England; and William, before he died, had the satisfaction of seeing that consolidation of common interests and common sentiments, which saved Europe from the detestable ambition of Louis XIV.

With regard to general politics during the foregoing period, a different spirit began to show itself. Religion, though it did not lose its effect on the internal affairs of individual states, ceased to determine the mutual relations of foreign nations, and to be a mainspring of general policy. The commercial and monied interest took its place, and soon disclosed its power over government and people, in envy, altercation, and public feuds; the forms of civil administration were more strictly defined: and the example, set by France, of dividing a ministry into different departments, was more or less followed by other states. Political economy made considerable advances, connected as it was with the spirit of the times,

which sought to increase the wealth of governments by the wealth of nations, and saw the quickest road to this through colonies and commerce. Here also Colbert led the way, and merited the praise of being not only a reformer, like Sully, but also a creator; partly by the relation in which he placed an increased and varied national activity to the finances; and partly by his plan of loans founded on safe credit. His fabric fell with him, because it had no support in the constitution; but a different fate attended the British financial system, which arose afterwards: this consisted in funding the interest of loans, without any obligation to pay the capital, which was made transferable. No one, at its origin, could have had any notion of the extent to which it was capable of being carried; but it found support in the guarantee of parliament, and gradual extension in the national wealth, which for a long time had been greatly on the increase.⁷

The affairs of war also, during this period, assumed a different aspect; since France, even in peace, kept up large armies well trained and provided. Other powers imitated her example, especially Austria, on account of Hungary. England and Holland followed more slowly, the one country being kept back by her parliament, and the other by her States-General, through fear for national liberty: a reform of the military art necessarily proceeded from such an arrangement.⁸ In an equal degree with the land forces, did the marine also increase, by means of the mercantile system now adopted. At no period was the navy of France so powerful: her acquisition of a maritime dominion over all other states was only prevented by her defeat at la Hogue, and the subsequent coalition formed against her by England and Holland: the

⁷ The funding system had its origin in England in the establishment of the Bank in 1694, when it lent its capital to the government at a lower rate of interest than was ever done before, in consequence of the existing war. The extension of this system of loans was possible, therefore, only in case of the continual increase of the national wealth of Britain. It is true, indeed, that no right at home or abroad was thus violated; but even what is good may be abused. Heeren, vol. i. p. 246.

⁸ If the new art of war was carried to perfection by Turenne and others, the authors and improvers of the new military system in general were Le Tellier, and his son and successor, Louvois. Instead of the 14,000 men under Henry IV., Louis XIV. maintained, since the peace of Nimeguen, 140,000. What changes in the whole condition of society does the mere possibility of effecting such a measure imply!—Heeren, vol. i. p. 247.

political influence of the maritime powers now became firmly established.

During this period the French government first began to think seriously of planting colonies: those of England were strongly attached to the mother country by that commercial prosperity which the renewed navigation act contributed to produce; but the colonial dependencies of other nations generally remained in an unaltered state. French settlements had been already planted in the West Indies, but they were the property of individuals; Colbert by purchase transferred them to the government, and for the first time introduced a fixed system of administration. A West Indian company was established in 1664, but abolished ten years after, chiefly on account of the smuggling trade. The cultivation of land in Canada, now augmented by the cession of Acadia, made but small progress; traffic in peltry, and the fisheries of Newfoundland, being more regarded. In the East a rival settlement, above that of the English, had been established on the Hoogly river, at Chandernagore; and Pondicherry, situated about eighty miles south of Madras, had been strongly fortified; while the fertile isles of Mascarenhas and Mauritius in the Indian ocean, had been colonized, and received the names of the Isle de Bourbon and the Isle de France. An East Indian company was also chartered by Colbert; but it gradually decayed, and at the end of this period was near its dissolution. The French mercantile system was in fact at war with itself: foreign commerce was shackled by numberless restrictions; and to support domestic manufactures the importation of Indian commodities was prohibited.

The English colonies enjoyed greater prosperity, because they depended less on the government than on the nation: to them the political and religious contests under Charles II. and his successor were by no means unfavorable. Our settlements in the West Indies began to rise into importance with the possession and culture of Jamaica; and their advancement was promoted by liberal constitutions and free commerce. Still more flourishing were the British settlements in North America, through the increase of emigration during the political troubles of the parent country; and the fisheries of Newfoundland, with the peltry trade around Hudson's bay, were become national objects. The East Indian trade at the beginning of this period remained in the hands of the chartered proprietors, who had to contend at a disadvantage with the powerful competition of the Dutch. In the reign of Charles II., however,

they acquired a possession which gave a greater stability to their affairs. That monarch having married the Infanta of Portugal, obtained the island of Bombay as a part of her dowry; but finding the expense of supporting it greater than its revenue, he ceded it to the company in 1669: he afterwards granted to them the island of St. Helena, and in other respects sought to promote their interests, confirming the charter given in 1661, and extending their privileges by an act passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.⁹ But they were still more indebted to James II., whose influence had previously operated much in their favor with his brother: he not only confirmed their former charter, but authorised them to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes by court-martial, and to coin money, not resembling that of England: but through these privileges he conferred on them a degree of power, which they disgraced by many acts of corruption, violence, and oppression; rulers at home protected their favorites abroad in cruel and oppressive measures; private resentments and selfish views were too often the only guides of conduct; the exclusive privilege which was thought necessary for the prosperity of commerce was turned into an engine of tyranny; and such instances of barbarity occurred as were calculated to excite universal horror. The company had for some time thrown a veil over their affairs: though they had doubled their capital in 1682, they had not taken in more than half the sum at first subscribed; they were making extravagant dividends, to support a show of prosperity, but had incurred a debt of £2,000,000; and they refused to pay their creditors, though they pretended that their affairs were in the most flourishing condition; moreover, these deceptions at home were equalled or exceeded by those of their factors abroad: though a new charter had been obtained in 1694, many flagrant abuses were detected by parliament; and the company was terrified by a bill of pains and penalties to confess that the king himself had benefited by their peculation, to the amount of £10,000. This checked all farther inquiry.

⁹ In 1669 the company first received from Bantam two canisters, containing 143 lbs. of tea, which was chiefly given away in presents. In 1680 is the first notice of a ship sent by the company to China, the trade of which had been monopolised by the Portuguese, until the Dutch obtained a share through their settlement at Formosa. In 1682 the English were deprived of their settlement at Bantam by the Dutch, when they erected a fort at Bencoolen at an expense of £240,000, and thus prevented the Dutch from monopolising the pepper-trade.

In 1698 a new company outbid the other by offering an advance of £2,000,000 at eight per cent., and thus obtained a charter; but that of the old company was renewed in the ensuing session; when the nation had two rival companies: but these, tired out with contests and struggles, united their stock under the old charter, and assumed a name which they have ever since retained, 'the United East India Company.' It remains only to mention that the condition of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies underwent very little alteration; except that the gold mines in Brazil were discovered about the end of this period. Of the northern states, Denmark alone took her station among the colonial powers; and by the possession of Tranquebar, sought to gain a share, though small, of the East Indian trade.

Thus the colonial system in both hemispheres became in extent and geographical situation more and more complicated. Already the wars of European states were felt by their colonies; but the time was not far distant when contests in the colonies would exert a reaction on the parent countries.

With regard to the northern states-system, its internal relations during the preceding period were replete with elements of disorder. Since Poland had become an elective monarchy, and a unanimity of votes had been required in her diets, how could a peaceable election be expected; the interference of strangers being so easy? Foreign policy in this case went so far as even to attempt the appointment of a successor during the life of the reigning monarch.

Sweden, ruling over provinces which almost surrounded the Baltic, still maintained her superiority; but these possessions demanded her participation in the wars both of eastern and western Europe. In 1680 the regal power became almost absolute; and this in future times gave rise to pernicious consequences.

Prussia, though now a sovereign state, and independent in her foreign policy, as far as was compatible with her duties toward the empire, of which she was a part, remained a province of Brandenburg, because there was the residence of the court: hence she was principally engaged in the contests of the southern system.

The participation of Russia, even in northern affairs, was at first very far from decisive. This vast realm required internal organisation, before it could bring its external influence to bear with effect on the surrounding states; and the difficulties which it experienced were aggravated by the family relations of the

reigning dynasty : but the conquest of Asoph, and the settlement in the Ukraine, showed what was to be expected : besides, Peter the Great was now beginning to instruct his rude subjects in the arts both of peace and war, preparing them for those institutions and conquests which entitled him to the appellation of 'father of his country.' It soon became the policy of Russia to seize every occasion of interference in European wars ; careless of the loss of men, which could easily be repaired in her extensive territories ; but anxious by those wars to train up her warriors, as well as to form her naval and military establishments.

Denmark, though strengthened by the autocracy which had been introduced into her government, suffered much from a dispute existing between the two lines of the reigning dynasty, the royal and the ducal house of Holstein Gottorp : this gradually affected the relations of all the northern states, and contributed materially to produce the extensive war, in which, during the subsequent period, they were involved.

A continual ferment was kept up in Poland : even the election of the great John Sobieski had but a transient effect for good on that unhappy country, whose internal improvement never entered into the views of a Polish magnate. Toward the end of the period a war broke out between Turkey and Austria ; when Poland and Russia cemented a union with the latter, and Sobieski had the glory of saving Vienna, while Russia reaped the principal fruits of the contest.

Second Division of the Second Period, extending from 1700 to 1740.—Three great contests had been already carried on against Louis XIV. for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power : this era opens with a fourth, principally undertaken for the same object ; while the northern states were suffering in a conflict, distinct from it, but no less obstinately protracted. In the ensuing disposition of affairs, the mercantile and monied interests lost none of their influence : vast public debts, already incurred, were increased by new wars ; and the paper-money system was brought into action to supply temporary resources.

The chief subject which engaged attention in the western cabinets after the treaty of Ryswick, was that of the Spanish succession. Three powerful competitors were ready to assert their claims to the whole monarchy, as soon as the death of Charles II., which was daily expected, should take place : Louis XIV. for the dauphin of France, in right of his mother ;

Leopold of Austria for one of his sons, with a similar plea; and the elector of Bavaria for himself. The great interest attached to this important question was the maintenance of the balance of power, now rendered the very basis of European policy: it could not be a matter of indifference, what was to become of Spain, especially of the Spanish Netherlands: nor could an equilibrium be maintained if a union of the Spanish crown with that of Austria or of France should take place: the general interest of Europe therefore required that the elector of Bavaria should succeed: but the other two competitors were obstinate; the elector was too weak to contend with either; and the king of England was at this time so fettered by the jealousy of his own subjects, and a great deficiency of public spirit in the nation, that he was in no condition to assist him: thus circumstanced, William listened to any terms that were likely to preserve the peace of Europe, and consented to the partition treaty. To frustrate this scheme, the king of Spain by his last will constituted the elector of Bavaria his successor; but as that prince died before Charles himself, Louis and William again entered into negotiations, and a second treaty of partition was privately signed between France, England, and Holland: but from his endeavors to secure the repose of southern Europe, the attention of William was called to the north, where two extraordinary personages were rising into notice, Peter I. of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden: after this, the demise of the duke of Gloucester, the last protestant heir to the English crown, engaged him in preparing the Act of Settlement,¹⁰ which was brought in with certain limitations or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, supposed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. At this moment every continental state was thrown into alarm by the death of Charles of Spain, and his will in favor of the house of Bourbon: Louis at first hesitated whether he should accept the will in favor of his grandson, or adhere to the partition treaty: in one case, France would receive a considerable accession of territory, with England and Holland as her allies against the emperor; in the other, she would give a master to her ancient rival, and direct the Spanish councils; but with the prospect of having the emperor, England, and Holland for enemies. The danger was thus foreseen, but vanity prevailed; and the duke of Anjou ascended the Spanish throne, under the name of Philip V.

¹⁰ By which the crown was settled on Sophia, duchess-dowager of Hanover, and her heirs, being protestants.

The emperor felt the more deeply wounded, as he had lost the succession chiefly through the haughty, unconciliating character of his own ambassador at the court of Madrid ; while the cabinets of England and Holland complained bitterly of the French king's breach of faith, in not observing the conditions of the partition treaty : for the present however they refrained from open hostilities ; though preparations commenced, and alliances were formed on both sides. France gained over to her interests Savoy and Mantua, with the electors of Bavaria and Cologne : availing herself of the earliest opportunity to garrison her fortresses on the boundary of the Spanish Netherlands. Austria found allies in the new king of Prussia, and by degrees in all the states of the empire ; while she called on the maritime powers for co-operation ; and this was readily granted, when Louis excited their indignation, by acknowledging the son of James II. heir to the British throne, in violation of the treaty of Ryswick. The death of William, which followed in March, 1702, threw a damp for some time over the spirits of the allies ; but this was soon removed by the quiet succession of Anne, who adopted her predecessor's system of policy, chiefly through the influence of Marlborough : that great man, though politically connected with the tory party, hastened to join the whigs, when he saw them inclined to promote his views.

In one respect this new alliance against France appeared likely to fail : the maritime powers inclined to the partition treaty, which sanctioned a division of the Spanish dominions ; while the house of Austria aimed at the possession of all : it however acquired an extraordinary degree of consistency and animation through the policy and talents of Marlborough, Eugene, and Heinsius ; three of the greatest names that any age has known.

In the ensuing conflict, Spain, the chief subject of dispute, played only a secondary part ; the grand scene of war lying in the Netherlands, the states of Germany, and Italy. It commenced in this latter country, July 1701, with the invasion of Lombardy by prince Eugene ; in the district of the Upper Rhine, with the conquest of Landau, September 10 ; and next year in the Netherlands, where Marlborough first entered the field : but in 1703 it became general in Germany, by the formal alliance of Bavaria with France, and the invasion of the Tyrol by the elector ; in Italy, by the defection of the duke of Savoy from France to the allies ; and in Spain, after Portugal had joined the alliance, by the arrival of the archduke

Charles in that country. The campaign of 1704 was the first decisively favorable to German interests, when the great victory of the allies at Blenheim shook the power of Louis to its centre: the contest in Spain assumed the character of a civil war; Charles being supported chiefly in Catalonia, and Philip in Castile: while naval operations threw Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, into the hands of the English.

Leopold of Austria died in May 1705; but the contest was kept up with equal spirit under his successor Joseph I. The campaign of 1706 put the allies into possession of the Netherlands, after a great victory at Ramillies; and of Lombardy, after the relief of Turin by prince Eugene. The conquest of Naples followed in 1707; and the exertions of the French to reconquer the Netherlands in 1708 were frustrated by the victory at Oudenarde, followed by the capture of Lisle. Such defeats reduced Louis to a state of distress which he had never known before: he has the credit however of having endured his misfortunes better than his adversaries bore their success. In the negotiations which took place at the Hague he appeared willing to resign all that was reasonable, but inflexibly resisted propositions which would have degraded his character. This conduct met with its reward; the pride of the French people was roused: and his subjects, though suffering under the horrors of famine, in addition to all their other miseries, made unexampled efforts to support their king. The war therefore proceeded: a great battle was fought at Malplaquet, September 11, 1709, in which the French Marshals, Villars and Boufflers, acquired almost as much credit in defeat as Marlborough and Eugene in victory. Mons fell in October; Douay and some other places in 1710. In other quarters the prospects of the French were not so gloomy as in Hanover, the Upper Rhine, and Dauphiny; while all the advantages gained by the archduke Charles in Spain were counteracted by the talents of Vendome and Berwick. Under these circumstances, negotiations for peace were renewed by France at Gertruydenburg; when Louis, beside large concessions, promised even to furnish subsidies against the king of Spain: the allies however would have imposed on him the mortifying task of deposing his own grandson: this he rejected with disdain and **SORROW.**

The great question however was not to be decided by the sword; since an alteration in the political relations of all parties was produced by the fall of the whig ministry in England, which occasioned the removal of Marlborough from his

high command. The tories had long affected to consider this expensive and protracted war as useless; and when, by the death of Joseph, the archduke Charles became head of the house of Austria, it would not have been consistent with whig policy to allow the Spanish crown to be united with those of Hungary, Bohemia, and the empire: negotiations therefore for peace naturally ensued; and as Holland was considered the political centre of affairs, a congress was appointed to meet at Utrecht.

Instead however of a general pacification, the nature of circumstances led to a series of treaties, in which each party put forward its own claims; but neither concerning these, nor the main question of the war, could they agree among themselves: while Austria selfishly persisted in her original demand, England and the other allies were not averse to leaving the Spanish throne in possession of the house of Anjou, its European provinces being excepted, and provision made against a union of the crowns of France and Spain on one head; jealousy also arose between England and Holland, on account of commercial privileges which each desired to reserve for itself; and these circumstances were very advantageous to France.

At length, after some preliminary contracts, the peace of Utrecht was concluded. 1. Between England and France; by an acknowledgement of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and the removal of the Pretender from the French territory—by a permanent separation of the French and Spanish crowns—by the dismantling of Dunkirk—by the cession to England of Newfoundland, of Acadia according to its ancient boundaries, of Hudson's-bay and its contiguous countries, and the French portion of St. Christopher—by certain commercial privileges granted to England—and by a recognition of the fundamental principal, that, with the exception of contraband articles, free ships make free goods.

2. Between France and the United Netherlands; by the establishment of a barrier on the frontiers against the former power, and by a restoration to France of the strong place of Lisle, and other fortresses which she had lost: at the same time, a treaty of commerce, advantageous to the republic, was effected.

3. Between France and Savoy; by the settlement of boundaries favorable to the latter, to which the kingdom of Sicily was also annexed; while its sovereign was allowed to reserve his claim on Spain, in case the house of Anjou should become extinct.

4. Between France and Portugal; which latter country obtained a settlement of boundaries to its territories in South America.

5. Between France and Prussia; France recognizing the legal title of Prussia, and relinquishing to that state the upper quarter of Guelderland, &c.

Peace was concluded at Utrecht between Spain and Savoy, by the cession of Sicily to the latter, &c. : also between Spain and England, when the former relinquished to the British crown Gibraltar with Minorca, granting also to England the base privilege of the *assiento* treaty for importation of slaves into the Spanish colonies, which France had before enjoyed.

The emperor was thus left to make a distinct peace with Louis; and as the war which continued between them was attended with little success to the imperial arms, negotiations were set on foot at Rastadt, which led to a peace between Austria and France in March, 1714; and again at Baden, in the same year, when the empire was included. Its principal conditions were, that Austria should take possession of the Spanish Netherlands, after settling a barrier for Holland—that she should retain her possessions in Italy—and that the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been put under the ban of the empire, should be restored. With regard to the empire itself, affairs were brought back to the state in which they existed before the war.

But although the sword was sheathed, the contest was not decided: between the two leading competitors, Spain and Austria, no formal peace subsisted, because neither would resign its pretensions: hence the fluctuating state of the system for the ten following years; while the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht became one of the most difficult problems in European policy.

The consequences of this great conflict and of its pacificatory treaties were various and important. An end was put to that ancient rivalry between France and Spain, by which Europe had suffered so much: but all dread of their union soon ceased, when the exhausted state of France became visible, and the discovery was made that ties of consanguinity are of little avail against the machinations of an ambitious policy. The separation of Spanish provinces, by which the Netherlands became annexed to Austria, was an event of great consequence: as these were always ready and immediate objects of French conquest, their protection became the common interest of all, and the chief means of preserving a balance of power.

But the most important result which proceeded from the foregoing contest was the increased influence of Great Britain, the only state in Europe where constitutional liberty now flourished, secure from the attack of monarchs whose power was based on the strength of standing armies. Her loan system enabled her to give an unparalleled extension to subsidiary treaties, and thus to exert a proportionate influence on continental politics; the acquisition of the Netherlands by Austria seemed to rivet her connexion with that powerful state: the republic of Holland was devoted to her government: the aid of Savoy and the single German states was always to be obtained by subsidies, whilst her rivalry with France formed one of the chief materials, and the very cement of her preponderating influence. The peace of Utrecht having been concluded under the direction of England, its maintenance appeared to be her natural policy; and this for a considerable time threw the control of European affairs into her hands: nor can it be denied that the political system of Europe has been greatly and beneficially modified by containing within itself an *insular state*, which by its extent and natural resources, its hardy people, and admirable constitution, can maintain so high a rank among leading powers. The barriers interposed between such a state and the rest of the world are sure to produce a feeling of independence among its inhabitants, as exemplary to others as it is useful to themselves; while its existence gives the best possible security to the political system of which it is a member, against the occurrence of any revolution capable of overthrowing the whole structure. In every system of states the pre-eminence of one over the rest is always to be feared when the preponderance depends upon the military power of land forces, for the operation of which a favorable opportunity is sure to occur, in the resources of some prominent state, or in the talent of its leaders, or in both conjoined. The rise, therefore, of a great naval power, which in the political balance may prevent any single interest from acquiring an undue preponderance, is of itself highly beneficial to the whole; and the more so because the very nature of such a power prevents it from becoming dangerous to the independence of the rest.

The war did not assume much of a maritime character; yet in the ensuing peace the mercantile system began to display its influence: grants of very important commercial privileges were made as conditions of peace to the maritime powers; and even territorial concessions were arranged to suit the interests of commerce. The foundation of the commercial preponderance

of England was laid by the peace of Utrecht, and thus the seeds of two mighty wars were sown; but these consequences became gradually developed, and the republic for a time retained its superiority. A great source of internal quiet, as well as of external power, was laid open to England, in the reign of Anne, by the union with Scotland;—an event which put an end to desolating wars between the two countries, detached Scotland from all connexion with France, averted the impending evils of a controverted succession or a separation of the two crowns, and removed all fears for the protestant religion and civil liberty. Scotland and England could now impart to each other their respective advantages; and each became a gainer by the exchange. Happy would it have been for Britain if an equally firm union could have been effected with Ireland; for that unfortunate country, rescued from the barbarous rule of its native chiefs only to become the spoil of its conquerors, was destined to experience a long course of misgovernment, agitation, and violence before such a consummation could take place: indeed it cannot be said that such a consummation has taken place to this day; for so many promises made previously to the Irish union were broken, and so many expectations disappointed after such an event, that agitation soon succeeded to national indignation; and every subsequent concession made to this portion of the empire has been received more like a favour extorted by fear than a boon granted by equity and justice: but a recital of its wrongs, faults, and sufferings in this place would interrupt too much the order of events.

In Spain a new dynasty was seated on the throne; but Philip V. was not fitted by nature to restore a falling state; while his accomplished queen, Elizabeth of Parma, attached more to the interests of her family than to those of the realm, exerted a pernicious influence on the governments of Europe. Portugal, bound to England during the war by motives of policy, became still more closely connected with her by the ties of commerce and conditions of the Methuen treaty.

The greatest change however was experienced by France. Louis XIV. survived the war but a short time, leaving a weak heir and a minor, in his great-grandson; when, in opposition to his will, Philip duke of Orleans, a profligate almost without sense of shame, assumed the regency: between him and the Spanish court a mutual feeling of jealousy and mistrust arose respecting the French succession, in case of the demise of young Louis, whose constitution was remarkably delicate; and this

question was one of great importance in determining the character of foreign connexions.

In England, after the death of Anne, the house of Hanover succeeded that of Stuart: protestantism gave, and preserved to it, the throne: no new maxims of continental policy were entertained; but the system of William III., modified according to circumstances, prevailed: fortunately there existed for many years a Pretender to the throne, who did not permit the better part of the nation, or the government, to lose sight of that system: its natural consequence was the fall, and almost the extinction of a tory ministry, who were more than suspected of conniving at, or encouraging a design of the late queen to set aside the act of succession, in favor of her brother, the Pretender. As the tories were generally inclined to jacobitism, nothing but the zeal of the whigs, and the restoration of their influence, could have supported George I. in the succession.

The Dutch republic, having acquired a high rank among European states, considered it good policy to retire for the future, as much as possible, from continental wars; but thence losing her energies, she declined in the opinion of other powers: her barrier treaty, under the mediation of England, was signed November 15, 1715; and she obtained fortresses, without having soldiers to man them; her commercial prosperity also was sensibly affected by the superiority which that of England began to acquire in Germany, especially on the Weser and the Elbe; this and other advantages, especially the power of sending troops to and from Germany unimpeded, tend to justify the share which George I. took in the affairs of the north; though he would have done better had he acted on more fixed principles.

The Austrian monarchy was aggrandized by the acquisition of Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Low Countries: whether these were to be a gain to her or a loss, depended much on the spirit of her own administration: in conjunction with the empire they might serve as bulwarks, or present themselves as so many points to be attacked. The states of the German empire, distracted by the policy of Bavaria, were by this peace reunited, as far as was practicable: but the example had been set; and the times approached when different schisms were to arise.

Two new regal thrones were erected; one for the house of Brandenburg in Prussia, the other for that of Savoy, which soon exchanged Sicily for Sardinia.

The pivot on which European politics now began to turn

was the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht; and to this the diplomacy of cabinets was generally directed, since every other great interest depended on it. England was interested in its preservation, because her flourishing commerce was advanced by its conditions, and the protestant succession to her throne confirmed: it was important to France, inasmuch as it involved a renunciation of the French throne by the house of Anjou, to which Philip of Orleans owed the regency: to Austria it secured possession of the conceded provinces; and the Republic could only enjoy her privileges in a time of peace. Such a common interest drew closer the relations between all these powers; even the old spirit of rivalry and hostility between England and France was for a time subdued. In 1716 an alliance was formed by England and Austria, and in 1717 by France and the republic; both for the preservation of this peace.

Spain, however, cherished different views, being not reconciled to the loss of her provinces, while her monarch was under the influence of persons interested in the renewal of the war. Elizabeth of Parma, his second consort, was bent on securing a provision for her sons in her own country, where she had a right of inheritance to the duchies of Parma and Placentia; and the Spanish minister, the crafty Alberoni, entered boldly into her projects: these plans of conquest, directed against Austria, were acted on with greater alacrity, as that power was now engaged in a Turkish war. Enterprises undertaken against Sicily and Sardinia were immediately successful, both islands being speedily reduced; and these eventually procured, by the arrangements of the quadruple alliance concluded in 1718, the reversion of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany for Don Carlos, one of the sons of Elizabeth; resistance was made to the terms of this treaty by Alberoni; while Savoy received, though unwillingly, the Sardinian crown instead of that of Sicily. When the evil intentions of the Spanish minister against England and the regent of France were disclosed, the consequence was a declaration of war by both against Spain; but the Dutch still acted as mediators: peace, however, was out of the question, so long as Alberoni remained in power; and Elizabeth consented to sacrifice him, when a prospect of the French throne was opened to her daughter. The terms of the quadruple alliance were then accepted by Spain.

While England thus took up arms for the maintenance of the peace, she became more and more implicated in continental politics: hence the importance of a British minister who

should be free from that restless activity which is too often mistaken for greatness of mind. The pacific policy of Sir Robert Walpole, though frequently considered inglorious to England, preserved the tranquillity of Europe, without any serious interruptions for almost twenty years.

About this time considerable interest was excited by some proceedings of Austria, which had great influence on future politics. The paternal anxiety of Charles VI., who had only one child, and that a daughter, led him, in 1713, to devise a plan for her succession, under the name of the pragmatic sanction; which, if possible, was to be acknowledged and guaranteed by all the powers of Europe. It was recognised by the hereditary states in 1720, and became thenceforth the ground of many negotiations and concessions. Much more vehement commotions, however, were raised by his project of chartering an East India company at Ostend in 1722: having become possessed of provinces once eminent for commerce, and not having any other eligible communication with the sea, he could not readily submit to relinquish the natural advantages of their situation; forgetting that the existence of their actual condition was the bond, which, in the altered circumstances of Europe, secured the protection of his independence by the maritime powers. This and some other points in dispute brought about the congress of Cambray, under the mediation of France and England; during the negotiations of which a change in a project of marriage caused a greater change in general politics; and by exciting animosity between France and Spain, effected a reconciliation and an alliance between Spain and Austria. The Spanish infanta, who had been fixed upon by the quadruple alliance, as the future consort of Louis XV., and sent to Paris, to be brought up, was now sent back to Spain, because the duke of Bourbon had private reasons for desiring a speedy consummation of the young prince's marriage; which owing to the age of the Spanish princess, could scarcely have been brought about in less than ten years: accordingly Louis was induced to espouse Maria Lezcinsky, daughter of Stanislaus, ex-king of Poland. The queen-mother, exasperated by this indignity, instantly concluded an alliance with the court of Vienna, April 20, 1725: its conditions being a ratification of the peace of Utrecht, a mutual acknowledgement of the order of succession, and a promise of mutual succor in case of attack, by a secret article: Spain also recognized the Ostend company. England and France, annoyed at this treaty, which seemed to augur a union of the Austrian and Spanish crowns by marriage,

and which roused all the political energies of George I. into activity, concluded a counter-alliance at Herenhausen, which Prussia joined: Denmark also and Sweden became engaged in it; as Russia was in that of Vienna. In October, 1726, Prussia retired, and joined the imperial party; while the opposing alliance was strengthened by the accession of Holland, offended on account of the Ostend company; but a wavering and interrupted course of policy was a distinguishing character of this period.

Thus the European states stood ready again to engage in arms: the fitting out of British squadrons directed against Spanish trade, and the attack on Gibraltar by Spain, lighted the train for an explosion; but it was fortunately extinguished by the exertions of cardinal Fleury, the French minister, whose pacific disposition, very similar to that of Walpole, was generally beneficial to Europe. Preliminaries of peace were signed between Austria and the allies at Paris, May 31, 1727: the chief obstacle being removed by a suspension of the Ostend company for seven years. Spain acceded to this reconciliation, June 13th. The death of George I. at this time occasioned no alteration in affairs, because Walpole was not dismissed by his successor; and peace with England was restored by the treaty of the Pardo, March 6, 1728. Some points in dispute were referred for adjustment to a congress to be held at Soissons in June: the restless ambition however of Elizabeth, who, by a treaty with England and France at Seville, had carried her point so far as to obtain admission for Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, to secure the succession of her son, and dissolved the congress, and even drove offended Austria to arms: but the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction always had a talismanic influence on Charles. Thence originated a treaty with England and the republic at Vienna, March 16, 1731; the emperor, in return for that guarantee, acquiescing in the occupation of the Italian states, and the abolition of the Ostend company. Spain acceded to it in June, and the empire in July. Thus peace was still preserved, for the maintenance of which England had engaged herself in such numerous and clashing treaties as required all the dexterity of Walpole to manage; and the ancient moving principle, the rivalry of leading states, seemed to have grown obsolete; but the lust of aggrandisement, that prevailing malady of cabinets, was still alive, and only wanted an opportunity to display itself. This occurred at the death of Frederick Augustus, king of Poland.

Stanislaus Lezcinsky, whom Charles XII. had invested with

the sovereignty of Poland, and Peter the Great had dethroned, was now chosen a second time king, through the influence of his son-in-law Louis XV. : but the emperor, assisted by Russia, having obliged the Poles to institute a new election, the elector of Saxony, who had married the niece of Charles VI., was raised to the throne, and Stanislaus consigned again to a private station. A short war now occasioned great changes in the state of possessions: France entered into alliance with Spain and Sardinia; and French troops, under Berwick and Villars, took all the Austrian possessions in Italy. The emperor sued for peace; and preliminaries were signed at Vienna, October 3, 1735; to which Spain and Sardinia afterwards acceded. The conditions were, that Stanislaus, having renounced all claims on Poland, should enjoy during his life the duchy of Lorraine, which was afterwards to be annexed to France—that Austria should resign to Spain, as a secundo-geniture, the two Sicilies and Elba, in favor of Don Carlos—that Steven, duke of Lorraine, should obtain the reversion of Tuscany, into which he came, July 1737—that the emperor should receive as an indemnification for the two Sicilies, Parma and Placentia; Sardinia obtaining some districts in the Milanese, and France guaranteeing the pragmatic sanction. A definite treaty of peace, however, was not concluded till November 18, 1738. Very important to France was this cession of Lorraine, and equally disadvantageous was the loss of it to the empire. The arrangements begun at Utrecht might now be considered as completed, after an interval of twenty-five years; and here commenced the maturity of the southern and principal combination of federative states, which continued during eighteen years, until the celebrated alliance was formed between France and Austria in the year 1756.

The internal changes which took place within the different states during the last period of forty years, consisted principally in the development of germs previously formed. The share taken in the public contests by Spain, arose from the ambition of her rulers, not from any reviving energies of the declining nation. In France an increasing jealousy of British commerce prepared her people for impending conflicts: at present, however, they found occupation in domestic schisms, occasioned by the bull *Unigenitus*; but which were not confined to Jansenists and jesuits. In 1716, Law established his bank on the paper system, and the Mississippi company was connected with it. The scheme was reasonable in itself; but was pushed so far by the government, that it failed, and so deranged the

public finances that they never afterwards recovered a settled state. The Austrian monarchy changed its policy and its provinces, without suffering any internal revolution; but a gradual decline took place in the army, the finances, and the whole organization of government. The guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, however, was a compensation to the emperor for every evil. The German empire, attached as it was to Austria, took part in all her contests: but during this period, four of its first princes had acquired foreign crowns;¹¹ a circumstance, which was not likely to increase its federative stability, since it would scarcely be possible, in all cases, to separate their regal from their electoral dignities. In the republic the Orange party continued to exist after the decease of William III.; and the restoration of the hereditary dignity of stadtholder appeared probable, whenever an opportunity should occur: the farther public relations of this house were determined by a closer connexion with Great Britain in 1734, when the prince of Orange espoused Anne, daughter of George II.

But no nation during this period acquired so high a reputation as England. Her power was consolidated by her union with Scotland, and was exerted for the general interests of Europe, and the maintenance of its political system: her path was clearly defined, and faithfully pursued by her new rulers: the pressure, however, of her debt, increased by continual wars, gave rise to some extravagant projects, contemporaneous with those of France; but as the British constitution permitted no despotic measures, public credit remained unimpaired; and the burdens of the state were relieved by a diminution of interest on the debt, first in 1717, and, again in 1727.

General politics now acquired completely the character of cabinet policy: never before had so much diplomacy been practised; and at no time were such high notions entertained of its efficacy. Political economy was principally confined to the mere acquisition of wealth; so that the mercantile system retained its supremacy: the accumulation of paper-money ended in its depreciation; but its action was great on internal trade, by increasing the medium of circulation; and on the condition of society, by raising prices: so that some ideas of its future power in financial operations began to be conceived. Yet the wildest imagination could hardly have figured to itself the gigantic schemes which it has enabled statesmen of the present times to carry on, or the extraordinary scenes to which it has given rise; when even a congress of sovereigns has not

¹¹ Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse Cassel.

been able to complete its arrangements without the contractors for a loan.

The art of war continued to improve under the many able generals which this era produced : it necessarily continued to advance in proportion as the system of standing armies was perfected, toward which a second step was taken by Prussia, after the example of France.

Foreign colonies, during this period, were not much extended ; nor did they experience any great change of masters, with the exception of some cessions made by France to England : hence the greater was their internal increase ; and colonial produce met with a sale in Europe that exceeded all expectations : a still greater interest therefore became attached to them ; and by more than one state they were regarded as the foundation of political superiority. Mutual jealousy however between European powers increased in proportion to the importance that was attached to colonial dependencies ; and at the end of the period a war was breaking out for the first time on account of colonial interests, notwithstanding all the efforts made by Walpole to avert it.

Portugal at this time acquired a higher degree of importance by its valuable gold mines in Brazil, and its discovery of diamond mines in the same country. Denmark improved its position by the establishment of evangelical missions in the East Indies, and the acquisition of some possessions in the West. Sweden chartered an East India company, with a view to the commerce of China. The storms which disturbed the political atmosphere of old Spain did not reach her colonies ; but the smuggling trade was promoted by an injudicious imposition of duties : neither did any material change affect the colonial affairs of the Dutch : in the east, where no one attempted to disturb them on the islands, they were still the first commercial nation ; but their superiority showed symptoms of an approaching decline, in the effects of age, of a monopolising system, and of the character of their officers and governors. France, placed by Colbert in the number of colonial states, kept her station successfully : there was as yet so much space unoccupied in the east, that collisions were easily avoided ; and, if they did occur, her amicable relations with England, since the death of Louis XIV., rendered them of less moment : her West Indian possessions were very prosperous, through the cultivation of sugar, and also of coffee introduced from Surinam, where the Dutch had imported it from Java in 1718. The principal causes however which rendered her colonial prosperity supe-

rior to that of England, were the more industrious habits of her planters, and the greater commercial privileges granted to her islands in the vile slave-traffic with Spanish America. In North America the limits of French territory were contracted by the cession of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland: but France still possessed Canada and Louisiana; and her attempts to connect those provinces by a chain of fortified places brought on a fierce and important war. In the East Indies, Pondicherry still remained her principal station; but the occupation of the isles of France and Bourbon was an important step, highly advantageous to her naval and military operations: her chartered company had some few gleams of prosperity; but being subject to the variable and despotic plans of ministers, it rested on no stable foundation.

But among colonial states England began to take the most elevated station. The privileges of the *assiento* treaty conceded at the peace of Utrecht, unhappily at this time were but too important in themselves; while the permission of attending the great fair at Porto Bello, though not directly very advantageous, opened the way to a smuggling trade which brought almost all the commerce of Spanish America into English hands. The prosperity of Great Britain in the West Indies was obstructed by the smuggling trade, which her American colonies carried on with the French islands; but this very circumstance occasioned parliamentary measures to be taken, which relieved her commerce from many injudicious restraints, and tended greatly to advance the prosperity of her western islands. Her North American provinces were now rising to vast importance, while their wealth increased by the importation of slaves, and the culture of rice, first introduced into Carolina from Madagascar in 1702. New emigrations, augmented by religious persecution in the south of Germany, gave political existence to the state of Georgia, which was granted to a private association by letters patent from George II. in 1729. It prospered but slowly, because the trade in peltry was preferred to agriculture until 1752, when the proprietors resigned their privileges to government. Like the other colonies, it was allowed to choose its own magistrates, submitting the enactments of its legislature to the approval of the king, and conforming to the commercial restrictions imposed by the British parliament. Nova Scotia, when ceded to England at the peace of Utrecht, was little better than a desert; so also was Newfoundland: but the participation in its codfishery, which this possession secured to England, was

of great importance both to her commerce and her navy : owing however to the rights which were reserved to the French, it became a source of jealousy and contest.

The East Indian trade of Britain underwent considerable alterations ; though her actual possessions were limited to Bombay, Madras, Fort William in Bengal, and Bencoolen in Sumatra. The violent and continual disputes between the old and new companies, nourished by the spirit of political parties, had been closed by a coalition in 1702 : but a complete union, under one directory, did not take place till 1708 : after the death of Aurungzebe had fixed the epoch of decay in the Mogul empire.

Though many proofs of misconduct were manifest in the early transactions of the company, yet was there exhibited a spirit of enterprise and perseverance, unsubdued by difficulties or dangers, whether they arose from the native powers, or from the intrigues of competitors : to this spirit, created and cherished by exclusive privileges, their ultimate success was due : and by it they were stimulated to efforts both in peace and war, which have produced effects honorable to the British name ; serviceable to British interests ; but more especially advantageous to these fertile provinces themselves, which they have rescued from the capricious tyranny of native rulers, protected from the devastating incursions of predatory chieftains, and subjected to the dominion of equal laws.

During the early part of this period, Jaffier Khan, nabob of Bengal, jealous of the growing prosperity of our settlement at Calcutta, contrived, in defiance of the emperor's grants, to distress the English by every species of vexation and extortion. The company directed the presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, to send a joint embassy to the great mogul, with a petition for redress, recommended by a suitable present. While they were at Delhi, news came from Surat, that the English factory was withdrawn from that place, on account of impositions laid on their trade, and that a powerful British fleet was expected in the Indian seas : these circumstances determined the court to grant all their requests ; and mandates to that purpose were addressed to the nabobs of Bengal and Guzerat, and the subahdar of the Deccan, sealed with the emperor's signet. Numerous privileges were now conceded to the company ; some of the most considerable being these that follow : their trade at Surat was exempted from duties, and from the visitations or extortions of officers, on payment of a fixed sum ; rupees coined at Bombay and Madras were to be received in

payment of the mogul's revenue: a *dustuck*, or passport, from the president of Calcutta was to exempt goods specified in it from the searches of revenue officers; and the company was authorised to purchase thirty-seven towns on both sides of the Hoogley river. This extensive grant, made in 1717, was regarded as the company's commercial charter, so long as they stood in need of protection from native princes. The orders addressed to the nabob of Guzerat and the subahdar of the Deccan were duly respected by those potentates; but Jaffier Khan, foreseeing that the possession of so many towns would enable the British to command the navigation of the river, frustrated the emperor's grant, by menacing the proprietors with his utmost vengeance if they accepted any proposals for a sale.

In 1716 the establishment of an Ostend company threatened to interfere with the prosperity of that in London: but after the discovery that much of its capital, and many even of its ships and goods, were furnished by British subjects, means were taken, both by proclamation and by act of parliament, to check this invasion of privilege. In 1730 great efforts were made by a large association of merchants in London, Bristol, Liverpool, and other places, to induce parliament to supersede the existing company, by granting an exclusive charter to these new projectors: but the company frustrated this project by paying into the exchequer £200,000, and reducing the interest on their old debt of £3,200,000 from five to four per cent. At the death of Aurungzebe, in 1707, the Mogul sovereignty began to decline. After a long and vigorous reign, during which he had crushed the independence both of Mahometan and native dynasties in the great peninsula, he left his throne to the contentions of his children, and his empire to the ambitious enterprises of chieftains and of strangers. The work of ruin, begun by the family of Aurungzebe, was completed, thirty-two years after his decease, by the invasion of Kouli Khan; who, having first usurped the throne of his own sovereign in Persia, carried his arms into India, under the appellation of Nadir Shah, and inflicted by his ravages such terrible wounds on the Mogul empire, that from his time it can scarcely be considered in existence; being rendered wholly incapable of resisting the progress of British power, or even of maintaining the authority of its interior government: the subahdars and nabobs then acquired independent dominion, which they exercised generally with tyrannical caprice;

though they nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the great mogul.

In the northern states-system, during the period above described, relations, wholly new, were formed by new and energetic rulers; but to all their changes and contests Russia and Sweden gave a color and direction. Peter the Great and Charles XII. appeared on the scene as antagonists, with equal energy and inflexibility of purpose; but with this great distinction, that the one marred all his designs by passion, the other effected them by prudence. Peter reformed every branch of government, civil, military, and domestic, in the most extensive region of Europe: Charles inherited a small and well-ordered state, whose power lay in its provinces round the Baltic, not to be defended by 3,000,000 of men, and therefore destined to become the prey of his mighty antagonist. Poland was under the government of Augustus II., elector of Saxony, disliked by the natives on account of his retaining Saxon troops in the country, which was still disturbed by anarchy and religious differences, and totally averse to all such reforms as were introduced into Russia. This latter power had been raised in 1701 to the rank of a kingdom, and recognised as such, first by the emperor, and gradually by the other European states: henceforth her constant policy lay in efforts to place herself on an equality with the other leading powers: her ambitious principle of conquest was not yet developed. Denmark, though overtaken by the storm, suffered least in the constitution and character of its government: the fall of Sweden and the elevation of Russia were beneficial to its interests, since the latter country was more remote from its boundaries.

Such were the internal relations of the northern states, when a contest, which lasted twenty years, and which gave a new form to the whole system, began with the opening of the eighteenth century. The chief causes of this terrible conflict lay in the determination of Peter I. to inclose the coasts of the Baltic within his dominions; in the attempt of Augustus II. to render Livonia subject to Poland; and in the quarrel of Denmark with Frederick IV. of Holstein Gottorp.

A secret league was formed in 1699 between the kings of Denmark and Poland against Sweden; and this was soon joined by Peter: in the following year all disclosed their designs: Denmark immediately against Holstein Gottorp, and the other two against Livonia. Charles XII., unjustly

attacked, soon extorted a peace from Denmark, and then hastened to Livonia; its liberation enabled him to select which of his foes he would first grapple with. Hatred and passion decided his choice: he left the Russian, whose great policy was to gain time for consolidating and organising his strength, in order that he might dethrone Augustus, who had deeply offended him, but who had already sued for peace; a fatal measure both for himself and for Poland, whose downfall it accelerated by the political and religious dissensions which it introduced.

In the mean time Peter advanced his dominion to the Baltic: recovered Ingria and Karelia; and laid the foundation of his new capital on the Neva, May 27, 1703: a stronghold was gained in Livonia, and Narva was conquered, August 20, 1704. After combating his foe with various success, Charles determined to attack him in the very heart of his dominions: but an impracticable country thwarted the projects of this royal madman, as in after-times it destroyed the more stupendous projects of an imperial freebooter. Being obstructed in his march towards the ancient capital of the czars, where alone, like the haughty Napoleon, he declared that he would treat for peace,¹² he was induced by a false ally to attempt a route through the Ukraine, with an army diminished by fatigue, famine, and conflicts. In August 1708 he crossed the Dnieper; his general Lewenhaupt, whom he expected to meet him with succors, was defeated at Liesna in the same month; and Pultawa was invested in May 1709. Peter hastened to its relief, and the great battle which ensued settled the state of the north: Sweden fell from her too great and sudden elevation; while Russia assumed that superiority which she has ever since maintained, and which has enabled her to enter with such remarkable effect into the contests of the south.

The immediate consequence of his defeat at Pultawa was a dissolution of the political relations forcibly established by Charles XII. Denmark no longer considered herself bound by the conditions of the peace of Travendal: Saxony having

¹² The czar, though now in his own territories, was not without apprehension with regard to the issue of the contest: he therefore sent serious proposals of peace to Charles. 'I will treat at Moscow,' said the Swedish monarch. 'My brother Charles,' replied Peter, when informed of this haughty answer, 'always affects to play Alexander; but he will not, I hope, find in me a Darius.'—Russell's *Modern Europe*, vol. iii. p. 50.

deposed its king, received back Augustus II.; and Peter retained Livonia, which he had in the mean time conquered. Charles sought to restore his desperate fortunes by aid of the Turks, whom, after great efforts, he engaged in a war with the czar: but when Peter, shut up, with his whole army in Moldavia, without hope of extricating himself, was on the point of surrender, he was saved by the talent of a woman and the corruptibility of a grand vizir. The peace of the Pruth finished, by the destruction of Charles's projects, what the defeat of Pultawa had begun. It is unnecessary to follow this monarch in his wild career of marches, battles, sieges, and negotiations, to his death in the trenches before Fredericksball, where he fell in 1718; having exhausted his country and disciplined his enemies.

Sweden then lay at the mercy of her foes; but after a series of treaties dearly purchased with Hanover, Prussia, Denmark, and Poland, under the mediation of Great Britain, she at length concluded a peace with her most dangerous and powerful adversary at Nystadt, September 10, 1721, by the cession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Karelia, part of Wiburg, and many islands; being allowed to retain Finland; while Peter bound himself not to interfere in her internal affairs. The czar now adopted the imperial title: southern Europe already felt his influence; but as for the north, his navigation of the Baltic with fleets of his own building gave him for ever a superiority over Sweden. The constitution of that country was now invaded by the aristocracy: while Poland presented the melancholy aspect of a nation devastated by foreign war and intestine commotions, as well as by famine, pestilence, and religious discord. Denmark underwent very little change; but the new and important kingdom of Prussia was found to have advanced far internally toward perfection. The fall of Sweden having freed her from a troublesome neighbor, Frederic William I. laid the basis of her power on the principle of economy: by a prudent management of the revenue, he raised and disciplined those magnificent bodies of troops, which his successor employed with such extraordinary effect.

During the reigns of Catherine I. and Peter II., domestic policy chiefly occupied the Russian government; but when Anne, niece of Peter the Great, ascended the throne in 1730, an attempt made to restrict the imperial power occasioned the overthrow of the native nobility; and a cabinet formed principally of foreigners, initiated in the mysteries of general policy, sought splendor and renown in foreign relations. This empress

procured for her favorite Biron the duchy of Courland, which country continued ever after under the influence of Russia; and, what was still more important, at the death of the king of Poland, she fixed Augustus III. on that throne, in defiance of France, who again set up the ex-king Stanislaus Leczinsky: having then determined to attack the Turks, and avenge the disgrace brought on the Russian arms by the peace of Pruth, she found a ready ally in Austria, who was anxious to share in the expected booty. But the hopes of these allies were considerably disappointed: though Asoph was conquered, the Crimea entered, and a regular establishment formed at the mouths of the Dnieper, yet the campaign of 1738 was rendered unsuccessful by plague and famine in the Ukraine; and though Choczim and Moldavia were reduced in 1739, the losses sustained by Austria brought her to the ignominious peace of Belgrade, and opened the way to accommodation with Russia: this power retained Asoph, and gave up her other conquests; but her superiority was made manifest, and the interior organisation of her army was effected.

Third Division of the Second Period, from 1740 to 1786. —As one division in the states-system is commonly called the age of Louis XIV., so this might with equal propriety derive its appellation from Frederic the Great. European civilization now reached a high point, and nations consequently became more assimilated to each other. The circulation of ideas increased with the diffusion of languages, and differences of religious faith began more and more to lose importance among the people as they were considered of less consequence by their rulers: political economy made great advances; so also did military and naval tactics; while commerce rose to an extent and importance unknown before. Nor was this great advance confined to practical affairs; the spirit of the age was devoted to theoretical questions; the ardor of investigation increased with its increasing intelligence; and scarcely anything was thought beyond the reach of human reason. A natural consequence of all this, was an accession of authority to eminent writers, who began to assume a high rank in society, to guide public opinion, and to influence the tone and practice both of foreign and domestic policy.

The northern and the western states of Europe, in this period became much more intimately connected through the intervening link of the Prussian monarchy, which had now assumed its rank among the leading powers: still the north retained its proper interests; and it was rather that Russia

itself became involved in both systems, than that a union of the two took place.

The death of the emperor Charles VI., October 20, 1740, occasioned terrible convulsions among European states, by awakening the ambition and cupidity of their sovereigns. The male line of the house of Hapsburg being now extinct, Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Charles, and wife of Francis, grand duke of Tuscany, laid claim to the Austrian hereditary dominions, by the right not only of blood, but of that pragmatic sanction which had been so often guaranteed.¹³ In the same year, Frederic II., commonly, and not unjustly called "the great," if undaunted courage, military talent, and political knowledge merit that title, ascended the throne of Prussia, having one fixed object in view, of which he never lost sight; —the aggrandisement of his country, whose physical power was not equal to the rank it held: accordingly, he took this opportunity of reviving an antiquated claim to the fertile province of Silesia, contiguous to his own territories; and marched at the head of 30,000 well-disciplined troops to establish it by force of arms: at the same time, Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to Bohemia on the strength of a forged clause in the will of Frederic I.; Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, pretended to the whole Austrian succession in right of his wife, the eldest daughter of Joseph I.; the king of Spain exhibited similar pretensions in favor of his son; and Sardinia revived an ancient claim to the duchy of Milan. But of all proceedings, that of Louis XV. was the most extraordinary, who urged his claims also to the disputed succession,¹⁴ not so much with a view of acquiring it for himself, as to have a pretext for assisting other claimants in dismembering the dominions of the old rival of France. This policy imposed on him the necessity of foreign alliances; from which, however, he could acquire no great accession of strength, since there were no points of agreement in their respective views. Which of them in fact could seriously have wished for a dissolution of the Austrian monarchy and of the European system? yet a treaty or secret alliance, was formed in May, 1741, between France, Bavaria, and Spain, Saxony acceding to it in the following September. 'Thus Europe witnessed the singular

¹³ Prince Eugene is said to have caustically remarked, 'that 100,000 men would have guaranteed it far better than 100,000 treaties.'

¹⁴ As descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria.

spectacle of three powers, each of which claimed the whole monarchy, uniting with France, who herself had no farther pretence than that of vindicating the rights of all. Under these circumstances, Frederic II. considered it judicious to join the confederacy against Austria; and Prussia, for the first time, became allied with France: but it was soon seen how different were the views of this king from those of the allies: they were to serve him as means for accomplishing his schemes; and though he joined them, it was with the tacit proviso, that he should withdraw as soon as his own convenience would permit.¹⁵

Against Maria Theresa nearly half the European states were now in arms, eager to rend in pieces her dominions, in order to satisfy their own ambitious and unjustifiable desires. The noble and enthusiastic reception which that princess met with from her Hungarian subjects is too well known to need any remark, except that it enabled her to make head against her adversaries, though the imperial crown was now taken from her house, and transferred to Charles of Bavaria. Where was she to look for foreign allies, when England was engaged in a maritime war with Spain, and unfortunate Sweden was involved with Russia in a contest by which she lost the important province of Finland? Providence rewarded the magnanimity of Maria Theresa by exciting the British islanders to shake off sloth contracted by a long peace of twenty years, and to draw the sword in the cause of female heroism. That cause was not only a righteous one, but perfectly consistent with the general policy of England, connected as it was with the very existence of her oldest ally, with whom her sons had frequently shed her blood, in opposing the ambitious projects, and dangerous usurpations of the house of Bourbon.

Walpole retired from the approaching storm, and gave place to the impetuous and eloquent Carteret, who immediately adopted the most active and energetic measures. The king of Prussia soon captured Breslau, and made a rapid progress in the province; for he was joyfully received by the natives, two-thirds of whom were protestants. Before the end of the year, however, the confederacy of the allies was broken by the retirement of Frederic, who, in a separate treaty at Dresden, acquired possession of Silesia. Austria soon recovered Bohemia, Bavaria was conquered, and the new emperor, Charles VII., driven into exile. The victory at Dettingen, gained by British and German troops in 1743, compelled the French to recross

¹⁵ Heeren, vol. ii. p. 10.

the Rhine, and assisted to procure the alliance of the king of Sardinia in Italy, and that of Saxony in Germany, for Maria Theresa.

France, unbroken in spirit by her severe losses, sustained in consequence of Frederic's policy, and possessing generals of high military talent, with great internal resources, determined no longer to appear in the character of an auxiliary, but to declare war directly against Austria and England. The artful Frederic now proposed to join again the alliance; and being wanted, was received: his pretext was an anxious desire to preserve the integrity of the German empire, and to succor the exile, Charles VII., in whose election to the imperial throne he had concurred: a stronger motive was his fear of losing Silesia, if Austria, leagued with Saxony, should be victorious. Soon after this alliance, and in the midst of the conquests that ensued, Charles VII. died; and his son Maximilian Joseph recovered his hereditary dominions by renouncing the imperial crown, which was conferred on Francis, the husband of Maria Theresa, notwithstanding the elector of Brandenburg's opposition. He took advantage of the death of Charles VII. to open negotiations for peace; and again separating himself from his confederates, effected a reconciliation with Austria, retaining possession of Silesia under the guarantee of George II.

At the breaking out of this war the French presidencies in the Isle of France and Pondicherry were commanded by two men of extraordinary talent, M. De la Bourdonnais and M. Dupleix; who, if they had not been actuated by a jealousy of each other, might have seriously injured our Eastern possessions. The former, having contrived to equip nine unsound and leaky ships, in which he embarked about 3000 inefficient troops, set sail, in defiance of Commodore Bernet's squadron, by which they were merely saluted with a distant cannonade, and appeared before Madras in September, 1746. That city, being ill-defended, and having only a garrison of 200 British soldiers, surrendered, under the condition of paying a ransom of £440,000; for the instructions given to M. de la Bourdonnais by the French government were peremptory against the retention of any English factory which he might succeed in capturing. Dupleix, however, who had private views of establishing a sovereignty for himself, was indignant at these terms of capitulation, which, after the departure of M. de la Bourdonnais, he broke; and, instead of accepting the stipulated ransom, retained the city, and carried its principal inhabitants in triumph to Pondicherry. He then, in alliance with Anvar-ud-Deen,

nabob of Arcot, with whom he carried on an artful series of intrigues, attacked Fort St. David: which was only saved by the opportune arrival of a British fleet under admiral Griffin. The English having subsequently obtained reinforcements by sea and land, took the field in August, 1748; and accompanied by Anvar-ud-Deen, who had taken offence at the refusal of the French to place Madras under his power, advanced against Pondicherry; but being dispirited by want of confidence in their commanders, harassed by sickness, and exposed to violent rains, they retired from the trenches, after a siege of thirty-one days and a loss of 1000 men. Dupleix's triumphant joy at this event was abated by the necessity imposed upon him of restoring Madras to Great Britain at the conclusion of the war: but the rival settlements, though interdicted from entering into direct hostilities with each other, soon became engaged in them indirectly, through the contests of the native princes: and a new scene was opened to the ambition of the French governor.

In Italy and the Low Countries war was vigorously carried on by France and her remaining allies: a diversion too was made at this period by the rebellion in Scotland: the great battle of Fontenoy, gained by marshal Saxe, restored French affairs in the Netherlands: while the progress of the young Pretender recalled the duke of Cumberland, with the best of the British troops, to England; and that chief, when he returned to the continent, after the victory of Culloden, was unable to stand before the genius of his antagonist. In Italy the contest lay with Spain, whose queen, Elizabeth, was anxious to conquer Milan for her youngest son, Don Philip, by the aid of Naples: but this latter power was neutralised by the presence of an English fleet, which threatened its capital; the influence of the Bourbons being opposed in this quarter by an alliance of Sardinia with England and Austria.

But France soon found herself deserted by Spain, through the death of Philip V.; her navy was almost annihilated by the British fleets; her colonies were either captured or menaced; and while she aimed at the recovery of her superiority by conquests in the Netherlands, which gave occasion to the election of a stadtholder, she became dismayed at the approach of a formidable antagonist in Russia, whom Austria had lately induced to join her alliance. Influenced by these circumstances, Louis XV. made advances toward an accommodation, which led to the celebrated congress at Aix la

Chapelle; where France, after having judiciously employed her ancient policy in separating the allies, concluded a peace, of which the following were the most important conditions:—

1. Mutual restitution of conquests made by France and England: to France, Cape Breton; to England, Madras; to the republic, her frontier fortresses; nothing being concluded respecting the boundaries of Canada and Nova Scotia: 2. resignation of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla in favor of Don Philip: 3. the portions of the Milanese resigned in 1743 given up to Sardinia: 4. the assiento treaty of 1713 confirmed to England for the four years still remaining: 5. Dunkirk to remain fortified on the land side: 6. Silesia guaranteed to Frederic against all claimants; the pragmatic sanction to Austria; and the British succession to the Hanoverian family.

This peace, and the war which preceded it, have been too much censured by English politicians; as if the one had been undertaken, and the other concluded, for the sake of German interests only, and to favor the predilections of the house of Hanover: the fact is, that war was necessary to prevent the dismemberment of a principal state in the system, and a dissolution of the balance of power: with regard to the peace, it was as favorable to the confederates as they had a right to expect, after their defeats in the Netherlands, with the probability of Prussia joining the opposite party: besides, it was of no little moment to put a stop to a contest accompanied with a dreadful waste of human life, and destruction of human comforts. No party can be said to have gained any tangible advantages from it, except the wily Frederic, who acquired a very considerable increase of territory, and a proportionate influence in the European confederation. Britain indeed had become so flourishing in manufactures and commerce during the pacific administration of Sir Robert Walpole, that she was enabled not only to subsidise the allies, direct the war, and arrange the peace, but to restore and augment her decaying navy, and to acquire at length the dominion of the sea. This circumstance, to what did it not afterwards lead? That however which had the greatest immediate effect on the system, was the increased influence of Prussia, whose crafty monarch taught European nations a new art, of forming alliance without committing himself, of remaining unfettered while apparently bound, and of seceding when the favorable opportunity arrived. Such a power, by its geographical situation, could not long subsist in its present state: it necessarily sought a consolidation

of its territories: whence arose a change in the previous relations of other nations, a jealousy of Prussian aggrandisement, and a desire of revenge on account of Prussian conquests.

During the few years between the treaty of Aix la Chapelle and the next war, was concealed, under the appearance of public prosperity and general happiness, a strong spirit of jealousy and mistrust. Austria turned her attention immediately to the formation of alliances; and her close connexion with Saxony and Russia, added to the hatred entertained of Frederic by the empress and by count Bruhl the Saxon minister, gave success to her negotiations in that quarter. In the midst of these schemes, the vast power of France naturally occurred to Austria as ready to be thrown into the opposite balance; her alliance therefore was an event greatly to be wished for, though little to be expected: the union however of these two great antagonists was effected by prince Kaunitz, long the very soul of Austrian diplomacy, through his interest at the French court, whose weak and enervated monarch was wholly governed by mistresses. The project held out to Louis XV. was, that Austria and France should rule Europe in common, after the abolition of the Prussian monarchy: the result therefore of Frederic's overthrow would have been the oppression of all the weaker states, the predominancy of Austria in Germany, and the destruction of the confederative system. An alliance offensive and defensive between Austria and France, with a compact of neutrality on the part of Russia, was concluded May 1, 1756, by which Austria virtually renounced her ancient connexion with Britain; since the treaty was made when a war was on the point of breaking out between England and France on account of the North American colonies. It soon indeed became evident that France was forming a plan to seize the colonies of her rival in both hemispheres: in which she was encouraged by those able and ambitious men, La Galissonière and Duplex, the respective governors of Canada and Pondicherry: she therefore made extraordinary efforts to increase her marine, as well as to engage Spain also in her schemes; but these intrigues were counteracted by the address of Mr. Keene, British resident at Madrid, supported by the upright conduct of the Spanish minister, Don Ricardo Wall, and aided by the extraordinary influence which the Italian singer Farinelli possessed over the queen.

Though Madras, which had been conquered during the last war, was restored to England, and Louisburg to France, agree-

ably to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, yet hostilities could hardly be said to have ceased between the subjects of the two powers. Plans had been laid down by each, during the latter part of the war, for conquest over the settlements of the other; but they proved abortive. All such projects seem to have been relinquished by England at the peace; but the case was otherwise with her rival; whose ambitious and intriguing chief Dupleix, having gallantly defended Pondicherry in 1748, conceived an idea of supplying the want of commerce to France by large territorial possessions in the east: in order to forward such a scheme, he not only promoted natives of India to the rank of subahdars, who, in the troubles which afflicted the empire generally assumed a licentious independence; but he aimed at raising himself also to supreme power among the native princes; and the number of French troops introduced into India during the late war seemed to favor his designs.

In 1748, on the death of the nizam of the Deccan, the highest officer under the mogul, Dupleix and his associates, with much address, and after the assassination of Nazir Jung, his son and successor, procured the dignity for his grandson, Mirzafa Jung. The usurper, having been in the following year defeated and slain by the nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore, was succeeded by Salabut Jung: before this event, however, Dupleix had labored to procure the nabobship of the Carnatic for a creature of his own, named Chunda Sahib; and though the court of Delhi conferred the office on Anvarud-Deen, this latter prince was, at the instigation of Dupleix, attacked and slain by his rival, Chunda, who obtained a grant of the disputed government from the nizam, Mirzafa Jung.

The new nabob, Chunda Sahib, strenuously supported French interests, and Dupleix, even during the lifetime of his friend, took the command of a district in the Carnatic as large as France itself, assumed the robes of a Mahometan Omrah, coined money for general circulation, decorated himself with titles and insignia of the highest rank, and at length conceived hopes of mounting the throne of Delhi: in which daring project he was encouraged by M. Bussy, his able associate and second in command. In the mean time, Mahommed Ali, son of the late nabob, having taken refuge at Trichinopoly, implored the assistance of the English, in a danger common to both from French usurpation; he was accordingly aided by a body of troops under the command of major Lawrence, a brave and skilful officer; and he afterwards entered into a close alliance with the company, to whom he yielded several

important points which had long been in dispute. On this ground he received additional reinforcements under captain Cope; and the contest was carried on with varied success till the campaign of 1751; when the celebrated Clive, a self-taught warrior, left the civil service of the company, and began a splendid military career. On September 1, he took the fort of Arcot by assault; but after a few days, and before he could secure his conquest, he was besieged by a large body of troops under Chunda Sahib, and the French: his defence of this place ranks among the highest military achievements; and he forced his assailants to abandon the siege when it had continued fifty days. Reinforced by captain Kirkpatrick, he pursued and routed the allies on the plains of Arni, where the enemy's military chest fell into his hands, and 600 of the French Seypoys came over, with their arms, to join his ranks: then joining major Lawrence, he continued to act under that officer with such vigor and talent, that he effectually humbled the enemy, and took from the French many of their late acquisitions. Mahommed Ali retained the undisputed throne of Arcot; and Dupleix being recalled in 1754, a cessation of arms took place; when a conditional treaty was negotiated with his successor M. Godeheu, by which both parties were bound to abstain from oriental government, and all interference in the quarrels of native princes.

Before however this treaty could be sanctioned at home, a new war broke out between the two nations in a different quarter of the globe, respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia, and the occupation of some neutral islands of the Antilles; but more immediately from the erection of French forts along the Ohio from Louisiana to Canada, by which our western colonies were inclosed, as it were, with a net. Hostilities commenced, and as the great strength of England now lay in her navy, she determined to strike a blow with this weapon: accordingly in 1755 she captured several merchantmen and two ships of the line; but war was not openly proclaimed till May 15, 1756.

The combinations against Prussia had already advanced so far, that a war on the part of that power against Austria and her allies became inevitable: besides, as Austria had given up all connexion with England, and contrary to all political calculation had allied herself with France, and as George II. was trembling for the safety of Hanover, a way lay open for a coalition between England and Prussia; though this did not take place without the accession of Russia to the opposite cause. The two wars soon became amalgamated; though at

the conclusion they were again separated, and gave occasion for two distinct treaties.

If in the former contest Frederic was the aggressor, in this he appeared under the more defensible character of an attacked and injured potentate; and if the earlier period of his career afforded many lessons in political chicanery, his later history exhibited many useful instructions in the arts of war and government. The tremendous and apparently overwhelming coalition against him, influenced by the mean passions of its chiefs, continued indissoluble to the death of Elizabeth of Russia: there was also something peculiar in the connexion of England and Prussia, closely allied, yet scarcely ever acting in common; while nothing but the prospect of a complete revolution could ever have united the houses of Hanover and Brandenburg. This war served to display the splendid talents of the great earl of Chatham, by which the character of the nation was elevated in the eyes of the world. The palm of glory was divided between the able minister of England and the intrepid monarch of Prussia.

The decisive character of Frederic caused him to strike the first blow against the confederates, after he had demanded a categorical answer respecting her intentions from Austria, and had been refused: having invaded Saxony without delay, and captured Dresden, he found in the archives of that capital evidence of the designs of his enemies, which he published to the world; and soon afterwards he gained a great victory over the Austrians at Lowoschutz: by the terms of their agreement, Saxony, Austria, Russia, and France were instantly and simultaneously to take up arms, on the breaking out of hostilities: besides, the empire was induced by Austria and Sweden by France, to join the coalition, under pretence of guaranteeing the peace of Westphalia. It happened fortunately for Frederic, that, when more than half the nations of Europe were leagued together for his destruction, France determined to commence hostilities against the British in Hanover: this forced them, together with Hesse and Brunswick, into immediate action; and gave occasion to the illustrious Ferdinand, the pupil and preserver of Frederic, to display, in the conduct of the allied armies, abilities of the highest order: had that great commander ever suffered such a defeat as would have let the French troops into the principal scenes of war, the fortunes of Frederic must have been irretrievably ruined. The chief events of this memorable contest, to the death of George II., were as follow:—In 1757 Frederic invaded

Bohemia, and gained a great victory over the Austrians at Prague; but was obliged to abandon the siege of that place, after the drawn battle of Kolin. The Russian army, amounting to 62,000 foot and 19,000 horse, beside Tartars and Calmucs, advanced and were attacked by the Prussian General Lehwald, who was defeated with great slaughter, August 30. Hanover was overrun and laid under contribution by the French; and the duke of Cumberland, who was accounted a great general because he had defeated and butchered the miserable rebels in north Britain, concluded the disgraceful convention of Closter-Seven, when the French and imperialists advanced in great force under the prince of Soubise: the fall of Frederic then seemed inevitable; but he retrieved his affairs by the important victory of Rosbach. In May, 1758, he made a fruitless attempt on Olmutz, but gained a great victory over the Russians at Zorndorf, August 25, by means of which, and having also driven back the Swedes, he covered Brandenburg: in the meantime, prince Ferdinand had pushed the French beyond the Rhine, defeated count Clermont, and formed a junction with the British troops, whose disasters he soon repaired. In October the Austrian general Daun gained the battle of Hochkirchen in which marshal Keith was slain; but Silesia was still preserved, and the king, having obliged the Austrians to fall back into Bohemia, returned to the protection of Saxony: Daun raised the siege of Dresden, into which place Frederic now entered in triumph.

In 1759 the Russians again advanced with Austrian reinforcements under the skilful general Laudohn; and Frederic, after a gallant resistance, suffered a severe defeat on the 12th of August, at Cunersdorf, though he effected some masterly movements afterwards: the battle, however, of Minden, gained twelve days before, though rendered only half a victory by Lord George Sackville's shameful conduct, saved him from annihilation: from that time also a continued superiority was maintained by prince Ferdinand, and the greater part of Hanover was preserved. In November the Prussians sustained a heavy loss at Maxen; but the spirit of the king supported him under all reverses. In 1760 the Prussian general Fouquet was defeated by Laudohn, and a fruitless siege of Dresden undertaken; yet Silesia was not lost, and a junction of the Russian and Austrian forces in that province was skilfully prevented. The king, surrounded by three hostile armies in his camp at Lignitz, defeated Laudohn, August 15; but the Russians and Austrians entered Brandenburg, and pillaged

Berlin. Frederic hastened into Saxony, which he was enabled to recover, and to maintain by one of his most glorious and important victories at Torgau. Before the close of the year he lost his best ally in George II. ; and the bonds of his connexion with England, though not dissolved, were materially loosened.

During this time the war was vigorously kept up by sea, where the British, under their famous admirals, Hawke and Boscawen, soon gained a superiority which opened a ready way to colonial conquests. In the early part of the contest, Minorca had been shamefully lost ; the disgrace of which event should be divided between the ministry who sent insufficient relief, and the admiral who failed to make the best use of what was sent ; very unfairly, however, punishment fell only on the latter. In North America the prospects of the war seemed at first unfavorable : its provinces could not, without great difficulty, defend themselves against the ravages of the French and Indians ; while British troops were led to slaughter by generals scarcely fit to conduct a review : but Pitt soon infused energy into our commanders ; the skilful Amherst and the intrepid Wolf renewed the most splendid days of England's glory : Canada was added to the British empire ; the French forts on the Ohio, one of the principal causes of the war, were all destroyed ; and the American colonists were left free to extend their settlements as far westward as their treaties with the Indians or their conquests might permit.

About this period an occurrence took place, which is connected with a question of considerable interest, regarding the time when the American colonists began to entertain a notion of throwing off their dependence on the mother country. In 1760 an order of council was issued from Great Britain, directing the officers of customs at Boston to carry into effect the acts of the trade, and apply to the supreme court of judicature in Massachusetts for writs of assistance. Accordingly application was made, in November, to the court then sitting at Salem ; chief justice Sewal, however, expressed great doubt of the legality of such a writ, as well as of the power of the court to grant it ; nor did any of the other judges say a word to contradict him : but as the application proceeded from the crown, a hearing could not be refused, which was accordingly fixed for the next term of court in February 1761. In December Sewal died, and his place was supplied by the lieutenant-governor Hutchinson. Otis, as advocate-general, was called on by the officers of the customs to argue their cause ; but he, believing

all such writs to be illegal, refused to plead, and, with a spirit characteristic of the man, resigned his lucrative office. He then yielded to the opposite call of the merchants, and undertook their defence, but with singular disinterestedness refused all remuneration. In an argument of four or five hours, Otis laid down with great clearness the principles of civil liberty, dwelling with particular force on the point, that taxation without representation is totally inconsistent with those principles. Of this celebrated speech nothing was published at the time except a few garbled extracts; but president Adams took notes at its delivery; and he has declared, that 'Mr. Otis's oration breathed into the nation the breath of life; that American independence was then and there born; that the seeds of patriots and heroes, by whom the *non sine Diis animosus infans* was to be defended, were at that time sown; for every man of an immense audience appeared to go away, as he himself did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance.¹⁶

Returning to the east, we find that fortune was at first unfavorable to Great Britain. An application made to the English by Salabat Jung, who wished to get rid of his French allies, could not be received on account of their own affairs in Bengal; that settlement being in danger of total destruction from the attack of the subahdar Surajah Dowla. This weak, vicious, and tyrannical potentate was grandson of the celebrated Ali-verdi Khan, who had a favorite wife, a woman of great talents and virtue. The old subahdar on his death-bed, knowing well the disposition of his youthful successor, earnestly recommended him on all important affairs to consult the good old queen, whose discernment and foresight would be a guard to his inexperience: in obedience to this advice, when the prince entertained thoughts of attacking Calcutta, he applied to his female oracle, who thus addressed him:—'Beware what you do: the English are a wise, intelligent, peaceable, and industrious people: they are like bees; if properly managed and protected they will bring you honey: but beware of disturbing the hive: you may destroy some of them; but in the end, believe me, they will sting you to death.'¹⁷ Irritated, however, against the British on account of their growing power in the Carnatic and in Bengal, he determined to attack them; urging as an ostensible pretext their abusing the privilege of passports to the purposes of mercantile fraud, and their protecting a

¹⁶ Life of James Otis of Massachusetts, by William Tudor, Boston, 1823.

¹⁷ History of India and Bengal, by Colonel Capper.

native of high rank, who had fled from the subahdar's tyranny, On the 18th of June, 1756, he besieged Calcutta with 50,000 men; and as the place possessed scarcely any means of defence, he gained possession of it, after repeated assaults, by capitulation. Enraged at finding only 50,000 rupees in the treasury, and pretending that valuable property was buried under ground, as a punishment for the concealment of it, he ordered Mr. Holwell, with 145 other persons, to be thrust into a dungeon of the garrison, called 'the black hole,' where the indescribable heat of a sultry night killed all but twenty-three: having then received congratulations from his courtiers on this glorious achievement, he left a garrison of 3000 men in Calcutta and departed, exulting in the idea that he had exterminated the English.

Admiral Watson, however, and colonel Clive soon returned to relieve their countrymen: by their strenuous co-operation Calcutta was retaken and fortified; Clive also reduced the large town of Hoogly, where the subahdar had established his magazines; and having defeated him in a general engagement, forced him to sue for peace: it was granted, on the restoration of their goods, factories, and privileges to the English, and an extension of the presidency over thirty-eight neighboring villages. To the preservation of this peace the subahdar swore on the Koran; but only a few days had passed, before he entered into correspondence with M. Bussy, whom he invited to Bengal. Clive, in the mean time, having attacked the French settlements in that province, and reduced their principal fortress at Chandernagore, turned his arms again against the perfidious subahdar; when having discovered that Mir Jaffier, commander of Dowla's forces, was disaffected toward that prince, he drew him into a difficult and dangerous negotiation; and in return for services, placed him, after the great victory of Plassy, on his master's throne. A treaty was now concluded with Mir Jaffier, by which he not only confirmed all former treaties with the English, but placed the French possessions under their power, enlarged their territory, and gave to them and their allies £2,750,000 as an indemnification. In the next campaign, when the scene of war was transferred to the Coromandel coast, the British arms were less successful; for M. de Lally, being gallantly seconded by the count d'Estaing, reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David; whence he conceived hopes of subduing all the British possessions in the Carnatic. In pursuance of this object he invested Madras; but the firm conduct of governor Pigot, seconded by the courage and talent

of colonels Lawrence and Draper, enabled it to hold out till succors arrived: soon afterwards colonel Coote took the command of the British forces, and by several signal victories, restored their superiority in this quarter. In the mean time, the Dutch, having combined with the new subahdar and the French, sent a detachment from Batavia to destroy the British factories and trade in Bengal; but after a severe defeat by sea and land, they submitted to such conditions as it pleased the government of Calcutta to impose on them; while Mir Jaffier was deposed by Clive, in favor of his son-in-law Mir Cossim.

Encouraged by success, colonel Coote now determined to attack Pondicherry, which, being too strong for an assault, was closely invested by sea and land, and reduced to great distress. The blockade being afterwards changed into a regular siege, the inhabitants became anxious to capitulate: but Lally, whose furious passions were supposed even to have disordered his brain, turned a deaf ear to their supplications, and resolved to defend the place to the utmost extremity. Thus stood affairs in India at the close of 1760: the detail of which will be resumed in the body of the work: meanwhile, let us take a rapid glance at those of Ireland, from the period of England's first interference with them, in order that we may be better prepared to estimate the events of our own times, relating to the sister kingdom.

The page of Irish history is in truth a dark one: it exhibits so much native violence and treachery, with so much foreign oppression and neglect, so many impotent attempts to conquer, and so many ill-combined efforts to resist, that the mind is divided between pity for its sufferings, and indignation at its folly and crimes. Long before the English set foot in Ireland as enemies, the Danish invasions had aggravated all the evils of an ill-regulated government, and prepared it to yield a partial triumph to the first weak efforts of its neighbors, distracted as these themselves were by other wars and internal dissensions. It was a great misfortune that the Anglo-Norman invasion under Henry II. was not powerful enough to affect a change, like that which took place in England at the Conquest, when the Saxons were quickly dispossessed of their lands, without those tedious and protracted struggles which have convulsed Ireland during successive ages; unfortunately too, when the question of property could be no longer connected with national distinctions, it became involved in the still more harassing difference of religious faith: still however it contrived in all cases to retain its chief characters of *confiscation*

and plunder. While the civil power was incapable of resisting the enterprises of the English, the ecclesiastical system of Ireland was brought into such a connection with the papacy,¹⁸ as gave influence to those bulls of the Roman pontiffs Adrian IV. and Alexander III., which affected to bestow on Henry II. the sovereignty of the country; nor, until Henry VIII. denied the pope's supremacy, was any other foundation sought for the authority of an English monarch over Ireland. It is a curious circumstance, that the very attachment to the Roman see, which constituted the original ground of connection with England, should afterwards prove an active principle of the repeated efforts made by the Irish to detach themselves from this country. Henry II. had early conceived a design of annexing Ireland to his dominions, and procured the papal sanction, as necessary for extending the influence of true religion: but the occupation which he found in subduing the insurrection of his brother, in securing his own territories, and in contending with the inflexible spirit of Becket, diverted him from the prosecution of this design, until the disorders of Irish government presented an opportunity not to be declined. His embarrassments prevented him from conducting an expedition in person; though he authorised his subjects to engage in the enterprise; and a very small force was enabled to effect so much, through the dissensions of the natives, that the king's jealousy was roused; and he proceeded in person to Ireland, about two years and a half after the first expedition of his people. In six months however he was recalled to England; and Ireland was abandoned to a military aristocracy, entrusted with the prosecution of his plans: thus the original conquest was very limited and imperfect. Henry himself did not visit more than a third of the country; nor did he construct a fort, or establish a garrison there: but the real conquest was the work of successive adventurers, and was tainted with the wretched policy which must ever belong to predatory enterprises, guided only by private interest. From the first settlement in Leinster under Strongbow, to the reign of Elizabeth, the people of Ireland, with the exception of the English colonists and a few favored natives within the pale, continued under their own laws and institutions, except when they interfered with English persons or property; in which case they were subjected to the most harsh and iniquitous proceedings. They were not unfrequently excited to rebellion, in order that

¹⁸ The power of the Roman see was established in a council assembled in 1111, and confirmed in another convened in 1152.

English adventurers might seize their possessions; while opinions were sedulously propagated and readily believed, that they were an incurably vicious race, worthy only of destruction or spoliation: the great body of the natives were reputed not only as aliens, but enemies; insomuch that to kill a wild Irishman in time of peace was adjudged to be no felony. Nor was this freedom from English laws considered by the Irish themselves a privilege; on the contrary, they were so sensible of the advantages which those laws bestowed, that they were eager to be brought under their salutary dominion: indeed they petitioned Edward I. for this boon, and offered 8000 marks in return for so great a favor. Nor was the king himself averse to their proposal; but when he felt it necessary to consult the prelates and nobles by whom Ireland was governed, on this question, they set it aside on the principle that perpetual war was advantageous to the English, as enabling them to exterminate the Irish and gain possession of their property. In progress of time the hostility of the natives was reinforced by that of English settlers themselves, who gradually declined from the laws and usages of their original country into those of the people whose subjugation was in vain attempted. But though great degeneracy prevailed among the inhabitants of English blood, the principles of a parliamentary constitution had happily been introduced and preserved; and though the origin of the Irish parliament may be involved in some obscurity, the earliest assembly which deserves the name appears to have been convened in 1295, when the representatives of boroughs were first summoned to the English parliament. A claim of legislative independence has been at different times maintained; but it was established only a short time before the Irish national assembly merged in the legislature of the British empire. The strongest check given to this spirit of independence was in the year 1495, by the law of Poynings, which gave to the privy councils of the two countries a negative, before debate, on all proceedings of the Irish parliament. It declares, that 'no parliament shall be holden in this land, until the acts be certified into England:' it was amended in the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, when the governor and council were empowered to certify during the session other causes or considerations which they might think expedient. At that time such was the condition of Ireland, that this law, which came to be considered a badge of national disgrace, was cherished as a protection for the commons against oppression by the licentious nobles. The royal supremacy, acknowledged by the English in

1534, was recognised two years afterwards by the parliament of Ireland; though it was strenuously opposed by the clergy and people, encouraged by the Roman see to resist all edicts adverse to that church and its head. When their efforts were at length frustrated by the power of the government, a law was passed in 1541, that the title of king, instead of lord of Ireland, should be given to the English monarch.

Henry VIII. presented the first outline of the reformation to Ireland, as he had done to England, without any regard to fitness, preparation, or previous instruction; his practice being rather to command assent than to secure opinion; but the result was different; the people generally expressed an abhorrence of his innovation; and their opposition to the English liturgy, introduced in 1550, was so strong, that it was deemed expedient to enforce its use by a proclamation, rather than attempt to procure for it the sanction of parliament: indeed so many inhabitants of Ireland had been despoiled, wholly or partially, of their possessions, long before the Reformation, that a hatred of their oppressors, thus engendered, extended itself to their doctrines, and contributed to keep the Irish people steady in the old faith: hence, the early death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary almost obliterated the remains of protestantism which lingered in the country.

In the reign of Elizabeth schemes of oppressive violence assumed a high degree of activity. At the very commencement of her government the aspect of this imperious sovereign was harsh and severe toward her Irish subjects, with whom even her father had condescended to temporize; yet did she make the bold attempt to force on them the new doctrines, whilst all her measures savored of hostility against the old proprietors. Profligate adventurers now flowed into the country; corrupt governors rendered the royal authority odious to the people; atrocious murders and extensive forfeitures of land shook the whole frame of society; quarter was rarely given in battle, and prisoners were murdered in cold blood: yet the Reformation made no progress; for those who were compelled to war against the queen's power would not feel disposed to favor her religion. The papal court naturally took advantage of this state of things; and, in conjunction with the bigoted king of Spain, excited the great rebellion under Hugh O'Neale; which, though successful in the beginning, and augmented by the injudicious conduct of Sir William Fitzwilliam and the earl of Essex, was subdued by the energy of lord Mountjoy. But though the suppression of the insurgents and

the humiliation of O'Neale prepared the country for improvement, the struggle gave rise to a Roman catholic party in Ireland strongly opposed to the government; and this feeling, cherished as it was by foreign influence, materially opposed the progress of the reformed doctrines, and, with them, the melioration of the people. In 1593, the university of Dublin was founded, to promote the education of protestant clergy; and in the last year of Elizabeth's reign the New Testament was printed in the Irish language.

The state of Ireland at the accession of James I. offered to him an occasion of doing much good; and that great master-spirit of the age, lord Bacon, earnestly exhorted his sovereign to adopt the policy of conciliation and improvement toward 'a land endowed with so many dowries of nature:' but the pedantic monarch, vain of his scholastic and theological acquirements, instead of beginning his operations by healing the wounds of this distracted country, and securing the peace which had been so dearly bought, started the question of religious conformity; and his Irish government, which favored the lofty spirit of prerogative, met every argument and remonstrance of the people with fine and imprisonment: troops were soon marched to quell the movements of rebellion; lands were declared forfeited to a prodigious extent; and James, urged by a spirit of colonisation as well as avarice, brought the estates of his Irish subjects under the most unwarrantable legal procedures. His plans however suffered but little obstruction, owing to the previous exhaustion of the country: by his northern settlement of six escheated counties he gave origin to a powerful protestant interest in Ulster, which long served as an effectual opposition to the Roman catholic population in the other provinces; but his son and immediate successor reaped a sad harvest sown by despotic power. Charles I., though a more amiable man than his father, possessed the same high notions of regal prerogative, with still more unsteadiness of principle: his reign in Ireland was a mere continuation of inquisitions into the titles of estates; while jurors, who refused to find for the crown, *against evidence*, were subjected to the punishment of fine and imprisonment. The discontent excited by James's colonisation of Ulster, which deprived so many proprietors of their ancient estates, and subjected them to the oppression of inferior agents, was greatly augmented by the fraudulent insincerity of the king; who evaded his promise of the graces, or bill of rights (for which the Romanists had agreed to pay £120 000),

when he had expectations of acquiring the money without them. The tyrannical Strafford not only prevented this grant, but boldly avowed it; and one motive for the evasion was founded on a base design of that governor to subvert all the titles of estates in Connaught, for the purpose of accomplishing the plan of a great western colonisation, which king James had been induced to relinquish. As allusion has been made to some of the arbitrary and rapacious proceedings of lord Strafford, it would be unjust toward the memory of that nobleman if we did not confess that in many of his acts he had the interests of Ireland in view. His attempts to reform the established church, and improve the constitution of Dublin university, are deserving of praise: but the wisest of his measures was the great encouragement he gave to the linen manufacture, in which he spent large sums from his private fortune. It is melancholy, however, to reflect on the counter-acting evils produced by his subversion of the woollen manufacture, which was then beginning to flourish in Ireland; but these must chiefly be ascribed to the fears of English manufacturers, and to that policy which thought the pre-eminence of one country was only to be maintained by the depression of others.

The discontent arising from Charles's insincerity, and the terror of Strafford's proceedings, added to the rising menaces of the puritans against the Romanists, excited in the latter strong desires to struggle for the recovery of their lost possessions; and the rumor of commotions in England led them to hope for a successful result. Though the arbitrary Strafford had paid the penalty of his offences, the infatuation of Charles induced him to appoint two treacherous foes to the same important trust, as lords chief justices: these were Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, creatures of the parliament, who secretly fomented all the plans of the insurgents, with a view to the king's embarrassment, and the enriching of themselves by forfeitures:¹⁹ accordingly, they contrived to set aside the intended favor of his majesty, by intercepting some graces again transmitted in the summer of 1641. During the adjournment of parliament, the flames of civil war broke out in this afflicted country, and the rebellion of O'Neale is still fresh in the minds of men, from the horrible massacres committed by the insurgents, and the dreadful retaliation of the English and Scotch. In this great insurrection there were four parties, each actuated by different motives; the ancient Irish, anxious

¹⁹ See O'Driscoll's History of Ireland, vol. i. chap. 13.

to recover their lost estates ; the Anglo-Irish, driven into the contest by the lords chief justices, that they might in turn become objects of plunder : the puritans, or parliamentary party ; and the king's party, as it was called, which consisted chiefly of Roman catholics, directed by their own hierarchy, and anxious for the absolute and unrestrained authority of the pope. In the fierce conflict that ensued, the cruelties of lord Inchiquin, the fate of the learned archbishop Usher, and that of the celebrated earl of Cork, form melancholy episodes ; while every hope of accommodation, which at one time appeared probable, was dissipated by the unworthy jealousies and insatiable avarice of lord Ormond, to which he sacrificed the interests of all. In March, 1644, propositions drawn up with great wisdom were submitted to the king at Oxford, from the Irish confederates, who promised, when he granted these, to devote their lives and fortunes to his service ; but Charles, with his usual insincerity and indecision, neither accepting nor rejecting their proposals, submitted them to lord Ormond ; whose intrigues delayed the negotiation, until the concessions of a monarch nearly deposed could be of little avail. The treaty however which was formed, completely separated the king's party from that of the parliament ; which latter carried on the contest against the confederates with varied success : until the long continuance of this fearful strife gave a pretext to Cromwell for new acts of injustice, the real object of which was to remove a formidable body of fanatical levellers from England, and reward them with the spoils of plundered Ireland. That stern republican chief, driving all before him, took several strong towns, and murdered their garrisons in cold blood ; when, having by these means, as well as by the infliction of every species of misery on the nation, broken down the spirit of the confederacy, he deputed Ludlow and Ireton to conduct the war ; which soon languished from the dispersion of the confederates, the emigration of the natives, and the dreadful slaughter committed by the parliamentary forces. The soldiers, left, as it were, in full possession of the country, then appropriated to themselves large estates of nobles and gentry, and thus laid the foundation of the Cromwellian interest in Ireland ; while their leader acquired, by means of his Irish campaign, that increased importance which was necessary for his usurpation in England. The fanatics at first proscribed the national religion, hunted down the priests with blood hounds, and reduced the serfs remaining on the estates to a condition bordering on slavery : but in progress of time the excitement

of religious mysticism gave way to continued prosperity, to the genial influence of climate, and to the cheerful disposition of the people; so that these fanatics themselves were absorbed in the two great divisions of the nation; the poorer classes in the catholic, and the richer in the protestant communion.

Among the first who declared in favor of the restoration were those very levellers, whose zeal against monarchy had been so violent: some time previously they had united under Ormond as their head; and he had connected their interests with the crown. Charles was glad to receive them into power as an excuse for his ingratitude toward his Irish adherents; but it must be confessed that the king's position was a critical one: the Cromwellians were determined not to resign their lands without a contest; the army in Ireland was with them; and they had powerful friends in England. A feeble attempt indeed was made, more as a pretence than a desire, of adjusting the claims of parties; but the acts of settlement and explanation were soon passed, by which a great part of the land; in Ireland was confirmed to its new owners, and a protestant proprietary very generally substituted in place of the Roman catholics. But notwithstanding the hostility of the Cromwellians, and the sentence of beggary passed on catholic landowners, the old acts of Elizabeth and James respecting conformity of worship were scarcely ever put in force: the Romish clergy held their synods unmolested; and catholics were admitted into both houses of parliament. In fact the reign of Charles II., with respect to its Irish policy, may be distinguished by two periods: the first was employed in establishing the protestant ascendancy; seven years of the latter were occupied in encouraging the hopes of the Romanists, whom the acts of settlement and explanation had depressed; while the remainder was filled up by a second vice-royalty of the duke of Ormond, who now displayed much wisdom and moderation, and thereby preserved good order, when England was disturbed by terrors of the popish plot. The services indeed of this nobleman became indispensable for the management of affairs in his native country, with which no man had so intimate an acquaintance; as no one also had so much interest with all parties: he had not only recovered his hereditary estates, forfeited during the rebellion, but had acquired immense wealth from confiscated lands of the Anglo-Irish, whom he had inveigled by promises of restitution at the Restoration. To atone in some measure for this breach of faith, and to reconcile men to the splendor of his fortunes, he

exerted himself in promoting agricultural and commercial interests: he made strenuous efforts to establish manufactures, and employed his authority with the British government to obtain its concurrence in his plans: but though his schemes were directed with great skill and judgment, they were encountered by the deep-rooted prejudices of the English people; especially of the political economists, with the duke of Buckingham at their head. This opposition was exerted with success against the importation of Irish lean cattle into England: commercial jealousy proceeded to place Ireland, as it were, in a state of blockade, and to prevent as much as possible her rising prosperity: even the spoliators and intruding settlers entered into these views, and assisted to keep their adopted country poor and dependent; the Cromwellians setting the example, and by a systematic depression and sacrifice of Irish interests, endeavouring to court the ruling powers in England. When Buckingham, with the assistance of English and Scotch economists, had by the coercion of their trade reduced the Irish to desperation, the king himself, by one of the few wise acts of his reign, extended to them relief; allowing them a free trade with all nations at peace with England: Ormond also still prosecuted his designs for the good of Ireland, inviting thither foreigners from the Low Countries, skilled in the manufacture of woollen and linen goods; but his excellent plans were interrupted by the infamous contrivance of the popish plot. The king himself, a Romanist at heart, must have known its falsehood: but he suffered it to take its course, without interposing his prerogative of mercy in favor of English or Irish victims: it was said indeed that he dared not; but no long time afterwards, thinking himself strong enough to take decisive measures in favor of a religion which offered the best foundation for absolute power, he determined to change the executive government of Ireland, and began by dismissing the duke of Ormond. Death however put a stop to his designs, and probably with them to terrible commotions; for the interests of the Cromwellians were all intimately connected with the Reformation. A re-establishment of the Roman church must have reinstated the old catholic proprietors in their estates: hence that vehement zeal for the protestant establishment which prevailed at this period, and long afterwards.

On the accession of James II., agitation was greater in Ireland than in England, because the property which depended on the king's political and religious opinions was much larger and more recently acquired; including not only church lands,

but more than half the private estates of the people ; and this was now chiefly held by the party which brought his father's head to the block. His conduct was at first calculated to calm the fears of his protestant subjects ; but after some successful persecutions in Scotland, and the extinction of Monmouth's rebellion, he gave a loose rein to his inclinations ; and the most violent methods were used for transferring to Roman catholics the ascendancy which had been enjoyed by protestants : but while he supposed that his authority was as firmly fixed as that of his brother had been, and equally able to resist the assaults of exasperated patriotism ; and while he could see nothing but enemies vanquished, and a nation prostrate at his feet, he suddenly found himself without a throne or a country. The Cromwellians, who foresaw that it would be necessary to fight the battle over again for their estates, eagerly joined the whigs, before the king's abdication : indeed, during the administration of the popish lord lieutenant, earl Tyrconnel, numbers of them abandoned their homes, and flocked into the towns ; 1500 families embarked for England, with lord Clarendon, the late viceroy ; and many fled into Holland, where they had established a communication with the prince of Orange.

At the landing of William, the catholics were thrown into a violent ferment, while the spirits of the protestants revived : both parties took up arms ; but the efforts of the latter were soon reduced to the brave resistance of the Inniskilliners, and the celebrated defence of Derry, which formed a memorable episode in the glorious war of the Revolution. For the benefit of the approaching change, so important to the well-being of mankind, Ireland was doomed to pay a terrible price ; she afforded an arena for the combatants in that great strife, which almost swept away the last remnant of her ancient families, though it saved the empire from the despotism of the Stuarts and the thralldom of the Roman church.

When James returned from the asylum which he had sought in France, his acts of attainder were numerous and unrelenting ; including in their operation more than 2000 protestant proprietors : he also passed acts for confiscating the property of William's adherents ; but was resolute against the repeal of Poyning's law, the glory of which was reserved for the eloquence of a Grattan, and the liberality of a protestant prince and parliament. William neglected affairs in Ireland, until the French landed so many stores and men in the country, that its conquest appeared not improbable : he then sent an expedition under the command of Schomberg, who was created

a duke on the occasion: but his own presence was soon required; and the battle of the Boyne drove the poor-spirited James, tired of his attempt to play the game of war, to take refuge again at the court of France. The Irish gained much by his absence: their army was equal to that of William; the country was suited to a defensive warfare; and the population was on their side: they had every fair hope of victory; but the levity and bad policy of the French king frustrated their expectations, and preserved to his great rival a power, which was destined to shake his own to its very foundation.

William's army was principally composed of mercenaries: a rabble of various nations, collected together by the hope of plunder, and surpassing in their crimes all that had been yet known in the conflicts of christian people: a 'commission of forfeited land,' &c. having been issued, its members, who eagerly began to seize whatever they could turn to their own profit, made bitter complaints against these soldiers, as being always before them in the career of spoliation. It is needless to follow this army of the faith in all its scenes of pillage and of bloodshed. While William was in his camp before Limerick, he issued a proclamation, enjoining the payment of tithes to the protestant church by Romanists, and persons of every other persuasion; but this was not carried into full effect before the conclusion of the contest. Being soon afterwards compelled to retreat, and heartily tired of his Irish campaign, he left the conduct of civil administration to three lords chief justices, and that of war to the Dutch general Ginckel, though the celebrated Marlborough found several occasions of displaying those talents which became afterwards the admiration of Europe. The war soon took, like all other wars against Ireland, the turn of confiscation: both William and Ginckel were anxious to grant terms, before the murderous conflicts of 1691 commenced; for they well knew that every acre of land wrested from the Irish would cost England a hundred times its value; but the Irish council would not forego the hope of forfeitures; nor would the church surrender any part of its claims to universal tithe and dominion. 'I did very much hope,' said the secretary of the council in a letter to Ginckel, 'that on this progress over the Shannon, some favorable declaration might have been emitted to break the Irish army, and save the cost of a field battle; but I see our civil officers regard more the adding £50 a year to the English proprietary in this kingdom, than saving to England the expense of £50,000.'²⁰

²⁰ O'Driscol's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 229.

On the seventh of July, about a week after the taking of Athlone, a proclamation was issued, on which the subsequent articles of Galway and Limerick were founded, promising, among other things, 'that all those enjoying rank or dignity in the service of the late king James shall be continued in the same rank or employment, or advanced to higher posts : ' but the efforts of the court party, afraid of losing their share in confiscations, concurred with those of the French attached to the cause of James, in effecting a prolongation of the war ; during the heat of which it is curious to remark that one of the French protestants, forced out of their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, came to Dublin ; and there, by means of a company, firmly established that far-famed linen manufacture which had been fixed in Ireland by lord Strafford and revived by many subsequent projectors. At length, after several murderous conflicts, this dreadful contest came to a close : Limerick surrendered ; and the celebrated articles were drawn up, by which peace was secured to two nations which never ought to be at war with each other.

These articles were divided into two sets ; one civil, which had reference to the general interests of the catholics ; the other military, relating to the army, towns, fortresses, &c., then in the hands of Irish troops : the former stipulated that Roman catholics should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. ; and that all who submitted to obedience, should enjoy the same privileges and immunities which they did in that reign, on taking the oath of allegiance, and no other ; also, that all Irish catholics in the army, or within protection of the Irish quarters, should have quiet enjoyment of their estates ; and be restored, they or their heirs, to such as they were possessed of, or entitled to, in the aforesaid reign. Moreover, the liberty of exercising all pursuits and professions was guaranteed to them as fully as in that reign : and, finally, a general amnesty was granted.

While the great question of emancipation was depending on the fiat of parliament, this treaty, especially that part of it which relates to the civil and religious privileges conceded to Roman catholics, was the subject of much discussion and dispute. By the promoters of that measure it was asserted that the concession admitted of no equivocation or reserve ; that the only question was, what was the state of the catholics under Charles II. ? and this was one of easy solution, being within the memory of persons living, and also accurately set

forth in an authentic publication¹ printed in the reign of James II. Besides, all proclamations before the Limerick treaty expressly referred to those existing rights and privileges; and bishop Burnet's authority distinctly marks the general opinion, entertained at the time by all parties, as acknowledging and confirming them.² On the other hand, the advocates for protestant ascendancy affirmed, that no claim of concession could be less valid than that which rested on the alleged ground of national faith: it was contended that the separation of the articles into two sets implied an understanding by both parties, that the military articles might then be finally concluded; but that the civil portion of them, as involving considerations of government, could not be valid, unless ratified by civil authority. A confirmation of these, it was confessed, was promised to be obtained from the king; and they were accordingly by him confirmed: but it must have been understood that even the king's sole authority was not sufficient in constitutional questions; that the first article therefore, which alone was general, contained an express reference to the ratification of parliament; and parliament accordingly, in its act of confirmation, omitted the first article altogether, while it restricted the rest in some particulars.

Happily this irritating question has been transferred from the senate to the schools; though we must allow, that it was one admirably calculated to exercise the talents, and open the prospects, of aspiring candidates for honours and emoluments both in church and state. It is not necessary to tear open wounds that are beginning to cicatrise; but it scarcely can be denied, that if the determination of William's parliament was equitable and just, no engine was ever constituted so convenient for diplomatic agency as the British constitution.

To the disgrace of Ginckel, at the ratification of the treaty, he was found conniving at the omission of a clause, which extended its benefits to landed proprietors in Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Sligo, and Mayo; by which a vast extent of land would have been thrown into the hands of those who were anxiously waiting for confiscations; among whom was the general himself: but fortunately a large French fleet, sent by Louis XIV., like all his other succors, too late for ensuring military success, just then arrived in the Shannon: this, together with the honorable interference of William, prevented so infamous an

¹ Answer to the Coventry Letter, by a person of honor. London, 1688.

² Burnet's History, book v.

attempt at fraud and spoliation: the plunder of James's exiled adherents, and of others not included in the articles, ought to have satisfied the harpies, though the quantity of land now forfeited was inconsiderable when compared with former confiscations: it amounted however to 1,060,000 acres; but in April, 1692, the privy council, which met as a court of claims, restored 233,106 acres to catholic proprietors; and about 75,000 more were given back by William to persons whom he pardoned.

In the year following the treaty of Limerick, a statute was enacted in England, excluding Roman catholics from the Irish parliament; and in the second year of Anne this restriction was formally acknowledged by that parliament itself: the elective franchise however was not wholly taken from them till 1727. In the reign of Anne also the penal laws were enacted; a measure, considered by the Irish protestants at that time as one of self-defence rather than of unwarrantable oppression: for being disappointed in their desire of entering, like Scotland, into an incorporated union with England, and being abandoned to their own exertions, they proceeded to take away all political strength from the numerous, and therefore still powerful, party by which they were menaced.

But if we would know the real spirit in which Ireland was governed, from the time of king William to near the end of the last century, and how she was sacrificed to a system of policy injurious to one kingdom, but ruinous to the other, we must not look so much to her penal laws, which were seldom enforced, as to her fiscal and commercial regulations, instituted at the call of English manufacturing and commercial classes. The first fatal shock which her prosperity received was from the statutes of the tenth and eleventh of William III., prohibiting all exportation of Irish woollen goods, except into England and Wales; before which time, this flourishing manufacture gave employment to thousands, ruined or impoverished by protestant confiscations; drew a profitable return into Ireland from all parts of Europe; and repaired the waste of centuries by raising up an industrious and quiet population. Then began that rapacious system of landed proprietors, which reduced the miserable people, whom the jealousy of rival commerce had driven back on the soil, to a state of misery unequalled among the most barbarous nations; while, at the time of the Scottish union, Ireland was the most grievous burden on the English nation, drawing from the general defence 30,000 men to keep it in a poor and resourceless

subjection. The condition of its wretched populace is thus delineated by one of its most generous advocates:—‘There are thousands,’ says dean Swift, ‘who think themselves blessed, if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire’s dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potato plantation, on the condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable than to see wretches starving in the midst of plenty?’³ Ireland did not want patriots at the time to state and remonstrate against these grievances. Molyneux, the friend of Locke, published in 1698, ‘The Case of Ireland;’ in which he demonstrated with great force and spirit that the right of such oppressive legislation was justified by no plea of conquest, purchase, or precedent: but the temper of the English parliament was not then such as to brook remonstrances. Dean Swift also put forth his powers to counteract these evils, with considerable effect in some cases, and with no slight danger to himself in others, during the party violence of Anne’s reign: and again, in the time of George I., he solicited and obtained an interview with sir Robert Walpole for the very purpose of laying before him the grievances of Ireland, which had, as he observed, reduced that country to the most despicable state; the nation being controlled by laws to which her legislature gave no consent, her manufactures interdicted to favor those of England, her trade cramped and ruined by prohibitions, her natives excluded from all places of honor and emolument, while the delegates of government lay under no check but what might arise from their own sense of justice. Walpole however was prepossessed against any statement of Irish affairs that might come from Swift, being strongly influenced by the dean’s enemy, the primate Boulter, to whose authority the concerns of Ireland were at that time chiefly committed. The principle of administration adopted by this prelate was, to form and support an English interest in the government of Ireland; a plan which he nearly perfected, but which necessarily could be only temporary. Even in his own time the public mind had begun to exhibit an independent spirit; for five years had not elapsed from his arrival in the country, when a bill was rejected by the house of commons, specifically because it had originated in the privy council. This system gradually declined into that of the ‘undertakers,’ as it was called. During the long absences of the lord-lieutenants, it had become a custom to confide the government to the principal persons in the church and law, together with the speaker of the house of

³ Miserable State of Ireland, vol. vii. Scott’s edition.

commons: the continued possession of this deputed power established such great interests in the country, that the chief governors found it convenient to surrender almost the entire management of affairs to the Irish leaders, who in return undertook to ensure the unobstructed transaction of public business.

The first who established a great personal interest in the government was Mr. Boyle, afterwards earl of Shannon; and this was materially increased by his appointment to the office of speaker: his influence however was soon checked by the rivalry of the powerful family of Ponsonby, and its peculiar distinction destroyed by a peerage and a pension conferred on him in 1756. The ill consequences of this system of delegated power were sensibly experienced by the British ministry; especially as the advantages of political traffic to the 'undertakers' were such as tempted new adventurers, and created disturbance by competition. The inconveniences of such competition were strongly exhibited in 1751, when primate Stone, who was intimately connected with the duke of Dorset, labored to establish an interest opposed to Mr. Boyle; in consequence of which, that gentleman employed the whole weight of his influence against a measure of government, and threw it out of parliament: government then determined to act with vigor, and dismiss all Mr. Boyle's adherents from office, but soon judged it more expedient to conciliate him by honors and emolument. The primate made overtures of accommodation to his rival, and formed a triumvirate with the new earl of Shannon and Mr. Ponsonby, who was now seated in the chair of the house of commons: this occurred about four years before the reign of George III. Ireland however went on augmenting her internal misery, and adding to the burdens of the state, until the voice of her eloquent and patriotic sons in parliament prevailed against the interested views of English factors and Irish recreants; and she found a monarch, who, being born a Briton, and feeling for the distress of his subjects in whatever quarter it might exist, lent a willing ear to proposals for their relief. Let us now take a rapid sketch of the domestic politics of British sovereigns from the era of the Revolution: this will enable us to enter more fully into the views, and appreciate more justly the motives, which actuated that monarch, whose reign is about to be described.

On the abdication of James II., a new system was introduced into the government of Great Britain: the grand struggle between privilege and prerogative then terminated; the divine

right of kings was overthrown; and ministers of state were no longer set up by the caprice of a monarch, merely to forward his wishes, and to execute his projects: on the contrary, they were obliged to attend to the opinions of parliament, and through it to those of a majority, nay, sometimes even a minority, of the people. To secure the principles of civil and religious liberty, the bill of rights and the act of toleration were passed, by which means the whigs supported themselves during the reign of William, not only against the jacobites, who secretly adhered to the dethroned monarch and his immediate heirs, but against the tories also; who, enslaved as they were by political prejudices, could not reconcile themselves to the idea of breaking altogether the direct line of succession. To the great leaders of the whig party we owe that freedom both in civil and religious affairs which is the glory of the British constitution: they rendered that constitution one of law, not of persons; they laid it down as a rule, that allegiance and protection are relative duties; they defined the meaning of loyalty (which had been so strangely perverted) to consist in a ready obedience paid to the prince in all his commands, according to the laws: finally, they considered that submission was due to government as an ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; but still that government itself was an ordinance of man, acknowledged as such by scripture itself, and therefore rightly subject to constitutional change. Thus the British constitution became, under the hands of these men, a system at once of internal and external freedom; but when they were gone, the whig interest began to totter: still the predilection of Anne for the tories was overruled by the influence of the duchess of Marlborough; until, in 1710, the artful suggestions of another favorite totally alienated the mind of the queen from the whigs; and this for a time brought their opponents into administration, who were willing to assist her majesty in overthrowing the act of settlement, and restoring the old line in the person of her brother the Pretender. Her death however saved the nation from that misfortune and disgrace.

As the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty approached, the two great parties in the state became competitors for the favor of the future sovereign: the overtures of the whigs, who could offer more immediate and effective service, and whose support was felt to be more congenial to the new settlement of the crown, prevailed over those of their opponents. In the reigns of William and Anne, the government had fluctuated between whigs and tories; though William inclined to the former, and

Anne to the latter: but at the accession of George I., this fluctuation ceased: the whigs came into administration, and held undivided sway during the whole of his reign, and seventeen years of his successor's. The inclinations of both these princes naturally turned toward that party by whose influence the settlement in favor of the Hanoverian family had been made; while the majority of the people were kept steady in the same interest by an alarm felt on account of the Pretender, whose efforts to recover his throne were encouraged and assisted by France. Besides, the administration of the great whig minister, Sir Robert Walpole, under whose pacific inclinations and financial wisdom the nation gradually recovered the losses it had sustained in long and frequent wars, materially contributed to keep his party in power; and this power remained until a faction of discontented whigs and pretended patriots, encouraged by prince Frederic, father of George III., obstructed all the measures of the minister, hurried him into war, and effected his downfall: the opposing party was then called into office, but was unable to hold it long against the parliamentary interest of the great whig families. The useful administration of Mr. Pelham, which admitted several moderate Tories into its ranks, commenced in 1744, and continued nearly ten years, until his death: the duke of Newcastle, who had been secretary of state under his brother, then took the reins into his own hands, and held them absolutely, until they were wrested from him, in 1757, by William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, the greatest war-minister this kingdom has ever produced; who, finding his country disgraced and dispirited, raised it by his talents and energy to a height of glory which it had never before reached.

Sir Robert Walpole had been particularly odious to the heir apparent, on account of his opposition to all the measures taken by that prince to increase the miserable income allowed him by his father George II., whose character was sullied by extreme parsimony: hence the efforts of the party of Leicesterhouse, as it was called, to procure his dismissal: this however they were unable to effect, until he was driven into a war; so great and so general was the interest which that celebrated minister had acquired in parliament by every art of influence and corruption, and which he united to the power of the crown. When the Pelhams came into administration, the system of parliamentary influence was riveted by what was called the borough interest, and the confederacy of its partisans; which gave so much power to the duke of Newcastle,

that he was enabled to dictate terms to his royal master, and to keep him in a state of bondage, as far as regarded ministerial arrangements. The vexations to which prince Frederic had been subjected by the influence of Walpole, and the state of political vassalage to which George II. had been reduced by the ministers who drove his favorite lord Carteret from the helm, naturally had an effect on the youthful mind of prince George; and this was heightened by the manner of his education, as well as by the continual exhortations of his mother, a princess of the house of Saxe-Gotha, who was deeply imbued with all those arbitrary notions of government which distinguished the petty sovereigns of Germany. Her aim seems to have been directed to the acquisition of influence over her son's mind, and of power through that influence: hence it became her policy to remove from about his person every one who did not enter into her views, and second the lesson which she was perpetually repeating to him, in the memorable words—'George, be king.' The treatment therefore which lord Waldegrave receive at Leicester-house induced that confidential friend of George II. to retire from his office of governor, and thus make room for the princess dowager's favorite, lord Bute, who was every way inclined to second her views in the education of her son. It has been said, that at this time, a secret cabinet, which might control the ministers of the crown, was formed under the influence of the princess, who had imbibed the first ideas of such a combination from her late husband. The supposed existence of this unconstitutional confederacy frequently called forth indignant invectives from lord Chatham and other parliamentary orators; but its reality was stoutly denied by many who were taunted as being objects of its mysterious influence, as well as by lord Bute himself, who was thought to be one of its most active members. The probable solution of this political problem is, that during the lifetime of the princess, her maternal authority was strongly exercised over the councils and conduct of the king; their back-stairs messenger, or private agent, being Mr. Jenkinson, private secretary to lord Bute, and afterwards created earl of Liverpool. At all events, George III. was fully prepared, both by precept and by natural disposition, not only to demand the free, unfettered choice of his public servants, but to exercise personally a stronger power than was always thought consistent with ministerial responsibility. This was a leading feature in his character, and one which influenced his domestic and political conduct throughout his reign.

On his accession to the throne, his object was to put an end to the war, and with it to the domination of those who would have counteracted his designs; to release himself, for a time at least, from German politics and continental alliances, which had always excited a clamor among the people of England; and then, having broken that chain with which the great whig confederacy had fettered his predecessor, to throw open the administration to men of all parties, especially those whose principles led them to support the royal prerogative. This scheme it was easier to project than to execute: the Pelham party, even after losing much of its popularity, was still very powerful, having possessed for many years, without interruption, the distribution of all preferment under the crown; while the duke of Newcastle, in his arrangements with lord Chatham, had contrived to retain in his own hands that fertile source of influence and power: this party therefore, with the duke at its head, would naturally resist all attempts made to dispossess them of their places; and when their parliamentary interest was backed by the splendid talents of Pitt, and the great knowledge of business, foreign and domestic, which was possessed by many other members of the cabinet, it must be confessed that they were a formidable phalanx. Besides, the instrument employed by the new sovereign to effect his purpose was unfortunately chosen; the earl of Bute being very unequal to the task: he was accordingly dismissed; and a succession of ministerial arrangements ensued, which appeared like a system of experiments, to show how far the method of secret advisers with ostensible ministers could extend the regal prerogative, in defiance of the remonstrances of the people: hence the government became vacillating and weak, passing through the hands of all parties, until it centred in a disgraceful coalition of the most violent antagonists: then it was that a strong hand was found to take the reins, and to rescue his country from the strife of factions, the confusion of political errors, and the reproach of foreign nations. Whatever may have been the motives of the second William Pitt when he consented to engage in the French war, or whatever his merits in the conduct of it, most persons, who have read history with a candid and attentive mind, will confess that his was a brilliant entrance into public life; and that the measures both of his internal and external policy, during the first nine years of his administration, bore signal marks of liberality and wisdom. Whatever too may be thought of the king's desire of personal power, of that inflexibility of temper which often dege-

nerated into obstinacy, or of that aversion to individuals which sometimes appeared like a spirit of revenge; in one point of view his accession to the throne was of inestimable advantage to the country. It cannot be denied that vice and profligacy had at that time advanced to a great height; whilst immorality, divested of refinement, had been encouraged by the example of his immediate predecessors, and those by whom they were surrounded: besides, in the early part of this century the great truths of revelation had been attacked with fiercer and more powerful weapons than had been hitherto used in such unhallowed warfare. Toland, Collins, and others of that school, had brought the doctrines of christian faith to the bar of human reason, and by a perverted judgment spread the principles of scepticism and infidelity among the more educated classes: and when we find it remarked by lord Orford, that there were no religious combustibles in the temper of that age, we are led by this observation to form melancholy conclusions regarding the vitality of its principles: but the sober yet earnest piety of George III., and his exact fulfilment of moral duties, afforded an example to his subjects, which could not fail to produce an effect on the national character: the court, instead of being, as is too often the case, repulsive to virtue, became, under the auspices of the king and his virtuous consort, a centre of attraction to those principles, which preserved our upper ranks from the contagion of foreign profligacy; rendering them a support to royalty and a blessing to the people. George III. boasted that he was born a Briton; and his country had reason to boast that it had a christian prince on the throne.

We will now resume our brief description of the European States-system, up to the present times; reserving its more minute details to be engrafted into the 'main body of this work.

That fierce conflict of nations 'the seven years' war,' still continued to agitate Europe; whose political relations however remained unchanged, until Russia withdrew from the contest, which extended itself into Spain and Portugal, through the influence of the Family Compact. Before its complete termination, the alliance between England and Prussia was shaken by the withdrawal of British subsidies; but England had gained her principal object, by annihilating the navy, and conquering almost every colony of France; whose proposals for peace were seconded by the general desire for that blessing now expressed by the British nation: preliminaries therefore,

which were concluded at Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762, between England on the one side, and France and Spain on the other, led to a separate peace next year, without any stipulation, except French neutrality, in favor of Frederic, who became thenceforth the bitterest enemy of his former benefactors. The peace of Hubertsburg, so glorious to Prussia, reconciled that nation with Austria and Saxony, the Germanic empire having previously declared itself neutral; and as a mutual renunciation of territorial claims took place, the European system still remained unaltered.

Austria and Prussia now ranked as the two first continental powers; for neither distant and semi-barbarous Russia, nor exhausted France, could enter into competition with them; much less could Spain, which was fast verging toward that extreme degradation into which she has since fallen.

The dissolution of ties which had so firmly united England and Prussia, left to the former very little influence in the European confederacy; where she had but two allies, in the small states of Portugal and Holland; (which latter country was jealous of her maritime superiority) while Russia was only connected with her by a commercial treaty. However, after the prostration of her great rival, she had no immediate cause for seeking new connexions, nor did any such exigency soon arise: she therefore confined her attention to domestic affairs, and to the cultivation of her colonial and commercial resources, leaving Austria and Russia unmolested in their designs against the Porte; and viewing almost with unconcern the shameful partition of Poland. That lust for aggrandisement and compactness of territory, which arose principally from the scattered states of Prussia, now found such stimulants in the wants and internal administration of European kingdoms, that it soon became a ruling principle of policy; hence potentates themselves set an example, if they did not afford a justification, to the great plunderer who afterwards spoiled the despoilers. This bad principle acted very injuriously on the whole federative system; for it soon came to be applied to the German empire on which the preservation of that system mainly depended; and whose disjointed realms offered great facilities and excitement to plunderers. This soon appeared in the attempts made by the emperor Joseph to annex the Bavarian electorate to his dominions, at a period which appeared most favorable to his views—when France, connected with Austria by the marriage of Marie-Antoinette, had plunged into a naval war in the cause of American independence—when

Russia was seeking her own aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey—and when England, engaged in a desperate contest with her colonies, left Prussia alone and unaided, to ward off destruction from the Germanic constitution. Frederic then exhibited a striking instance of disinterested policy, rising above the spirit of the age, when he resisted this opportunity of enlarging and strengthening his own dominions, rather than the confederative system,—for which he took up arms. The war which ensued closed without bloodshed; since Maria Theresa, anxious for repose in her old age, as well as for the welfare of her son, and Frederic himself, unwilling to tempt fortune again, yielded to the mediation of France and Russia; which latter power, having finished her war with Turkey, threatened to become more than a mediator: so the peace of Teschen was concluded, May 13, 1779; but not without Joseph's retaining a portion of his booty in Lower Bavaria. This peace put a stop to hostilities, but not to irritation; for the acquisition of Bavaria still remained a favorite project in the Austrian cabinet; and when the death of his mother left Joseph free to act, he exhibited a reckless desire of aggrandisement, which the state of Western Europe was well calculated to facilitate. He now endeavoured to effect his scheme by exchange; proposing to give up a large portion of the Austrian Netherlands, with some limitations, for Bavaria and the Lower Palatinate; having for this purpose gained over the Elector, and Russia; while France appeared indifferent to the event. Frederic, on the brink of the grave, thus saw his system again endangered: but though he did not at this time unsheath the sword, he clearly and loudly proclaimed to confederated Europe, how important to its States-system was the preservation of the Germanic constitution; which, before his death, he had the satisfaction of seeing made the basis of that system.

But if continental despots were reproached for their lust of aggrandisement, and leagues instituted for territorial plunder, they retorted the charge upon England as using her naval superiority for the oppression of other nations, and invasion of their commercial rights. This accusation had reference to her assumption of a maritime code of law; and the great question which came into dispute, and remains still undecided, was the right of neutrals to carry on the colonial trade of a belligerent power, under its own flag, and on its own account. It arose from a permission granted by France, in 1756, for neutrals to trade with her colonies, when she herself was deprived of the power of doing so. The English denying the legality of this

trade, captured and confiscated vessels engaged in it; allowing only the usual commerce permitted in times of peace to be carried on. This assumed right, producing no important consequences at the time, fell of itself at the return of peace: but the rule of 1756 became a rule for the future, unless when it was thought fit to relax it. Every naval war, however, renewed and enlarged the dispute; more especially that which now approached, when England entered into a contest with her transatlantic colonies.

The origin and progress of this important contest will be so fully detained in the ensuing history, that we need not here dwell upon them: but we may observe, that its proximate cause was the notion entertained by Great Britain, respecting her right of direct taxation, involved in that of sovereignty, and unconnected with representative privileges. Resistance to her claims gradually and almost insensibly ripened into rebellion: though many latent causes hastened on that separation from the mother country, which seems to follow the advancement of a colony, as much as migration from the parental hearth ensues from the matured age and strength of a child. How much would proper ideas of this inevitable separation conduce, not only to lenient and just government during the connexion, but to kindly intercourse, mutual sympathy, and common interests, when that connexion is dissolved!

When resistance had brought Great Britain to the alternative of concession or war, she was urged, (as one of our best constitutional writers has observed,⁴) into the fatal contest, principally by five causes. 'The first of these was an ignorance of, or inattention to, the great leading principles of political economy. The second, a high overweening national pride. The third, a mean and unworthy money selfishness. The fourth, high principles of government. The fifth, a certain vulgarity of thinking on political subjects.' These causes are developed and illustrated by the author with singular skill and elegance: but we can advert to them no farther than to congratulate our country on the advance she has made in good principles and good policy since they were so judiciously penned.

The war, hastily begun by the colonists in a fruitless attack on Canada, necessarily became a defensive one, giving full scope to the great and noble qualities of the American Fabius: increasing animosity increased their determination to obtain independence; and its declaration by congress, July 4, 1776, together with the capture of Burgoyne's army, offered a pretext

* See Professor Smyth's Lectures on History, vol. ii. p. 379.

to the court of Versailles for entering into the contest by acknowledging that independence. The war naturally took a maritime turn, and spread to both Indies; giving to Frederic of Prussia full scope for the exercise of his long-cherished hatred and revenge against Great Britain, by instigating Russia and other states to profit by her embarrassment, and revive the question of maritime rights: hence arose that celebrated confederacy, called 'The Armed Neutrality;' between the northern states, joined with Austria and Prussia, and drawing Holland and Spain also into the contest. To oppose the increasing hostility of these powers, and to prevent their confederacy, our ministry dispatched to St. Petersburg Mr. James Harris,—afterwards created earl of Malmesbury for his supposed diplomatic skill and services,—British envoy at the court of Berlin; a young man who had been sent fresh from the undisciplined university of Oxford, to watch the motions and to counteract the projects of the wily Frederic: by what means, and with what success, may be seen in his published correspondence. The manner in which he was cajoled by the still more wily Catherine, and the methods by which he himself cajoled our ministers at home, form one of the most ridiculous episodes in the English history. What indeed had diplomacy, and the great art on which it then depended, the art of bribery, to do in this case? The presence of a well-appointed fleet in the northern seas would have settled the matter sooner than a whole host of negotiators.

The war, which thus involved the dominion of the ocean, was prosecuted by France with more success than had hitherto attended her naval efforts, until Great Britain, always negligent in the commencement of a contest, became sufficiently irritated by disasters and disgrace to draw out her resources and to exert her energies. Then was her maritime superiority nobly vindicated by the gallant Rodney; especially in his grand action off Guadaloupe, April 12, 1782. The fate of America, however, was to be decided, not on the ocean, but on the land; where the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, extinguished every hope of success for the mother country; and nothing was requisite for the return of peace but the retirement of lord North from office; the obstinacy of the king being forced to give way before the altered sentiments of his parliament: accordingly on March 20, 1782, the premier resigned his seat in the cabinet, war ceased in Europe, and American independence was recognised by all nations.

Here we may pause briefly to consider the nature of this

vast republic, whose foundation beyond the Atlantic waves forms one of the most remarkable epochs in the world's history,—a republic unrivalled in extent and natural advantages,—a state of Europeans, not belonging to the European system; yet impelled, no less by inclination than by circumstances, to take a part in European policy; while it throws open its arms to all deserters of ancient establishments, whatever their country, fortunes, or opinions may be; a state apparently destined, for a time at least, to be the great disturbing force of Europe, if not of the world; and so potent for mischief, that it becomes a question whether it would not be sound policy for all European states to combine for the purpose of curbing its encroachments and counteracting its designs.

'This new republic,' says Heeren, (vol. ii. p. 98,) 'established without any internal revolution of the single states, (only trifling changes being necessary) languished at first under its liberty. Its first constitution was a federative government, without strength and without credit: but the changed constitution of 1789 gave it all the solidity that a federative state can possess; placing the executive power in the hands of a president, in connection with the senate; and the legislative, (conformably in most respects to British forms) in the two chambers, the senate, and the house of representatives; not however without the participation of the president. Public credit too was established by a system of finances for the union. To Washington the *president*, this new state was not less indebted than to Washington the *general*. Only by committing the high offices of state to great men can this union be preserved.'

The latter part of this sentence is undoubtedly true: but how can great men be found for office, how can any honest and consistent course of policy be pursued, how can public faith and peace be kept with other nations, when he who would obtain the presidential chair must pander to the passions and desires of a democratic mass; and when the representatives of the people can only expect to retain their places by a similar mode of conduct? The grand fault in the American constitution was the little power given to the general or federal government over the provincial legislatures; and this has been clearly shown in all transactions consequent on the late disturbances in Canada.

The greatest stain upon the American character was the establishment, in a community of men who had vindicated

their own freedom, the vilest system of slavery which ever cursed a country calling itself christian. The evils to which such violations of political and moral principles may lead are not to be calculated—those to which they have already led, serve to mark the government of the North American union, as a beacon to be avoided, rather than as a pattern for imitation; and if there be any thing which sullies the renown of Washington, it is the sanction of his great name given to the democratic principle of that government.⁵

Commerce naturally felt the first influence of this new republic, with which every maritime power was eager to form treaties: but, being destitute of capital, she engaged in trade most readily with those which could give the longest credit; and this led her to stifle that resentment against Great Britain which time has scarcely moderated: hence the commerce with her deserted parent became more extensive and unrestricted; while England soon discovered that she might well have spared the sacrifice of so much blood and treasure, spent worse than in vain.

But though Great Britain lost her ancient colonies in North America, she retained her later acquisitions in Canada and Nova Scotia, which thus became more valuable and important; while her possessions in the West Indies had increased by cessions made at the treaty of Paris, and the prosperity of these colonies had been advanced by the grant of several commercial privileges. Her African colonies had improved through the possession of Senegal, which gave her the gum and slave trade; but the independence of America gave rise to a colony of free negroes at Sierra Leone, on the very coast of Africa itself—an experiment interesting to humanity, as intending to prove that slavery may be dispensed with. It seems hopeless however to expect that slavery will be dispensed with, until the pretended friends of liberty in America shall discontinue the practice of breeding slaves; or that the slave-trade will cease, until such governments as those of Spain, Portugal, Mexico and Brazil, calling themselves christian, shall cultivate the spirit of christianity: perhaps, after all, the only method of abolishing this vile traffic must be looked for in the extension of civilization and christianity on the great continent of Africa.

⁵ What other but a democratic government could have sanctioned a law inflicting the punishment of *death* on the person who should assist a slave to escape from the power of a master, however brutal and cruel?

But the grandest theatre of the colonial policy of Great Britain, during this period, was in the East Indies ; where her merchant princes, founding an empire, larger in extent and population than the mother country, opened a mart for the exchange of merchandize, which rendered the latter almost independent of the world. Good order, however, with its consequent prosperity, was not soon or easily established. Inordinate expectations of immense wealth, without proper means used to obtain it, ended in disappointment ; clashing interests arose between the directors in England and their agents in India, which country had to endure the evils of a corrupt administration and oppressive monopolies ; until the weakness of government, thence ensuing, encouraged the attacks of Hyder Ali, which were with great difficulty repressed : but these evils also gave rise to a new act of legislation ; the Indian government being consolidated and reduced to a stricter dependence on the crown. Although affairs were brought under this control, the interests of the company were consulted far more than those of the natives ; oppression, under the sway of the arbitrary and politic Hastings, became reduced to a system ; resistance gave rise to war ; war was attended by conquest, until conquest itself became necessary for British supremacy. Notwithstanding the fortunate issue of the Mahratta contest in May 1782, with other successes, and a large extension of territory through the capture of Nagapatam, it became evident that the company could not long remain as then constituted : by no exactions could it fulfil its engagements ; its affairs were considered to be on the brink of bankruptcy ; and the necessity of a closer dependence, except in commercial matters, upon the British government, became evident to all parties. Fox attempted to effect this object, but in vain : it was however attained, in 1784, by Pitt's bill ; which is the basis of the present government in India. For carrying out practically this salutary measure, and for ameliorating in many respects the condition of the natives, much credit is due to lord Cornwallis, though the seeds of corruption had taken root too deeply to be intirely eradicated.

This extraordinary extension of colonisation caused a proportional increase in British navigation. The voyages of captain Cook awakened a spirit of discovery almost rivalling that to which the enterprises of Columbus gave rise : the islands of the South Pacific Ocean became nearly as well known as those of the Mediterranean Sea ; and from Cook emanated ideas of settlement on the continent of New Holland, which promises

to afford an ample return to the fostering care of the mother country.

The colonial history of France, in this period, is almost included in that of Great Britain: the rivalry of the two countries continued, but always to the disadvantage of the latter: her colonial prosperity in the East, established by Dupleix, fell by the preponderance of British influence; her India company was abolished, the trade being left open, with some slight restrictions; and she only retained her position by the isles of France and Bourbon, which could not yet be wrested from her.

In the western ocean she was less unfortunate; for although losses of territory occurred there also, yet the island of St. Domingo, the Spanish portion of which she had acquired by an exchange for Louisiana and West Florida, being favored by a fertile soil and escaping the evils of war, flourished to such an extent as to supply the markets of the mother country.

With regard to the colonial system of the Dutch, this was the period of its deep decline, resulting from their inhuman massacres, their vile treatment of the natives, their bad regulations respecting navigation, and the loss of the Indian coasting trade. The secret maladies which affected their external commerce, were brought to a crisis by an unexpected war with Great Britain; and if the wounds inflicted by that war had not been incurable, they would probably have become so by the domestic convulsions which soon followed: for without protecting navies, colonies can scarcely exist.

Those of Spain suffered less than others in the contest of nations; for her islands were less easy of attack, and her continental possessions were rendered secure by their very size: though their regular trade with the mother country was interrupted, the contraband increased; whilst internal tranquillity and prosperity were but little affected. New commercial regulations, made after Spain was liberated from the assiento treaty at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, knocked off many old fetters from her commerce; and the trade of her colonies with the mother country, but more especially with each other, was arranged on more liberal principles. The changes in the colonial affairs of Portugal arose partly from her quarrels with Spain; but more from the peculiar administration of Pombal. Her colonial system and policy became more concentrated in Brazil: for her possessions in Asia and Africa were, with the single exception of Madeira, daily decreasing in importance.

The northern states continued to take a part in colonies and

colonial trade. The possessions of Denmark in the West Indies remained unaltered: but their cultivation advanced, and their ports often became very important during the contest of other nations. In 1764 her West India company was dissolved, and the trade thrown open. In the East she kept possession of Tranquebar; and her East India company, whose charter had been renewed in 1772, carried on a prosperous commerce with China. Sweden also, by her company, traded advantageously with that country and with India: having also obtained a footing in the West Indies, by procuring the island of St. Bartholomew from France. Even distant Russia not only participated in the Chinese trade, by means of caravans; but after the discovery of Kurili and the Aleutian islands, passed thence to settlements on the coast of North America, establishing there a colony, principally for trade in peltry. Thus did European dominion extend itself over half of Asia, and nearly all America, as well as the coasts of Africa and Australia: a dominion, attempted from a lust of gain, but acquired and maintained by intellectual superiority: so widely have the seeds of intelligence been scattered on various soils: the result is in the hands of Providence.

Northern Portion of the European States-system.—The North of Europe stood, during this period, after the aggrandisement of Russia, in a closer connexion with the west: but, except in the 'seven years' war,' its influence chiefly took a diplomatic cast. Before the reign of Catherine, no prominent character appears on the throne, in the cabinet or in the field. Personal interests and passions, frequently of the most detestable kind, decided both the foreign and domestic policy of the states. While the leading empire was vegetating under an indolent but cruel despotism, anarchy became organized in the two bordering monarchies of Sweden and Poland.

A new epoch, not only for Russia, but for the north in general, commenced with the accession of Catherine: who, by her separate peace with Prussia, which dissolved the Austrian alliance, acquired free scope for action. Her diplomacy soon encircled all Europe, though she confined her sphere of action to contiguous nations, which were in a state of anarchy or exhaustion. After entertaining and discarding the plan of a great northern confederacy, of which Russia was to be the head, she ultimately fixed on Poland as the field of her exertions; which country, by its unsettled state, seemed to invite her interference; she needed nothing there but a continuance of the existing anarchy; in the midst of which the

death of Augustus III. took place, and her intrigues for giving a king to Poland were successful in the elevation of her former favorite, Stanislaus Poniatowsky. This scheme was effected in defiance of France, Turkey, Austria, and Prussia; which latter power signed a treaty of alliance with Russia, April 11, 1764; the conditions of which were a mutual defence and guarantee of all European possessions; the preservation of the constitution of Poland being the subject of a secret article.

Frederic now wanted nothing but a pretext for acquiring permanent dominion in Poland for himself; and this was soon discovered in the case of the *Dissidents*; by the protection of whom he secured a party, and at the same time acquired a reputation for tolerance. Then followed the confederacy for perpetuating the evils which afflicted that unhappy country, under the guarantee of Russia; also a fierce war, carried on against the Porte, whose jealousy demanded the evacuation of Poland; of which contest Austria and Prussia were quiet spectators, whilst a desolating pestilence ravaged Moscow, and the insurrection of Pugatschef shook the empire of the czars. But in Sweden and Poland two contemporary revolutions were going on; the former in opposition to, the latter in accordance with, the wishes of the empress. The Swedish revolution, excited by Gustavus III., preserved the independence of that kingdom; which, unlike unhappy Poland, still possessed a class of free citizens and peasants on whom its salvation rested: the restoration of the regal power was viewed with different feelings by different powers, but with great dissatisfaction by Catherine, as counteracting her designs: but she had sufficient command over herself to restrain her anger.

The fate of Poland, however, unexpectedly drew nigh. The activity of the confederacy of Bar had not been relaxed during the Turkish war; but had declared the throne vacant, and dared to remove the king from his residence: but the Porte had enough to do for itself; and the increasing preponderance of Russia began to alarm Austria; so that an extension of the war seemed inevitable, when a visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to Petersburg brought out a project for re-establishing peace, at the expense of Poland. This calmly concerted robbery, the fruit of that aggrandising policy which has been already adverted to, needs no comment. After various negotiations, the first partition treaty between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was promulgated, August 5, 1772; in which the three spoliators, after having extorted by force the consent of the diet at Warsaw, guaranteed to each other the spoil which they had

seized, and to Poland the territory which still remained to that wretched nation. Yet Catherine was unwilling to relinquish or to divide her authority in this remnant; and by her machinations she secured it for herself.

Such were the intrigues which now threatened the political system of Europe; whose own potentates had begun its subversion! Politicians, indeed, and amongst them the unprincipled Frederic, pretended that the balance of power in the north would be upheld by the nearly equal division which had been made of the spoil; as if this balance was to be sought in the material power of states, rather than in the strict rules of international law! What dismemberment could be called illegal, if this were deemed lawful? and what state could be more interested in reserving the law of nations than Prussia, whose scattered parts, obtained chiefly by conquests, were held together by compacts and treaties?

This partition, connected with a successful campaign under Romanzoff, facilitated a compromise and treaty of peace, without any foreign mediation, between Russia and the Porte; by which the former acquired a right of interference in the affairs of Moldavia and Wallachia; also of freely navigating the Black Sea; with other privileges, as well as the possession of Asoph and several districts in the Crimea: hence the establishment of an order of things which seemed merely a transition to further convulsions, encroachments, and spoliation. The alliance of Russia with Prussia continued in form: after the Swedish Revolution, a secret alliance had been made with Denmark: the ascendancy of Russia in Poland was confirmed: her relations with Sweden were doubtful: those with the Porte extremely complicated. But what was the increase of physical strength compared with the moral power obtained by Russia? and what was wanting to Catherine, after these trials of strength, but the internal organization of her vast empire, in order to wield its power with success? To this therefore she directed her attention; and from it a new and daring project, instigated by the favorite Potemkin, did not divert her.

To raise a Greek empire on the ruins of the Ottoman power now became the grand object of Russian policy; an object which seemed to be facilitated by the last war, and still more by the peace which followed. Its difficulties were foreseen; but they only invested it with charms in the eyes of Catherine; who saw in the characters of contemporary monarchs, a prospect of removing all obstacles by a partition treaty, like that which dismembered Poland. When a second war broke out

with Turkey, ten years afterwards, these difficulties became fully disclosed: nevertheless the object still remained fixed in the councils of Russia, whose designs against Sweden were thus diverted into another channel. The Prussian alliance now lost its importance; as the purpose of it was gained, and it could afford no assistance against the Turks: for that end the acquiescence of Great Britain as well as the aid of Austria was required; and to gain over both these powers was the grand aim of Potemkin: the connection with Great Britain was nearly concluded, when Count Panin, by his project of the armed neutrality, averted a measure which would at once have rendered himself and the Prussia alliance unnecessary. This new stroke of policy diverted the attention of Catherine from her Greek project; though Potemkin, who had nothing to gain from the armed neutrality, never lost sight of it.

The dominion of the Black Sea, which implied that of the Crimea and its contiguous countries, entered strongly into the leading policy of the Russian cabinet. This was soon effected, and the grand object of Catherine's ambition seemed to be on the very point of accomplishment; but the building of fleets required time, while intervening events in Western Europe, the Bavarian war of succession, the league of the princes, &c. precluded all precipitate measures. The political relations of the Northern states seemed generally to disappoint calculation; and though personal conferences of the sovereigns took place, the results could scarcely be predicted. Two important meetings of this kind occurred between Catherine and the emperor Joseph, one at Mohilow, and the other at Petersburg in 1780; when their subsequent alliance against the Porte was concerted, together with Joseph's scheme for the exchange of Bavaria: the Prussian alliance was thus weakened, while that with Austria was renewed, and Russian policy took a more fixed aim and direction. If the armed neutrality kept England aloof, the other leading states were propitiated by advantageous treaties of commerce. Potemkin's political influence now attained to its zenith; the consequence of which was the above-mentioned subjugation of the Crimea, over which he was appointed governor, with an immense army at his disposal, and an authority which no other subject in Europe possessed. To complete his triumph Catherine herself in 1787 visited him in Taurida, where she was met by the emperor Joseph, and the alliance was consummated. Though the conditions of this alliance remained secret, the consequences soon disclosed its reality. Whether a war against Turkey was actually concerted may be

doubtful ; but all preparations were made : while Potemkin, by his diplomatic skill, excited the Divan, notwithstanding its apparent apathy, to be the first to declare it. 'Thus,' says Heeren, 'a storm was prepared against the Porte which seemed to forebode its overthrow ; but never were the calculations of human foresight more signally disappointed. Many who imagined themselves strong, lay in the dust : and the state devoted to destruction rose in pride over the ruins of Europe.'

To the disgrace of Europe that state still exists, to insult christianity and oppose its progress, while it sows the seeds of moral and political disorder over all the unfortunate realms submitted to its detestable sway. Imagination can scarcely conceive the frightful condition of countries under the government of Turkish pashas, ignorant, rapacious, brutal ; given up to the basest passions, thirsting for riches and blood ; men generally raised by caprice from the lowest ranks, and therefore the more bigoted and cruel ! Yet such a power still exists, supported by the rivalry, dissensions, and tortuous policy of christian states. Lately the friends of humanity saw a light gleaming out of this moral darkness, when the ruler of Egypt was advancing with his armies against Constantinople : but it did not suit those states to allow an Albanian chieftain to occupy the throne of Mahomet II. ; though he might have been obliged to give a bond, under a guarantee, for good government ; so he was driven back : neither did it suit their views that he should retain his sway over Syria ; so the Quadruple Alliance, at a vast expense, drove him thence, and restored the province to anarchy and bloodshed ; disbanding their troops and dismissing their fleets, without any pledge taken for good government. Had they only demanded Acre, or Beyroot, or any other strong place on the coast, to be held under a guarantee of the four powers, so small a return for services could not have been refused : and what an asylum might that have been made for persecuted individuals ! what an opening for the dissemination of christianity, and protection of christians. The opportunity is now passed—when it may return, is known to Him alone to whom prayers are addressed for enlightening the minds and ruling the hearts of statesmen and princes.

Third Period : from the death of Frederic the Great and commencement of the Revolutionary age, to the overthrow of the Napoleon dynasty, and restoration of the political system of Europe. 1786—1820.

The death of Frederic was soon followed by those great national convulsions, which impressed a peculiar character on the ensuing period; called by some the *Revolutionary*, and by others the *Constitutional* period, since the struggle for regular but free constitutions is the thread which guides us through its labyrinth. To what this struggle will lead is not even yet clear: but its most desirable result would be a diversity of constitutions, adapted to the characters and wants of different people: for who will say that the same is suitable for all?

Every attempt previously made to subvert the European states-system had failed: at the death of Frederic, the structure still stood erect; and the danger, if any existed, seemed to be in the east rather than in the west. The time was coming when it was to experience severer storms—to fall—and again to rise from its ruins. The question—what was the cause of these convulsions? may be thus briefly answered. The constitutions of most European states had outlived themselves. That of Spain, since its Cortes had ceased to assemble, rested on papacy and the Inquisition—that of France, since the disappearance of its states-general, was an autocracy; but at war within itself, and involved in a long contest with the parliament—that of the Netherlandic republic, always misshapen, and now without support, was torn by factions—the Germanic empire, laboring under its tardy forms, was scarcely able to move—that of Prussia was an artificial administration, now deprived of its main-spring—that of Austria was plunged into a reform, which proved eminently unsuccessful—while Poland and the Porte were in a state of acknowledged anarchy. The efforts of rulers to obtain unlimited power had overthrown all vestiges of freedom in the continental states; whose assemblies had vanished, or were reduced to mere forms, having nowhere been remodelled into a true national representation. ‘But the idea of it,’ says Heeren, (vol. ii. p. 159,) ‘not only lived in theory, disseminated and fostered by the first writers of the day, but was seen permanently realised in a neighbouring happy island state; it could not, therefore, pass away from practical politics; and was necessarily, during the storms of the following period, the polar star which was ever kept in view in all aberrations of the times.’

Nor were the relations of different classes toward each other less altered than those of rulers toward their subjects. The highest everywhere failed to fulfil the obligations imposed upon them by their rank and privileges: and were, therefore, in all convulsions exposed to more threats and dangers even than

rulers and princes. With regard to the strength of states, no other criterion was known but that of standing armies, which drew a line gradually between themselves and the people; they alone were armed; the citizens were defenceless: thus on the event of one battle the fate of nations might depend. As to pecuniary means, not a single continental state could carry on war to any length from its own resources: subsidies, or continued extortions, were the only means pursued: and thus the system, carried out too far, brought with it its own punishment.

But if all political supports were thus shattered and weak, the moral were no less so. That corner-stone of every system, the sanctity of legitimate possession, had disappeared: politics had thrown off their veil in Poland; and the lust of aggrandisement prevailed. The unhappy error, encouraged by political writers, which places the strength of a nation in its magnitude, and revenue, and physical powers, had taken deep root; while selfish egotism became a prevailing principle of public, as well as of private life,—and this in a system of states, so unequal as those of Europe, which hitherto had been upheld by alliances formed against preponderating powers: but alliances attended with sacrifices were now generally rejected by all cabinets.

Nor only had new maxims become prevalent in the morals of government: new opinions also were diffused among the people opposed to the existing order of things: which, like all human institutions, rests ultimately on opinion. Sophistical arguments in favor of popular sovereignty, circulated by political writers, received an apparent confirmation by the independence of North America; democratic ideas were thus fostered in the monarchical system—ready materials for combustion, whenever a spark might fall upon them. Other authors had taken pains to undermine religion; so that scarcely any thing remained sacred to the popular mind; among whom light and frivolous amusements had taken the place of rational pleasures and improving studies; while the public press became an instrument of extensive evil, which was increased by clubs and secret societies.

Threatening as were these appearances, no one had any presentiment of the approaching catastrophe: but in this consisted the danger, that everything was calculated for the usual state, while everything was thrown out of its course, ready to fall as soon as any unusual combination of circumstances occurred. The following period naturally arranges itself in three divisions, between which the peace of Campo

Formio, (which by bringing the north into close contact with the west, formed the European states into one political system,) the establishment of the imperial throne of France, and its overthrow, constitute the points of separation.

Third Period: from 1786 to the peace of Campo Formio, 1797. Part the first. Southern European States-system.

Diversified in their origin as were the internal disturbances of states in this period, there was always manifested a struggle for more liberal constitutions. Though the death of Frederic, occurring when affairs were tranquil, produced no perceptible changes, (for his successor retained his ministers,) yet the chasm which he left was too great to be devoid of consequences: he had formed and matured the principal relations of the European states; but he had never formed a minister competent to control them, and the character of his successor was of a cast different from his own.

The first deviation of that successor from Frederic's policy was an active participation in the Dutch disturbances—the primary link in that chain of revolutions which were impending over Europe; disturbances fomented by England and France, allayed by Frederic, but now made a family affair; when the patriots, forsaken by France, were overpowered, and the Stadtholder was reinstated in his old, and invested with new rights—to an extent, and with a severity, totally incompatible with the existence of a republic, and of an opposite party. The constitution was to be guaranteed by strangers: hence a triple alliance with Prussia and England; the effects of which, by re-establishing British influence on the continent, were felt afterwards over Europe, and especially over the north.

In the mean time a similar spirit of turbulence began to rage in the Austrian Netherlands, aroused by the innovating disposition of Joseph, and strengthened by his inconsistency: but this, after Leopold's accession, was allayed by the ratification of ancient privileges at the congress of Reichenbach. Revolutionary efforts in several small states, such as Liege, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Geneva, showed the democratic temper of the times: but how trifling were all such attempts to disturb existing institutions, compared with that eruption whose throes were beginning to be felt in the leading states of western Europe!

In France the prevailing spirit of the age appeared in a convocation of the states-general; a result of financial necessities, but an innovation on the existing constitution; a measure from which its favorers could not but entertain, from what

immediately occurred, well-grounded apprehensions for the issue. It did not confine itself to reform, but attempted novelties, to be secured by means of a large popular assembly, independent of the crown, and acted on by theories of self-styled philosophers, who recommended the greatest possible separation of the executive and legislative powers. The new order of things was at once established, May 5, 1789; when the third estate declared itself a national assembly, and the abolition of feudal rights immediately followed.

The reaction of this grand catastrophe on the rest of Europe could at first only be moral, not political: but its moral influence soon became most alarming by inflaming the lower against the higher classes; especially as it was augmented by writers whom few had the courage to oppose. England, however, owes much to the vigorous energy of her illustrious Burke: yet the writings of him and some others, though useful in their time, become much less so, if not actually mischievous to posterity; because they are too partial, and do not sufficiently indicate the sources of general discontent, or the moral and physical condition of the people. Hence the reader is unable to account for many things which are assignable to definite causes; for instance, the indiscriminate and deadly animosity of the lower orders is not sufficiently traced to their hatred of the exactions, exemptions, and feudal rights of the privileged classes: the faults of the people are more insisted on than those of their rulers: but as the lesson inculcated is intended for them, no evil should be extenuated: it is dangerous to exhibit a nation maddened to commit horrible atrocities with inadequate motives; and the suppression of truth is impolitic and unwise; for it defeats its own object.

A political structure like that of France could not be overturned at once without affecting others. The first change occurred in the Germanic empire, by the abolition of feudal rights. The reception of numerous emigrants, bringing with them their prejudices, hopes, and passions, all aiming to restore the ancient order of things, by the intervention of foreign powers, soon became opposed to the tranquillity of Europe. The new constitution accepted by Louis XVI. seemed to remove the danger of war; but the transition from partial, to what was called perfect freedom, among so passionate and excited a nation became inevitable: and how could this take place without violent convulsions? After the first conflict of factions, when the Jacobins acquired a predominating influence in the second national convention, and to subvert the throne

became their grand object, a foreign war was felt necessary for effecting it. Austria was their nearest aim: and Louis was compelled to declare war against that power.

The fearful scenes in France were so novel, and so little were foreign cabinets able to estimate the power of a great popular faction, that the advantage lay decidedly with the democratic party, to whom it was only necessary to spread the flame; and this was soon done after the unsuccessful expedition to Champagne in July 1792, when the connection of Austria and Prussia gave the first sign of a change in political relations. The volcano then burst forth: the head of Louis, a weak and insincere prince, fell under the axe of the guillotine: France was declared a republic; Belgium was conquered, and possession taken of Savoy and Nice, which were immediately incorporated with France, against which state a great European confederacy was formed. Coalitions, however, have rarely been successful, or of long continuance; and this was not to be an exception to the rule. How could success be expected from the selfish policy of states, all aiming at aggrandisement from friends or foes? What opposition could their dull leaders offer to those energetic characters in the revolutionary armies, who now forced themselves into notice?

But financial difficulties are among the greatest obstacles to success where vast bodies are to be put in motion: the removal, therefore, of these was an object of primary importance; and England, as the great subsidising power, became the connecting link of all, and acquired the chief direction of the war. As the founder and head of subsequent coalitions against France, her minister Pitt will live in history: but though great in character and talent, as well as correct in his estimate of danger, he was often faulty in his choice of means and persons; nor was he always thought able or willing to take that elevated view of things which would have placed the general interests of Europe above those of Great Britain.⁶

Under such auspices began the first coalition; but not until war had been declared by France against England, who refused to recognise her republican government, and against the Stadtholder as the ally of England; which latter power became a central point in the system by the formation of alliances with Russia, Sardinia, Spain, Naples, Prussia, Austria,

⁶ See Heeren, (vol. ii. p. 181,) who observes that 'his situation did not permit him to be, like William III., the soul of a great alliance. This is not in the power of a financier, but only of him who is at once a statesman and a general.'

Portugal, and Tuscany; as well as by subsidiary treaties with several German princes. Success at first attended the allies, whose victorious arms drove back, and confined the republican troops to their own territory; but rarely has success drawn down more fatal consequences: ideas of conquest and the lust of aggrandisement supplanted the original object of combination, excited the energies of despair, called forth the reign of terror, and turned every citizen into a soldier, by making the army the only safe place of refuge.

War, and the art of war, now assumed a new aspect. The path of distinction being thrown open to all, soldiers of low degree soon acquired fame as generals; Holland was conquered under favor of a liberal party in that country, and being turned into 'the single and indivisible Batavian Republic,' was attached to France; securing to that country the possession of Belgium, and altogether changing the situation of Prussia and the north of Germany. Still more did it change the situation of England; whose armies it excluded from the continent, lessening her interest in the war by land, and opening to her a rich prospect of conquest in the Dutch colonies.

But the seeds of dissention had already been springing up among the continental allies; nothing could eradicate that distrust between Austria and Prussia, so long nourished by Frederic; while the latter power became so rapidly and thoroughly exhausted by bad management, that after a shameful misapplication of British subsidies, she withdrew from the confederacy in April, 1795: having left the grand object of coalition, the suppression of revolutionary principles, unattained, and made a separate peace, with a line of demarcation fixed for the neutrality of the north of Germany. Spain also soon seceded from a contest in which she saw nothing to gain, but much to lose: yet England redoubled her exertions to keep together the remnant of the coalition, by scattering subsidies on all sides. The national debt was soon doubled; so that it became necessary to double the national income. Hence her extension of foreign trade; her suppression of neutral, and her annihilation of hostile commerce: hence also that spirit of the mercantile system infused into this war. The sole dominion of the seas and the consequent occupation of the enemy's colonies became the only means by which the British system could exist during such a contest: accordingly every effort was made to secure those means; so that, before the end of this period the French and Dutch navies were

more than half destroyed, and their most important colonies had passed under the dominion of their antagonist.

After the recession of Prussia and Spain, England redoubled her exertions; signing a treaty of alliance with Austria and Russia, and effecting a new commercial treaty with the latter power; but active co-operation formed no part of Catherine's policy: thus the chief burden fell on Southern Germany; the war began to languish, and in December, 1795, Austria, after some partial success, made a truce with the republic. Meantime the executive power of France had been committed to a directory of five members; while the legislative was administered by two chambers, after a dissolution of the national convention, October 28, 1795.

Henceforward the peace of the continent seemed to depend on that with Austria; and to oblige her to sue for it, the directory attempted to penetrate into the very heart of her dominions; sending three armies—two from the Upper and Lower Rhine, and one from Italy: a complex plan, difficult of execution, especially while the Rhenish strongholds were in the hands of Austria, who possessed also an excellent general in her own imperial house: to the archduke Charles she was now indebted for her preservation. This able commander gained two victories over Jourdan, and compelled Moreau to make his celebrated retreat in October, 1796: but the fate of his country was to be determined in Italy, where the star of Napoleon was now rising; to whom one campaign gave possession of Lombardy, and opened the road into Austria, by the fall of Mantua in February, 1797. That power was then obliged to sue for peace; and Venice, with its isles in the Adriatic, was the sacrifice required: preliminaries were signed at Leoben, and the treaty of Campo Formio soon followed. France then remained mistress of Belgium and of northern Italy: the Cisalpine republic was formed; a Polish legion instituted; and the Germanic empire, now secretly abandoned by Austria, as before by Prussia, looked anxiously to its fate. England, being left without an ally on the continent, entrusted her pacific negotiations to lord Malmsbury at Lille; but without success.

The principal interest which attached itself to colonial affairs at this period, centered in the rapid increase of territory in North America, and the development of her commerce: this latter became so extensive by means of treaties, of the carrying-trade, and of liberal regulations, as to become second only to that of Great Britain: but when disputes arose with

France and England, she took the extraordinary resolution of suspending all commercial intercourse, for a time, with both those countries: the number of her states had become increased to sixteen: and by the purchase of Louisiana from France, she came into full possession of the mighty Mississippi and its tributary streams, which opened magnificent prospects for the future.

The West Indian colonies, founded on slavery, underwent great changes, and some of them terrible catastrophes. The voice of humanity was now loudly raised against the detestable traffic in human beings: but the inconsiderate application of general maxims sometimes created greater atrocities than it was designed to prevent. Thus the colony of St. Domingo was sacrificed, and with it one of the richest sources of French commerce.

The great Spanish colonies in South America escaped these evils; for though slavery existed there, yet slaves never had a preponderance: no disturbances therefore arose; and the interruption of commerce with the mother country by the war seemed the only evil to be anticipated. The political relations of Brazil with Portugal were different; and commerce was under more restrictions: but as the mother country continued to be attached to British interests, free communication was not interrupted; and Brazil had more to gain than to lose from the naval wars of Europe: the time however was approaching, when the political relations of the mother country should loosen and eventually untie the bonds of dependence, to found in South America an empire, equal in extent, and superior in fertility, to the great republic of the north. Africa also began now to attract more attention among Europeans; and its inhospitable tracts became objects of enterprise to many, who were excited and encouraged by the descriptions of Bruce, the French expedition, and the British 'African Association.'

In the East Indies, where the Dutch war gave possession of the islands to Great Britain, her power became concentrated by the fall of Tippoo Sultaun; and the Mahratta princes were her only foes at present to be feared: but these were subdued or restrained; Agra, Delhi, and soon afterwards Ceylon, fell under her dominion; the territorial sway of her antagonist being limited to the isles of France and Bourbon, always vexatious to the commerce and power of England in the east, on account of the protection which they gave to privateers, and the connection which they kept up with Indian princes.

The British settlements also in Australia began to rise into importance, promising rich returns to the mother country in the produce of their flocks, as well as ample space for settlements to her superabundant or discontented population.

Period III. Part II. Northern system.

The internal relations of the north, in this period, grew principally out of the alliance made by Russia with Austria, and the dissolution of her connection with Prussia: hence the war of those two powers against Turkey, and consequently that against Sweden, as well as the calamitous treatment and final destruction of Poland. The league formed between Prussia and Great Britain, on account of the disturbances in Holland, gave to the latter power a greater influence over the north than she had hitherto possessed: toward the close of the period the north became influenced by the new scenes exhibited in France, which in some degree modified the sentiments of European cabinets.

The fact of Russia being at variance with England and Prussia, contributed to bring on the Turkish war, of which Potemkin was the soul, and in which the emperor Joseph lost his reputation and destroyed his health. The distress of the Porte roused the activity of England and Prussia; which powers, without entering directly into the contest, attempted to effect diversions in Poland, and in Sweden; where Gustavus III. lost neither honor nor territory in his conflict with so formidable a foe as Russia. Great difficulties were opposed to the termination of this Turkish war, because strangers became intermingled in it. England, and especially Prussia, desired to prescribe the terms of peace; a Prussian alliance with the Porte was formed, and a Prussian army assembled in Silesia; when the death of Joseph, in February, 1790, and the unsettled state of his realms at the accession of Leopold, led to hopes of a pacification with Austria, which was entered upon at Reichenbach and concluded about the middle of the next year at Sziotové; its principal condition being a restitution of the *status quo* before the war. Negotiations with Russia were more difficult, since Catherine, now reconciled to Sweden, was offended at the high tone held by Prussia and England, prescribing to her similar conditions respecting the *status quo*. Unawed by the presence of a British fleet, she resolved to conclude her own peace; and did so, obtaining as the prizes of war Oczakoff, and the strip of land lying between the Dnieper and the Neister: in other quarters her boun-

daries remained unchanged. Thus after a bloody contest of four years it was found scarcely possible to affect the outworks of an empire not only defended by the courage of enthusiasm, but so situated and circumstanced as always to engage some European powers in its behalf. The more important consequences to Russia consisted in the formation of experienced generals, and in her dominion established on the Black Sea, by possession of the Crimea and its contiguous territories, where Cherson and Odessa were destined soon to rise: yet these advantages were in some degree counterbalanced by great financial embarrassments.

The two neighboring states of Sweden and Poland were differently affected by this second Turkish war: the former obtained a restitution of its independence and a friendly connection with Russia; but an augmentation of the regal power proved dangerous to the state; and 'cost Gustavus his life, March 17, 1792, when he had determined to place himself at the head of the alliance against France. Swedish neutrality was preserved under the regency of the duke of Sudermania.

Very different was the destiny of Poland; in which unhappy country the anti-Russian party became clamorous, as soon as a defender appeared in Prussia. The abolition of the constitution guaranteed by Russia, and the introduction of a new one more adapted to the spirit of the age, were demanded and obtained, under guarantee of Prussia; Russia acquiescing, as long as her hands were bound by the Turkish war: but when the peace of Jassy left her free to act, she sent her armies into Poland: a spirited resistance was made, in vain, by the Poles under Poniatowski, Kosciusko, and other leaders; the new order of things was overthrown, and Poland again subjected to spoliation; a portion of its territory being given to its protector Prussia, secretly leagued with Russia for its ruin. About one-third of this unhappy country was left with a nominal independence, but really under the authoritative influence of Russia: even its capital was occupied by Russian troops, whose commander in chief was also ambassador from the Czarina. Under these unpropitious circumstances, while scarcely the semblance of hope remained, their country's cause was not given up by the patriots, who found in Kosciusko a leader worthy of their confidence. The spirit of resistance again broke out, at Cracow, in March 1794, and at Warsaw in April, when the Russians suffered a severe defeat: in the autumn of that year hope was still further encouraged by Frederic

William's fruitless expedition against Warsaw ; but the fate of the Poles was linked with that of one man ; and when Kosciusko fell, nothing was left for them but the surrender of their capital : the country was then dismembered, with the co-operation of Austria, and Poland was erased from the list of nations : but it was reserved for the emperor Nicholas, in later times, to aim at extirpating the Polish race, and to ravage the miserable country with a barbarity scarcely surpassed by that of Attila or Mahomet II. The overthrow of Poland was followed by the subjection of Courland, its former fief, to Russian domination. 'Catherine thus lived,' says Heeren, 'to see the conclusion of the grand tragedy, which in fact she alone terminated, as she alone had begun it thirty years before. She had divided the soil with others, but not the dominion : and what she had granted, would perhaps have only been lent, had she not been surprised by death. No one of her predecessors had exercised influence like hers in Europe ; but history has shown that this influence had its bounds, and what they were. Things were intirely changed, when her only son Paul I. ascended the throne, too late for himself with contrary maxims.' (Vol. ii. p. 235.)

Second Division of the Period : From the peace of Campo Formio to the Establishment of the French Empire : 1797—1804.

France aggrandised by the possession of Belgium, Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, closely allied with Spain, and holding in her chains Italy and Holland, now meditated an acquisition calculated to render the Germanic Empire dependent on her will. What indeed was there to stop this project of extending her frontiers to the Rhine, while Austria was employed in healing her wounds, and Prussia, drained by an extravagant administration, stood with open frontiers, hesitating whether to join France or Russia ? This latter country was now brought geographically so much nearer to the West, that henceforth the separation of the Northern and Southern states may be said to disappear, and Europe to constitute but one political system.

The congress which met at Radstadt, during the very session of which Mayence was surrounded, and Ehrenbreitstein insidiously captured, put France into possession of her Rhenish boundary : this secured her military pre-eminence ; while she herself increased her political influence, in adopting the scheme of indemnifying injured potentates by secularizations. About

this time the head of the Roman church, with several of his cardinals, was forcibly carried off, and a republic established in Rome, February 15, 1798: also a violent revolution in Switzerland overturned its long-established structure of government, transforming a league of confederated states into one Helvetic Republic; while that of Geneva and the Pays de Vaud, were incorporated with France; who thus carried out the system, so successfully begun in Flanders and Holland, of revolutionizing the countries into which her armies penetrated.

England still stood firm; with a doubled debt indeed, but with resources also doubled. In the mean time France, under her rising general, soon to become her lord, planned an enterprise intended to cripple those resources, by giving a new direction to the colonial system. The conquest and colonisation of Egypt, combined with the occupation of Malta (which place capitulated without resistance in June 1798), was to effect this object: but England now rose in her might; when her brilliant victory at Aboukir not only gave her undisputed dominion over the Mediterranean, and shut up the army of her antagonist in the prison-house of Egypt, but effected another coalition against France between herself, Russia, Sardinia, Tuscany, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies; which was joined by Austria in January, 1799. This confederacy was soon crowned by great and rapid victories in Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, under the Archduke Charles and the celebrated Suwarrow; but every important consequence was frustrated by the neutrality of Prussia, which covered Holland and Belgium; by the interests of England clashing with those of the Continent; by the premature secession of Naples, destructive both to itself and to Sardinia: but more especially by the capricious character of the Russian Emperor Paul I. In the mean time general Buonaparte escaped from Egypt, assumed the title of First Consul, and speedily restored French supremacy in Italy; while Moreau and Brune were almost equally successful in Germany: then followed the treaty of Luneville, which reft her allies from England; though it could not deprive her of Malta, that strong pillar of her naval power, which she had previously reduced. Egypt by her aid had been already restored to the Porte; and the Ionian Islands were now formed into a republic under the joint guarantee of that power and Russia. No long time afterwards the Peace of Amiens, concluded in March, 1802, gave a short period of repose to European nations, from a war undertaken for the sake of continental freedom, but terminated without that object

having been obtained. The First Consul was now in the zenith of his glory; 'and it lay in his choice,' says Heeren, 'to rule Europe without farther conquests: and he would have governed it, had he been able to govern himself.'

The first great political act which engaged attention related to the German indemnities, fixed by the treaty of peace at Luneville. This, which took place at Ratisbon, deprived the spiritual princes of their electoral seats, and apportioned their temporal estates to the powers favored by France; leaving indeed a Germanic empire, but very different from the old one—a collection of states, under foreign influence, with a nominal sovereign at their head. It soon appeared that the great central power of Europe, antiquated as it was, could not be overturned without a general convulsion.

The peace lately concluded, enabled the European nations to recover their energies, but did not eradicate distrust, the element of new strife. England, perceiving her error, refused to evacuate Malta; which guarded Egypt, and secured her naval superiority in the Mediterranean: nor would France concede this point; whilst her formal incorporation of the plundered territory of Piedmont, without any previous agreement, showed her contempt for those natural boundaries on which great stress had been laid. National animosity on both sides was inflamed by journalists and other agents; so that in May, 1803, a new war sprang up, far more extensive and lasting than its authors contemplated; and which contributed, among other important consequences, to establish an hereditary imperial throne in France. On the 2nd of December, 1804, Napoleon Buonaparte was crowned and anointed Emperor of the French by Pope Pius VII.; and one of his first acts was to promulgate the *code Napoleon*. His two brothers, Joseph and Louis, and his two colleagues, Le Brun and Cambaceres, were declared *Grand Elector*, *Constable*, *Arch-Chancellor*, and *Arch-Treasurer*; while the dignity of Field-Marshal was conferred on the most distinguished of his generals.

Third Division of the Period: From the establishment of the French empire to the restoration of the European system by its fall, 1804—1821.

The project of an unlimited monarchy in Europe, was now, after an interval of many ages, revived by a Corsican adventurer; who had already made considerable progress toward his object, through his power and influence, direct or indirect, over the continental states. He swayed with absolute despotism

the government of France, whose borders he had extended to the Rhine, and beyond the Alps; nor did a long time elapse before he repaired to Milan, where he placed the iron crown of Lombardy, with his own hands, upon his head. In the mean time Spain, the Rhenish states, the Batavian, and Helvetican republics, were kept in dependence by alliances or by fear: a French army, occupying Hanover, held Prussia and Denmark in check; while Austria was liable to attack, whenever it might please her invader. The distant realms of Russia and Sweden alone stood erect, in continental Europe; looking gloomily on this posture of affairs; refusing to acknowledge the new imperial title; and even going so far as to break off diplomatic negotiations with France.

The repeated solemn assurance given by Napoleon, that the limits of the French empire were fixed, was soon broken by his seizure of Genoa and incorporation of the Ligurian republic with France; while his insolent bulletins, issued against other potentates, turned the eyes of all toward England; where the helm of the state, from which Pitt had retired before the peace of Amiens, was again intrusted to that minister. The new relations of Europe, acting on his previous policy, soon produced another coalition, the professed object of which was to reduce France to her ancient limits, and secure independence to the continental states. This measure, however, only anticipated the wishes of Napoleon, whose immense army, ready for action, was lying on the other side of the Channel, under pretext of a meditated invasion of England. Of this coalition she was of course the subsidising, and therefore the moving, power: but, though it was joined by Russia, Austria, and Sweden, Prussia obstinately refused to abandon a neutrality, of which she soon became the victim: yet without her accession, no efficient attack on the French empire was practicable; since her neutrality protected its northern portion. Sweden also in disgust retired from the confederacy; and such was the dread of Buonaparte's power, that several German princes, particularly the Elector of Bavaria, joined his standard.

Never was a campaign so quickly brought to a conclusion as that which ensued. Austria, as if to assist in her own degradation, opposed the notorious general Mack to Napoleon, by whom he was instantly attacked and defeated, before the Russian auxiliaries could come up. Then followed the surrender of Ulm, and the triumphant entry of Buonaparte into Vienna, whence the Emperor Francis had retired. The Russians at length arrived, to be witnesses, more than sharers,

of the bloody battle at Austerlitz, which forced Austria to accept the conditions imposed on her by her conqueror at the peace of Presburg: by these not only was France confirmed in her power, but her limits were advanced even to Turkey, by the cession of Venice and its Dalmatian provinces; while her Germanic allies received augmentations of territory at the expense of Austria, and royal crowns from the hands of Napoleon. In return, the integrity of his remaining empire was guaranteed to Francis; who also received Salzburg and Berchtolsgraden as a Duchy, and the secularized dignity of Master of the Teutonic Order—at that time an empty title; but since found to confer important influence and privileges on its possessor.

Though Russia still remained in arms, yet had the victorious Corsican made a forward step to facilitate his career. The power of Austria, deprived of her outworks in the Tyrol⁷ and Venice, and obliged to acknowledge Napoleon as king of Italy, rested now chiefly on the fidelity of her own people: the Southern states of Germany were bound in a closer connection with France; whilst a continual exchange of territorial possessions tended to dissolve all security of title, as well as all those ties which bind subjects to their princes. Napoleon, therefore, took this occasion to strengthen the foundations of his own dynasty by advancing his elder brother Joseph to the throne of Naples; the ancient dynasty of which, according to his imperial proclamation, 'ceased to reign,' December 27, 1805; he also conferred the vice-royalty of Italy on Eugene Beauharnois, son of his empress Josephine; and settled his sisters in Lucca, Piombino, and Guastalla. The electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg were also elevated to the rank of kings.

But while these fearful portents lowered gloomily over the continental atmosphere, the great antagonistic power of England vindicated to itself the dominion of the ocean; cheering the afflicted nations, crippling the resources of the tyrant, and preparing the means of hurling him from his throne. The victory of Trafalgar, which at one blow crushed the navies of France and Spain, was received in England with equal joy and sorrow; for the hero by whom it was gained, had fallen in the cause of his country and of Europe: but he had formed his school; so that the remaining maritime and colonial resources of the enemy soon rested in British harbors, and under British sway.

In the midst of these defeats of his allies and triumphs of his country, Pitt fell a victim to anxiety, disappointment, and

⁷ Annexed with part of the Brisgaw to Bavaria.

a broken constitution; leaving also a school, and disciples; who, though inferior to their master, had imbibed his principles and ultimately justified his policy. Fox now obtained a seat in the British cabinet; but soon found himself obliged to steer in the direction of his predecessor's policy: like Pitt, however, he formed a very false opinion of the facility of obtaining peace, and of its stability if obtained: on the very brink of the grave, as if totally ignorant of what was passing on the continent, he entered into pacific negotiations; but the consequences of treaties made at Presburg were now rapidly and fearfully developing themselves. Prussia stood in the despot's way: she had weakly held back at first; but had exhibited signs and preparations for war after the contest had been decided at Austerlitz; so she was obliged to cede her provinces of Cleves and Berg to Murat and Berthier, to be held as advanced posts of the French empire: moreover the definitive, instead of the provisional, occupation of Hanover, was pressed upon her by her astute dictator, that she might be brought into collision with Sweden, and actual war with England. Thus was her fall prepared; whilst almost every potentate in Europe viewed with anxiety the number of those for whom provision was to be made; more especially when this family power soon became augmented by the conversion of the Batavian republic into a kingdom; which was given by the emperor to his brother Louis, but in strict dependence on the imperial throne. A grand federative system, like that of Rome and its social states, was commonly spoken of: the senate of France had already given the title of 'Great' to its idol; and now successfully invoked the spirit of catholicism to insert the name of St. Napoleon, and the solemnisation of his day, in the Roman calendar.

The central state of Europe was destined now to fall, because by its position and form, it obstructed new arrangements; and a simple declaration of the Corsican to the diet, that he no longer recognised the Germanic empire, was sufficient to overturn this ancient institution. Austria therefore, voluntarily laying aside its imperial crown, adopted that which she still wears; while Napoleon rearing a new edifice on the ruins of the old, appointed himself protector of "the Confederation of the Rhine;" over the movements and resources of which he kept the supreme command. Having thus taken another step in his ambitious career, and rendered it impossible to form a league in Germany against French interests, he prepared the fall of Prussia by various arts; more particularly by a proposal in his negotiations with England to take from Prussia that very

realm of Hanover, which had been, as it were, forced upon her. The knowledge of this transaction drove her to a declaration of war, October 8, 1806 : then followed the battles of Jena and Auerstadt ; the flight of the Royal family to a Russian asylum ; and the inextinguishable hatred of France in the breast of that old man with the spirit of youth, who lived to take ample vengeance on the conqueror of his country, and the insulter of his queen. Saxony which had been detached from the Prussian alliance, was now raised to the rank of a kingdom ; the elector of Hesse was expelled from his dominions in reward for his neutrality ; and the house of Hesse-Cassel, as well as that of Brunswick, whose duke fell in the field against the invaders, were declared to have ceased to reign.

With Prussia one of the bulwarks of the Russian empire had fallen ; and the conqueror formed another grand project—the restoration of Poland—which was providentially deferred, until it became impracticable ; otherwise it might have saved him from the terrible consequences of his Russian invasion. The progress of the French in the Prussian territories had so alarmed the Russian emperor, as well as the British government, that it procured for Frederic William that assistance of which his former supineness and intrusion on the Hanoverian territory rendered him undeserving. Sweden also was subsidised to send an army into Pomerania ; but no effort of the allies was able to stop the victorious career of the French armies.

The contest was now transferred to the banks of the Vistula ; and Russia, involved in a war with the Porte, had to defend her own borders ; when a series of defeats, ending in the disastrous battle of Friedland, led to an armistice, and eventually to the peace of Tilsit. The provinces restored to Prussia, as a gift of charity, at the intercession of her more powerful ally, constituted her a second-rate-power : her sovereign, as well as the emperor Alexander, agreed to acknowledge the Rhenish confederacy, as well as the royal title of Napoleon's brothers, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome lately made king of Westphalia : the Czar, gained over by Napoleon's artifices, also agreed to accept the office of mediator for an insidious peace with England, signing a secret article to make common cause with France, in case it should be rejected ; whilst many other extraordinary engagements were formed relative to European states ; and the unfortunate Frederic William, burthened by contributions for the expenses of the war, was obliged to close all his ports against British navigation and trade : at the same time Turkey, which had been involved, by the arts of Sebas-

tiani, in a war with Russia and Great Britain, recovered its tranquillity, and the province of Moldavia lately occupied by Russian troops: Napoleon himself recovered the dominion of the Ionian islands. After such pacifications, and the removal of Russian influence from central Europe, the only hope of liberty for the fettered continent rested in the indomitable spirit and navy of Great Britain: against which power a new storm was gathering, to vent its rage in vain.

In the league instituted to destroy British commerce, great assistance was expected from the voluntary, or, if necessary, from the forced co-operation of the Danish fleet. This part of the scheme, however, was frustrated by the prompt measures of Great Britain; to which power the surrender of that fleet, after a bombardment of Copenhagen, gave additional security, though it produced a declaration of war from Russia, and a strict alliance between Denmark and France, which was to lay open the road to Sweden. Immediately the 'continental system,' (as it was termed,) for the annihilation of British commerce, came into action. Its corner-stone was laid in the Berlin decree of November 1806, declaring the British Islands to be in a state of blockade; to which succeeded, in January 1807, that of Warsaw; calling down reprisals in our 'orders of council:' these were answered by the Milan decree, suppressing the navigation of neutrals; and finally by the insane decree of Fontainebleau, which lighted up the fires of a commercial inquisition against the trade of the civilised world.

This was a desperate throw in the game which the tyrant was now playing for universal dominion: but it eminently failed. In the first place, he found it an impracticable task to shut up all inlets to commercial enterprise; for places insignificant and unknown to fame, soon rose into consequence by the trade which forced itself through those channels. Even the reclamation of his own subjects made itself heard; permission was obtained to import colonial produce into France at an *ad valorem* duty of 50 per cent., and a general trade was carried on by the grant of licenses, contrary to the whole tenor of imperial decrees. In the next place, the despot by these measures placed himself in direct opposition to the whole civilized world, in which he raised a spirit of inextinguishable hatred toward himself; while Great Britain, whose ships now covered the ocean, laughed at the futile efforts made against her commercial superiority. The system adopted not only left her as it found her, but opened her eyes to her own peculiar and impregnable position.

That position was now to be attacked through Spain and Portugal; the latter of which countries was her oldest ally while the thrones of both were intended to augment the family grandeur, and promote the ambitious views of Napoleon. The intrigues which took place on this occasion are too long for present recital: it may be sufficient to observe that Spain was induced by the manœuvres of Godoy, the queen's favorite, who had a view to the principality of Algarves, to enter into a treaty with France for the partition of Portugal. Accordingly a force of 26,000 French, under General Junot, augmented by a considerable number of Spanish troops, marched through the Peninsula, whilst a still larger army was collected at Bayonne. On the 1st of December, 1807, Junot entered Lisbon, and the house of Braganza also was declared to have ceased to reign: but that house, having escaped under protection of a British fleet, reigned over its transatlantic dominions, fearless of its persecutor's decrees. In the mean time many fortresses in Spain had been craftily occupied by French troops; while the flower of its army was drafted into Italy, and thence transferred to Denmark, for the purpose of threatening Sweden.

Hitherto such royal families only as were naturally hostile to France, or driven by circumstances to oppose her power, had been expelled from their thrones: but now the very friends and allies of Napoleon were to make room for the members of his dynasty. Domestic quarrels were seized upon, popular insurrections fomented, and the whole family of Charles IV. inveigled into France; when the throne of Spain was given to Joseph Buonaparte; who was succeeded on that of Naples, by the Corsican's brother-in-law Joachim Murat; the vacated Duchy of Berg being granted to a young son of Louis king of Holland, with an official injunction 'that his *first* duty was toward the Emperor, his *second* toward France, his *third* toward his future subjects:' till his majority the Grand Duchy was to remain under French administration.

It has been affirmed that in his Peninsula scheme Napoleon embarked contrary to the strong remonstrances of his subtle minister Talleyrand; who, when his advice was rejected, gave utterance to a memorable prediction respecting the overthrow of his power: whether such be the case or not, this great political error was pregnant with the most important consequences. The steps which the tyrant now took were unnecessary, because he already ruled in Spain: moreover, they were taken without a due consideration of the Spanish character

and country: they opened a drain for French soldiers and treasure; whilst England obtained an arena upon which another Marlborough was about to appear. Europe also was taught the important lesson, that a determined people are more powerful than mercenary armies: nor must we forget to remark, that by the decrees of Providence, an evil agent became an instrument of extensive good: the troubles of Spain gave freedom to a vast portion of the globe, when her much abused power in South America fell, never to be recovered.

After several defeats like those under Dupont and Junot, of which the inexperienced foe was unable to take advantage, and many victories gained by French marshals, which gave them little beyond the ground on which their armies stood, new troops from France, as well as from the Rhenish confederacy, were poured into Spain; which country Napoleon determined to visit in person. This resolution, however, required some precaution and preparation; for Austria had already assumed a doubtful attitude; so that his rear was to be protected, and Russia to be secured: hence the great congress of sovereigns and statesmen at Erfurdt, held ostensibly for renewing proposals of peace to England; which were rejected by that power, because Spain was not admitted to the conference. Then followed Napoleon's short campaign; the retreat of sir John Moore; the embarkation of the British army; and a formal alliance between England and Spain, on the terms of mutual assistance and a common peace.

Whatever symptoms of reconciliation Austria might have exhibited in this celebrated congress, her dissatisfaction and distrust lay too deep for removal; while peculiar circumstances obliged Napoleon to make demands, and to exact compliances, derogatory to her dignity and prejudicial to her interests: experience too had taught her that if Spain were subjugated, her own inactivity would assuredly entail upon her the fate of Prussia: nor was she insensible to the example which the Spanish people now exhibited. So early as in June, 1808, military preparations had been made in Austria, and a general militia established; whence it seemed probable that war was already resolved on. Napoleon repeatedly demanded that the people should be disarmed; and fruitless proposals of a mutual guarantee were made to Russia, March 27: accordingly hostilities commenced; and war was formally declared against France, April 16. This contest, aggressive on the part of Austria—but rightfully so, in order to break her present chains

and avoid worse—was sensibly felt throughout Europe; and though her summons to the Germanic nations was answered only by the faithful Tyrolese, yet in other places were seen signs of struggling liberty, which struck the oppressor with dismay. Cut off from England; unsupported by Prussia, whose strength lay prostrated; at variance with Russia, once her best ally; and contemplating foes on her very borders in the Rhenish confederation, Austria nobly carried on the contest: but, after the bloody and well-contested battles of Asperne and Wagram, she was obliged to accept the conqueror's terms; promising an unconditional accession to the 'Continental System,' and a disruption of all ties with Great Britain. Indeed at this period Great Britain, under her contemptible war ministry, was an object rather of derision, than of desire, to the continental nations; being disgraced, not only by innumerable errors committed in Spain, but by failure in the greatest expedition which ever left her shores: its object was to effect a diversion for her Spanish allies, and to destroy the enemy's maritime resources at Antwerp: its consequences were ignominious retreat, pestilence, and destruction; because (according to custom) the worst possible general was selected to command the finest of armies: and for this insane enterprise every energetic diversion in the north of Germany, where it would have been really useful, was omitted: well might Austria accept the continental system, and break off all relations with this nation; whose inability to manage her vast resources, seemed as if calculated to lead her allies into peril and misfortune.

The Illyrian provinces of Austria, now ceded to France, and united with her Italian states, brought the French empire into more immediate contact with Turkey; while Servia was in revolt, and Greece was meditating it. Distant prospects in the east were thus disclosed to the mental vision of Napoleon; but he made another grand political error in the west, by confiscating the estates of the Roman church, and forcibly carrying off its head as a prisoner. 'The defenceless,' as Heeren observes, (vol. ii. p. 302,) 'could not prevent the rapine of the powerful: but Buonaparte did not seize his prey with intire impunity. In the full dignity of his office, without deviating a tittle from his duty, Pius VII. had withstood every ex.croachment on his rights as a prince and pope. Where the last blow of the usurper fell, he also had recourse to his last weapons; and Napoleon bore away his spoils, loaded with the maledictions of the Church. Pius VII. was arrested, forcibly

removed, and imprisoned; but it could not restore harmony between church and state. As the continental system of Napoleon was repugnant with nature, so his ecclesiastical system was at war with conscience. And was the latter easier to subdue than the former?

But in the north of Europe important revolutions were now produced by the obstinate firmness of Gustavus IV., in his war with France, and his close connection with England; which brought him into collision with Denmark and Russia. This latter power, ever patient, and ever on the watch to advance her ambitious schemes, resolved not to let such an opportunity pass unimproved: accordingly she entered into a contest, which ended not until she had obtained Finland as far as the river of Torneo, together with the isle of Aland; which acquisitions rendered her impregnable in the north. The unfortunate Gustavus was deposed, and expatriated; his uncle Charles XIII. took possession of the throne; and Sweden, having made peace with France and Denmark, consented to join the 'continental system.'

At the close of this year the continent, with the exception of the Spanish peninsula, was in a state of fallacious tranquillity; surrounded by officers of customs and police; watched internally by spies and informers; harassed by a system of passports which perpetually recalled tyranny to men's minds; and tortured by conscription laws, which carried demoralisation and dismay into the bosom of almost every family: all things were rendered subservient to the grandeur of the French empire; and though many gigantic undertakings were executed at the cost of the people, yet nothing could compensate for the loss of liberty and the annihilation of commerce.

To consolidate this empire, and provide a successor to its head and founder, the sacred ties of marriage were now to be broken; accordingly on the 15th of December, Napoleon divorced his empress Josephine; and in April, 1810, he led to the hymeneal altar Maria Louisa, an Austrian archduchess; by whom he had a son in March, 1811, who was immediately nominated king of Rome. 'Many hoped that ambition would be repressed by softer feelings, the interest of the husband and father: others feared that his empire was now consolidated by such connections, beyond the possibility of being shaken, both ignorant that Germany had an emperor who, if reduced to the choice, would not scruple to postpone the consideration of his daughter to that of his country.'

Experience soon proved the vanity of all such expectations;

the very nature of Napoleon's power demanded its extension and consolidation ; and as partial thralldom is less tolerable than total servitude, a more direct and stringent dominion was the consequence. The plan therefore of uniting dependent states to the empire was more fully carried out ; those of the church were so incorporated (February 17, 1810) ; Tuscany was placed nominally under the sway of the despot's sister Eliza ; but the Valois was separated from Switzerland ; the Italian Tyrol, taken from Bavaria, was annexed to the kingdom of Italy ; and Holland itself was joined to the empire : the same decree which deprived one brother of his throne took half of his Westphalian kingdom from another, with part of the Duchy of Berg, all Oldenburg, and the three Hanseatic towns. When the emperor thus treated his own relatives, what prospect remained for those that were aliens in blood ? The grand problem however was now about to receive a solution, whether such a dominion as Napoleon contemplated could exist without those adjuncts of ships, colonies, and commerce, which he so much coveted, but which he never could obtain. One hundred ships of the line were laid down in the great works at Antwerp : but sailors could not be formed like soldiers : meanwhile no vessel, or fleet of France, dared to leave its port ; her remaining islands fell into the hands of the British ; nor could all the preparations made by the king of Naples enable him to cross the Straits of Charybdis, and enforce his title to the crown of the Two Sicilies.

But an important change in affairs was at hand : for the ocean queen, laying aside the trident of Neptune, now assumed the sword of Mars. Though the contest in the Spanish peninsula had never ceased, it did not rise to its full height and expansion, until the peace of Vienna placed all the forces of the empire at Napoleon's disposal. In opposition to his colossal power stood the combined troops of Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain ; if that could be called a combination where Spanish and Portuguese jealousy and intrigue threw every possible obstacle in the way of the British, and their great commander ; whose patience and moral courage in these political and domestic difficulties threw a lustre upon his character unsurpassed even by that of his victories in the field.

There is no necessity for our anticipating the detail of battles and sieges, marches and retreats, plots and stratagems, which distinguished this grand contest ; but it does become necessary to remark, that even before its conclusion, and while

it was furnishing employment for the finest troops of France, the dark spirit of Napoleon began to meditate a new, and still more formidable war. The continental system, that great instrument of his weal or woe, was now either to be relinquished, or carried out in its full length and breadth: its oppressive yoke began to gall the necks of the Russian aristocracy; a power which the Autocratic Czar himself dares not to exasperate: he was therefore obliged to relax that system: negotiations thence ensued; evasive answers were elicited and it became evident that a conflict was at hand which must soon decide the fate of Europe; for it would be one in which every state must participate: neutrality would be certain ruin to the weak.

Napoleon, by his previous policy, had made vast preparations for an attack on Russia, while this latter country was engaged in hostilities with the Porte: but she was enabled to conclude them on advantageous terms, giving her possession of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia. The position of Austria under the impending contest was less dangerous, lying out of the immediate sphere of its influence, and able to determine the amount of her auxiliary force, as well as its employment, to a certain degree; for in such a crisis policy demanded that she should be spared: her alliance, therefore, was only defensive against Russia. The grand route of the armies lay through Prussian provinces; and the utter ruin of that state became imminent; no means of safety appearing, except in a strict alliance, offensive and defensive, with the despot: even this was not conceded without much difficulty, so often does the deepest state of degradation precede the time of highest exaltation! The part to be taken by the confederated princes of the Rhine was plain and certain; and the same remark will apply to the kingdom of Italy, Naples, and the Illyrian provinces; even Switzerland had to supply auxiliary troops. In the North, Denmark by its geographical situation was enabled to maintain a neutrality, though allied with France, and at actual war with England. Sweden, on the contrary, where the distinguished French Marshal Bernadotte had been adopted by the king, and declared his successor by the States, took advantage of the crisis, not only to emancipate herself from all dependence on France; but without engaging openly against her, to obtain a prospect of Norway, through the guarantee of Russia.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Russia stood alone to face the danger: peace however was restored between her and

England, and an alliance concluded with the Spanish Cortes : but no aid could be expected from those quarters, except such as might proceed from an energetic prosecution of the Peninsular war. Russia, therefore, had the glory of sustaining this tremendous conflict by her own colossal strength.

The campaign opened on the part of the invaders by their crossing the Niemen ; and their rapid march was marked with devastation, caused both by friends and foes. Such a march, which cut off all hope of safety to the conquered, brought Napoleon to the tomb of his grandeur, on the 14th of September, after the most bloody contest, at Borodino, which modern times had seen. The ancient capital of the empire was now offered up as a holocaust for its preservation ; and in the flames of Moscow the light of freedom gleamed over the enslaved nations of Europe. Instead of a Capua, the invading army now stood in a desert ; and that disastrous march homewards commenced, in which man's vengeance seemed but an inferior instrument in the hands of Providence to chastise the tyrant ; so fearfully did the elements combine against his invading legions. Cold, and famine, as well as the sword, destroyed them in myriads ; and the greater part of that miserable remnant which escaped such calamities, found a grave in the waters of the Beresina. From the banks of its fatal stream Napoleon, like the Persian monarch, fled alone toward his own capital ; and before the close of 1812 Russia saw no foes within her spacious realms, except those whom she held in chains. Scarcely 1000 men capable of bearing arms could the gallant Viceroy of Italy at first collect behind the Vistula : only a few corps of reserve, and garrisons, with the separate armies of Prussia and Austria (the latter no longer now under the influence of Napoleon) were left. Poland, if its national existence had been restored, might have received her fugitive benefactor, and repaired his broken fortunes : but Poland, on which the whole plan of his Northern invasion should have rested as a base, had been neglected in consideration of Austria ; and thus a marriage, which seemed to have rivetted the fetters of Europe, was providentially turned into an instrument of its emancipation.

Great however as was the joy of Europe at her changed prospects, a sudden insurrection was counteracted by fortresses and territories still in the occupation of French troops, as well as by the certainty that Napoleon had escaped : hence a powerful impulse became necessary ; and that was given by the emperor Alexander, who pursued the foe beyond the borders of his realm ; and thus gave the signal for a general rising of

the nations: those storms which had so long gathered in western Europe against the east, now took an opposite direction.

The Russian army under Kutusoff passed the frontier in five corps, entered Prussia, and encouraged that kingdom to assert its liberty. In January, 1813, Dantzic was besieged: in February the Vistula was crossed; and then the Oder. In March the Cossacks appeared in Berlin, which was occupied by general Wittgenstein; the viceroy having retreated beyond the Elbe and Saale. Thus opened that auspicious year which was destined to set Europe free. In Russia the war was decidedly popular: whether it would be so in Germany remained yet to be seen; and it was reserved for Prussia, the long degraded Prussia, to give an enthusiasm to the cause which never was surpassed. Throwing off his ignominious chains, the monarch called his people to arms, and they arose as one man. Mecklenburg and Hamburg followed their example; active aid was promised by Sweden; and if the insurrection did not become general on this side the Elbe, it was only force that restrained it. Denmark alone among the northern nations stood aloof, having collected her troops in Holstein.

New alliances, offensive and defensive, now took place between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Great Britain; in which the principal article was a restoration of Prussia to her former rank and condition among European nations. Invitations to join the confederacy were sent to Austria; whilst England promised subsidies which no country but herself since the origin of society could have supplied. But a struggle was approaching which required extraordinary efforts: for what was the loss of an army to one who cared so little for the flow of human blood, and who still had such immense resources at command? The first measure taken by Napoleon, when he arrived at Paris, was a call on the nation for conscripts; and 250,000 more than he demanded were placed at his disposal by the conservative senate. With this repaired force he declared in the *Moniteur* of March 30, that 'even if the enemy stood on Montmartre, he would not give up a village of the empire.' Wonderful are the dispensations of retributive justice! On March 30, 1814, the enemy did stand on Montmartre, and the whole empire was given up with its capital.

The first months of the year 1813 formed a period of earnest preparation on both sides. Germany offered a spacious arena for the encounter; and the Elbe, from its mouth to the very

boundaries of Bohemia, constituted a line of division between the lists; but three Prussian fortresses on the right side of that river, as well as the strong city of Dantzic, remained in possession of the French. While the Russian and Prussian monarchs attended in person on their combined armies, Sweden was impelled to action by British subsidies, and by a promise of Norway, to be united to her crown: this at once brought Denmark into co-operation with Napoleon: who demanded and obtained contingents from the Rhenish confederates. Saxony, unable to separate her cause from that of France, became the grand theatre of war: but the severest fate awaited Hamburg under the ruthless Davoust, the ready instrument of Napoleon's vengeance. After the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, an armistice ensued; and great was the anxiety of awakened Europe: peace was justly dreaded far more than a continuance of the war; and one great source of hope arose during the truce, which was not deceptive. A congress held at Prague, was attended by the emperor Francis: his mediation with France was treated contemptuously; and at this decisive moment Austria declared war. All paternal considerations in her monarch's mind gave way to the cause of freedom and of national existence.

Two emperors and a king now took the field in person: inseparable from each other and from their armies, they shared every toil and danger, as they afterwards shared the glory of victory and the gratitude of Europe: an amalgamation also of their troops took place: the honor of supreme command being conferred on Austria; with whose general Schwartzberg, the gallant veteran Blucher, and Barclay de Tolly, acted in the same perfect concord which distinguished their imperial and royal masters. In a congress held at Toplitz, England signed a treaty of alliance with Austria, with a stipulation for mutual aid to the utmost possible extent. The war became more popular as it became more general, calling out such masses of fighting men as Europe had never before seen within its boundaries: those of the confederates, together with the armies in the Spanish peninsula, amounted to little less than a million: those of Napoleon scarcely exceeded half that number, but were more concentrated and more ready for action. Dresden, which formed his head quarters, was first attacked; and there the gallant Moreau, recalled from long exile at the instigation of Bernadotte, his old friend and companion in arms, lost his valuable life. But although this attack failed, other important victories were won, especially over Vandamme, Macdonald,

Oudinot, and Ney: the allies drew a circle closer and closer round their antagonist; who vainly attempted to penetrate to Berlin, or to reach Bavaria. Even in his rear the light troops of his opponents began to act, and chased the king of Westphalia from his dominions. It became no longer possible for Napoleon to remain in Dresden, without seeing his soldiers dying by starvation: so he quitted it to meet his fate at Leipzig.

The battle of Leipzig, in which half a million of troops were engaged, scattered to the winds the long cherished scheme of universal empire. The detail of this important conflict, which lasted three days, belongs not to this place: its result consisted in Napoleon's retreat to Mayence, whither he brought 70,000 men to fill the hospitals. Though he had placed the Rhine between himself and his foes, this obstacle did not long delay pursuit: the Rhenish confederation now threw off its chains; even before his grand defeat Bavaria gave the signal; which Wirtemberg, Baden, and the others followed. 'Every one,' says the animated historian, 'that could bears arms seized them; the plough and workshop were abandoned; the lecture-room and counting-house were deserted; even young females, dissembling their sex, hastened in arms to the ranks of the combatants; while matrons, undismayed at contagion or death, nursed the sick and wounded. Herman's spirit seemed awakened, and the day of suffering for Germany was the day of its renown.'⁸

Holland also now cast off the yoke under which she had so long been oppressed, and laid the foundation of a constitutional monarchy; Denmark too made peace with England, Russia, and Prussia; while on the side of Italy the half of Lombardy, the Italian Tyrol, and the Illyrian provinces, were liberated by the retreat of Prince Eugene into Bavaria: whither he carried with him the respect and love of those whom he had governed with singular wisdom and virtue among the many upstart princes of the time. Murat, on the contrary, though he obtained an alliance with Austria, and a truce with England, made it appear that his only wish was to gain time for deliberation and intrigues; so that he lost the confidence of all parties. In this same year the power of Napoleon in the Spanish peninsula was crushed by Wellington, whose progress from victory to victory brought him before its close upon the soil of France. Ferdinand VII. was then released by his gaoler, and sent back to be the curse of Spain.

⁸ Heeren, vol. ii. p. 336.

In the mean time the conquering armies of the confederated monarchs, stopping at the Rhine, spread themselves along that magnificent river, from its sources to its very outlets: if the troops needed repose, the cabinets which directed them needed deliberation. Rarely have such victories been attended with such moderation. After a declaration issued at Frankfort, 'that they were contending, not against France, but against the preponderating power exercised by Napoleon without her boundaries,' they proposed peace on the conditions of leaving the French empire untouched within the limits of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine; while the independence of other states beyond those boundaries was guaranteed. Happily for Europe the notion of unlimited dominion had taken such root in the French emperor's mind, that this lesson of moderation was lost upon him, and the proffered terms were rejected: the allies therefore resolved that the issue of the war should be decided on the French territory; accordingly their armies, about 400,000 strong, crossed the Rhine at different places, to form a junction in Champagne, January 25, 1814.

After various victories and defeats as well as great dangers from diplomacy, in which Napoleon still urged very exorbitant demands, some intercepted letters clearly indicated the insincerity of all his negotiations, and the Quadruple Alliance of Chaumont was concluded: hopes revived that the royal throne would be re-established by the French nation; scions of the withered race of Bourbon appeared in the allied armies as well as in that of Wellington: the line of march to Paris was decreed, and rendered practicable by the glorious victory of Blucher at Laon; the defeat of Marmont and Mortier at La Fere Champenoise followed; Montmartre was stormed and the capital surrendered. As Lyons had been previously occupied, and Wellington was advancing in the South, the invading armies now possessed lines of communication from the Moskwa to the Tagus; and the destinies of France were in the hands of the confederated sovereigns.

Since a treaty of peace would have been only a truce, in which the nations of Europe would never have dared to lay aside their arms, a proclamation was issued, to the intent 'that they would no longer treat with Napoleon or any of his family:' then followed the establishment of a provisional government, a demand for the restoration of the Bourbons, and the deposition of the emperor; whose own abdication and exile, put a period to his dream of universal empire: on the ground thus levelled, the Bourbon throne was re-constructed, and a con-

stitution framed, which was able to give a pledge to Europe of future tranquillity. France herself, returning to her ancient boundaries, and acknowledging the independence of neighboring states, was still left in the first rank of nations : she also recovered her lost colonies, with very few exceptions ; entering into an agreement with England, that she would abolish the slave trade within five years. The same month saw three other princes restored to their thrones, when the aged Pius VII. returned to Rome, the ungrateful Ferdinand to Spain, and the bigoted Victor Emanuel to Turin : but as the political system of Europe had been intirely subverted, and now required great care and caution for its restoration, the confederated sovereigns determined to hold a general congress for this important purpose in the imperial city of Vienna.

History, in all its annals, cannot exhibit an assembly more splendid in the personages assembled, or more important in the subjects of debate, than this celebrated congress, at which two emperors, four kings, innumerable princes, grand dukes, and electors, together with the most famous statesmen and field marshals of the age were present. Its presiding spirit was prince Metternich, the tutelary genius of imperial Austria, the evil genius of imperial France, the chief statesman of restored Europe. This august council, after some previous preparations, assembled on the 1st of November, 1814 ; but its deliberations were soon interrupted by the re-appearance of Napoleon, who landed at Cannes, March 1st, 1815, with about 1500 men, and soon recovered his abdicated throne : but the prestige of his once formidable name was gone ; for his power rested, not on the will of the nation, but on that of the army : which he now augmented with great energy, being well aware that no pacific proposals would be accepted. By a special act of the congress he was declared ' a common enemy of all nations,' and put out of the pale of the law : an alliance similar to that of Chaumont was concluded between the four leading powers, which every other European nation was invited to join ; while a subsidiary treaty, as usual, was negotiated with Great Britain. The sum of all the contingents to be furnished, amounted to 1,057,000 men : but as it was well known that Napoleon would not wait for the union of these forces, an army of British, German, Belgian, and Dutch troops was speedily assembled under the duke of Wellington, to co-operate with the Prussians under prince Blucher ; and the great victory at Waterloo sent the usurper, first to Paris with the news of his own defeat ; and thence to the solitary island where he found a tomb.

After an absence of one hundred days, the French king returned to his capital, and renewed negotiations with the allied powers: but indemnification for the past, and security for the future was now demanded; and France agreed to pay the sum of 700,000,000 francs; to make a satisfactory adjustment of boundaries, by a cession of the four fortresses, Philipville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with that part of Savoy which still remained to her; and by a delivery of eighteen strong places on the north and north-east frontier into the hands of the allies, to be occupied by them for three years at least, and at the expense of France.

In Napoleon's fall his brother-in-law Murat participated: after some skirmishes, and vain endeavours to raise an insurrectionary spirit in Italy, he was driven by an Austrian force from the Neapolitan throne, to which the vile Ferdinand was restored; and having afterwards had the temerity to make a descent, with a few ragged followers, on the coast of Calabria, he was taken by the peasantry and shot as a rebel: affording a memorable instance of the vicissitudes of fortune. Some difficulties arose in settling the union of Sweden and Norway: which by the wise and skilful management of the crown prince, Bernadotte, were soon dispersed; and Charles XIII. was proclaimed king of the united realms November 4, 1814.

Second Section: Colonial affairs from 1804 to 1830.

The great convulsions and revolutions which agitated Europe, led to the independence of many colonial states, especially in South America: but the United States of the North underwent no constitutional change; though their territory, population, and revenues, especially after the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, received a large increase; the number of states in the union advancing from seventeen to twenty-four. Party spirit among the democrats and federalists was strongly excited during the contest between France and England: but this gradually subsided, until it became almost extinguished by the attack of the British on the capital. States, like those of America, could not help being involved in contentions which partook so much of a commercial character; and collision with that country which had the chief dominion upon the ocean, was necessarily most violent: this, added to pre-existing causes of strife, and aggravated by an increasing oppression of navigation and commerce, brought on the *Non-Importation* Act levelled against the introduction of British manufactures into the union. Negotiations took place; but differences increased

until the *Embargo* Act of December, 1807, and the *Non-Intercourse* Acts of March, 1809 and May, 1810, interdicted all trade with England and France, until the orders in council of the former, or the anti-commercial decrees of the latter, should be revoked. Napoleon, by a partial abolition of his decrees, in April, 1811, as far as the United States were concerned, drew them closer to himself, and so estranged them from Great Britain that they were induced to declare war against that power, after a previous embargo laid on all her vessels in American harbors. The contest was prosecuted with various success; and ended, after the burning of Washington by the British, and their total defeat at New Orleans, by a settlement of boundaries on the side of Canada, to be afterwards adjusted by a commission; by a restoration of all conquests; and by a resolution of both parties to join in abolishing the detestable slave-trade. America derived advantage in this war, from a knowledge both of her strength and of her weakness, as well as from the direct impulse given to her manufactures and to her navy. With the return of peace, the navigation and trade of the republic spread themselves largely over the world; great works of internal improvement were commenced; while banking and commercial enterprises were carried on in so rash a spirit of speculation, as to bring down ruin upon thousands and to injure the national credit.

The fidelity of the British colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia was tried in the last contest with America; and notwithstanding the commotions subsequently excited in Canada by the old French inhabitants, abetted by American freebooters, whom their boasted federal government was as unable to restrain as it was unwilling to punish, Great Britain may firmly reckon on their allegiance; especially after the subsequent redress of grievances and the liberal concessions made by our government. 'Why, (says Heeren) 'should those colonies strive after independence which are already possessed of a free constitution, which suffer no religious constraint, pay no taxes, and see their colonization and trade becoming every year more and more flourishing?'⁹ If these expressions of the historian were applicable before the events above alluded to, how much more so must they be now!

In the southern continent of America a new state arose totally different from those of the North. The establishment of the Brazilian empire, immense in extent, and endowed with

⁹ Heeren, vol. ii. p. 366.

the exuberant riches of Nature, was a consequence of the fate of the mother country already described. At the return of the king to Portugal, it was found impossible to reduce Brazil again to the state of a colony: by the mediation therefore of Great Britain, its independence was acknowledged in May 1825. Its constitution, given by Pedro I., provides that the government shall be monarchical and hereditary; with a general assembly, consisting of two chambers; that of the senators, nominated for life by the emperor, from a list submitted to him; and that of the deputies, elected by the people; the monarchical principle however is somewhat compromised, inasmuch as any legislative measure is to have the force of a law, even without the imperial sanction, if the latter be twice refused. In this vast empire religious and political freedom is subject to many restrictions; while the cultivation of its soil by slave labor, and its prosecution of the slave trade, in violation of good faith, has already led to unfriendly feelings and the disruption of commercial ties with Great Britain.

In Spanish America also, the peculiar condition of the mother country brought on various struggles for independence; first, against the usurpations of Napoleon; next against the juntas and regencies of Spain; and lastly, against the attempts at coercion, made by the restored king. The contest for equality of rights and freedom of trade continued, with varying success, against the outrages of viceroys and the barbarity of royalist officers, in Mexico, the Caraccas, New Granada, La Plata, Chili, and Peru: but the year 1821 brought it nearly to an end; and at the close of 1829 most of the insurgent and victorious provinces had either adopted republican constitutions, or were about to do so. Since that time they have found their greatest enemies within themselves; having been subject to perpetual revolutions, and massacres by ambitious chieftains; while the practicability of establishing democratic governments among nations where color determines the caste, and military commanders prescribe laws, or of uniting the liberty of the press with the exorbitant pretensions of the hierarchy, still remains a problem to be solved.

The West Indian colonies underwent no great change, except that having been for the most part conquered by the British, they were, with a few exceptions, restored by that nation at the general pacification. The insurrections in Spanish America did not extend to Cuba and Porto Rico; the important possession of the Havannas remained uninterrupted under the power of Spain; and the British were able to preserve

tranquillity in their own and the conquered islands, chiefly by the milder treatment of the negro population, after the prohibition of the slave trade. A remarkable change however, was experienced in San Domingo; where, after a successful revolution, the experiment of a black empire, with the adoption of European culture, titles, and other institutions, both civil and military, is a very striking phenomenon; while colonisation and foreign trade have made considerable advances through free laborers, who remain attached to the plantations, and receive a fourth part of the produce.

In Africa, the colony of the Cape was retained by England: and although violent collisions with the old Dutch settlers, like those with the French Canadians, have since taken place, yet colonisation there has increased to a great extent; while British and German missionaries have succeeded in promulgating Gospel truths among Hottentots, and even wild Caffres. The ultimate fate of other colonies, French and Portuguese, on the African coast, depends much upon the slave trade: and it remains to be seen whether they can flourish under free labor. Sierra Leone, which was selected as an experimental colony on this principle, seems to make slow progress; and its noxious climate, so fatal to Europeans, renders a proper supervision of its institutions extremely difficult. Efforts, however, to penetrate into the interior of Africa have not ceased: a British resident has been stationed at the Court of a Negro monarch; the course of the Niger has been explored; and the discoveries of enterprising travellers have brought vast stores of information to bear upon the great questions of African civilisation, and the abolition of that inhuman traffic which has so long disgraced christian nations. The zeal of the British government in this cause, by declaring participation in that traffic a capital crime, and making its abolition a standing article in all treaties, together with its payment of immense sums, and its relinquishment of many advantages, to effect its object, would appear very surprising, did not the nation itself consider this a point of honour and of conscience.

The history of the East Indies, during this period, is almost wholly included in that of the British government there. All the possessions of other states fell into British hands; and wars with native princes eventually extended the company's territory to the Indus on one side, and the mountains of Thibet and the Birmese empire on the other; subsequently its dominion has received a still farther increase, especially by the cession of America, and by conquests in Scinde. Such aggrandisement

is generally considered in England as a thing to be deprecated : but conquerors cannot always set bounds to their career ; especially where conquest is invoked as the highest blessing, by nations who are thus, and thus only, to be rescued from tyranny, rapine, and injustice : moreover a constant improvement in the British system of administration promises much for internal tranquillity ; while the progress of steam and railway communication between all parts of our extensive empire is calculated to repel every external attack : nor is less encouragement held out to the religious world, by the success of christian missionaries in these benighted regions ; and by the extension of our episcopal church. Moreover through her European wars Great Britain greatly enlarged her insular dominion in the east : taking from the French their important settlement of the Isle of France ; and obtaining Cochin on the Malabar coast from the Dutch ; while the possessions already ceded to her by the same people in Ceylon led to the conquest of that large and fertile island ; where a colonial bishop has lately been appointed, and Budha already trembles on his throne. But as if to crown the efforts made by Great Britain for the advancement, not of universal dominion, but of universal good, Divine Providence has at length made her the instrument of opening China itself to European enterprise ; and she has obtained the glory of conquering for the advantage of all nations.

In the continent of Australia also new prospects became unfolded. The British Settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land prospered by the accession of free laborers ; population and foreign trade increased ; and important imports of wool began to repay outlay and expenditure. Mountains hitherto deemed inaccessible were subsequently explored, and roads constructed ; while rivers, watering fertile plains, invited agriculturists, and relieved Great Britain in times of distress, by carrying off a considerable portion of her starving people. In the mean time the town of Sidney has begun to rival the great cities of Europe in splendor ; and that of Bathurst is the grand starting place for the explorers of these vast regions : moreover the whole settlement has been taken under the maternal wings of the British church, by the appointment of a bishop, an archdeacon, and a considerable body of clergy. New Zealand, which for a considerable time appeared to be advancing in similar prosperity, has lately disclosed great evils in its management, which require remedial measures. On the Society Islands Christianity is still carrying on its peaceful

conquests, notwithstanding the gross, unjustifiable conduct of France toward Tahiti and its unfortunate queen. All around are seen the elements of a new order of things; of one grand political system, growing steadily out of the narrow colonial policy of Europe.

Section III.

Few tasks more glorious could be devised than a judicious restoration of the dismembered European states-system. A desire to effect this proceeded from the assembled monarchs themselves, founded on the experience which they had acquired; though most of its details depended on the views and sentiments of the ministers, and practised statesmen, to whom its execution was intrusted: thus a necessary security was obtained against the introduction of plans which could exist only in theory. 'But (says the philosophic historian,) that the powerful, and even the most powerful on earth, are always subject to the influence of the prevailing ideas of the age, has seldom been more strongly illustrated than in the present case. That princes and nations do not exist to make war on each other, unless forced by necessity; that states in forming a free political system, must mutually respect each other's independence; that the constitutions must be regulated by fixed laws; that a certain portion in the legislation, especially in taxation, must be conceded to the people through their representatives; that slavery and bondage are evils which must be abolished; that a legitimate share of freedom should be allowed to the communication of ideas by means of the pen and press; finally, and above all, that there is a connection between religion, policy, and morality, which is to be strengthened to the utmost degree—these were maxims either explicitly declared or tacitly acknowledged'—'favorable however as these circumstances were, every intelligent person could plainly foresee that there would be no want of obstacles; and that the edifice about to be reared would bear little resemblance to the ideal structures which so many had formed.' 'The restoration of the political system (as he goes on to observe) was in general founded on the principle of legitimacy' the legitimate dynasties, that had been more or less dispossessed, were to be re-instated; but popular opinion, chiefly emanating from an admiration of the British constitution, was so strongly expressed in favor of constitutional monarchy, in which a representation of the people might be more or less developed, that such a form of government was assumed or promised by nearly all the states.

Among these there was scarcely one whose territory was not in a distracted state; and nothing but the reduction of France to her ancient limits, whence much would be placed at the disposal of the allies, could have rendered an adjustment possible; though in many cases a complete restoration would involve in it much injustice. As no general epoch would be established for all, a different one was taken for each of the three leading powers: with France it preceded the year 1792—with Austria it was 1805—with Prussia 1806.

Germany, the great central power of Europe, is naturally the first to engage our attention: and what an aspect did it present, after having lost its peculiar form and spirit for ten years; circumscribed on every side; with its rights of possession altered and uncertain! The left bank of the Rhine, Holstein, and the Illyrian provinces, had been detached from it; the Prussian monarchy had been dismembered; Austria deprived of many old hereditary provinces; Saxony, with several smaller states, placed under administration; and the ephemeral kingdom of Westphalia dissolved. Much was requisite for reducing this chaos into order. A political union was loudly demanded, and after many difficulties obtained: the sovereign princes, and free cities of Germany, were formed into a confederation of thirty-nine states, leagued to maintain the internal and external security of each other, and agreeing to refer all particular quarrels to the decision of a diet of seventeen voices, to be assembled at Frankfort, under the presidency of Austria.

The territorial arrangements to be made with the two great German monarchies, was an affair affecting Europe as well as Germany. A restoration of the Austrian empire was effected chiefly by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy and the Illyrian provinces; partly also by a return of the cessions made to Bavaria. The large accession of territory which fell to the lot of Austria, was said to have been obtained by the dexterity of Prince Metternich: the subsequent and anxious care of this statesman has been to consolidate the union of so many realms, varying in national character as well as in geographical position, and to impart something like harmony of feeling and action to the mass: as war and political convulsions are wholly adverse to such views, his aim and policy have been to prevent agitation, and to study an equilibrium of power; repressing every outbreak of liberal opinions; centralising the whole governing power in the capital; and reducing all ranks as near as possible to the state of political automatons.

A restoration of Prussia according to the statistical relations of 1805, could not be refused to a nation which had made such extraordinary sacrifices: here, however, many minor difficulties lay in the way; and a greater in the claims which she had to the Duchy of Warsaw; for the curse of Polish partitions still lay heavy on Europe. Prussia, attaching herself to Russia, now demanded, for her relinquishment of Poland, the whole of Saxony; whose monarch might be indemnified in Westphalia: but Austria, England, and France, united in supporting the Saxon House; and dangers of a rupture were apparent, until a compromise was effected by the division of Saxony; part of which was given to Prussia, together with a portion of Warsaw, and many important cities and districts on both sides of the Rhine.

We may pass rapidly over the territorial adjustment of other German states. Bavaria obtained compensation for its cessions to Austria, on the Rhine, the Maine, and the Neckar, &c. Wirtemberg and Baden remained without alteration; as did many smaller states; except that most of them received representative constitutions. Hanover was advanced to the rank of a kingdom, ceding to, and receiving portions of territory from, Prussia. The restoration, however, of the Netherlandic states, which have generally afforded an arena for continental war, became a principal point of policy: it was thought necessary, therefore, to form a powerful nation, by consolidating the Batavian and Belgic provinces under one sovereign; which, with its restored colonies, and an alliance with Prussia, might be strong enough to resist any external attack: the junction also of Belgian manufactures with Dutch navigation and commerce, held out bright prospects for this union; but all were destroyed by the personal character of the new sovereign and his advisers. Had William IV. then, or even at the commencement of the dissensions which dissolved this union, abdicated the throne to his son, rather than at a later period, much bloodshed would have been avoided, and the edifice wisely projected by the allied sovereigns against future encroachments on the Netherlands, might still have existed.

Great Britain, emerging, as she did, unscathed from the flames of war, had little to receive, but much to give up. Acting in this case with her usual magnanimity, she retained only Malta and Heligoland as European trophies—Tobago Santa Lucia, and Surinam in the West Indies—the Isle of France in the East—together with the protectorate of the seven

Ionian Islands. These possessions, however, added to that of Gibraltar, and the Cape of Good Hope, contributed greatly to the security of her naval power; to which, under Providence, the liberation of Europe is chiefly due. Her influence on the civilisation of the world, more glorious than her many victories, shone conspicuous in the general desire shown to make her free constitution, if not a model, at least an auxiliary in forming that of other states: her authority was also nobly exerted in promoting the abolition of the vile traffic in human beings, which has so long contaminated Europe; and if she had sent to this congress statesmen more steady to her own interests and less dazzled by the presence of royal and imperial personages, she might have secured commercial treaties far more advantageous to herself, while she advanced the interests and popular privileges of different nations. When we consider, however, what she then did, as well as what she has since effected, in aiding the struggles of patriotism; in generally discountenancing tyranny and oppression; in her efforts to unfetter trade and commerce; in her extraordinary advance in arts and science; in the salutary reform of her own institutions; in the liberality she has shown by removing so many disqualifications for civil offices from all classes; above all, in the establishment of so many societies for diffusing the blessings of Christianity throughout all nations; when we consider these things, I say, what a bright avenue appears opened to her in future! what an instrument does she seem to be in the hands of Providence for the furtherance of his benevolent designs! But the affairs of her great antagonist demand our attention.

The restoration of France to a high rank in the system was as necessary to other members of that confederacy as to herself: her extensive boundaries were determined by treaties; but she was left to choose her own constitution; a difficult task, yet well executed, under the auspices of a prudent monarch, who had profited by his residence in a land of liberty. 'It is now (says Heeren) for this nation to show, that they can bear freedom. Their history may excite apprehension; but if the French can bear it, what a future is opened to France! She no longer has an enemy in Europe, unless she is resolved to have one: the culture of her fertile soil is her chief source of acquisition, yet her manufacturing industry is not palsied: her free colonies no longer excite jealousy, and yet secure to her a share in the commerce of the world: but with a free constitution she has still an autocratic administration. Can these exist together? and will not the change of the latter be more difficult

than that of the former?'¹⁰ This last question has been happily answered by the almost bloodless revolution which expatriated the tyrannical, bigoted, and priest-ridden Charles X., and placed the politic Louis Philippe on his throne. Surrounded by difficulties and dangers from within and from without, the present king of the French has hitherto conducted the affairs of government with consummate skill, and with a moral courage that never was surpassed. Taking advantage of the fierce and impetuous character of his fickle subjects, he has wisely allowed them to forge fetters for their own restraint in the fortifications which have been erected around Paris; and to this measure his dynasty may perhaps owe its firm establishment; since he has been unfortunate in losing his eldest son, who had endeared himself by many excellent qualities both to the army and to the people. His anxiety to preserve peace with this, as well as with other countries, can scarcely be doubted; though he seems obliged to propitiate the war party, which is very numerous in France, by conniving at acts injurious to British honor and interests in various parts of the world: this is unfortunate; but it is to be hoped that he may yet live to bring about a better understanding, and a closer intercourse, between two nations which ought to have no rivalry except in acts of friendship toward each other.

The restoration of the Swiss confederacy was intrusted to a special committee by the congress, which augmented it by the annexation of three cantons, and procured an acknowledgement of its perpetual neutrality. The territory of Geneva was somewhat enlarged at the expense of Savoy and of France; but the latter state received compensation by gaining such a bulwark placed before the most vulnerable part of her dominions. We have lately seen this confederacy shaken and disturbed by civil and religious broils, which give us no very favorable idea of the Swiss character; and foreign power has been already appealed to for the restoration of tranquillity.

Spain, at the fall of Napoleon, returned to the dominion of 'the beloved' Ferdinand; but the cortes, who conducted the war, had framed a constitution, which undoubtedly gave too much power to the democratic principle: this the king not only refused to accept, but adopted the utmost rigor against its authors. Instead, however, of seizing the favorable opportunity to promulgate such a plan of government as might have suited his people, and which, after so many and great sacrifices,

¹⁰ Vol. ii. p. 421.

they had a right to expect, he forcibly established despotic power, and supported that despotism by the inquisition, the army, the jesuits, and restriction of the public press. In consequence of this a secret ferment spread itself throughout the realm; the finances became involved; the revenue declined; trade and commerce languished; and public credit failed: yet under such a pressure of circumstances, an army was collected to reduce the revolted provinces in South America: but Spain was unable to pay or embark her troops; and the consequence was an insurrection among them, kindled by Riego and other leaders, with a proclamation of the liberal constitution; which Ferdinand was now obliged to accept. This state of things, however, militated too much against Prince Metternich's system to be endured; accordingly, at the congress of Laybach the duty of passing the Pyrenees with an army and restoring his despotism to 'the absolute king,' was delegated to the Duc d'Angouleme; who had no difficulty in reducing to subjection the undisciplined party opposed to his forces. The use made of his restored power by the vile monarch was to imbrue his hands in the blood of his victims; and at this time the principles of Lord Castlereagh were too prevalent in the British cabinet, to admit even of a remonstrance against such proceedings; nor was the voice of Wellington ever heard to plead for his old companions in arms; or to denounce the tyranny which has afflicted that Peninsula on which he gained his renown. The apostolical party, as it was called, adhering closely to Ferdinand, now became predominant; executions were daily exhibited; yet plot succeeded to plot; numerous emigrations took place; while general mistrust and poverty overspread this land of slaughter, as long as the tyrant lived; and before his death (by obtaining a revocation of the Salique Law in favor of his infant daughter), he contrived to entail upon his people such a train of ills as might make them almost forget those which they had suffered during his reign: a detail of these evils, augmented and prolonged by that evil genius of Spain, the French government, must be left to the future historian.

The course of affairs in Portugal after its restoration was for a long time quite as lamentable as in Spain. Her great transatlantic colony having become the seat of government, an insurrectionary spirit arose in the mother country, which caused a meeting of the cortes, and the promulgation of a constitution, leaving to the king, after his return from Brazil, little more than the shadow of power. This, however, was soon abolished by an insurrection of the troops, headed by the king's younger

son Don Miguel, one of the most degraded of human beings, who made an abortive attempt to dethrone his father, in May 1824; and finally was obliged to leave the realm. On the demise of John VI. in 1826, the eldest son Don Pedro, now Emperor of Brazil, nominated his daughter Maria da Gloria to be queen, under the regency of the Infanta Isabella for two years, and afterwards under that of Don Miguel. This monster, however, quickly caused himself to be proclaimed king by the cortes; and laying aside his favorite amusement of killing dogs, began to butcher his subjects by wholesale and to fill the loathsome prisons with state prisoners. Such conduct drew Don Pedro from his imperial seat to Portugal; and then began that civil contest, which, after so many excesses and so much misery, ended by the establishment of the present queen upon the throne of her ancestors: but the destruction of agriculture and commerce, the dilapidation of the finances, and the animosities of party, brought about by civil war, are evils not soon or easily to be repaired: accordingly Portugal still remains in a state little to be envied; showing at the same time a very unreasonable jealousy of Great Britain, her oldest ally and benefactor.

After the downfall of Murat, no obstacle existed against the restoration of Naples to the imbecile king Ferdinand; so the Two Sicilies became again united under one crown: but discontent, fostered by the noted sect of carbonari, prevailed so as to disturb tranquillity; and here also an armed power extorted from the monarch a liberal constitution; which, as the insurrectionary spirit spread toward the north, was quickly dissipated by Austrian bayonets; but without much bloodshed, since the Neapolitan troops fled at the very sight of the advanced guards of their antagonists. The power of Austria quelled also some revolutionary movements in Sardinia, whose territorial extent had been augmented by an incorporation of the Genoese republic. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was aggrandised by an annexation of the Isle of Elba, and Modena restored to its ancient boundaries; while another Austrian Secundo-geniture was formed from the states of Parma and Piacenza, the ducal crown of which was placed on the imperial brow of Napoleon's consort; not however without a protest from Spain, who claimed it for Don Carlos, son of the Infanta Maria Louisa, formerly queen of Etruria. As the justice of this demand was acknowledged, the matter was settled by a compromise.

The states of the church were restored to the gloomy dominion of a weak and bigoted priesthood, the worst of all

governments;¹¹ and the Pope was reinstated in the possession of Bologna and Ferrara; Austria reserving to herself the right of keeping a garrison in the latter place; while France retained Avignon, against the solemn protest of the Roman court. Austria, having extirpated all remains of patriotism, and reduced Lombardy to an acquiescence in her really beneficent rule, finds employment for her troops, in coercing the other states of Italy, who may struggle against the iniquitous conduct of their oppressors.

A happy lot awaited the seven Ionian Islands, formed into a republic during the storms of war, and now, after many changes of what was called protection, placed under that of Great Britain; with the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowledgement of a commercial flag. These promises were duly fulfilled; and the constitution itself was promulgated by the Lord High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Maitland, acting as the representative of his sovereign. In addition to this, a noble university has been founded in Corfu, principally through the exertions of that modern Atticus, Frederic North, late Earl of Guilford; which leads us to hope that the genius of ancient Greece may still be resuscitated in her regenerated sons. What locality can be more fit to inspire high and poetic sentiments in the minds of youth, than that which contains within itself scenes of Homeric interest, even the very birth-place of the hero of the Odyssey?

For who so reckless of a glorious name,
So dead to courage and so lost to fame,
Unmoved that venerable turf can tread,
Nor think he stands before the mighty dead?"¹²

Northern Europe, which had not been spared by the convulsions of the times, also engaged the attention of monarchs and statesmen in this celebrated congress. The great Scandinavian peninsula was brought under one sovereign, in consequence of the union of Norway with Sweden; Denmark

¹¹ Whilst monarchs and their ministers have been endeavouring to form a union of peace between the two churches in several countries, the Roman court has directed all its energies to enforce the authority and pretensions of the Vatican. One of its first measures was the re-establishment of the society of Jesuits, so instrumental in exciting the flames of hatred and discord in states; as France, Spain, Belgium, and even poor Tahiti, have found to their cost. A bull also was issued, in August, 1814, against bible societies, which were described therein as the most pestilent among human inventions.

¹² Wright's *Horæ Ionicæ*, p. 53.

renouncing her dominion over the former realm, and receiving Swedish Pomerania, which she afterwards exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenberg as far as the Elbe. The renunciation of Norway was scarcely to be regretted by Denmark, as this power had no inducement to restore her navy to its former magnitude: her own constitution remained unaltered; while the duchy of Holstein partially united her with the great Germanic confederation. Sweden obtained, by possession of Norway, full compensation for her losses in Finland; while Norway, herself, though at first reluctant to break the ties of ancient allegiance, found in her new monarch, renowned equally as a warrior and a politician, security for her external rights and her internal freedom. This union so advantageous to the two nations composing it, and at the same time so favorable to the liberty of Europe, may be regarded as the best specimen of political sagacity exhibited by the congress of Vienna.

But no state has issued from the great contest of nations more strengthened in the acquisition of territory and the spirit of its people than Russia. In the north she had been aggrandised by all Finland; in the south by Bessarabia, with part of Moldavia; and in the east by several provinces obtained from Persia; while Poland was united to her dominion at the peace of Vienna. A restoration of the wreck of this miserable country, comprising the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw (except Posen, assigned to Prussia, and Cracow with its small domain, declared a free city), though brought under the imperial crown of Russia, obtained its own distinct and representative government: but a spirit was excited among its people, contrary to that of the Metternich policy; so the Russian autocrat, taking advantage of petty jealousies existing between France and England—of the countenance of Austria—and of the more open co-operation of Prussia, always base in her conduct towards the Poles—introduced his armies into the distracted state, and swept it from the map of Europe; slaughtering its defenders, confiscating its lands, and driving its nobles, without regard to age or sex, into Siberian exile, under the scourges of his Cossacks. Shame to civilised Europe, which could look unmoved on scenes like these! In the mean time Nicholas is endeavoring to carry out the principles of Prince Metternich and the holy alliance in the regions of Mount Caucasus; while British statesmen are viewing, with their usual apathy, all his attempts to subjugate the brave Circassians; whose fall, if it takes place, will loosen the

strongest barrier against intruders on our Indian empire. The late intrigues of the Russian cabinet in Persia and Herat, point out the direction of its eastern policy ; although time is still requisite to strengthen and unite the different portions of this extensive empire, and enable it to act with destructive effect upon the general system : but Russian policy is most enduring ; never outstripping opportunity ; but waiting patiently for a future age to accomplish what the present may have failed to secure : such for example, has been its invariable conduct toward the Ottoman Porte, whose magnificent capital it always keeps in view.

This last-mentioned state, having kept generally aloof from the struggles of the great revolutionary war, lost nothing but the provinces already alluded to, in her contest with Russia ; she therefore required little from the remedial hands of assembled statesmen. Her internal reforms, both civil and military, as well as her adoption of many European habits and customs, seemed for a time to indicate symptoms of returning vigor, and a renovation of her ancient spirit : but these proceeded more from the innovating policy of the late sultan, than from any change in the sentiments of his Moslem subjects ; a vast portion of whom, especially those connected with religious offices, viewed them with unconquerable disgust : accordingly they were found to be a weak barrier against the advance of Mahomet Ali, with his Egyptian army ; who, after having fixed himself on the ancient throne of the Pharaohs, would have quickly occupied that of the Byzantine emperors, had not the leading powers of christendom combined to prop up a government, which is the sworn foe of christianity, as well as the direct scourge of all people submitted to its sway : from him a guarantee to respect the rights of humanity might have been obtained ; but his elevation militated against the principles of Metternich and the holy alliance, by whom the rights of the people are considered almost as dust or chaff, when compared with the privileges of established monarchs.

Thus was Europe once more brought under a States-System ; which, if properly constituted and judiciously regulated, might be a most effective instrument to advance the reign of universal peace upon earth. Much was done by this celebrated congress in furtherance of so desirable an object ; and more would have been effected but for the interference of selfish desires and deep-rooted prejudices, of an undue deference to power, and particularly of that principle of legitimacy which was adopted and carried out to its utmost limit, without proper checks or

correctives: hence those intestine feuds which have so long disturbed the continent—hence that feverish peace which has kept all European nations on the alert for war, and obliged them to expend, and in some instances to exhaust, their revenues, for the maintenance of fleets and armies. Happy would it have been for the world if, instead of that ‘Holy Alliance’ which emanated from the congress of Vienna, a grand council for the promotion of peace on the principles of equal justice had been instituted, to which all national quarrels might have been referred! The great Germanic confederacy has shown, on a smaller scale, the efficacy of such a scheme: why should it not be tried on a larger; especially as society seems ripe for its introduction? When, indeed, we reflect on the vast and important interests that have sprung up, and to which peace is of the utmost importance—the efforts made by noble-minded individuals and societies to promote universal peace¹³—the progress of education among the people,—and the zeal shown for diffusing on all sides the blessings of a religion which is pre-eminently a religion of peace, how greatly are we encouraged to promote the advent of that glorious epoch, when the words of the inspired penman shall be literally fulfilled, and ‘nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more.’ Providence seems to have placed in our hands a wondrous power which can almost annihilate time and space, as an auxiliary for this purpose. With its aid, nothing would be wanting to a coalition of sovereigns, steadily purposed to put down strife, by arbitrating with equity and justice between nations, or between subjects and their rulers. What state would oppose its puny force to a council which could bring the concentrated power of millions upon its frontiers in a week’s time? And what spectacle which the world has ever witnessed could be compared with such a glorious tribunal? This would indeed be a Holy Alliance worthy of its name, worthy of the veneration of mankind, and the protection of the Almighty.

¹³ England has the merit of first instituting a society for the promotion of universal peace, in the year 1816, from which stock numerous branches soon spread themselves over the realm. Her example has been followed in France, America, Belgium, and Geneva. Peace doctrines, supported by all sects of christians, and recommended in works of great merit, some of them distinguished by prizes submitted to general competition, are making great progress; and there is a hope that these philanthropic institutions may engage the attention of those who are able to carry their benevolent designs into full effect.

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