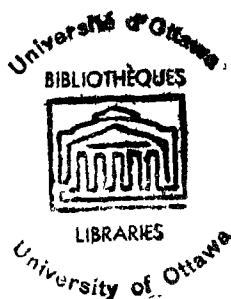


THE DYNAMICS OF REVOLUTION:
AN ATTEMPT TO TRACE THE ESSENTIAL
ALLIANCES OF A BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION,
WITH THAT OF STUART ENGLAND AND
REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA
SERVING AS EXAMPLES

by

William Clarkin

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of the University of Ottawa through the
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William Henry Clarkin

March 1, 1922

Whitesboro. New York

Assumption College,
Windsor, Ontario,
1948 - B.A.

University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Michigan
1950 - M.A.

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and was not blind to the merits of Dickens. The elder Ruskin's business made it necessary for him to travel throughout the British Isles and parts of the continent. European architecture interested him always and it delighted him often. John Ruskin, as a boy, travelled much with his father and, needless to say, inherited much of his father's enthusiasm.

His mother, who has been described as a sort of stupid bigot and bully, was one of those persons who sets a high standard for herself and is determined that the members of the family will attain it too. Her love for her son was somewhat like that of Lady Macbeth for the thane of Glamis. She urged him on. She directed his reading. Her Puritan background inspired her to have him read the Bible every day and memorize long passages. In later years Ruskin often expressed his conviction that the Bible should be made required reading for everyone. Said he:

My endeavour has been uniformly to make them trust it more deeply than they do: trust it, not in their own favourite verses only, but in the sum of all; trust it, not as a fetish or talisman, which they are to be saved by daily repetition of; but as a Captain's order, to be heard and obeyed at their peril. (1)

By the age of twelve John Ruskin had been through the Bible six times. It is probably uncharitable and untrue to describe her as the "bete-noire" of his life. That her love for him was a possessive

in exactly the proper light needed to attract the parties of the various alliances which it contracted. Thus, the aristocrats could see in the bourgeois fellow-capitalists. The laboring classes could see in them fellow-Puritans. It is the working-out of these alliances, political, economic, military and philosophical, which the writer wishes to examine. For the structure of these alliances is the dynamism which infected the Middle Classes of this time. The alliances with Puritanism, with political Jesuitism, with the aristocracy: all of these provided the impetus and the direction. The writer would like to describe the inner fabric.

CHAPTER I

TAXATION POWER BASIS OF REVOLT: ENGLAND 1

Perhaps no example of the abuse of history is more powerful than the famous ship money case. The Whig historians have used this as an example of the abusive power of the despotic king to wring money unjustly from unwilling subjects until it has become a historic cause celebre. The matter does, indeed, appear on the surface to be an example of naked despotism. However, careful examination will, the writer feels, show that such is not entirely the case. It must be kept carefully in mind that the governments of which we write were by no means modern governments, possessing the power of absolute taxation. The modern idea of taxation, whereby within more or less carefully limited boundaries, the sovereign government takes what it needs or wishes from its citizens regularly, simply did not exist in the times of which we speak.

The power of the English monarchy to tax indiscriminately was unknown at that period. As a matter of fact, the very idea of taxation was an extra-ordinary thing. It existed, it is true, but taxation was still not common.

The kings of Europe, for the most part, occupied endowed thrones. That is, they secured the revenues they needed to conduct their governments from their personal (so to speak) possessions. The kings, under this system,

needed vast estates, the revenues of which could be spent in maintaining the government. But even here the power of the kings was limited, for these royal domains were yet completely medieval in character, part and parcel of the old status economy.

By the term, status economy, is meant that system, feudal in origin and development, whereby all members of the community had a definite place in the community. This place or status was governed by definite contracts between leige and lord which duly and carefully stipulated the rights and the duties (sometimes military, more often in the case of the peasantry, economic) which both parties, both bound to the land, were to observe.

Therefore, here was no case, as it is with the moderns, of the rentals of an estate fluctuating with the rise and fall of the purchasing power of money. It is true, the economy of the Stuart period, becoming more and more commercial, was also becoming more and more fluid. But contrariwise, the funded establishments (the throne, the universities, the great landlords, the Church) were not at all fluid; were on the contrary rigidly rent-controlled by the medieval feudal system. The rents a landlord could secure from a parcel of land were stated exactly and definitely in the feudal charters and could be

changed only with difficulty by parliamentary enactment.

Not only did the rising commercialism of the age act as the opposite millstone between which the great landlords and the yeomanry were ground, but the great influx of gold and silver flooding in from Spain's New World conquests accelerated and intensified this situation.

The only way out for the great landlords was to join, as it were, the opposition, i.e., become part and parcel of the new commercial system itself, becoming entrepreneurs first and landlords second. And this, as shall be seen, is precisely what many of them did.

It was not, however, entirely possible for either the Crown or the Church to do this on their part. For neither of these could lend itself well to either manufacturing or commerce, (i.e., not, at least, until the more or less complete development of the modern corporation, within whose stock-ownership rather complete anonymity and moral passivity could be found.).

Since, therefore, the Crown was unable to meet the rising cost of the services it rendered with the income it derived from its static endowments, and since the increased military activity of the times (Thirty Year's War, Piracy, etc.) demanded that it not only refrain from cutting down on these services but also extend them, it be-

came necessary for the Crown to discover some way by means of which it could increase its revenue.

The situation in the time of the Stuarts had deteriorated internationally. The power of England at sea was (indeed, never had been) very strong from a governmental standpoint. England had always to depend, in the last effort, on the strength of its private sailors. Drake, Hawkins and others of their ilk had upheld England's maritime prowess in the past, but it appears that Charles Stuart wished to replace this hit-and-miss system with a regular, systematically organized navy. From a national standpoint, this was not only eminently desirable, but absolutely necessary. The old freebooters and privateersmen were not capable of sustained, directed effort against England's commercial rivals - the Dutch. Nor would the old sporadic practice of outfitting occasional fleets be practical. What was needed now was a regular fleet, capable of defending England's commerce, which was expanding now as never before, from the piracy which was so common to the times.

Since the King was unable to secure the money for this from his own endowments, and since taxation (as a legislative enactment levying upon the entire nation) was outside the King's competence, belonging as a right to Parliament, and since past experience with Parliament

had been none too pleasant, the King imposed the ship~~money~~ levy.

It should be noted immediately that this was no arbitrary imposition. Very good lawyers had advised the King that he had a right to take this action, which was not, it must be remembered, an innovation.

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

...we are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the kingdom in danger, your Majesty may,..., command all your subjects of this your kingdom, at their charge to provide and furnish such a number of ships,..., and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit for the defence and safeguard of this kingdom from such danger and peril:...: and we are also of opinion, that in such case your Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided."¹

The King, it appears, had not only the legal opinion of the judges, but also the previous urging of the Parliament itself when, in the Remonstrance of 1628, it had declared:

"One reason amongst many of this decay of Trade, and loss of Ships and Mariners, is, the not guarding of the Narrow Seas, the Regality whereof, your Majesty hath now in a manner wholly lost, being that wherein a principal part of the Honour and Safety of this Kingdom heretofore consisted...(if some present and effectual remedy be not forthwith provided) the whole trade of this Kingdom, the Shipping, Mariners, ...will be utterly lost and consumed."²

¹S.R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-60, Oxford, Clarendon, 1889, p.40.

²John Rushworth, Historical Collections..., vol. 1 London, (Printed for many subscribers), 1721, p. 625.

As first formulated, the levy was exacted from the coastal towns and seaports, as they seemingly would be the ones to benefit from a powerful British navy and the protection it would give to commerce. This, however, was seen to be in some respects unjust in that it imposed the duty of providing a navy which, after all, would protect the whole country, on the seaport towns alone. In the following year, therefore, the tax was extended to the whole nation.

Here again, legal opinion was called for and here again the lawyers agreed upon the King's right to extend the tax. We may, therefore, say that the ship-money levy was both legally and morally justified. This does not, however, compensate for the fact that it was, politically speaking, inexpedient. For the fact that, it was, again politically speaking, practical suicide. For the direct result was to accelerate the alliance which for many years now had been built up between the great landlord class (or as I prefer to call them, the aristocratic entrepreneurs) upon whom this tax, now extended to include the country, would fall, and the commercial centers, particularly the great City of London where the bourgeois culture complex had been built up with most extensive ramifications. The great merchants of this city had at their command rich

banking resources which the King simply did not have, and they had also the human instruments (apprentices) to implement (in, it is true, an extra-legal way, i.e., by robbery) their political activity. It would have been far more politic of the King to have co-opted this class, securing their allegiance. This latter course, however, simply did not occur.

There, is, it must be admitted, a flaw in the construction of this argument, and one difficult to explain. And the flaw is simply this. It is, above all else, precisely the merchant class which, historically speaking, has demanded that the state provide naval and military armament for the protection of commerce on the high seas, just as it has often been this merchant class which has seized and held the extended positions of empire in America and Asia (for example, the East India Company). However, the flaw may be resolved, it is apparent that the bourgeois of London were one with the aristocratic entrepreneurs in their opposition to the imposition.

In addition to the aforementioned flaw, yet another must be marked. And that is the flaw of the lesser expenditures. The opposition must have known that actual war against the King (regardless of which side won) would have been far more expensive to them than their

assenting to the King's expenditures, no matter how far extended. Yet this class (and I think it is safe to say that the middle class has always been the class to prefer security to Civil War) was actually the class which aided so greatly in the Civil War. The only resolution possible, for both of these flaws in the historical construction, is seen in the nature of the alliance which confronted the King. This alliance was, as we have already declared, and as we shall examine minutely later, an alliance between the aristocrats and the merchants.

The aristocratic nature of the alliance was, I believe, sufficiently predominant to drag the mercantile nature into that which the latter must, by its nature, abhor.

Notwithstanding the opposition over the attempt to build up a navy by ship-money impositions, the Stuarts embarked on a policy of intensifying control in one of their dominions, the Kingdom of Scotland. This policy resulted in a war. Here the military action, while not a foreign war where the Stuarts were concerned, was a foreign war where England was concerned. The union between the two countries was entirely a personal one, with the Stuart kings forming the link. There had, despite the efforts of King James I to unite the two countries

in deed, never been anything more between England and Scotland than this personal union.

The Stuart treasury had already been depleted in 1626 by the disastrous foreign adventures undertaken on behalf of international Calvinism. The first of these had been Buckingham's essay to La Rochelle, one of the French Huguenots' strongholds, then besieged by Cardinal Richelieu. It had been intelligently conceived and carried out, but due to the fortunes of war, it had ended disastrously. Neither profit nor glory had accrued therefrom, nor could England count on the French Huguenots as a continental ally, their cause, militarily speaking, having been lost.

The other expedition, neither intelligently planned nor scrupulously supervised, had consisted of the Mansfield adventure into the Low Countries to rescue, in some obscure war, the lost territories of Charles Stuart's brother-in-law, the Elector of Palatine, otherwise known as the "Winter King" of Bohemia. Both of these essays having been unsuccessful, the King had had a brief respite from war, during the early part of the 1630's. Late in the decade, however, the King had attempted to broaden the authority of the Bishops of Scotland, who, in the face of presbyteries and covenants, had continued a tenu-

ous existence. At the same time, he had, with the assistance of the English bishops, attempted to correlate the English liturgy (the Book of Common Prayer) with the liturgy which he wished to be used in Scotland.

This brought upon him the aroused antagonism of the ministers of the Calvinist persuasion (a majority in Scotland, who allied themselves with the native aristocracy to nullify, by mob intimidations and open war, the King's attempts. This then was the war upon which Charles Stuart was compelled to enter to save his authority. The wisdom of his attempt it is not here my purpose to defend, but it was, it is apparent, incumbent upon him by the nature of the royal power, to exact obedience and to maintain the peace.

In March of 1638, the Lowland Scots signed their Covenant between themselves and God and began to raise an army. To meet them, Charles Stuart was compelled to extraordinary measures which resulted in accomplishing little. However, the King did raise an army, composed of half-hearted Englishmen and marched to meet the Scots at the border. The ineffectual skirmishing which followed could hardly, even by courtesy, be called a war, but futile as it was, by the time of the pacification of Berwick, the King's generals had succeeded in spending one-

half of a year's revenue. Hence, the pressing need for a replenishment of the treasury caused by a foreign war.

"... the king could not but find himself in great straits; besides that his treasure, which had hitherto kept that which was best from being worse, was quite spent. The raising and disbanding the first army so unfortunately and wretchedly, had cost full three hundred thousand pounds, which the good husbandry of the ministers of the revenue, had treasured up for an emergent occasion; and the borrowing so much money for the raising and supplying this latter army had drawn assignments and anticipations upon the revenue to that degree, that there was not left wherewithal to defray the necessary expence of the king's household."³

And this replenishment of the treasury was to be accomplished and the government continued by means of that which was, more than any other factor to be the weapon of the opposition, the Tonnage and Poundage, or the customs duties.

These duties were not, strictly and constitutionally speaking, the prerogative of the king. And the king acknowledged such to be the case.

"...And although we, to remove all difficulties, did from our own mouth... declare that it is our meaning, by the gift of our people, to enjoy it, and that we did not challenge it of right, but took it de bene esse, showing thereby not the right but the necessity by which we were to take it..."⁴

³Edward Hyde, History of the Great Rebellion, Vol. 1 Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1826, p. 259.

⁴A.R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-60, Oxford, Clarendon, 1889, p. 25

The duties were, however, customarily granted to the King at the beginning of his reign. It was, of course, the strict right of Parliament to do the granting thereof. Because no Parliament had been called, the king had been collecting the customs regardless of the fact that they hadn't as yet been granted him, trusting that Parliament would validate the collection when it did meet.

It had always been the strict right, not really of Parliament but rather of the lower house of Parliament, that is, of the House of Commons, to vote the King the extra-ordinary grants-in-aid which would be our proximate equivalent of taxes. Charles therefore at this juncture called together the Parliament of England. There appears to have been little else he could do, for his need for money was very great. Especially did the King need money for the completion of his Treaty "The Pacification of Berwick" with the Scots.

This Parliament, however, lasted only three weeks, when the tumult caused by the magnates prevented any granting of funds to the King and he, accordingly, prorogued the session. Since the money necessary for the implementation of the Berwick Treaty was not forthcoming, the Scots army forthwith invaded Northern England and seized the four northern counties of the realm. This

situation was, by their actions in Parliament, (i.e., the refusal to grant the necessary money for the defense of the realm) acquiesced in by the great magnates who controlled Parliament.

On the third of November, 1641, Charles again called the Parliament together. Now it was that the magnates could refuse Charles the subsidies he needed, for the situation was explosive. The King had to move, while they need not. As long as the Scots continued the occupation of the north of England, the royal situation became worse while that of Parliament became better, for the Scots were in reality the allies of the Parliament.

Now began the long haggle over ship money and the tonnage and poundage.

To the King's proposal that if the Parliament

"...would grant him twelve subsidies to be paid in three years..., his Majesty would then release all his title or pretense to ship-money for the future, in such a manner as his parliament should advise.",

the debate in Parliament waxed hot.

"...one private country gentleman, little known, said: 'He observed that the supply was to be employed in the supporting bellum episcopale, which he thought the bishops were fittest to do themselves...'5

In America, we have again an example of the legitimate exercise of the money power. The latest bout in the long series of wars which England had for the past hundred years been fighting with France had placed a burden of debt on the English nation so great as to be hardly tolerable. The national debt had reached the then staggering figure of £140,000,000. To pay this debt, the government had to impose a land tax on the English squires of six shillings on the pound.⁵ Inasmuch as the wars England had fought had been waged at least to some extent in defense of England's colonies, the English government felt itself in the right when it attempted to tax the American colonists. Inasmuch as, it was argued, the colonists enjoyed the military protection of the British army (notably against the Indians on the border and the French in Quebec) as well as the protection of the British navy on the high seas against the pirates which infested the sea lanes the colonists thronged so at that time, it was incumbent that the colonists should share the burden of that protection. It may well be argued that the colonists had contributed to that defense and the argument is, to some extent, true. The New Englanders had, for example, helped to capture French Acadia, and the

Pennsylvanians had rendered service on their frontier also. In addition, the Virginians had served enthusiastically in the cause against the Indians, since they believed free lands were in the offing.

However that may be, the colonists had all along refused in their local assemblies to vote money for the prosecution of the war. Instead they had relied on the requisition system which kept, to some extent, in a negative way, the power of the purse in their own hands.

Moreover this system was not approved by the colonial assemblies until they had had assurances from Pitt that any monies so spent (requisitions) would be repaid by the Imperial Treasury. In the case of Pennsylvania, the sum received as reimbursement was in the hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Therefore, it can be stated with a good deal of truth that the Americans had not borne their share of the expenditures necessary for the upkeep of the empire. In addition, in the debate of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, the great question had been which of two French possessions Britain should take, Guadeloupe in the West Indies or Canada. Guadeloupe, with its great sugar wealth would have given Britain a very impressive income, at that time

greatly needed. However, barren, forest-covered Canada was chosen for strategic reasons, not the least of which was the fact that in British minds the ancient French threat to the British mainland colonies would be forever overcome. Thus, not only did Britain forgo the certain Guadeloupe income, but it burdened itself with the administration of a then comparatively unprosperous province, settled with a completely non-British people.

The extent of the taxation by the British government on the English people at this time has rarely been considered by American historians, concerned as they were with denouncing the Stamp Tax. However it was during the Seven Years war that the Pitt government imposed that heaven-sent blessing to the tuberculosis bacilli, the window tax. In addition, stamp duties were levied on the British people, as well as taxes on beer and ale.

The anger of the British working men and their subsequent rioting as a result of this latter imposition caused the government to lift the tax very quickly indeed. The example of this effective protest was later emulated by the Americans to very good effect.

The first in this series of impositions upon the colonies was promulgated in 1763 and was known as the

Sugar Act. By this act, the British Parliament imposed a tax upon the importation of molasses from the West Indies and its manufacture into rum. The effect of this cannot be minimized, even though by modern standards, it was justified. That is to say, no modern government would hesitate for a moment to impose such a tax. However, it hit New England very severely, since its commerce was to a great extent involved in the molasses trade.

The background of this trade may be considered for a moment. The French (with whom trade was forbidden by the British Mercantile Acts) had been, by the French Mercantile Acts forbidden to manufacture rum since that might interfere with the French home manufacture of brandy and thus compete with it. Therefore, having distilled the sugar, the French were, in the West Indies, compelled either to throw away the by-product (molasses) or sell it at a very low price. The New Englanders, producing lumber and fish, could trade these products to the West Indian French in exchange for their molasses. They completed the triangle (geographically as well as commercially) by manufacturing rum from the molasses, transporting it to Africa and there exchanging it for slaves. The slaves thus purchased were then carried to

the West Indies where they were disposed of for more molasses. It is thus not difficult to see that the molasses trade would be affected very severely by any taxation. In addition, this taxation hit the merchants, the very class which was so predominant in New England and also so exceedingly powerful politically. Had the British government deliberately attempted to discover a means whereby to aggravate this powerful group into opposition to itself, it could not, perhaps, employed better or more effective means.

It is only fair to interject here the observation that this tax had the alternate purpose, not only of raising money for the depleted British treasury, but also of retrenching the power of the New England merchant class in the interests of the British West Indies planter group.⁶ It was the bitter opposition of the planters' lobby in London to the state of illicit but virtually unchecked free trade between New England and the French West Indies which had decided the ministry on this method of raising money. The trade had grown up decades earlier and had, to the anger of the British government, continued even during the bitterest stages of the Seven

⁶John C. Miller, Origins of the American Revolution, Boston, Little, Brown, 1943, ch.4, p. 96.

Years' War, when the French were, officially at least, the enemy. The reason, of course, was economically sound. The French simply could produce molasses more cheaply than the British could. In addition, the British West Indies were by no means able to absorb the bulk of New England's products, being as they were very much behind in point of population. For these two reasons, the trade which grew up had become most profitable to New England merchants, returning to the entrepreneurs thereof profits of 30% and often more.⁷

It can easily be seen therefore that as in the case of the endowed throne income of the Stuart regime, the British government was confronted with a recession of actual revenue while at the same time the demand for an extension of services rendered was intensified.

Notwithstanding the opposition over the Sugar Act, it appears that the Imperial Parliament must needs tangle with an American revenue again.

In America, the second exercise of the money power by the English Parliament was the Stamp Tax. Here the Parliament had the benefit of the experience of the English

⁷John C. Miller, op. cit., ch. 4, p. 46.

Stamp Tax to guide them. For, as previously noted, the stamps had aided in raising the revenue in England, and that, from a ministerial viewpoint had been beneficial. It was an economical tax, again from a ministerial standpoint, since it required no cumbersome administrative staff. It must be noted in explanation that several taxes imposed on America had cost more to administer than had been collected.⁸

The nature of this tax was that all legal documents, newspapers, carriage licenses, ship clearance papers, land sales deeds and titles had to bear this stamp. (Most American states today follow this same practice.) It was by this means expected to raise a not enormous sum (estimated at £60,000⁹) which would help in defraying the expense of maintaining the British military forces in America. The cost of the latter was £350,000 a year. Inasmuch as the total cost, spread over the population would be the purely nominal sum of one shilling annually, the ministry had little expectation that energetic opposition would be forthcoming.

⁸John C. Miller, op. cit., ch. 8, p. 117.

⁹John C. Miller, op. cit., ch. 8, p. 118.

However, the American people were, and still are, an extremely litigious people. Especially at this stage, they took their quarrels to the law courts, thus providing a livelihood for an extremely large body of lawyers, whose training, while not always thorough by modern standards was nonetheless easily come by. It is to be noted that there were no law schools in America at that time, and the English practice of articling a young man to a practising barrister in exchange for a sum of money was therefore the custom, unless the student were of a wealthy family and so able to attend one of the London Inns of Court. More often than not, the student could forgoe actual money payment in exchange for services rendered his teacher. After a few months, he was considered as ready to set up for himself, and his legal training was completed. So prolific an instruction in the legal mysteries necessarily turned loose a very large body of men each year, so large indeed that there was in reality little hope that any could earn a livelihood on law alone. Many, therefore, combined legal practise with farming. The point is, however, that there was a very large group of men affected by this tax on legal documents, and the point moreover must be made that this

group has, in history, been celebrated for its articulate nature. Therefore just as the merchants were affected by the Sugar Tax, so were the legalists affected by the Stamp Tax.

In addition, another highly articulate group was not unmoved. This was, of course, the printers. There were few, it is true, pure and simple newspaper publishers. But most of the printers, in addition to their regular work, put out single-sheet newspapers. This group, again highly articulate, was affected. These people, it should be noted, were, in a high degree, able to pay the tax, since they were not of the poorer sort of the population. The tavern owners, the lawyers, the merchants, and the printers were the most influential part of the nation and yet were not the exceedingly rich. They were, in short, the upper middle class. And yet the Act affected even more than this class, although it fell for the most part upon them.¹⁰ For the Act prevented all colonists from buying newspapers, making wills, entering upon lawsuits, buying spiritous liquor (tavern-keepers' licenses had to carry stamps) or accepting a college diploma without the stamp.

¹⁰John C. Miller, op. cit., ch. 5, p. 119.

After the Stamp Act, the Townshend Duties must be considered. The British treasury, having failed in its previous efforts to secure money, had recourse to these levies. In 1767, therefore, Charles Townshend proposed the famous Townshend Duties. Parliament assented and forthwith taxes were placed on tea, paint, glass, lead, etc. The ministry did not expect to secure a large revenue (again, like the Stamp Tax); indeed, it was expected that no more than £40,000 would accrue to the Imperial Exchequer.¹¹ Indeed, the tea levies had been simplified so that tea was now actually cheaper than it had ever been, even with the imposition of the Duties. Moreover, the merchants were not, as they had been by the Sugar Act, forced to bear the burden alone. They could easily do as their modern counterparts do; that is, pass the tax along to the ultimate consumer. However, the measure was not as simple as all that for, coextensive with the Townshend Duties, went a tightening of the merchantile laws and the extension of Vice Admiralty Courts for the prevention of smuggling. (Illegal trade had been the foundation of many a colonial fortune,

¹¹John C. Miller, op. cit., ch. 10, p. 248.

and there were, understandably, few of the merchants who were compliant with the new law's course.)¹²

The problem of the merchants now became how to overcome the anti-illegal trade measures. The solution lay in an effective tying of the populace to the concept of the injustice of the Townshend Duties and by making these bear the onus of the blame, sweep away the anti-illegal trade measures in the resultant furor. Thus while the Townshend Duties did not directly affect the merchants, they did indirectly, insofar as friction between the merchants and the populace was thereby set up. If the Admiralty Courts were to function strictly (and the British meant that they should) the illicit but extremely profitable tea trade between the colonial merchants and the Dutch would be destroyed.

It is a testimony to the skill of the merchants that they were able to couple their cause (their warehouses bulged with illegal Dutch Tea) with the cry of the populace against illegal taxation and monopoly (i.e., the British East India Company.)

It must be remembered that the Americans were, at this time, a nation of tea-drinkers. Brazil had not yet

¹²Alfred H. Kelly, American Constitution, Origins and Development, New York, Norton, 1940, ch. 3, p. 75.

eclipsed Ceylon in America. So great was the storm raised by the merchants that in 1769, the British Parliament repealed all the duties, save only that on tea.

Matters might have remained in that state for a long while, safely to both the peace of America and the sovereignty of the Imperial government, had not events from another quarter caused a change in matters. The Americans were quiescent after 1770, despite the attempt by the radicals to use the Boston 'Massacre' as political capital. However, the British government in 1773 found it necessary to rescue the British East India Company from the morass into which dishonest officials had driven it and accordingly to readjust its peculiar status in the imperial trade. The measure, again concerned with the fatal tea, was known as the Tea Act of 1773 and provided for a loan of money to the Company by the government.¹³ In addition, the peculiar provision of the mercantile laws was suspended and the Company was allowed, on payment of a tax to be collected in America,

¹³H.U. Faulkner, American Economic History, New York, Harper, 1931, ch. 7, p. 155.

to ship its tea directly to America, without first unloading it in England. This measure greatly increased the Company's efficiency (the British middleman, who bought the Company's tea in England and then shipped it to America was thereby eliminated) as the result of this was that the tea would be so cheap in America that the British legislature would undercut even the illicit Dutch tea which was still coming into the colonies in great quantities.

This procedure was accordingly followed, and the result, as far as the American merchants were concerned, would have been bankruptcy, had the tea actually been allowed to reach the consumer. Thus we have the culmination of the acts which affected the middle classes in America and drove them to seek alliances with other sections of the population.

The tendency of the age in which these revolutions took place was still towards aristocratic predominance, despite the growing power of non-aristocratic elements. The modern mind, encumbered as it is with the zeitgeist of republicanism and the leveling influences of the ideas which brought forth the American and French Revolutions, finds it difficult to grasp the extent of the aristocratic nature of these times.

While, it is true, even the most lowering of the subjects were an immeasurable distance below the heights occupied by the royal person, the aristocrats were by the same token far away and above, both in point of law and social custom, and who would today be known as "the common man".¹⁴ Indeed, the very idea of the common man, as such, and possessed of that peculiar worth which the humanistic propaganda of two centuries has hallowed him did not exist. The clubmen counted for nothing.

The nobility occupied a peculiar status. They had been inherited from the Middle Ages (along with

¹⁴H. Belloc, Charles I, King of England, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1933, ch. 2, p. 21.

several other forms of social life. As a matter of fact, about the only real element of the mediæval scene which was not still present in some form in the England of this day was the Monastic element.).

They had themselves continued in the enjoyment of that which made them nobility long after the social utility or necessity for it had disappeared. In all manners of life, their position was unique. Even in the matter of dress, their peculiar rights were maintained. They did not labor; it was below them. In token whereof their clothing was such that labor would be impossible. And every article of dress was used to emphasize that fact (for example, the long lace cuffs, the periwigs, etc.). Not even the richest of the merchants, who certainly did no manual labor, had the right to wear any color but the most sombre, all else being reserved for the nobility which decked itself out as peacocks. The nobility alone could wear swords and, indeed, use them. That is to say, dueling was for the nobility alone. No aristocrat would answer the challenge of a commoner. Did a commoner kill a man; that was murder. Did an aristocrat kill his peer in

open battle, it was but a duel and therefore free of punishment.

But their status was peculiar in other matters beside habillement. That status had come down from the Middle Ages, as noted, and was accordingly rigidly maintained by law. Of the laws which buttressed their position, none was more important in ultimate effect both on the nobility itself, and on the whole nation than the law of primogeniture and its concomitant, entail. Genealogy, as a result, became of the greatest social importance and has continued even in our commercial civilization, long after the need for it has, strictly speaking, gone.¹⁵

Not even the most acute commoner was expected to general an army. Which is why, long after the commoners had taken over control of the Parliamentary army, Lord Fairfax was still Cromwell's superior, even though Fairfax did Cromwell's bidding most devoutly. And it was for this reason, among several others, that the rebels fighting against Charles Stuart continued to be led by the inefficient, bumbling, half-hearted

¹⁵L. T. Hobhouse, Aristocracy in The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1931, New York, Macmillan, 1931, p. 183-191.

Earl of Essex, even though they had far better leaders among the common soldiery.

Only the House of Lords could try a Peer, which is why, even though the leaders of the Commons (John Pym, Sir John Elliot, Sir Harry Vane, Jr., etc.) cherished a special hatred for Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, he had to be sent to the Lords for his trial and subsequent condemnation.

Having then this brief glimpse of the privileges of high but non-royal rank, it pertains only to show what were the circumstances which led to the alliance between some members of this class and the bourgeois.

First of all, entails must be explained. It was by means of this system that aristocracy survived. It existed in England and in the two colonies I have chosen to cite as examples, New York and Virginia.¹⁶

The choice of these two colonies was dictated for several reasons. First of all, they were both royal colonies, and thus neither had the buffer of, as Penn-

¹⁶I. S. Harrell, Loyalism in Virginia, Philadelphia, University of Pa. Press, 1926, pp. 4-18.

sylvania did, and also Delaware, proprietors between themselves and the ultimate power in England - the King in Parliament. Secondly, they were both, I believe, of all the colonies the most aristocratic. Thirdly, they were at opposite ends of the pole during the revolution, since New York furnished more loyalists than any other colony (and consequently greater opposition for the rebels to overcome), while Virginia contributed the least loyalists of any other colony (and consequently gave radicalism a greater scope of action).¹⁷

In England of the Stuart times and in New York and Virginia of the Revolutionary period, aristocracy flourished. As has been noted, entail and primogeniture kept it alive. Perhaps nowhere else in the British Empire, were these peculiar social customs more zealously guarded than in Virginia. While in England, collusion between the Courts and the incumbent, the latter acting together with the heir jointly, was possible to break up an entailed estate and turn it

¹⁷C.H. Van Tyne, The Loyalists in the American Revolution, New York, Peter Smith, 1929, p.

into liquid assets, this action was forbidden by legislative enactment by the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1705. This legislation was further extended and tightened in 1727.¹⁸

It must be understood that entails not only were the means of preserving the aristocracy in medieval times but were also the means furthermore of preserving the local community. The entailment continued its corporate existence as a social and economic unit, passing from heir to heir regardless of what the momentary incumbent might do. For entailment prevented the sequestration of an estate as a punishment for crime and it might not be dissolved even for treason itself. Thus the incumbent could be punished (by death, in extremis, for the commission of crimes) but the estate was inviolable. And for a sound reason. If it were not so, the estate being sequestered, the heir, who had legal rights in it by inheritance, would thus have to bear part of the punishment for another's crime. Therefore, estates were invio-

¹⁸Robert R. Howison, A History of Virginia..., Richmond, Drinker & Morris, 1848, p. 201

lable.

By entail then is meant the system of keeping intact from generation to generation a particular estate. In law, it could not be alienated or sold, but must always be passed on. And allied to this, in England and its colonies, was primogeniture, or the custom of giving to the eldest son as of right the entire inheritance, that is, the title and the lands which went with it.

Thus in the areas we are considering, the aristocracy was kept intact, as it was not in other areas. In France, the writer believes, the titles and lands were given to all the children, thus fractioning the original estate until in many instances the nobility, practically speaking, often returned to the impecunious mass of commoners from which they had originally sprung.

It is necessary here to consider the definite personalities who took a leading part in this lack of unity in the aristocratic faction of the times. The main authority here is Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, who knew intimately the men of whom he wrote. The main faction grouped itself about the same men who led the alliance with the bourgeois. In some instances, the alignment was on a basis, not of economic interest or even of religious interest, but rather of personal animosity. The elder Vane, who was the King's secretary, is asserted to have hated Lord Strafford, for example, because of the assumption by the latter of a title (Baron Raby) which Vane had coveted for himself.¹⁹ The Earl of Essex hated both Laud and Strafford, for personal rather than religious reasons, for, according to Hyde, Essex was never really a Puritan.²⁰

It would involve too long a disquisition, however, to go deeply into the quarrels which motivated any particular noble to join one side rather than the other. Therefore, besides a summary mention of the economic or

19H. Belloc, op. cit. p. 135.

20E. Hyde, op. cit., p. 408.

or religious positions some of the aristocrats took, it suffices only to show that the aristocracy was divided, and that the old idea that all the aristocracy was on one side (the King's) and all the commons on the other (the Parliament's) is entirely false. To prove that this is so, I have only to give the naked list of the Lords as they answered the roll-call of the respective Parliaments- that of the Royalist Parliament of Oxford, or that of the insurgent Parliament of London, the 'Long Parliament'.²¹

The following members of the aristocracy gave allegiance to the Long Parliament:

William Grey, Lord Grey de Werke - (Speaker)
Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland
Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick
Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex
Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery
John Manners, Earl of Rutland
Henry de Grey, Earl of Kent
Theophilus Fynes, Earl of Lincoln
Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke

²¹John Langton Sanford, Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion, London, Parker, 1858, p. 630.

Ruskin was not ignorant of this problem. By quotation, we attempted to prove that what Ruskin advanced as a solution for the problem was no eccentric whim or impossible scheme. In fact, ancient and modern and even contemporary opinion is remarkably at one with him in proposing a solution for the lack of an aim in education.

utionary capital of Oxford, will give some idea of the numbers of the aristocracy which adhered to the royal position.²²

Lord Littleton

Stuart, Duke of Richmond

Seymour, Marquis of Hertford

Clifford, Earl of Cumberland

Bourchier, Earl of Bath

Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton

Sackville, Earl of Dorset

Compton, Earl of Northampton

Fane, Earl of Westmoreland

Bertie, Earl of Lindsey

Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle

Carey, Earl of Dover

Dorset, Earl of Carnarvon

Blount, Earl of Newport

Tufton, Earl of Thanet

Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon

Lord Spencer

Lord Strange (Stanley)

²²John Langton Sanford, op. cit., p. 493.

Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby

Lord Rich

Lord Savile

Lord Dunsmore (Leigh)

Taking these names, then, at their face value and giving no further information about them, it would certainly appear that the aristocracy was very disunited indeed. Not only this, however, but there was disunity in the very lines of loyalty itself. An example of this was the London Parliament's John Carey, Lord Hunsdon, who was the son of the Oxford Parliament's Earl of Dover. Another instance which might be cited occurred within Fairfax's own family. His cousin and colleague for Yorkshire, Henry Bellasis, adhered to the King's cause.²³

²³Clements R. Markham, A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Parliament of England, London, Macmillan, 1870, ch. 1, p. 39.

Although it is true that, of all the aristocratic complexes in the colonies of the Revolutionary period, that of Virginia furnished an example of the most complete unity, none-the-less there can be gleaned from the accounts of the Virginia Revolution enough names of famous and influential aristocrats who remained either uncompromisingly loyal to the Imperial cause, or who, at the very least, continued to be neutral in the struggle, to cause one to believe that the thesis holds true here too. That is to say, that even in Virginia, the aristocracy was not truly and completely united. As in other colonies, the aristocracy had long held oligarchical control of the government, save only the governorship (the right was within the royal prerogative to appoint).²⁴

This being so, we find, since the revolution in Virginia was an aristocratic revolution exactly, that it was the very officials of the government who supplied the impetus for the eventual alliances which led to the overthrowal of the legitimate government.

²⁴Robert R. Howison, op. cit., p. 200-207.

"Of wealth... there were great accumulations in particular families, handed down from generation to generation, under the English law of entails. But the only object of ambition for the wealthy was a seat in the King's Council. All their court was paid to the crown and its creatures; and they Philipised in all collisions between the King and the people. Hence they were unpopular; and that unpopularity continued attached to their names. A Randolph, a Carter, or a Burwell must have great personal superiority to be elected by the people even at this day."²⁵

Thus Jefferson writing many years afterwards on the Virginian aristocracy. These things being so, it can be seen that there would be many who would not go along with the compromises demanded by the alliances which must take place before a successful revolution could be waged. The compromises included, among other things, for the merchants, a drastic revision of the laws of entail, and for the sectaries, a complete reversal of the religious policy of the times. The compromises were fought tooth and nail within the revolutionary by the aristocratic conservatives, as we know that Edmund Pendleton and Richard Carter Nicholas, the Attorney General and the Treasurer of the province respectively, were bitterly opposed to both the abolition

²⁵H.A. Washington, ed. Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Washington, Taylor & Maury, 1864, Vol. 8, p. 225.

of entails and the freeing of the Baptists from civil penalties.²⁶

Yet they were of the revolutionary party. Only powerful impulses could have put them there, and what is more, kept them there.

There were therefore others to whom the whole thing was completely distasteful and who accordingly never joined in with the revolutionary movement.

Most important of these, from an aristocratic standpoint, was the mighty Fairfax family. These people held great territories in the Northern Neck area in entail, receiving rents therefrom. Lord Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax held a total of 5,263,000 acres, of which five-sixths were entailed. The Fairfax family remained loyal to the crown during the entire war.²⁷ Also devoted to the Crown was John Randolph, the King's Attorney General, whose family had held the office as, as it were, their prerogative for generations.²⁸ The split in the aristocracy is especially notable here, for his son

²⁶William Taylor Thom, Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia: the Baptists, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1900, p. 58.

²⁷Isaac Samuel Harrel, op. cit., p. 127.

²⁸Robert R. Holison, op. cit., p. 44.

Edmund joined the patriot party and was especially conspicuous in the rebel cause.

Another of the great families which held aloof from the Revolution was the Byrd family, whose chief representative was the extremely rich William Byrd, who, if he did not actively aid the loyalist cause, at least remained aloof on his estate during the war, refusing to help the rebels.²⁹

Yet another aristocrat who refused to join his social order in the revolution was Philip Grymes, who along with Archibald Ritchie, Richard Corbin (the King's Receiver General), the Beverleys (a very prominent family), and the Paradise family, gave firm allegiance to the Empire. In addition, Beverley Robinson, the brother of John Robinson who in the depression of 1763 had been provincial Virginia's treasurer (and who had defaulted in his accounts by £100,000) as well as the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, was a staunch loyalist.³⁰ He had married Susanah, daughter of Frederick Philipse, a New York loyalist of great fortune.

²⁹Isaac Samuel Harrell, op. cit., p. 129.

³⁰Clement Eaton, A History of the Old South, New York, Macmillan, 1946, p. 108.

Turning to New York, we have the same picture, although here the disunity is more pronounced since it had existed for years prior to the Revolution. Here the quarrel which existed between the two great factions had been viciously fought out with the de Lanceys in most respects emerging victorious during the Colonial period over their opponents, the Livingstons.

The account of this celebrated quarrel was chronicled by one of the de Lanceys, and the history so produced is far from unprejudiced. None the less this writer, contemporary with the Revolution, gives a good account of the personalities with which he dealt. It appears that for many years the de Lanceys, together with the ramifications of the clan, had controlled the government of the Royal Colony of New York. For twenty-seven years, James de Lancey, had been Chief Justice of the Provincial Supreme Court. His son-in-law, Judge Thomas Jones, was, until the Treaty of Peace in 1763, a Supreme Court Justice, which office he had occupied for ten years.³¹ Judge Samuel Jones, brother of the aforesaid Thomas, was for twenty years, the Speaker of the Assembly. Another in-law of the family,

³¹Edward Floyd de Lancey, History of New York during the Revolutionary War, New York, New York Historical Society, 1879, Vol. 1, p. 711.

Cadwallader Colden, was governor of the province. In addition to being Chief Justice, the "Honorable" James de Lancey was, for five years, the Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of New York. During the Revolution, Oliver de Lancey, his son, became the Senior Loyalist Brigadier General supporting the King.³²

The family had extensive intercolonial connections, as well as Imperial, for another son of the Chief Justice, James, married Margaret, the daughter of Chief Justice William Allen, of Pennsylvania. Margaret's sister, Anne Allen, was already the wife of Governor John Penn, of Pennsylvania. (It is interesting to note that Lord Shelbourne had married into the Penn family also.).³³

Of the Allen family, it suffices to prove their loyalty to mention that Colonel William Allen commanded the Pennsylvania Loyalists, a provincial corps.

A further extension of the family was the marriage of John Peter de Lancey to the daughter of Richard Floyd, a possessor of great Long Island estates,

³²Edward Floyd de Lancey, op. cit., p. 156.

³³Edward Floyd de Lancey, op. cit., p. 326.

and of undoubted loyalty. It should however be noted that William Floyd of a younger branch of the family and a first Cousin, was a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the first Senator from New York in the United States Congress of 1789.

The De Lancey family was also allied by marriage to another family which remained solidly loyal to the Empire, Peter de Lancey having espoused Elizabeth, the daughter of Governor Cornwallis Couden. His children exemplify the split exactly since his daughter Alice married Ralph Izard of South Carolina, a delegate to the Continental Congress, while his son James, the Pre-Revolutionary High Sheriff of Westchester, became loyalist colonel of the Westchester Light Horse, the "famous Partisan Chief of the Neutral Ground."³⁴

Peter de Lancey's niece, Susan, married Colonel William Johnson, whose loyalists activities in upstate New York included actual guerrilla warfare against the rebels. His nephew, on the other hand, married Mary, the daughter of the Earl of Stirling, one of the most

³⁴William Alexander Duer, The Life of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling; Major General in the Army of the United States during the Revolution, New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1847, ch. 3, p. 87.

utterance. (Incidentally, his prose style did not suffer from his frequent reading of the Bible.) There are times when Ruskin sounds very much like Leon Bloy. The following quotation combines the desire for reform with the fiery eloquence of the French 'pilgrim of the absolute'.

"But", it is answered, "they cannot receive education." Why not? That is precisely the point at issue....The rich not only refuse food to the poor; they refuse wisdom; they refuse virtue; they refuse salvation. Ye sheep without shepherd, it is not the pasture that has been shut from you, but the presence. Meat! perhaps your right to that may be pleadable; but other rights have to be pleaded first. Claim your crumbs from the table, if you will; but claim them as children, not as dogs; claim your right to be fed, but claim more loudly your right to be holy, perfect and pure. (13)

There were times when Ruskin seemed far ahead of his times. Upon occasion he would assume the mantle of the seer and reach out into the future. In the light of what has happened in Canada and the United States in the last decade, how pregnant with meaning are the following lines:

I believe that the masses have a right to claim education from their government; but only so far as they acknowledge the duty of yielding obedience to their government. (14)

Might the lines not well and wisely be read to those educators whose notions of freedom are so confused that they harbour on their campus a variety of shades of

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(13) Unto This Last, by J. Ruskin, London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., p. 127.

(14) Political Economy of Art, by J. Ruskin, London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., p. 11.

Regardless of the organization (or the lack thereof) of those who ultimately grouped themselves around the legitimate government, it is a factor of the greatest astonishment for the modern investigator to see develop before him the complexities of the aristocratic marriage alliances. These complexities were, while sometimes depending on mere friendship, yet most often of a marital or blood-relationship nature. Not only is this true of Stuart England, but it is true likewise of the American colonies of the Revolutionary period. It is true, of course, that oftentimes the exigencies or loyalties of politics cut across family lines, but, considering the deep nature of these struggles (as of all civil wars), it would indeed be surprising if they did not.

The intricacies of the inter-relationships reveal themselves to the investigator only after patient research. However, ultimately, they do become apparent. While it is true that all aristocracies do, more or less, inbreed themselves, in the instances here considered it will be, the reporter thinks, astonishing to consider the extent of the relationship and its strict cleavage on revolutionary action lines.

There is, first of all, the Cromwell family to be considered. This family, descended from the Cromwell who so aided Henry VIII in the destruction of the monasteries of England, was allied by marriage to the John Hampden who protested so vigorously on the matter of ship money. The connection was through his mother, who was daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook. Therefore, John Hampden was a first cousin of Oliver Cromwell.³⁷ The wife of Oliver St. John, (M.P. for Totness) who had defended Hampden in the ship-money case was another cousin of Cromwell's.³⁸

When the Cromwell estate in Huntingdonshire was sold to the Montagues and Oliver Cromwell had perforce to sit in Parliament (1640) for Cambridge, the Parliamentary party suffered thereby no diminution, since the Montague was the family name of the Earls of Manchester (Lord Kimbolton and the Earl of Manchester of the Civil War were one and the same person), which family was intensely anti-royal.³⁹

The mode of election in Stuart England may be

³⁷John Langton Sanford, op. cit., p. 147.

³⁸C.H. Firth, in D.N.B., Vol. 50, p. 151-6.

³⁹John Langton Sanford, op. cit., p. 185.

remarked here pertinently:

"The reason ... that the Montagues, who had succeeded to the local influence of the Cromwell family, wished to return another member of their family as a representative, and Oliver...in that case...retired..."⁴⁰

Of the Montagues, three sat in Parliament, Sir Sidney, George and Edward, besides, of course, Lord Kimbolton, who, as a peer, sat in the House of Lords.⁴¹ Thus there were four from the immediate family in Parliament.

Another of Cromwell's cousins, Elizabeth Barrington, was married to the puritan, Sir William Masham, M.P. for Essex, while her brother, Sir Thomas Barrington was Roundhead M.P. for Colchester. Inasmuch as Hampden was Cromwell's cousin, and Edmund Waller was a cousin of Hampden, then Oliver Cromwell and Edmund Waller were related.⁴² Here again is the family extension, for the Wallers were in Parliament also.

Oliver St. John was, according to Hyde, a 'natural son of the House of Bullingbrooke', and so was related to the Earl of Bedford. If this is true (and it

40 John Langton Sanford, op. cit., ch. 4 p. 220

41 Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 319.

42 G. Thorn Drury, in D.N.B., Vol. 59, p. 123-27.

has been denied by Sanford, although he gives no proof for his denial), then Oliver St. John was thereby allied⁴³ with a very complex family relationship indeed, for Francis Russell, the Duke of Bedford, had three daughters: Catherine, who married Robert Greville, 2nd Lord Brooke, (the fiery Puritan); Anne, who married George Lord Digby, afterwards 3rd Earl of Bristol; and Margaret who married twice, being firstly, the fifth wife of Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester (Kimbolton's father) and secondly, the third wife of Robert Rich, the fifth Earl of Warwick.⁴⁴

Lord Brooke's brother-in-law was Sir Arthur Haselrigg, the staunch Puritan, who put forth the Militia Bill.⁴⁵

Oliver St. John, however, was allied not only by blood to the Bedfords, but by marriage to the Cromwells, for he had married Johanna Altham, the granddaughter of Sir Francis Barrington. Sir Francis Barrington's wife was Joan, who was aunt to Cromwell and Hampden.⁴⁶

Another of Cromwell's relatives of the Waller blood was Sir William Waller, a zealous Puritan, and

⁴³Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 325.

⁴⁴Dorothea Townshend, George Digby, Earl of Bristol, London, Unwin, 1924, Ch.I, p. 15.

⁴⁵John Langton Sanford, op. cit., ch. 4, p. 395.

⁴⁶C.H. Firth, in D.N.B., Vol. 50, p. 151-6.

a leader of the Presbyterian party, as well as M.P. for Andover.⁴⁷ He was cousin to the aforementioned Edmund Waller, as also to Sir Hardress Waller, who was Colonel Pride's coadjutor in the theft of the King and had command of a regiment in the New Model Army, being also a member of Parliament.

Another relative in Parliament of Oliver St. John was his cousin, Lord St. John, who, the war breaking out, raised a regiment for the rebellious side. This Lord St. John was the eldest son of the Earl of Bolingbroke.⁴⁸

Thus Oliver St. John connected the Bedfords by marriage to the Cromwell clan.

"The earl of Holland was a younger son of a noble house, and a very fruitful bed, which divided a numerous issue between two great fathers; the eldest, many sons and daughters to the lord Rich; the younger; of both sexes, to Mountjoy, earl of Devonshire... his eldest brother was earl of Warwick, and owner of a great fortune; and his younger earl of Newport, of a very plentiful revenue likewise..."⁴⁹

Thus Edward Hyde on the Holland-Warwick complex. The Lord Mandeville (Earl of Manchester, Baron Kimbolton) was married to the daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

⁴⁷G. Thorn Drury, in D.N.B., Vol. 59, p. 123-27.

⁴⁸A.F. Pollard, in D.N.B., Vol. 50, p. 151.

⁴⁹Edward Hyde, op. cit. p. 110.

Thus the Earl of Warwick is brought into the Montague complex (which, as we have seen, was related to the Cromwell clan). A further extension of the Montague family includes Edward Montague, second Baron Montague of Boughton, a fierce anti-Laudian and (as we have seen) M.P. for Huntingdon. His cousin was Edmund Montague, first Earl of Sandwich, the friend and relative of Cromwell, who was married to the daughter of Lord Crew of Stene, the member of Parliament (Roundhead, of course) for Northamptonshire.⁵⁰

Lord Fairfax, who commanded the Parliamentary Army during the Civil War, is brought into the complex by Bulstrode Whitelocke, who managed the prosecution of Strafford. Whitelocke claimed kinship with the Fairfax family, and was himself married to Francis, the daughter of Lord Willoughby of Parham.⁵¹ Fairfax himself had married Ann, the daughter of Sir Horace Vere. Ann's sister, Catherine, married Oliver St. John and her other sister, Elizabeth, married John Holles, the aforementioned second Earl of Clare.⁵² The latter's

⁵⁰Edward Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁵¹Clements R. Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 37

⁵²Clements R. Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 42

brother, Denzil Holles, it was who accused Laud before the Lords of treason. Thus Oliver St. John, Lord Fairfax, and John Holles were brothers-in-law. They were indeed principal actors in the tragedy of the Civil War. However, a further glance at the Fairfax complex shows a further extension of relationship.

Fernando Lord Fairfax (Roundhead M.P. for Yorkshire) was father to Thomas Lord Fairfax (the Parliamentary commander).⁵³ Lord Fairfax's sister, Dorothy, married Sir William Constable of Flamborough (Roundhead M.P. of Knaresborough and regicide).⁵⁴ Sir Hugh Cholmley (Roundhead M.P. for Scarborough) and Sir Henry Cholmley (Roundhead M.P. for Boroughbridge) were the nephews of Mary Cholmley, Lord Fairfax's sister-in-law.⁵⁵

One could continue to trace the ramifications of this situation, with its political implications, and discover just how extensive was the inter-relationship of the members of the Parliamentary party. There is, however, neither the time nor the space. Enough has, the writer believes, been given to indicate that of the

⁵³Clements R. Markham, op. cit., p. 39.

⁵⁴Clements R. Markham, op. cit., p. 119.

⁵⁵Clements R. Markham, op. cit., p. 45.

members of this party, most of them were allied by ties of blood or marriage to one or more of the members of Parliament. This may have been instanced in the same house, as John Pym's nephew, Anthony Nicholl,⁵⁶ was member of the House of Commons for Bodmin; or again, Sir Harry Vane, Jr., was the son-in-law of Sir Christopher Wray (Roundhead M.P. for Great Brimsby) and whose brother, Sir John Wray, was Roundhead M.P. for Lincolnshire.⁵⁷ Or, on the other hand, one member of the family may have been in the House of Lords and have despatched a son or brother to represent the family holdings in the House of Commons. An example of this would be the case of Lord Newark, himself in the Peers, assigned his younger brother, William Pierpont, to sit as M.P. for Great Kenlock.⁵⁸ Or again, Viscount Charles Cranborne was M.P. for Hertford, his father, Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, sitting in the Peers in his own right.⁵⁹ However the case may have been, the modern idea of men legislating disinterestedly

⁵⁶ John Langton Sanford, op. cit., ch. 4, p. 237.

⁵⁷ J.M. Rigg, in D.N.B., Vol. 63, p. 77.

⁵⁸ C.H. Firth, in D.N.B., Vol. 45, p. 267-8.

⁵⁹ John Langton Sanford, op. cit., ch. 7, p. 630.

simply could not have existed in a legislature wherein almost everybody was related to everybody else. Such a situation is simply farcial and is not to be confused with any modern concept of representative government at all. May one remark that the oceans of ink spent in justifying the Roundhead cause might have been spent in a better cause, i.e., setting forth at real length the whole story of the inter-relationships which did exist? To my knowledge, no such work has ever been done. Yet it would clarify the situation far more lucidly than all the forests of learned lumber which have sprouted from the minds of the English Whigs.

In Virginia, the revolutionary marriage nexus is formed, the writer believes, by the Randolph clan, to which Thomas Jefferson was related, he being the son of Peter Jefferson and Jane Randolph.

The Nelson family was strongly rebel, Thomas Nelson, the son of William and Elizabeth (Burwell) Nelson, being a signer of the Declaration of Independence.⁶⁰ His son, William Nelson, was also a prominent revolutionary and was married into a family to which he was already related, having taken to wife Elizabeth Burwell. He thus became related to the powerful Carter family, since Elizabeth Burwell was the daughter of Nathaniel Burwell and Elizabeth Carter. The Carters were powerful aristocrats, members of which family had helped to rule Virginia for generations.

A prominent member of it was Robert Carter Nicholas, provincial and commonwealth Treasurer. Another member was Carter Braxton, a member of the Committee of Safety and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, whose uncle was Lonach Carter, another prominent patriot.

The Carters were allied to the Lees, Anne Hill Carter being the wife of the famous but unfortunate American general "Light-horse Harry" Lee, those brothers

⁶⁰Lyon G. Tyler, Cradle of the Republic, Richmond, Hermitage Press, 1906, p. 295.

were Charles Lee and Richard Bland Lee. Another brother, Arthur Lee, was, all during the Revolution, the confidential agent in London of the American Committee of Secret Correspondence.⁶¹ To this family may be added Richard Henry Lee (delegate to the Continental Congress) and Francis Lightfoot and William Lee. Both of the latter, it is needless to add, served the American cause in their respective ways.

Of the Maryland branch of this Virginia-Maryland aristocratic complex, Thomas Sims Lee, who in 1779 became revolutionary governor of Maryland, married Mary Digges, a relative of Dudley Digges, of the Virginia Committee of Safety.⁶²

The aforementioned Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot and William Lees were related to the Ludwells through their mother, Hannah (Ludwell) Lee, whose relative, Thomas Ludwell Lee was a member of the Virginia Committee of Safety. "Lighthorse-Harry" Lee, Charles and Richard Bland Lee were, as the latter's name suggests, related to the Blenders. One of the members of that family, Richard Bland, was both a delegate to Con-

⁶¹Burton J. Hendricks, The Lees of Virginia, Boston, Little, Brown, 1955, p.

⁶²Allen Johnson, in D.A.B., Vol. XI, p. 97.

gress and a member of the Provincial Committee of Safety. The Blands, thus being allied to the Lees, provided the link with the Randolphs, since Richard Bland was the nephew of William Randolph, another patriot, whose brother Peyton was a Deputy to the Continental Congress.

It was through the Burwell family that the rebel Governor of Virginia, John Page, was connected with the main stream of the aristocracy, since, as already noted, the Burwells and the Nelsons had intermarried.⁶³ Page married Lucy Burwell, the niece of Major Lewis Burwell, a provincial rebel commander.

Robert Carter Nicholas, a grandson of the famous and powerful 'King' Carter and the son of the widow of Nathaniel Burwell, married Anne Cary, sister of Archibald Cary, a member of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence.⁶⁴ Another grandson of 'King' Carter, and related thus to Nicholas, was Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. His sister, Elizabeth Harrison, married Peyton Randolph, the Deputy to the Continental Congress.⁶⁵

⁶³Lyon G. Tyler, op. cit., p. 295.

⁶⁴T.P. Abernethy, in D.A.B., Vol. XIII, p. 485-6.

⁶⁵Edmund C. Burnett, in D.A.B., Vol. VIII, p. 330-1.

Edmund Randolph, Peyton's nephew, married Elizabeth Nicholas, the daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas.⁶⁶

Although the marriage alliance is here, as it was in England, cut through by divided loyalties, with instances of members of the same families giving allegiance to either the loyalist or the rebellious factions, yet it must, the writer believes, be admitted that by and large, the opposing groups were tightly knit by marriage. As the de Lancey family formed the marriage nexus for loyalist aristocracy in the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania complex, so the Livingston family served the same purpose on the rebellious side for the same area.

John Alexander, Lord Stirling, married Sarah, the daughter of Philip Livingston, the proprietor of the great Livingston Manor.⁶⁷ His daughters, Lady Mary, married Robert Watts of New York, and the other married herself (Lady Kitty) to Colonel William Duer, New York's delegate in Congress.

John Jay, a very celebrated rebel indeed, is thus connected with Stirling, since he was the son-

⁶⁶Dice R. Anderson, in D.A.B., Vol. XV, p. 350-5.

⁶⁷William Alexander Duer, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 10.

in-law of Governor Livingston of New Jersey, a member of the aforesaid family.⁶⁸ Richard Montgomery, the rebel general who besieged Quebec, was married to Janet,⁶⁹ the daughter of Robert R. Livingston, who was the father of the Robert R. Livingston who became Chancellor of New York State. Both father and son were rebels. Philip Livingston, likewise, became a prominent revolutionary.

General Schuyler was a cousin of William Smith, who, although on the Council of Governor Tyrone all during the war, appears to have been secretly a rebel. John Van Rensselaer was Schuyler's father-in-law, both men being prominent rebels.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Henry P. Johnston, ed., Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay, 1763-1791, New York, Putnam, 1896, Vol. 1, p. 12.

⁶⁹Edward Floyd de Lancey, op. cit., ch. 15, p. 728.

⁷⁰Edward Floyd de Lancey, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 58.

In England, as has been noted, the aristocracy was caught between the millstones on the one hand of rising prices and, on the other, of stable feudal rents. There were several ways out of this impasse for them,¹ as there were not for the Crown and the Church. First of all, they could encroach on the royal domain.

This all aristocrats had done from time immemorial. This course of action, however, was hardly feasible when the throne was occupied by a determined king. For there was always the possibility that a strong king would demand back what had been stolen from a weak one.

The second method was the enclosure procedure. By enclosure, the nobles, land-hungry for sheep pasture, drove out the peasantry which held feudal rights on the common lands, although they did not own them.

This was done by act of Parliament and was opposed furiously by the Anglican Church.² The Puritan sympathies of many of the aristocrats may well have had their rise in this fact.

The third method of escape and survival for the aristocrats lay in surrendering themselves to the

¹James E. Thorold Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England. Oxford, Clarendon, 1887, Vol. V. p. 801.

²Storm Jameson, The Decline of Merry England, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1930, p. 45.

commercial spirit (i.e., in effect destroying themselves) and becoming part and parcel of the bourgeois culture, retaining their titles and their estates as social accidentals, rather than as political essentials. No more illustrative examples exist than those three aristocratic entrepreneurs, Lord Bedford, Lord Saye and Sele, and Lord Warwick.

The project for the drainage of the Fens affords an example of the entrepreneuring spirit of this part of the aristocracy.³ The Fens were an area of great swamps, bordering on the North Sea, which extended over great parts of the counties of Huntington, Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk and Suffolk (the very counties of the Eastern Association!). A project was formed to drain them, which included a total of 400,000 acres. The Earl of Bedford, with thirteen other gentlemen, became joint adventurers in this economic effort in the year 1632. Among these others was, of course, that ubiquitous Puritan, Oliver St. John.

The King, as chief of the Realm, was to receive 12,000 acres, while the rest were to divide 95,000 of the reclaimed acres among them. Money was accordingly spent and the work was duly begun. This

³John Langton Sanford, op. cit., p. 215.

having been done, it was represented to the king that the efforts made were inefficient. Charles therefore rescinded the agreement which had been made, in the year 1636. It is unnecessary to say that Bedford and his fellow-adventurers were outraged. None-the-less, in order to compensate them, 40,000 tax-free acres were given to them in exchange for the money they had already spent in the drainage project. The writer does not, however, believe that this action soothed their wounded purses or their equally wounded feelings.

The incident is mentioned in order to point out a possible basis for their anti-royalist position, as well as to show that these men possessed the entrepreneur spirit.

The matter itself, of course, is by no means to be regarded as a possible basis for revolt. But it does show that there was little sympathy between the two positions - the aristocratic (which had deep concern for their own purses) and the royal (which had necessarily to be concerned for the welfare of the entire nation).

However, the greatest example of the entrepreneur spirit can, the reporter believes, be found in

considering the Massachusetts-Bay Company, which looks up in history as serving a multitude of purposes.

Here it is, the writer thinks, that the alliance between the aristocracy, the bourgeois businessman, and the Precisionist spirit can be seen at its best.

The Massachusetts-Bay Company was at first conceived purely as a matter of business. The old Dorchester Company of Adventurers was re-activated into the Massachusetts-Bay Company, its holdings by royal grant comprising all of New England.

The aristocrats who held interests in this company were:

Lord Saye and Sele,⁴ who, although a bitter Puritan, seems to have regarded the project from a purely commercial angle, since we later find Winthrop, the Governor in Massachusetts, complaining bitterly that Piennes was enticing colonists from the Massachusetts foundation to his (Piennes') other enterprises in the Barbadoes (to which colony, by the way, the Puritans, when they had, in the course of the Civil War, conquered the British Isles, shipped their prisoners of war as slaves).

Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland and brother

⁴ C.H. Firth, in D.N.B., Vol. 18, p. 453-36.

of the Earl of Warwick. He became Governor of Providence Company, also, in which Lord Saye and Sele was likewise interested. Holland was furthermore one of the Lords Proprietors of Newfoundland. We have already seen that he was disaffected to the Crown. It was said of him that he

"...preferred monopolies and crown grants as a quicker means of increasing his fortune...(and was) associated with one of the most unpopular acts of the reign, the revival of the obsolete forest laws."⁵

Lord Rich, second Earl of Warwick, who was very much interested in the Virginia Company also, (very much, it appears to the detriment of this venture, since it was he who tried to wreck it that he might thereby seize entire control of it.)⁶ It was this man who was subsequently named Lord High Admiral of New England by the Puritan Parliament in 1643.⁷

Also of the aristocrats, was, it should not be forgotten, the Earl of Bedford. Keeping him company, there was likewise as an investor in the enterprise the Earl of Lincoln, whose Countess was a personal

⁵ C.H. Firth, in D.N.B., Vol. 48, p. 111-114.

⁶ See Appendix I

⁷ Edward Eggleston, The Beginners of a Nation, New York, Appleton, 1896, ch. 4, p. 252.

friend of many of the early settlers.

Of the gentry who were interested in a financial way in this enterprise, there were (among others) the following prominent men:

John Pym, who was the leader of the anti-royalists in the House of Commons and who held so much power that he was known as "King Pym". He was also a patentee of Connecticut and the Treasurer of Providence Company.⁸

Sir Harry Vane, Jr., who later became Governor of Massachusetts-Bay, ousting Winthrop, and who later was one of the most zealous of the parliamentarians. It would only be fair to say, however, that this man was swayed in his life's dealings, not by money, but by religion. He was primarily, not a bourgeois, but rather a Puritan. He is one of the very few of whom this can honestly be said.

Also of the gentry interested in the project was John Hampden, who, as aforementioned, was one of the three who refused to pay ship money and who was

⁸John Gorham Palfrey, History of New England, Boston, Little, Brown, 1876, Vol. 1, p. 106.

⁹Ezra Hoyt Byington, The Puritan in England and New England, Boston, Roberts, 1896, p. 70.

furthermore interested in the project for draining the fens.

There was also Sir John Elliot, whose enmity for Buckingham had caused him to become the most celebrated prisoner of his time, who purchased land in the Connecticut Valley.¹⁰

Besides the out-and-out aristocrats and the lesser lights, the gentry, the third elements which was fused to the three by economic action was the mercantile. The great economic and financial complex of London was particularly well represented, as well it might be. For it was a great sub-nation all to itself, with its merchants being princes indeed, albeit without the title. Among those who joined themselves to the aristocratic element in this venture were:

Samuel Vassal, who with Weyden and Lora Saye and Cole, refused to pay ship-money.¹¹ He was a merchant of London, interested also in Barbadoes. He traded to New England, the West Indies and Guinea. As an incorporator of the Massachusetts-Bay Company, he acquired (together with his brother, William, also

¹⁰Ezra Hoyt Byington, op. cit., p. 71.

¹¹John Gorham Palfrey, op. cit., p. 50-4.

a merchant) one-tenth of all Massachusetts. He entered the House of Commons as a Member for London, on, of course, the Roundhead side. It is interesting to note that the House subsequently ordered restitution of the money he had paid for tonnage and poundage.¹²

Theophilus Eaton,¹³ (a brother of the Nathaniel Eaton who was subsequently President of Harvard College) who was also a merchant of London, was likewise a companion with the aristocrats in the venture. He it was became the first governor of New Haven in America and the deputy governor of the East Land Company in England. To demonstrate his written sympathies, it suffices to say that he, as governor of New Haven, prepared a law code for the colony based on the law of Moses.¹⁴

Matthew Craddock, another London Merchant-Adventurer, who was at first the Governor of the Company and who served in the Long Parliament.¹⁵

With a consideration of these persons, it is

¹²Bertha Porter, in D.N.B., Vol. 58, p. 156-158.

¹³John Gorham Palfrey, op. cit., p. 303-4.

¹⁴Gordon Goodwin, in D.N.B., Vol. 16, p. 540-1.

¹⁵Samuel Eliot Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1920, ch. 1, p. 80.

not too much to say, the writer believes, that the Massachusetts-Bay Company, among other projects of a like nature and with many inter-locking directorships, formed the nexus of the alliance between the rebellious fiction of the aristocracy and the bourgeois. The extent of this alliance can be seen best when one understands that it was computed by Edward Johnson in his Wonder Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England declared that the total cost of the founding of this colony was £192,000. In today's purchasing power, this would be between ten and twenty million dollars.¹⁶

Regardless of the financial problems of the aristocracy in Stuart times, the measures adopted by the King would have brought about their antagonism, as Hyde, who later led the King's party in Parliament, was honest enough to point out:

"By... ill husbandry the King received a vast sum of money from all persons of ability, or indeed of any reasonable condition throughout the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood; which, though it had a foundation in right, yet, in the circumstances the proceeding was very grievous. And no less unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the King, the profit to other men; inasmuch that, of

¹⁶Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 83.

two hundred thousand pound drawn from the subject. .. in year, so rose fifteen hundred came to the king's use or account. To recompense the damage the crown sustained by the sale of the old lands, and by the grant of new pensions, the old laws of the forest were revived, of which not only the fines were imposed, but the annual rents intended, and the law settled by a contract; which burden lighted fast upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions and were therefore like to receive it with more sharpness."¹⁷

Clarendon (Edward Hyde) correctly criticizes the temper of those of the aristocracy who, feeling the King's demands to be unjust, allied themselves with the bourgeois.

That the alliance was temporary, which eventually took in not only the bourgeois, but also the aristocracy of religion likewise, was a natural struggle for the safety and sanctity of property (however obscured by appeals to the Deity and to law) is given substance by the following:

"In commenting, in the House on the petitions for the disendowment of the Church, the poet Coleridge foretold that the people would not stop with a plea for equality in ecclesiastical matters. 'Our laws and the government of the Church,' said he, 'are mixed like wine and water. I look on the episcopate as a network or carrier net lay to yourself that if this is stormed by the people and

¹⁷Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 119.

the secret is thereby discovered that we can deny them nothing which they demand, we shall have a task no less difficult to defend our property against them than we had lately to preserve it against the prerogative of the Crown. I therefore counsel the reform and not the abolition of the Church.' " 18

There were, one supposes, few who cared to speak with equal candour.

That the merchants were by no means less behindhand in realizing the pleasures and conveniences of power than were the nobles is noted by James I, who, subjecting them to his scrutiny and shrewdly realizing them as his enemies, pointed out for the benefit of them his son and heir, how best to deal with them.

"The merchants thinke the whole common-weale obtained for making them vp; and accounting it their lawfull gaine and trade, to enrich themselves vpon the losse of all the rest of the people, they transport from vs things necessarie; bringing backe sometimes vnnecessary things, and at other times nothing at all. They buy for vs the worst wares, and sell them at the dearest prices; and albeit the vi^{al} fall or rise of their prices, according to the abundance or skantnesse thereof; yet the prices of their wares euer rise, but neuer fall: being as constant in that their euill custome, as if it were a settled Law for them. They are also the speciall cause of the corruption of the coyne, transporting all our owne, and bringing in forraigne, vpon what price they please to set on it: For order putting to them, put the good Lawes in execution that are already made anent these abuses; but especially doe three things: Establish honest,

diligent, but few Searchers, for many houses take slight worke; we have an honest and diligent Thesaurer to take count of them: Permit and allure Forraine Merchants to trade here: so shall we have best and best cheape wares, not buying them at the third hand: And set every yeare downe a certain price of all things; consider-first, how it is in other countries: and the price set reasonably downe, if the merchants will not bring them home on the price, cry forrainers free to bring them." 19

Thus James was by no means blind to the element of greed which motivated the bourgeoisie. It was, however, not James but rather his son Charles who provided the merchants with the elements needed for an antagonism with the King and its consequent alliance with the aristocracy.

"Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defects of laws: and so tonnage, and poundage, and other duties upon merchandises, were collected by order of the board, which had been positively refused to be settled by act of Parliament, and new and greater impositions laid upon trade: obsolete laws were revived, and rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthankfully a thing it was, by too strict detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own." 20

That the alliance had been building up for a long time previous to the actual revolution is indicated

19Charles Howard McIlwaine, ed., The Political Works of James I, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1918, Basilikon Doron, p. 26.

20Edward Hyde, op. cit. p. 119.

ted by the fact that Parliament served notice as early as 1628 that the aristocrats (who controlled Parliament) would not overlook attacks on the pocketbooks of the merchants:

"That there ought not any Imposition to be laid upon the Goods of Merchants, Exported or Imported, without common Consent by Act of Parliament, which is the Right and Inheritance of your Subjects, founded not only upon the most ancient and Original Constitution of this Kingdom, but often confirmed and declared in divers Statute Laws.

...That the receiving of Tunnage and Poundage, and other Impositions, not granted by Parliament, is a breach of the Fundamental Liberties of this Kingdom..."²¹

By no means were the bourgeois loath to mouth the tokens of liberty (at least, for themselves and their property). John Pym, the leader of the Parliamentary party and the nexus of all the revolutionary movement until his death in 1643, hesitated not at all to join the cause of the merchants to the cause of liberty. In somewhat of an excess of zeal for his cause, he declared that it was the King, and not the Parliamentarians, who was engineering the Revolution:

"...That the form of government in any state could

²¹John Rushworth, Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, London, (Printed for many subscribers) 1721, Vol. 1, p. 628

not be altered without apparent danger of ruin to that state...

...the law of England, whereby the Subject was exempted from Taxes and Loans not granted by common consent of Parliament, was not introduced by any Statute, by any Charter or Sanction of Princes, but was the ancient and fundamental law, issuing from the first frame and constitution of the kingdom...

...that this Liberty of the Subject is not only most convenient and profitable to the People, but most honorable, most necessary for the king; yea, in that point of Supply for which it was endeavored to be broken."²²

It would indeed require the intellectual subtlety of a John Pym to discover that what was good for the merchants was good also for the King. However, this was now the official party line and they were stuck with it, at least, until they had won their victory on the battle field.

But in any alliance, there are bargains driven. It must not be assumed that there was no quid pro quo here. Indeed, the merchants, skilled at haggling, let the aristocrats know precisely the nature of the price they would exact for their adherence. This price was exactly the same which their spiritual descendants in Massachusetts would later exact. And the Boston bourgeois would be, as the London bourgeois had not

²²John Rushworth, op. cit., p. 596.

been, successful. For the price exacted was necessarily the passing away of feudalism and all the remnants thereof.

In the new age struggling to be born, the Age of the Bourgeoisie, the needs of commerce would be foremost. It is no surprise, therefore, that the promoters of revolt were most anxious to destroy the remains of feudalism. And the curious thing is that the aristocratic entrepreneurs were ready and willing to help them do it. To destroy this survival of the Middle Ages, it was necessary to overleap them and go back beyond the time of the feudatories and the status civilization, to the fluidity of allodial land-holdings of the Anglo-Saxon days:

Again John Pym is spokesman:

"...there are plain footsteps of those laws in the Government of the Saxons, they were of that vigour and force, as to overlive the Conquest, nay, to give bounds and limits to the Conqueror ... (William), whose Victory gave him first hope;..." 23

And Mr. Creswel (of Lincoln's Inn) chimed in:

"...That the Kingdom of England always have had a Monarchy Royal, and not a Monarchy Seignoral: where, under the first,..., the Subjects are Freemen, and have Propriety in their Goods and Freehold, and inheritance in their lands: but under the

latter, they are as Villains and Slaves, and have propriety in nothing."²⁴

Thus enthusiasm for the rather barbaric days of the ancient Saxons when the merchants (may one remark that there were necessarily few of them) had no interference from any King to restrain them, nor indeed, had they much of a King to restrain from imposing feudal obligations, grew by what it fed on. Waxing warm, Sir Dudley Diggs became an antiquarian:

"I am commanded to shew unto your Lordships in general, that the Laws of England are grounded on Reason, more antient than Books, consisting much in unwritten customs, yet so full of Justice and true Equity,...., and so antient, that from the Saxon days, notwithstanding the injuries and ruins of time, they have continued in most part the same, as may appear in old remaining Monuments of the Laws of Ethelbert, the first Christian King of Kent, Ina the King of the West Saxons, Offa of the Mercians..."²⁵

I will only entreat your Lordships leave to tell you, that as we have now, even in those Saxon times, they had their Court Barons, and Court Leets, and Sheriffs Courts, by which, as Tacitus says of the Germans, their Ancestors, Jura reddebant per pagos and vicos; and I do believe, as we have now, they had their Parliaments, where New Laws were made 'cum consensu Praelatorum, Magnatum and totius Communitatis...' "²⁵

The only reason which can, the writer feels, be

²⁴John Rushworth, op. cit., p. 508.

²⁵John Rushworth, op. cit., p. 527.

sufficient to explain this overwhelming predilection for the Saxon, rather than the Medieval period, on the part of the mercantile and legal interests of England is that the whole movement was, more or less, tinged not only with an anti-Medievalistic dye, but also (on the part of the merchants and lawyers) an anti-aristocratic hue. This latter was, it is true, in the early stages only latent. That it was bourgeois, and not democratic, anti-aristocraticism can easily be seen by the fact that the bourgeois took effective care of the democratic elements (John Lilbourne, Gerard Winstanley,²⁶ etc.) when it got itself into power. Just as it also took care of the aristocratic element at the same time. The following is evidence enough of this:

An Act Abolishing The House of Lords

"The Commons of England assembled in Parliament, finding by too long experience that the House of Lords is useless... have thought fit to ordain and enact,..., that from henceforth the House of Lords in Parliament shall be and is hereby wholly abolished..."²⁷

²⁶G.F. Gooch, op. cit., p. 215 .

²⁷Samuel Rawson Gardiner, op. cit., no. 79, p. 296-7.

It must, first of all, be explained that in Virginia, the alliance with the merchants was not direct but oblique. It was oblique in two ways. First, the aristocracy were themselves merchants in the sense that they grew tobacco which they had to sell, and the price of which, fluctuating on the European market directly affected them. A war in Europe produced depression in Virginia, so direct was the effect.²⁸

It can, therefore, be said that these aristocrats possessed the commercial outlook, with its consciousness of price and money values.

Secondly, as they were in debt to British merchants they could, as it were, in the first phase of the opposition (Stamp Act, Townshend Duties) use their debts as a club with which to compel acquiescence on the part of the London merchants.²⁹

The petition device, effectively wielded by the English commercial Whigs, was the weapon, together with the Non-Importation Associations, which they used to provide concerted action against the Ministry on the part of the British bourgeois. It should be noted that

²⁸Thos. J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia, Princeton, University Press, 1922, p. 148.

²⁹Dora Mae Clark, British Opinion and the American Revolution, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, p. 166.

there was little real solidarity between these two interests, the Virginia aristocrats and the London merchants, despite the fact that William Lee, the Virginia' aristocracy's agent in London,³⁰ was a member (alderman) of the London City government and so really was liaison between British and American commercialism.

May one note the oblique threat in the following notice from the Committee of Philadelphia merchants writing to their opposite numbers in London in November, 1769?

"We consider the merchants here and in England, as the links of the chain that binds both countries together...Whatever tends to alienate... the Colonists, or to make them averse to the ... manufactures of Britain hurts their interest." ³¹

This, however, it should be mentioned, was as yet in the early stage of the alliance. In the second and vital stage, the alliance was by no means between the Virginia aristocracy and the London mercantilists. On the contrary, the final alliance was set up between the Virginia aristocrats and the New England or Boston bourgeois.

The local merchants in Virginia became loyal-

³⁰Burton J. Hendrick, op. cit., ch. 9, p. 218.

³¹Paul Allen, A History of the American Revolution, Baltimore, Franklin Betts, 1842, vol. 1, p. 132.

ists to a man in the Revolution, and were, as a matter of fact, for the most part, merely the factors of English and Scots mercantile houses resident in Virginia.³² Therefore, in the history of Norfolk testifies, the alliance, or community of interests, did not exist between the Virginian aristocratic entrepreneurs and the local bourgeois. The final and revolutionary alliance, as has been noted, between the aristocrats of Virginia and the commercialists came about between them and the merchants of the commercial colonies, notably the merchants of New England, again, notably, of Boston.

The importance of this fact cannot be over-estimated. The discovery of an identity of interests between the Virginians, with their entail and primogeniture, and the Bostonians, with their interest rates and carrying charges, is equal in importance to the discovery of a similar identity of interest a century earlier between the English Puritan Aristocrats and the London merchants.

A further reason for the existence of this alliance may be seen in the need for the aristocracy to join themselves with some other aggrieved body. They were, because of the peculiar agricultural structure of

³²Robert R. Howison, op. cit., ch. I, p. 37.

Virginia, in a desperate position. Not only were they in debt³³ (their estates could not be sequestered, but their incomes could), but also they were in great need of land.

While it is true that there existed good arable land in Virginia, as yet uncultivated, it is also true that tobacco culture required enormous quantities of highly fertile land. This meant that more and more new lands had to be constantly opened and exploited if the aristocracy were to maintain itself in Virginia.

While the colony had, it seems, by the royal charter of 1607 a far better claim to the Western regions (Kentucky, Illinois, etc.) than, for example, Pennsylvania, it is nonetheless true that the Louisa Company of Virginia, formed to exploit this claim, was opposed by the Wharton interests of Pennsylvania, in which Company members of the British ministry, notably George Grenville, were interested.³⁴

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to maintain that the Proclamation of 1763, which reserved land west

³³ Dora Mae Clark, op. cit., ch. 4, p. 114.

³⁴ Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin, New York, Viking, 1938, Ch. 15, p. 395.

of the Allegheny watershed for the Indians and which thereby shut up the expanding energies of Virginia between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic, was highly unpopular. Even less so was the action of a provision of the Boston Port Act which, in 1774, assigned all this immense territory to a rival province, Quebec, and indeed a province whose Catholicism was officially acknowledged and upheld by another provision of these "Intolerable" acts.

The animosity which prevailed among the American aristocratic entrepreneurs towards the British on the subject of Western Lands was heightened by the fact that when the fees of Virginia formed the Mississippi Company and asked for a vast grant of land in the West beyond the Alleghenies, they were summarily refused.³⁵

The aristocrats had fought Governor Dunmore's Indian War with gusto, believing that thereby they would have their claims respected. Great was their disgust, therefore, when they discovered that they would not be allowed to expand in that direction. It should not surprise us therefore to discover that the prime promoters of this speculative settlement scheme (for such it was) became, in the fulness of time, those

who pressed most bitterly against the Imperial claims, discovering the cause of liberty and of property to be identical.

"Richard Henry Lee hit the nail on the head. 'They lay the iron to one mill in the pound,' he said, for colonial protection, 'but what security have I for the other nineteen?'"³⁶

Thus it should not surprise us that the entrepre-
neuring aristocrats, identical in essentials to the
old aristocrats of the seventeenth century in England
who formed the Merchant Adventurer Companies, joined
by the Lees of Virginia. In an exploration of the
membership of this Company, it should cause no more sur-
prise to us to discover many a prominent revolutionary
name than the same condition in Stuart England.

William Lee, the merchant member of the Lee
family, was to handle matters in London. His brot-
hers, Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, Thomas Ludwell,
and Arthur Lee, were members of the newly-formed or-
ganization. Thus the first-class aristocrats were in-
terested. In addition, there were joined to them the
second-class aristocrats, John Augustine, George, and
Samuel Washington, as were also William and Henry Fitz-

³⁶Burton J. Hendrick, op. cit., ch. 5, p. 116

hugh. In all, this Company asked for a grant embracing a total of 2,500,000 acres, located in western Kentucky, Illinois and Indiana.

A further proof that the nobility of Virginia were entrepreneurial rather than purely aristocratic in their outlook is provided by the nature of the arrangement they would have set up for their western lands. It is the nature of the bourgeois outlook to prefer fluidity to stasis; speculation to permanent interest. While the arrangement is cited as proof of the democratic tendency of the Virginia aristocrats, it needs, the writer believes, only a glance at the aristocratic nature of the culture these nobles wished to conserve to cast strong doubt on the validity of this argument.

These noble entrepreneurs, led by the Lees (here would be utmost conservatism) desired to sell their prospective lands in the west

"...on easy payments, and in small lots, to veritable settlers; the promoters had in view a plan not unlike the homestead laws of the nineteenth century. The trans-mississippi country was not to become a proprietary, but a democratic society."³⁷

³⁷Burton J. Hendricks, op. cit., ch. 8, p. 119.

This altruism on Hendrick's part can, the writer believes, be translated into the other interpretation the reporter has given it. That is, by refusing to become proprietary (with the concomitant feudatory overtones implicated in such a set-up) they discovered themselves to have been, not necessarily democratic, but merely bourgeois, speculating for profit.

As has been noted, the promoters of the Company were, however, despite their prominence, disappointed by the Imperial ministry, for their request was refused. It is notable, that in view of this disappointment over the non-recognition of the ancient Jacobite claims which Virginia by Charter held to the the Western territory, Virginia under the governorship of Patrick Henry dispatched during the Revolution a certain George Rogers Clarke to conquer the area for Virginia and in Virginia's name. The which he did.³⁸

Nor should it surprise us to discover that Patrick Henry, together with Peter Jefferson, the father of the celebrated Thomas, had claims to lands in the West, as did any other patriot.

³⁸Benson John Lossing, ed., Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History, New York, Harper, 1905, Vol. II, p. 185-192.

It was not unreasonable therefore that Thomas Jefferson could discover that

"...it is time for us to declare that he (the King) has no right to grant lands of himself."³⁹

Thus shut off from western expansion, the aristocrats of Virginia had only to regard their situation to discover that something must give. For their agricultural economy had either to expand or pass away.

This impasse in which the aristocrats found themselves was intensified by the debts which weighed the planters down so heavily.

"Virginia...owed two million sterling to Great Britain at the conclusion of the war.... This is to be ascribed... to the tobacco trade. The advantages made by the British merchants ... were so enormous, that they spared no means of increasing those consignments. A powerful engine for this purpose, was the giving good prices and credit to the planter, until they had got him more immersed in debt than he could pay, without selling his lands or slaves. They then reduced the prices given for his tobacco, so that let his shipments be ever so great... they never permitted him to clear off his debt. These debts had become hereditary from father to son, for many generations, so that the planters were a species of property, annexed to certain mercantile houses in London."⁴⁰

May one say that Jefferson, the author of the above, ought to have known the truth of what he said?

³⁹Paul Leicester Ford, ed., Writings of Thomas Jefferson, New York, Putnam's, 1892-99, Vol. 2, p. 85.

⁴⁰H.A. Washington, ed. Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Washington, Taylor & Maury, 1854, Vol. IX, p. 250.

For he himself owed Kippen and Company of Glasgow £10,000, while the Randolphs, his relatives, owed Capel and Osgood Hanbury of London, £11,000.⁴¹ Thus, while the planters, in the first stages of their alliance with the bourgeois, united themselves obliquely to the English commercialists, the alliance really was not a natural one. For the merchants of England were in reality far more enigmatical to the Virginians than otherwise.

The alliance they finally constructed was, therefore, one with the merchants of Boston. It is interesting to note that this alliance, as in England in Stuart times, held dangers to the aristocratic nature of the Virginian nobility, in the sense that such a jointure would unbalance the aristocratic to such an extent that they would no longer be entrepreneuring aristocrats, but rather, just entrepreneurs. The ultimatum was to be presented in 1763 by the spokesman for bourgeois New England, although some time previously the Virginia aristocrats themselves had seen into the future sufficiently to abolish, although not without a struggle among themselves, both primogeniture and

⁴¹Isaac Samuel Hurrell, op. cit., p. 27.

and entail.

The price that the commercial faction of the alliance would exact was the conversion of the aristocrats into pure entrepreneurs. This was announced by Dr. Stiles, the President of Yale College:

"Dominion is founded in property, and resides where that is, whether in the hands of the few or many. The dominion founded in the feudal tenure of estate is suited to hold a conquered country in subjection, but is not adapted to the circumstances of free citizens. Large territorial property vested in individuals is pernicious to society. Civilizations, in contemplating the principles of government, have judged superior and inferior partition of property necessary in order to preserve the subordination of society and establish a permanent system of dominion. This makes the public defence the interest of a few landholders only.

A free tenure of lands... connected with this will be a general spirit and principle of self-defence - defence of our property, liberty, country. This has been singularly verified in New England, where we have realized the capital ideas of Harrington's Oceana."⁴²

The bourgeois having spoken, the Virginia aristocracy acted upon the bidding and in 1785, the new law code, within which was Jefferson's bill abolishing primogeniture, was, despite Pendleton's conservative desire that at least the Jewish rule, with its double portion for the eldest son, adopted.⁴³

⁴²J.W. Thornton, The Pulpit of the American Revolution, Boston, Gould & Lincoln, 1880, p. 404

⁴³Robert R. Howison, op. cit., p. 207.

That the merchants of New England were eager for the alliance can be demonstrated by a glance at their condition. Long had they suffered under the anti-smuggling laws.

"The act of parliament, which imposed a duty of seven pounds per tun on wines from Madiera, etc., was in force at the time when the Stamp Act passed; and the duties had been generally paid. In all the stir against the Stamp Act, this, being less grievous, was not mentioned. Several cargoes were, soon after, smuggled in without payment of the duty... A vessel was expected from Madiera, belonging to a principal merchant, who was also one of the representatives of Boston (Mr. Hancock) ... Before the vessel arrived, it had been frequently mentioned, that the duties would not be paid;... The Custom-house officers,..., seized the vessel, for the false entry made by the master, and the goods on board, for want of a permit from the custom-house." 44

In that same year, Governor Bernard could note the zeal of the Bostonians for the alliance:

"In the beginning of March 1768 Subscriptions were made and Associations entered into for the Non-Importation of Goods from Great Britain, - but this last measure was at that time defeated, by the Merchants of other Colonies refusing to concur in it." 45

It would seem, then, that for the most part the merchants of Boston would have to take their allies

44Thomas Hutchinson, History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, London, Murray, 1822, Vol. 3, p. 189

45Francis Bernard, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1912, Appendix III, p. 270-1.

where they could find them. And if the merchants of, say New York, were somewhat fearful that the radical element might gain the upper hand in any tumult raised by the pious bourgeois, and so hesitated to join their brethren of Boston, the same cannot be said of the aristocrats of Virginia, who knew how to keep the rabble in place until it was needed. And return it to its place when once its work was done.

And to serve notice of earnest intention on the part of the Boston traders, it would not be without profit to note:

"My Lord

March 4, 1768

...The Traders here are now associating in the same manner that they did at the time of the Stamp Act;... there is a Subscription open to import no British Goods... for 18 months... it is given out among them that they will not submit to the Laws in the Mean Time; and violent methods of Opposition are every Day expected. One Man has unloaded a Cargo without entering it at the Custom House: it was done in the Night with a strong hand; but it is publicly known as if it had been at Noon Day... Many Merchants say, they will not suffer Custom House Officers to go on board their ships... When they are asked what will satisfy them, the Answer is a total repeal of the Acts of Trade imposing Duties and nothing less." 46

Some time, however, was to elapse before the situation compelled a real action. In Virginia, the

46Francis Bernard, op. cit., . . 168.

supply of land east of the Alleghenies was exhausted by 1774.⁴⁷ At precisely that time also the merchants of Boston protested against the East India Company's tea monopoly in a rather violent and wasteful manner.

At the same time, the balance of trade was against America, the colonial reserve of gold and silver being exhausted. The bullion had gone to Europe.⁴⁸ And how then were the aristocrats of Virginia to pay their debts? Or, for that matter, the Boston merchants?

In the approaching storm, the Massachusetts bourgeois could, indeed and with reason, view the approaching alliance with unfeigned delight.

"Whereas,...

Resolved, That this house have a very grateful sense of the obligations they are under to the House of Burgesses, in Virginia, for the vigilance, firmness and wisdom, which they have discovered, at all times, in support of the rights and liberties of the American colonies: and do heartily concur with their said judicious and spirited resolves." ⁴⁹

(Resolutions of Massachusetts' House of Representatives, May 28, 1773)

⁴⁷Isaac Samuel Harrell, op. cit., p. 8

⁴⁸H.A. Washington, ed., Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Washington, Taylor & Maury, 1854, Vol. IX, p. 250.

⁴⁹Hezekiah Niles, Republication and Acts of the Revolution in America, New York, Barnes, 1876, p. 64.

There should, therefore, be no surprise that when the alliance unfolded itself in the first Virginia Convention, the planters made tea, not tobacco, the grievance.

"Considering the article of tea as the detestable instrument which laid the foundation of the present sufferings of our distressed friends in the town of Boston, we view it with horror; and, therefore, resolve that we will not, from this day, either import tea of any kind whatever, nor will we use or suffer even such of it as is now on hand to be used in any of our families."⁵⁰

(Proceedings of the Virginia Convention, Williamsburg, Va., August 1, 1774.)

Not only this, but they further declared that if by 10 August 1775, they had not been assuaged in their grievances by the English Parliament, they would not export any tobacco. That indeed was drastic.⁵¹

To make the alliance binding, a Continental Association was set up, embracing all the colonies, save only Florida and Canada.

The merchants were satisfied with the promise that:

"1. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import, into British America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods,

⁵⁰Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 273.

⁵¹Robert R. Howison, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 71.

wares, or merchandise whatsoever,..., as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East-India Tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo."⁵²

And to satisfy the planters (who were concerned with the price of slaves, since further importation of same would bring down their domestic value), the New England merchants promised solemnly to give up this their ancient, lucrative and cherished practice.

"2. We will neither import nor purchase, any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it." ⁵³

That it was economic interest and not pious regard for the unfortunate slaves that prompted the Virginians and New Englanders to inveigh against the future importation may be evidenced by their reaction to Governor Dunmore's proclamation of freedom to slaves who would fight for England:

"Whereas lord Dunmore... hath offered freedom to such... slaves as are willing to join him... it is enacted that all negro, or other slaves,...,

⁵²Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 273.

⁵³Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 273.

shall suffer death, and be excluded all benefit of clergy..." 54

But this was not the only concession made for the Virginia planters, for they were assuaged on the matter of the Western lands in the following manner:

"14. 1..

And we do solemnly bind ourselves... to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war... - and that "for extending the limits of Quebec, etc." , are repealed." 55

Thus the Continental Association in America plays the part of the Grand Remonstrance in Stuart England, manifesting as it does the community of interest which motivated the various parts of the Anti-Imperial faction.

54Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 268.

55Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 272.

Making full allowance for the Tawney thesis, with which the reporter agrees and which maintains that, contrary to Weber, the Puritan ethos was in no way responsible for the unbridled, materialistic abuses of the succeeding commercial-industrial ages of laissez-faire, it must yet be noted that the Puritans appeared to have a natural affinity for the mercantile spirit. It is true that Calvin, while not succoring the cause of usury, any more than did apparently the Calvinists of either old or New England in the seventeenth Century, yet was the first influential theologian who deliberately and consciously accepted the commercial spirit as a fait accompli and strove to make it a complete part of his theocratic order.

In his work, Tawney disparaged the idea that the peculiar form of capitalism which prevailed in the modern age was the definite product of Calvin's doctrine that, contrary to the medievalists, interest and the profits of commerce are quite legitimate.

"It is not that they abandon the claim of religion to moralize economic life, but that the life which they are concerned to moralize is one in which the main features of a commercial civilization are taken for granted... Early Calvinism... has its own rule, and a rigorous rule, for the conduct of economic affairs. But it no longer suspects the whole world of economic motives as alien to the life of the spirit, or distrusts the capitalist as

one who has necessarily grown rich on the misfortunes of his neighbour..."¹

It was not, in short, a blanket permission to court the Devil, which the Bedeivais had always seen lurking in the purse of the money-changer. Yet it must be said again that, for the first time, here was a system of religious thought which accepted commerce and its concomitant - credit and interest - as a good and natural thing.

It is not therefore with surprise that we discover that the middle class, which has now lately risen to economic power and has, by a system of interlocking alliances with the aristocracy, begun to strive for the political power with which to implement it, should have adopted with distinct enthusiasm the Calvinist virtues of thrift, sobriety and honesty. And responsively, the reciprocal acceptance by the middle classes, with the subsequent material wealth the Calvinist system endowed the bourgeois, confirmed this class ever deeper in their religion. Thus any intermingling with this class would have to take account of its religion, either a frank acceptance of it or an

¹R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, A Historical Study, London, Penguin Books, 1948, p. 114.

equally frank toleration of it. And if one were, for any reason, hostile to the class, hostility towards, and also on the part of, this religion was the accompaniment. For Calvinism was a dynamic religion, proclaiming itself the pure faith, as well as the true. So jealous of its boundaries that no other basis than acceptance or rejection was possible.

There should, nonetheless, be an explanation of the nature of English Calvinism vis-a-vis the Established Church. One of the most difficult problems for the neophyte in these matters to resolve is the nature of this relation. The lines of religious opinion had been drawn taut, indeed, as taut as ever they are in our own times.

However, while the religious dogmas had been carefully defined and explicitly bounded, the organization within which these opinions existed was the seemingly all-embracing Church of England by law established.² The hierarchy and organization of the Church, with deans, cathedral chapters, bishops, and so forth, continued, organizationally, at least, as they had been even in Catholic times. (This was true, as we have

² Ezra Hoyt Byington, The Puritan in England and New England, Boston, Roberts, 1896, Ch. I, p. 16.

see, of Scotland also.) This Established Church, however, was divided into two distinct groups, or parties. The party in power in the time of Charles Stuart was the Catholicizing party. It must be understood that by Catholic is not meant Roman Catholic, although Laud and his cohorts recognized the Roman Catholic Church as a true church.³ The Puritan or Calvinist group, which had formerly, under Archbishop Abbot, controlled the Established Church, did not recognize the Roman Catholic Church as a true part of the Christian Church, holding, on the contrary, that it was an abomination.⁴

The Catholic or Laudian party attempted to keep all forms of worship as they had been in Catholic (i.e., pre-Reformation) times, while the Puritan faction (better called Precisions) regarded such practices as superstition or idolatry. The Laudians accepted all the Catholic sacraments, and believed themselves capable of administering them; while the Precisions held only two - Baptism and Marriage. To the Laudians, Communion was a sacrament; while to the

3H.K. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 126.

4 S.L. Lee in D.N.B., Vol. I, p. 5-20.

Calvinists, it was a commemorative service only. The Laudians relied upon the Liturgy, while their opponents depended upon inspirational, ex tempore preaching and prophesying. To the Catholic party, the Hierarchy was above the commonalty of men, endowed with a peculiar sacramental sanctity; to the Precisians, it was a mere organizational office, maintained presently for convenience only but someday to be supplanted by the presbytery or Council of Elders and Ministers, neither of which had any sacramental character.⁵ Indeed, to the Presbyterian-Anglican, a minister was the equal of the bishop. That was the meaning of his use of the word 'paritie', and it was that which King James had so scorned, rightly perceiving that parity between mere minister and bishop would mean also parity between the commons and the regal.⁶

It can thus be seen that here were two distinct churches, but sharing a common organization.

"The Puritans of the Massachusetts colony were not Separatists. No one had been more severe in controversy with the Separatists than some of the Puritans who remained in the Church of England. They were eagerly desirous not to be confounded

⁵Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, Discourse opening the Nature of that Episcopacie, which is exercised in England. In Haller, Wm., ed., Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-47, 1854, vol. 2, p. 55-163.

⁶C.H. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 126.

with these schismatics. When the great migration of 1630 took place, the emigrants published a pathetic farewell, protesting... their attachment to the Church of England..."⁷

However, somewhere between the two poles of Laud and Hugh Peters stood, religiously speaking, almost every middle-class and/or aristocratic Protestant Englishman.

In the main, however, it is safe to say that most of the aristocrats were Anglican or Laudian; while the greater part of the middle class was securely Calvinist or Presbyterian. (It must be understood, of course, that the Presbyterianism of the English middle class was quite a different thing from Scots or Genevan Calvinism.) (It must not be thought that the middle class then was by any means the size of the present-day middle class in England. On the contrary, it was an exceedingly small group, comparatively speaking.)

It wanted but the right moment and the Precisians would step forward and seize the structure of the Church for their very own. They had to seize that structure or organization of the Anglican Church, for they could not set up one of their own. They would be

⁷Edward Eggleston, op. cit., ch. 4., p. 218.

persecuted if they did, and they were not yet strong enough to stand effectively as sectaries. (It should be borne in mind that the Precisians hated the sectarians quite as furiously as ever did the Laudian party. When the Puritans later came into their own, it required all the strength of their leader, Oliver Cromwell, to keep them from falling upon the sectaries and destroying them with gusto.⁸)

(In this matter of taking control of the organization, it may be well to interpolate here that herein lies one of the chief distinctions between the English and American revolutions. For in England, the revolutionaries had to take over already existing institutions, for example, the Church and Parliament. While in America it was necessary for the revolutionaries to set up their own completely new organization, the Continental Congress. And what is more, they had to set up thirteen separate organizations, the Provincial Congresses for each of the colonies.)

The fact that the Precisians denounced the sectaries strongly explains the fact that the Calvinists of New England, even after they had set up their theo-

⁸Thomas Carlyle, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 459.

cracy in the New World, could and did describe themselves as members of the Church of England.

Having thus described to some extent the respective positions of both parties of the Church of England, the next step to take is to posit the leaders of the alliance which was formulated, this time not on economic lines solely, but rather on economic-religious lines.

This alliance between the political dissentients and the religious dissidents was brought about, in part at least, by the great entrepreneurial aristocrats who seem to have engineered so many other enterprises.

Lord Saye and Sale, whom we have met before, was one of these. Clarendon speaks of him thusly:

"The lord viscount Say, a man of a close and reserved nature, of a mean and a narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the highest ambition, but whose ambition would not be satisfied with offices and preferments, without some condescensions and alterations in ecclesiastical matters. He had for many years been the oracle of those who were called puritans in the worst sense, and steered all their counsels and designs. He was a notorious enemy to the Church, and to most of the eminent churchmen, with some of whom he had particular contests."⁹

⁹Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 317-18.

His coadjutor in establishing the alliance
was

"The lord Mandevile... looked upon as the greatest patron of the puritans, because of much the greatest estate of all who favored them, and so was esteemed by them with great application and veneration..."¹⁰

As has been remarked before, Lord Mandiville's other names were Lord Manchester, and Lord Milbolton. His father had been a Privy Counsellor to both King James and to King Charles. The son, for obscure reasons, seems to have spent much time wandering around Geneva and Scotland where he picked up his puritanical notions. In the ensuing struggle, his name occurs again and again, and he is ever in the very thick of the fight to establish Calvinism as the Church of England by law Established.¹¹

And in addition, to complete this triumvirate, there was the Lord Brooke, the fanatic who wished to destroy even the cathedrals of England, tearing them down stone by stone.¹²

Brooke it was who advanced Calvinistic theocracy, as an antidote to the too-great power which the

¹⁰Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 319.

¹¹Bertha Porter, in D.N.B., Vol. 38, p. 227-31.

¹²J.H. Rigg, in D.N.B., Vol. 23, p. 163-4.

bishops possessed in their capacity as Lords Temporal as well as Lords Spiritual. A power, be it noted, which the great nobles, hailed some of them into the Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission, had felt to their own detriment. A power, likewise, little then to the liking of the said nobles.

"I am sure, to those who maintain such Prelaticall Bishops, this absurdity will follow; that to one man the whole power may be given, both in Civilibus, & Ecclesiasticis: a Thing, God thought Christ only fit for; and so on His shoulders only, did He place the worlds Government." ¹³

Although this is a statement against the secular power of the bishops (who held, in addition to their various courts and commissions, the right to sit as Lords Spiritual in Parliament), it, in reality, forms just as ambiguous a meaning as it's possible to have. One could read into it a protest against episcopal secular power. One could also read into it a protest against royal ecclesiastical power. Such power the king, indeed, did have, since he appointed the bishops of England to their various sees. And since he had this power, he was in effect the ruler

¹³Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, op. cit., p. 6.

of the Church as well as the ruler of the State. And this power in ecclesiastical matters buttressed that Divine Right power in politics which the King was at that time claiming:

Yet of the unpopularity which the Church, with its interference in secular affairs (an interference which the reporter feels completely justified),¹⁴ brought down upon it on the part of the great nobles, it is pertinent to this thesis to note that few of them adhered formally to the Puritan cause, as the following words of Hyde testify.

"In truth, in the house of peers, there were only at that time taken notice of, the lords Say and Brooke, as positive enemies to the whole fabric of the Church, and to desire a dissolution of that government;..."¹⁵

If indeed that is true (and the reporter has no cause to impugn the veracity of the statement), then it must follow, the reporter believes, that the alliance of the aristocratic element with the puritanical element was of an informal nature only. That is to say, of all the lords who adhered to the cause of the Parliament during the Civil War (vice the previous list)

¹⁴ R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, New York, Penguin, 1948, Ch. III, p. 177.

¹⁵ Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 406.

there were not more than a half-dozen who really, devoutly adhered to the Puritanical fiction of the Church of England. The reporter realizes that that is a statement proof of which is impossible. Yet, as a result of his reading, he believes it true. The consequence of such a belief is that the religious nature of the alliance, as far as the nobility is concerned, was a matter of convenience and of convenience only.

Certainly the nobles were given every reason to believe that the Puritans would safeguard their privileges, even entrenching them further in them. That this alliance with religion on the part of the aristocracy need betoken no danger to the peculiar social rights and privileges which that aristocracy possessed was the burden of the assurance given by John Cotton, the protege of the Countess of Lincoln, and a minister of Massachusetts-Bay, to the noble Lord Saye and Sele.

"Democracy,..., I do not conceive God ever did ordain as a fit government, either for Church or Commonwealth. If the People be governors, who shall be governed? As for Monarchy and Aristocracy, they are both clearly approved and directed in Scripture, yet so as referreth the sovereignty to Himself and setteth up theocracy in both of the

best form of government in the Commonwealth is in the Church."¹⁶

That it was the exercise of the money power and not primarily religious antagonism which caused the aristocrats to assume this alliance with religion is witnessed by Oliver Cromwell, astonished that religion, the fury of it having been aroused, should threaten to sweep all things before it. Like most of the real indifferentists of the time (and one does derive the impression that Cromwell was, feeling as he did the unimportance of religious essentials, was an indifferentist), Cromwell could not understand the tremendous power of the religious idea.

"...Is there not ... upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For ... Religion was not the thing first contested nor at all: but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy..."¹⁷

May one note the happy choice of the word "redundancy"? It is precisely what one would mean, if one wished to declare that the struggle started on

¹⁶G.P. Goode, op. cit., Ch. 2, p. 80.

¹⁷Thomas Carlyle, op. cit., Vol. 5, Part VIII, Speech IV, p. 469.

one plane and then wandered off onto another level which was somehow closely connected with the first.

The struggle therefore was a struggle to seize the complete control of the money power from the King and transfer it to the Parliament, an organization which the aristocratic court, as the old, control. Thus, if religion were not the cause of the war, it is safe to look upon the espousal of the puritan religious outlook by the nobility as an alliance arrived at for the sake of convenience only.

Cromwell, however, had earlier spoken rather disparagingly of the alliance; in his speech on the Self-Denying Ordinance on December 1, 1644:

"For what do the Enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, That the Members of both Houses have got great places and rewards, and that some into their hands: and that by interest in Parliament, what by power in the Army, will perpetually continue themselves in greatness, and not permit the War speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it..."¹⁸

Thus Cromwell on the alliance. But if the alliance existed between the noble and the religious causes, it also pertained between the economic and the religious.

¹⁸Thomas Carlyle, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 192.

Perhaps no better illustration of the alliance between the merchants and religion could be given than that incident of 1628 when, the Parliament being dissolved by His Majesty's order, Sir John Eliot held the Speaker in the chair forcibly, while Selden put the following question.

"Whosoever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other Opinion disagreeing from the truth and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common-wealth.

2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise imputed an innovator in the Government, and a Capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Common-wealth.

3. If any merchant or person whatsoever, shall voluntarily yield, or pay the said subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, ... he shall likewise be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to the same." 19

May one note the open threat conveyed to all so lawful as to obey the law which the third part of the above pronouncement carries in it? It carries indeed the absolute aspect of revolt by an insurgent authority demanding obedience. Yet what is even more notable about the pronouncement is that within its

19John Rushworth, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 646.

body are several distinct pronouncements. In fact, here (the question was put in the year 1628) is incipient revolution, did the king but realize it. For Parliament was declaring the King's assessment of customs duties illegal, it was forbidding all citizens to obey the king, and it was even pronouncing punishment on all who did obey him. And all of this preceded by the statement that 'Innovation of Religion', 'Popery' and 'Arminianism' are inimical to the Kingdom and Commonwealth! This happy but not entirely fortuitous juxtaposition of ideas will be incomprehensible to the modern reader unless he sees that already the two causes - that of the merchants and that of the Puritans - had become inextricably mixed. So much so that the Parliamentarians seemed to forget where one cause began and the other ended.

The 'Innovation' above referred to was, of course, the idea that the Church of England should accept all things traditionally Catholic save only the Papacy. This was the work of William Laud, and was the antithesis of the desires of the Puritans or Precisians, who desired to go back to "primitive" or

"Apostolic" Christianity. Just which party was really guilty of innovations would seem to be a rather confused issue, however.

The Laudian party were known as Arminians. The antipathy felt to this group, which, in addition to its Catholicizing tendencies, was zealous also for the royal power, by the Precisians who so easily coupled religion with property can be demonstrated best by the words of a Parliamentarian of that time, a Mr. Rous.

"...Yea, let us further search and consider, whether these {Arminians} be not the men, that break in upon the Goods and Liberties of this Commonwealth, for by this means they make way for the taking away of our Religion... But let us do as Job did, who being constant against temptation, held fast his Religion, and his Goods were restored to him with advantage; so if we hold fast God and our Religion, these things shall be added unto us..."²⁰

Thus to the Puritan, the whole business of tonnage and poundage was a matter, not of fiscal significance in the King's sight, but, on the contrary, a means employed by the Laudians to add economic harassments to those afflicting him politically. Such an attitude of mind is ordinarily beneath notice, being too ridiculous for serious consideration, especially when

²⁰John Rushworth, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 646.

one recalls the true state of the royal exchequer. But one makes the citation here to show the remarkable propensity of the Puritan to couple religion and property, making the product the equivalent of liberty.

Nor did Mr. Rous, in his pious fear for his property and his equally commendable solicitude for liberty, restrain himself in the least in his use of religion as a stick with which to beat the Laudians. Indeed, the high point of the whole argument was to couple the Laudians with tyranny on the one hand and with treason on the other. The latter was accomplished by declaring the Arminians to be Romanists (which they certainly were not) and letting the treason inference stand. (It might be here stated that Roman Catholicism was in the England of that time, synonymous with the power of Spain; synonymous also of sympathy with that power, and hence treason.)

Thus the Puritans performed the neat propaganda trick of convicting the opposition of criminal tendencies, and thereby establishing one's own patriotism.

"...I desire that we may consider the increase of Arminianianism an error that makes the Sheep to

keep the Shepherd, & makes a mortal feed of an immortal God. Yea, I desire that we may look into the very belly and bowels of this Trojan Horse, to see if there be not men in it ready to open the Gates to Romish tyranny ... For an Arminian is the Spawn of a Papist..." 21

As the Massachusetts-Bay Colony formed a nexus of the alliance between the merchants and the aristocrats, so it also helped to form a basis of the alliance, in some measure and among other factors, between the secular interests and the Precisians. As we have seen, some of the Puritans (notably Lord Saye and Sele) were interested in the Company only from a financial aspect, seemingly. But for others it became a religious enterprise solely.

As the enforced conformity with the Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England became more severe, the idea took hold of transforming the Massachusetts-Bay Company from a commercial enterprise into a religious enterprise, retaining, in its economic overtones, only the form of a joint-stock company of adventurers.

The main aspects of this fundamental change of the Company were worked out by the Precisians of Lincolnshire, whose Earl, old Theophilus Fiennes (kin to

21 John Rushworth, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 646.

Saye and Sele, be it remembered), was a most prominent Puritan. This noble's home was near Benningham and Boston. The Earl is tied into the arrangement by the usual marriages, Lady Sarah Fiennes, his daughter, becoming the wife of John Humfry. This man, having been treasurer of the old Dorchester Adventurers, now revived an interest in the colonization on the part of the Puritans of this part of the country who have been especially hit by the Arminian measures. John White of Dorchester is Humfry's accomplice in this move. Another son-in-law of old Theophilus, Isaac Johnson, a rich landowner who had married Lady Arbella Fiennes, enters the scheme. As also Thomas Dudley of Northampton, one-time volunteer under Henry of Navarre and lately the Earl's steward. Well known to all is the Puritan minister of Boston, John Cotton. In addition, many of the members of the Government and Company of Massachusetts-Bay are interested in this proposition. The which, simply stated, is this: Why not transfer bodily the entire Company (charter, government and personnel) to New England and use it as the skeleton to encompass a Puritan commonwealth?

The freemen of the Company are the stockholders. These choose the President and Board of Directors,

known in those days as the Governor and Assistants. Freemen, Governor, and Assistants meet quarterly in a Great and General Court to transact the business of the enterprise. Thus the entire apparatus of the project is already in existence. It merely requires the transference to the other side of the ocean to effect a perfect refuge for the anti-Laudians of the Church of England.

"...Whoever conceived this idea of transferring the charter, it was not Winthrop. Either the London group of stockholders - Saltonstall, Eaton, and their friends - or the Lincolnshire group, was responsible. When they came to discuss the transfer, it appeared that Matthew Cradock, the Governor of the Company, could not emigrate, although he would ... provide money generously. Nor would any Assistant take the governorship ... the one man for that position was John Winthrop ... One or more papers, with arguments for and against emigration, were circulated among leading puritans. John White had a copy, Winthrop a second, and Sir John Eliot a third, which John Hampden asked to borrow."²²

Massachusetts, thus having become the refuge for the Puritan members of the Church of England, it will serve now only to introduce some of the personalities of this England-New England complex. One of those I have chosen is Hugh Peters, who in 1624 married Elizabeth Cooke, whose daughter by his first marriage (to Ed-

²²Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., Ch. 2, p. 65.

mund Read) was the wife of John Winthrop.²³

Peters became a freeman of Massachusetts in 1635, being a minister of the Puritan persuasion. In 1641, he was sent to England

"...to be ready to make use of all... opportunities God should offer to give to the country there, as also to give ... advice as it should be required for the settling the right form of Church discipline there." ²⁴

Further indication of the Puritan nexus with New England is taken here:

"... with John Venn, who at the head of 6,000 citizens, beset the House of Lords during the trial of Lord Strafford, and whom, after the battle of Edgehill (King Charles) excluded from his offer of Pardon; with Owen Rowe, the fire brand of the city; with Thomas Andrews, the Lord Mayor who proclaimed the abolition of royalty ... six or seven (of the Company) were members of the High Court of Justice for the king's trial ... four were members of the Committee of Religion, the most important committee of parliament, and one ... John White, was its chairman." ²⁵

These men, fiery Puritans all, were members of the Massachusetts-Bay Company, and form the link between the Company and the master-minds of the conspiratorial alliance which were set on destroying the King's power.

Another instance of the alliance which existed

²³ Thomas Seecombe, in D.N.B., Vol. 62, p. 226-51.

²⁴ C.H. Firth, in D.N.B., Vol. 45, p. 70.

²⁵ John Gorham Palfrey, op. cit., Ch. 8, p. 304-5.

between the various dissident groups in England is found in the Root and Branch Bill as presented: (at first as a petition)

"Some 400 well-to-do merchants and tradesmen were borne in coaches to Westminster, to present to the Commons a petition in support of Pym's policy, in which they asked for the removal of the Bishops and Catholic lords from Parliament. They asserted that the petition was signed by 20,000, and that many more signatures could easily have been procured." 26

Indeed, taking a further glance at this petition, one comes to feel that it might well serve as the formal alliance between the various forces. For, as we shall see, it contained things highly acceptable to each party of the alliance.

"...whereas the government of Archbishops and ... Bishops, deans and archdeacons, with their courts and ministrations in them, have proved prejudicial and very dangerous both to the Church and Commonwealth,... and... is found by woeful experience to be a ... cause... of many foul evils...

We... pray ... that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots and branches, may be abolished, and all laws in their behalf made void, and the government according to God's Word may be rightly placed amongst us..."

The foregoing was, of course, the bait which it drew in the Puritans. But not only that, but it sufficed for the aristocrats as well, since long had they suffered

26 Samuel Rawson Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, London, Longmans, 1884, Vol. 9, ch. 102, p. 98.

27 S. R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, no. 17, p. 67-68.

from episcopal interference. Further sympathy to the Puritans, however, is given in the following catalogue of Precisian doctrines which the Bishops had been in the habit of forbidding:

"A Particular of the Manifold evils, pressures and grievances caused ... by the Prelates...

2. The faint-heartedness of ministers to preach the truth of God, lest they should displease the prelates; as namely, the doctrine of predestination, of free grace, of perseverance, of original sin remaining after baptism, of the sabbath..." 28

For the merchants, the Root and Branch petition had sympathy also, including within its copious boundaries the multitude of their grievances. Reading as follows, it illustrates perfectly the alliance between the Precisians and the merchants:

"2. The discouragement ... of ... good subjects, of whom are multitudes, both clothiers, merchants and others, who being deprived of their ministers ... have departed the kingdom to Holland ... and have drawn with them a great manufacture of cloth and trading..." 29

This, in a bill to root out the episcopacy of the Church of England, root and branch!

And now no longer concerned with religion at all, but solely with commercialism, the bill reads at:

28S.R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, no. 17, p. 67-68.

29S.R. Gardiner, ibid., no. 17, p. 75.

"12. The multitude of monopolies and patents, drawing with them innumerable perjuries; the large increase of customs and impositions upon commodities, the ship-money, and the many other great burthens upon the Commonwealth, under which all groan." 30

This, again, in a bill to change the form of the Church of England!

That the aristocrats were at one with the commons-ers is demonstrated by the following incident:

"On the subject of toleration for the Catholics, too, the peers were of one mind with the Lower House. The Commons had been clamoring for the blood of five out of seven priests who were lying under sentence of death ... they asked that all seven should suffer, and to this the Lords raised no objection." 31

That this Bill (the Root and Branch) represents an alliance among various forces, rather than an action by a completely homogeneous group is illustrated by the fact that Hyde declares:

"In the house of commons, though of the chief leaders, Nathaniel Fiennes, and young Sir Henry Vane, and shortly after Mr. Habbden (who had not before owned it) were believed to be for root and branch; which grew shortly after a common expression ...: yet Mr. Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr. Hollis, nor any of the northern men, or those lawyers who drove on most furiously with them: all who were pleased with the government itself of the church." 32

30S.R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, no. 17, p. 67-68.

31S.R. Gardiner, History of England, London, Longmans, 1884, Vol. 9, ch. 102, p. 99.

32Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 410.

The alliance which was formed between the Anglican aristocrats and the Baptists was by no means a matter of unmitigated joy to many of the aristocrats. In fact, the alliance is all the more remarkable since not many years before the Revolution, the aristocrats had regarded the Baptists as "Anabaptists", a word which conjured up all the horror of the leveling tendencies of Reformation Munster.³³

Archibald Carey, one of the Virginia Cavaliers, and a prominent rebel, had, it seems, been one of their arch-persecutors.³⁴ In fact, so severe had been the persecution that it is claimed that no dissenters experienced greater or more severe distress than did they. However this may be, it is certain that they were the fastest growing sect in Virginia, there being few counties, even in the most pronouncedly Anglican sections, in which they were not numerous. It is natural that this should be so, since their religion was one of a very emotional nature and so appealing to the depressed portion of the population. And that portion appears to have been in its turn the most numerous.

³³William Taylor Thom, The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia; the Baptists, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1900, ch. 1, p. 17.

³⁴John Esten Cooke, Virginia, A History of the People, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1885, ch. 7, p. 390.

The Church of England, on the other hand, was powerful, being the established religion of the colony, and, besides being possessed of large glebes, was supported by an official assessment on all of the population, orthodox and dissenters alike paying for the support of the Anglican ministry.³⁵

It is true that, as many of them do assert, religion occupied little part of the lives of the well-to-do. None-the-less, it cannot be denied that they were attached to it as a part of their constituted, established order. Wherever the Church of England was strongest, i.e., in the oldest counties, the persecution meted out to the Baptists was most severe. In no way, prior to the trouble with England, did the colonial aristocracy relent in the viciousness of its attacks. We read that in 1770, when the Baptists presented a petition to the House of Burgesses asking that their ministers be excused from bearing arms, the House, which was the organ of the Anglican, privileged class, rejected their petition.³⁶

All the sacred contacts between God and man had

³⁵ William Taylor Thom, op. cit., Ch. I, p. 42.

³⁶ William Taylor Thom, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 29.

to be made by the Anglican ministers, even for the Dissenters. This means that all Baptists had to be baptized, married and buried by ministers not of their persuasion. Indeed, the Baptists, being newcomers and particularly of the lower classes, did not enjoy the privileges which long-established custom gave to the Quakers and Presbyterians.³⁷

"Twenty years before the Revolution, few of this sect could have been found in the Colony, and yet, in 1774, the Separates alone had thirty churches south of James River, and twenty-four on the north; and the Regulars, though not so numerous, had grown with rapidity. The influence of the denomination was strong among the common people, and was beginning to be felt among those in high places."³⁸

In order to ally themselves with the Baptists, the aristocracy necessarily had to offer them sufficient inducement. At first, the commitment was of a begrudged nature, since by no means were the aristocrats ready to sweep away the entrenched Church of England. To do this immediately would have arrayed against them the ministers of the Established Church, who were, as they were not in New York, almost solidly behind the revolutionary movement.

The first concession to the Baptists (and to all

³⁷ John Esten Cooke, *Virginia, A History of the People*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1885, Ch. VII, p. 359.

³⁸ Robert R. Howison, *op. cit.*, ch. 5, p. 170.

Dissenters) was freedom of worship. This was given by the Virginia Bill of Rights, June, 1776, and its purpose was, the writer believes, to tie the Baptists to the revolutionary movement.

"That Religion,...., and the Manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force and violence, and therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience..." 39

This would put the Dissenters, who were at this time, nearly two-thirds of the population, squarely behind the Revolution.⁴⁰ And the fact that it did is evidenced by the following Memorandum concerning Military Service of Baptists, written by Thomas Jefferson.

"Had the Baptists been backward ..., no doubt they would have smarted for it, by the late Act for pitching upon Men to fill up the last six Regiments, but there were no Baptists nor Baptists Sons pitched upon in the Counties of Amelia or Orange..."⁴¹

May one note the oblique threat of this pronouncement?

But it did not need threats to put the Dissenters in Virginia behind the Revolution, for in exchange for their aid, they received from the Virginia Anglicans

39Julian P. Boyd, ed. Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Princeton, University Press, 1950, Vol. 1, ch. 4, p. 532.

40Robert R. Howison, op. cit., ch. 5, p. 112.

41Julian P. Boyd, ed. op. cit., Vol. 1, ch. 4, p. 662.

the following concessions:

"The Act of 1776 ... Men were no longer compelled to attend the worship of a particular sect, or to pay fines for disobedience; the rights of citizenship were no longer confined to Churchmen; the authority to exercise private judgment in religion was recognized; Dissenters were ... allowed to build churches when and where they pleased and to support their pastors as they thought best; even members of the Episcopal churches were released from legal obligation to support their rectors, and were left to the guidance of conscience." 42

The above Act was, in a sense, the writer feels, direct payment to the willingness of the Baptists to participate in the war effort. For in 1775 they had declared:

"An address from the Baptists in this colony ... read that '... however distinguished from the body of their contrymen, by ... sentiments of a religious nature, they nevertheless consider themselves as ..., embarked in the same common cause ... they had determined in some cases it was lawful to go to war, and that they ought to make a military resistance against Great Britain ... in her tyrannical oppressions ... Many (of their brethren) had enlisted as soldiers, and many more were ready to do so' "43

Thus the Patriotic Address of the Baptists of Virginia to the Convention, assembled at Williamsburg in 1775.

That this solution was acceptable to the New Eng-

42Robert R. Howison, op. cit., ch. 5., p. 191.

43Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 285.

land Calvinists is evidenced by the following sermon preached by Samuel West, pastor of the Dartmouth Church, before the Council and House of Representatives of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, May 29, 1776:

"Such laws (to support religion) may be made, consistent with that liberty of conscience which every good member of society ought to be possessed of:..., let every one be allowed to attend worship in his own society, or in that way that he judges most agreeable to the will of God, and let him be obliged to contribute his assistance to the supporting and defraying the necessary charges of his own meeting. ...be sure it would take off some of the most popular objections against being obliged by law to support public worship while the law restricts that support only to one denomination."⁴⁴

The New England Calvinists could well assent to such an arrangement as the Virginian Anglicans had made, for it will be remembered that they were, in a sense, still considered as a part of the Church of England, as they themselves at their emigration had declared themselves to be. And, in a sense also, might yet be reclaimed from their Brownist Independency or Congregationalism by the English Episcopacy.

Their antipathy to the English government had in it no small part of fear against the establishment of bishops in America. And they were as anti-episcopal, as zealous for "paritie" as ever their Puritan forebears had

⁴⁴J.W. Thornton, op. cit., p. 298.

been. Thus they reacted to the proposal for an American bishopric quite as John Winthrop himself might have done. There was, at this time, a forceful proposal on the part of the London Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts to establish such a bishop of the Anglican Church in the New World.

Neither must it be forgotten that the New England Calvinists suspected that Jacobite (Stuart) pretensions had been admitted into the Hanoverian throne, the Pretender himself being thereby abandoned by his English adherents. Lord Bute, himself a Stuart, was believed to be such a one. In this light, one can understand the hysterical outcries made over the discoveries (as the Americans believed) of Jacobitism in all the measures taken by the Imperial Parliament to re-organize the empire. Any tightening of the lines invariably came to be cast in the light of the old Stuart policies of "Prerogative" with its concomitant "Rule of Thorough" and Divine Right. This in turn conjured up the old fear of Arminianism even in Anglican Virginia. But this fear was always strongest, of course, in Massachusetts, as the following will bear witness:

"Mitred hypocrites, and cringing, base-souled priests, have impiously dared to enlist the oracles

of God into the service of despotism; to assert that, by the command of the supreme law-giver, we are bound to surrender our rights into the hands of the first bold tyrant who dare to seize them; and that when they are seized, it is rebellion against God, and treason against the prince, for us to attempt to resume them." 45

In New York, the situation was by no means the same, for here the official church, also the Anglican as in Virginia, was by no means the religion of the whole aristocracy. On the contrary, it was the religion of the de Lanceys and their party, i.e., of the unpopular oligarchy. To overthrow this group, the opposing section joined themselves to the severely Protestant group, the opposing religion. This group, of course, was comprised of the two branches of the Calvinist Church which predominated in the colony. These two branches were, naturally, the Presbyterian and the Dutch Reformed. It was thus no accident that, of the Livingston Cabal which fought the de Lanceys, Dr. Prime, Dr. Rogers, and Mr. Treat were Presbyterian ministers, while the Reverend Mr. Laidly, who appears to have been the Hugh Peters of the Cabal, was Dutch Reformed. He was

"...a Scotch, Dutch, person, of Jesuitical, republican, and Puritanical principles." 46

The Rev. Dr. Laidly it was who wrote in the

45Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 43.

46Edward Floyd de Lancey, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 19.

American Whig in 1769 (six years prior to the Revolution):

"This country will shortly become a great and flourishing empire, independent of Great Britain; enjoying its civil and religious liberty, uncontaminated and deserted of all control from bishops, the curse of curses, and from the subjection of all earthly kings, the corner stones of this great structure are already laid, the materials are prepared and before six years roll about, the great, the noble, the stupendous fabric will be erected." 47

It can thus be easily discovered that the extreme Protestant group, led by 'Scotch, Dutch, Jesuitical, republican and Puritanical' persons, was indeed in the forefront, politically speaking, to effect the change in government.

Thus in New York, the religious alliance was an integral part of the struggle (with bishops being pitted with kings), since one group more or less homogeneous politically and religiously opposed another equally homogeneous. It was not, therefore, necessary to offer great concessions to any particular sect. It needed only to propagandize the evangelicals with canards against the opposition, using religious bigotry as an instrument, on the one hand, to unify the rebellious element and, on the other, drive deeper the gulf which separated the Anglican from the rest of the population.

It was thus that Isaac Low, an arch-rebel, and

47Edward Floyd de Lancey, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 21.

a member in good standing of the Livingston cabal,
could harrangue the populace so:

"Isaac Low ... harranged the mob ... in which he damned the king, cursed the ministry and abused the Parliament; insisted that a ... plan was formed by Great Britain to enslave America, declared that England was a bankrupt nation ... that the king was a Roman Catholic, say a Roman Catholic tyrant ... had established the popish religion in Canada, which was shortly to be extended to all the other colonies ... the ministry were in the interests of the Pretender..." 48

It is true that all of this was, after all, only propaganda. But a people's state of mind is as certainly manifested by the propaganda it will swallow as by any other indication. All of this, of course, would appeal to the Calvinists who had always connected the English Church with Rome, and were never more so convinced than now, when in 1773, the Catholic Church was guaranteed freedom in Canada.

The use of religious principles was, however, by no means confined to the native inhabitants of the English colonies alone. The screw was given another twist when applied to the Catholics of Canada, lately the object of Imperial solicitude resulting in the cementing of an alliance between the Crown and the Quebec Church.

Here the object of the rebels was to entice the

48Edward Floyd de Lancey, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 43.

Catholics of Canada to join with them in their revolt,
as the following letter will testify:

Letter from Congress to the "Oppressed Inhabitants of
Canada"

May 26, 1775
Philadelphia

Friends and Countrymen:

"...we have been happy in considering you as fellow-subjects ... as fellow-sufferers with us ... being both devoted to common ruin ... Be assured that your unmerited degradation has engaged the most unfeigned pity of your sister colonies; and we flatter ourselves you will not, by tamely bearing the yoke, suffer that pity to be supplanted by contempt.... You and your wives and children are made slaves... the enjoyment of your very religion ... depends on a legislature in which you have no share, and over which you have no control; and your priests are exposed to expulsion, banishment, and ruin... we can never believe that the present race of Canadians are so degenerated as to possess neither the spirit, the gallantry, nor the courage of their ancestors.... Permit us again to repeat that we are your friends... As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not,..., reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies." 49

Thus John Jay re-echoes the oblique threat which Thomas Jefferson had used in regards to the Baptist alliance in Virginia. The difference here is, however, that the Baptist alliance came off, while the American Calvinist-Canadian Catholic alliance did not.

Perhaps the Church in Canada felt that, in view of the former pronouncements of the Continental Congress

⁴⁹Henry P. Johnston, ed., Correspondence & Public Papers of John Jay, 1763-1781, New York, Putnam's, 1890, Vol. 1, ch. 1., p. 33.

on the subject of Quebec Catholicism, the Americans were hardly to be trusted to retain a disinterested view both of the Western lands (now joined to Quebec Province) and the freedom of the Church in Quebec itself. Nor is it strange that such should have been the case, for the Congress had, as it were, blown the horn rather too vigorously when it attempted to use the Quebec-Catholic Toleration issue to project another alliance - this time, one between America and the English people.

"Address to the People of Great Britain. From the Delegates ... of the ... Several English Colonies...

September 5, 1774
Philadelphia.

Admit that the ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic Neighbors, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery... in what condition will you be? .. May not a ministry, with the same armies enslave you? ... remember, the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent, will then be in the power of your enemies..." 50

It is by no means the object of the reporter to minimize the impact of certain Calvinistic notions of either government or economy in the basic philosophy of the revolutions which shook Renaissance governmental absolutism in the English world. It is, however, legitimate for the writer to emphasize the fact that another interpretation of government and of economy existed which offered sympathy to the emergent bourgeoisie quite as extensive and pervasive as did that of Calvinism. Nor were the Puritan merchants and aristocrats of England or America loath to accept the justification for their policies which came from this source, howsoever hateful on religious grounds the Jesuits might indeed be to them.

It is true that, Calvinists to a man, they viewed the Jesuits as the arch-enemies of their disputation. Nonetheless, they hesitated not at all to use the philosophy which the thinkers of this Company set forth as a double-edged sword, both political and economic, and they often proved to the Royalists that Jesuit philosophy was far more useful to them than it ever was to the absolutists.

With the break-up of the medieval idea of unity, with its concept of the two swords - the Emperor holding the secular sword and the Pope secure in the possession

of the spiritual - it was vital to the welfare of the new Europe that a new philosophy of politics come into being to rationalize the new situation which faced the men of the Renaissance and Reformation. Whereas in the medieval world there had existed no secular absolutism; no temporal lord who held unmitigated or undisputed power in his dominions (or even claimed to hold such), such was not now the case. The medieval world had been a complex wherein the secular prince had been held in check by several forces, not the least of which was, on the one side, the Church, which viewed the prince as a spiritual subject of the Church, and on the other, the medieval feudatories, which had contractual stipulations, to be strictly interpreted, which bounded and limited the duty owed by the leige to the lord, and the exactions the lord could require of his leige. And all of the medieval world participated in this contractual system, from the peasant to the Emperor.

With the destruction of this concept and the revolt against the Universal Church, which had participated in it, Europe was fractured into national states. The various parochial lords arrogated to themselves, especially in Germany, the position formerly held by an

independent spiritual authority. It is beside the point to labor the origin of this situation for, whoever caused it, Europe was now faced with a spectacle new to the West, Byzantinism rampant. In Germany, princes became bishops and, conversely, Bishops became princes.

In no case, however, was this revolution more completely successful than that staged by Thomas Cromwell and Secretary Cecil, placing, as it did, Henry VIII and his successors on a spiritual throne. And buttressing thereby his hold on the temporal throne.

Thus implemented, nationalism grew by excess of what it fed on. The church, having been conquered by the secular power, was helpless to moderate the course of affairs. There then remained only the feudatory power to contest the absolute power of the English Crown. This Elizabeth's successor, James Stuart, knew full well. In his book of advice to his son and successor, Basilikon Doron, he testified to that extent:

"But the greatest hinderance to the execution of our Lawes in this countrie, are these heritable Shireldomes and Regalities, which being in the hands of the great men, do wricke the whole countrie: For which I know no present remedie, but by taking the sharper account of them in their Offices; vsing all punishment against the slouthfull, that the Law will permit: and euer as they waike, for any offences committed by them, dispoone them neuer heritable againe: preassing, with time, to draw it to the laudable custome of England:..."¹

1C.H. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 26.

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Despite these fulminations, the nobles were, for the most part strangely suppliant to the power of the King throughout most of the Tudor age. One reason for that might very well be that the aristocrats were so very thoroughly bribed with the plunder of the Church that, partners with the Crown in theft, they could hardly fall out.

Again, power grew by what it fed on - success. When therefore the Stuarts, in 1603, succeeded to the English throne, the times appeared propitious for a continuation of Tudor despotism. Nor was James I behind-hand in putting forth a philosophy which would uphold his absolutism. Although he based (as was yet necessary in an age which saw terrible religious wars) his political philosophy on the divinity, claiming as he did no intermediacy, either of Pope or people, between the royal king and the Divine Power, his philosophy, despite this seemingly-pious basis, was for the most part one of the most naked secularism which could be devised.

First of all, as James pointed out in his The Trew Law of Free Monarchies: or the Reciprocal and Mutuall Dutie betwixt a Free King and His Naturall Subjects, the King is above the law. All others are indeed bound by it, if they disobey it's injunctions, they will be punished.

Not so however the King.

"... albeit it be trew that I haue at length
prooued, that the King is aboue the Law, as both the
author and giuer of strength thereto;..." 2

And all of this is the result of force, which, seemingly,
gives validity to all action, if successful.

"For when the Bastard of Normandie came into
England, and made himselfe king, was it not by force,
and with a mighty army? Where he gaue the Law, and
tooke none, changed the Lawes, inuerted the order of
gouernement, set downe the strangers his followers
in many of the old possessours roomes, as at this
day well appeareth...: And yet his successours haue
with great happinesse enioyed the Crowne to this
day;..." 3

But as nationalism, whether as a cause or as a
result, had aided in identifying royal and ecclesiastical
power, so likewise had it, again as a cause or an effect,
aided in bringing forth the rising middle class with its
theories of economic nationalism (mercantilism).

And it was this middle class, with its interests
in industry and commerce, which will seek to protect those
interests by means of the weapon both beget - the money
power. And it will use the power of money to attack
and to overcome, if possible, all power which is not sub-
ordinate to it. It is thus that, in the countries of the
English persuasion at least, the fight between royal ab-

2C.H. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 63.

3^{ibid.} p. 63. Both of these passages are taken
from James' Trew Law of free Monarchies:

olutism and the force which was to destroy it was a fight between the king and the middle class, not between the King and the aristocrats, and again, not between the King and the Church. It was not the last, for the Church was now effectively the handmaid of the royal power and was used by the King as a buttress for his own strength. The Church simply was not free. It was not between the King and the aristocrats, for most of the aristocrats were to side with the King, although historically there has been much antipathy between the royal and the aristocratic. But even where the aristocratic did not side with the King, on the contrary, where it sided with the middle classes, that aristocracy was predominantly a middle-class aristocracy, so to speak. That is to say, it was an aristocracy which had far more in common with money and banking, shipping and manufacturing, than, say, feudal dues and feudal rights. That is to say, again, it was an entrepreneurial, that is, an middle-class, aristocracy.

The philosophical weapon the middle classes took up to use in beating the King was that of the Social Contract. It has become, historically, the peculiar weapon of the bourgeoisie. And here the Jesuits enter the scheme of things.

Mariana it was who put the philosophical scheme

of politics on the basis of the social contract.

The Parliamentarians, for it is by that name that these diverse allied elements had best not be known, set up their intellectual alliance with a philosophy springing from a group which to all intents would seem furthest removed from their (the Parliamentarians) most cherished traditions.

This was the intellectual alliance between the English Puritans and the Jesuits. The Jesuits, having been founded at a time when the Protestant revolt was illustrating not only the power of the now-nascent nationalism, but also at a time when the papochial princes of a disunited Europe were availing themselves of the national spirit to make themselves what they had never before in Medieval Europe been, that is, absolute monarchs claiming power direct from God, had thrown themselves with great vigor into the contest to revive international Catholicism, with its supra-national claims.

To wage the struggle, they put forth the theory of the indirect power of the Pope to excommunicate and punish refractory monarchs. Concomitantly, this theory, while affording no sympathy to the Puritans, had none-the-less to urge the necessity of limited kingly power. And it is this limitation of royal power upon which the

Puritans fixed with avidity.

It is for this reason that James I of England hated the Jesuits and the Puritans with equal vigor. James, putting forth his Divus Augustus theory which had been unknown to Western Europe from the Fall of the Roman Empire,

"...Paludatus, by the power of the sword: as your office is likewise mixed, betwixt the Ecclesiastical and civil estate: for a King is not mere laicus, as both the Papists and Anabaptists would have him, to the which error also the Puritanes incline over farre.", 4

had to be contested in his claims, since ultimately this would, under cover of religion, have meant the triumph of naked secularism over religion. It was thus not only against the royal tyranny or absolutism that the Jesuits fought, but for the freedom of the faith.

It was therefore the Jesuits who bore the brunt of the punishment incumbent upon the job of teaching Europe's kings that they were not absolute and that they might indeed have to come to bloody terms with the people for their claims. Indeed, Mariana's theory even went so far as to declare that the King might be deprived of his life by assassination for his crime of tyranny.

In defense of the seeming lawlessness and ana-

archistic tendencies of this doctrine it would be well to quote a modern Jesuit's reaction to the doctrine:

"Much harm has also been done by Mariana's alleged doctrine in regicide. On the face of it, the book could not have been seditious, for it was written as an instruction for the heir of Philip II, and it is inconceivable that an autocrat, such as he was, should not only have put a book teaching regicide in the hands of his son, but should have paid for its publication. As a matter of fact, the king conjured up by Mariana as a possible victim of assassination is a monster who could scarcely have existed."⁵

Although Father Campbell's words give, the writer believes, the true state of affairs, that is, that Mariana's works having been carefully examined, he really advocates tyrannicide rather than regicide (two very different things!), nevertheless, in the popularization of such a doctrine, it was inevitable that it should have been misunderstood, and the one confused with the other. Be that as it may, it is certain that however the facts of Mariana's book stand, his generation and the ones following have interpreted him as standing forth on behalf of revolution.

The Jesuits were, on the strength of this, expelled from France, a Catholic nation. It is easy to understand, therefore, why a Protestant nation should view them with suspicion; a religious minority, as yet

⁵Thomas Campbell, (S.J.), The Jesuits, 1534-1921, A History of the Society of Jesus from its Foundation to the Present Time, New York, Encyclopedia Press, 1921, Ch. 4, p. 274.

timid and suspicious of all strangers, afflicted with xenophobia to a great degree, alone giving them some accord.

The Puritans could take sympathy from such a viewpoint as this, even when it was expressed by a Jesuit:

"...I reply that the private individual who slays a tyrant of the kind in question, does not commit this deed without public authorization, since he is acting both by the authority of a tacitly consenting state, and by the authority of God, who has granted to every man, through the Natural Law, the right to defend himself and his state from the violence inflicted by such a tyrant."^{5a}

Suarez is here speaking of tyrants and the right of the people, not only to oppose them, but to slay them as well if necessary. Suarez declares that there are two kinds of tyrants:

1. He is a tyrant who rules without lawful right. Such a one would be a usurper, as one who has no right to a throne, yet has stolen it. This could not possibly be an argument or position to be used by the Puritans, however, since their welfare depended at this stage very much upon the acceptance of the principle of legitimacy as far as the Stuarts were concerned. And the Catholic argument based on the right of Mary Queen of Scots over Elizabeth (who after all was illegitimate both by the declaration of the King, her father, and of his Parliament) had like-

^{5-a}Francisco Suarez, *Defensio Fidei Catholicae, Et Apostolici Adversus Anglicanae Sectae Errores*, 1613, in Scott, James Brown, ed., *The Classics of International Law, Selections from three works*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1914, p. Vol. II, Book VI, Ch. 4, p. 714.

wise collapsed when Mary's son, James I, had ascended the throne of England.

The second type of tyrant, however, filled the bill for both Jesuits and Puritans. The Jesuits, because of the Oath of Allegiance, denying within its context the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, which James insisted Catholics take to him. The Puritans, because, whatever political pretensions the King might have, he was not one with them on religious matters and so needed to be fought. And so this second type of tyrant was one who

"... is inflicting continual and actual violence upon the state as long as he unjustly retains the royal power and reigns by force; so that the said state continually wages against him an actual or virtual war, not vengeful in its character (so to speak), but defensive."^{5b}

Such a one would be a true king, that is, one who inherited his throne rightfully, and who yet tyrannically assails the rights of his own kingdom of state, as perhaps wages an unjust war against it.

This indeed would be quite satisfactory to the Puritans, who could cry "Tyranny" indeed on such a basis. All the Stuart actions, ship-money, tonnage and poundage, knighthood fines, Star-Chamber proceedings, Court of High Commission fines and imprisonments took on the aspect of tyranny. And it became indeed no crime, but a positive virtue to resist. This strengthened the Puritans, as yet

^{5b}Francisco Suarez, op. cit., p. 716.

only half-rebellious against their king being alone in giving assent to their viewpoint.

However this may be, the Jesuit doctrine, while decidedly anti-tyrannical, had deeper foundations than mere distrust of kings. It is here that the greatest divergence exists politically between the Puritans and the Jesuit philosophers. As modern Jesuits have pointed out, even the present-day positivists are confused on this point.⁶ And stated succinctly, it is this.

The secularists of the age were beginning to interpret the medieval doctrines of natural law and the social contract on a humanistic plane. To the Jesuit, the social contract did indeed give rise to law, but that law did not come from the commonalty of men to the prince or ruling authority, but from God to the commonalty of men and then through them to the ruling authority. Thus the Jesuits, deriving as they did the authority of the law from God, were by no means secular republicans.

Although the royal antagonist of the Jesuits, James I, had argued against Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, Juan de Mariana had preceded Bellarmine in time so it is to him rather than to James' opponent that we go for an

explanation of the Natural Law and the Social Contract.

In the original state of nature, all was serene. There was no war; all was a simple, agricultural, tribal life. Private property did not exist. God, however, had placed needs in man which could only be satisfied by the state. The gift of speech aided in building this state. Man was not sufficient to face the difficulties of life in his primitive condition. The strong murdered the weak. Robbery prevailed. The leader then, desiring to change this situation, chose the most virtuous man to lead them into battle and settle their disputes. By this means, there came into existence what is called the royal power.⁷

But the power of transferring individual rights to the state did not imply thereby the authoritarian state, for

"It is up to man to decide when the State is to be formed, but it is beyond man's power or will to give to the state what it needs to accomplish its end."⁸

Thus political power does not originate with man, but merely the decision as to when that political power will be used.

"Another reason is the fact that it comprises rights which are far beyond any individual claim but

⁷Juan de Mariana, De Rege, lib. I, Cap. I, n. 15, in, Laures, John, S.J., The Political Economy of Juan de Mariana, New York, Fordham University Press, 1928.

⁸Ibid., p. 41.

are reserved to God alone, i.e., the power over human life, legislative power, power to bind in conscience, ... if then no individual had these powers, the sum of all individuals can not confer them, for they cannot give more than each individual had before."⁹

The whole burden of Mariana's preachments is that the king received power from the people and must not use it save to further the good of the people.

"...otherwise the people can reclaim what they have given."¹⁰

That Mariana was not anti-regal is to be seen by the fact that he followed St. Thomas and Aristotle in their schemes of the best and the worst types of governments:¹¹

The Best	The Worst
1. Monarchy	1. Tyranny
2. Aristocracy (rule of the best)	2. Oligarchy (rule of the rich)
3. Republic	3. Democracy (rule of the masses without regard for distinction)

From a consideration of the more-going, it would appear that this philosophy was made-to-order for any group wishing to displace the legitimate monarch, could they only be given sufficiently valid reasons for doing so.

⁹Juan de Mariana, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 41.

¹¹Ibid., p. 45.

The main outlines of the political philosophy of the Jesuits was worked out by three men: Juane de Mariana, Francisco Suarez, and Robert Cardinal Bellarmine. Essentially, all three taught approximately the same thing, although Mariana may be said to have stated things much more bluntly than the others. At the outset, the writer would like to answer possible objections to the inclusion of Mariana.

Father Campbell has decried Mariana thusly:

"Now, Mariana never was and never could be a representative of the Society, for: first sixteen years before the objectionable book attracted notice in France, namely in 1584, Mariana had been solemnly condemned by the greatest assembly of the Society, the general congregation, as an unworthy son; ..., his expulsion was ordered. ... Secondly, his expulsion did not take place, possibly because of outside political influence like that of Philip II and the Inquisition. Nevertheless in 1605, that is five years before the French flurry, he wrote another book entitled, "De defectibus Societatis (i.e., the weak Points of the Society), which was condemned as involving the censure of the papal bull "Ascendente Domino". ... Why should such a man be cited as the representative of a body from which he was ordered to be expelled and which he had attempted to destroy?" 12

These objections, although they originate with a Jesuit, may be easily answered.

In the first place, what he says may be true but it is quite, the writer believes, beside the fact. For,

12Thomas Campbell, op. cit., p. 274.

regardless of the attitude towards Mariana which existed within the Company, he was accepted by the Puritans as a Jesuit (people, the good Father will agree, quite without power to read anybody but of the Company of Jesus). There is evidence of some standing to prove that they were willing to give unblushing acceptance to Mariana's ideas on tyrannicide:

"Cromwell bade Drummond to stay and hear their conference, which he did... Cromwell entered into a long discourse of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan; he thought a breach of trust in a king ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever..."¹³

Burnet related the story as he got it from Drummond, Lord Strathallan, of a conference with the Scots in 1648 which Cromwell and Drummond both attended.

Secondly, even if Mariana were not a respectable member of the Society, there is plenty of proof that other Jesuits beside Mariana taught tyrannicide, as will be demonstrated by an immediate perusal of Suarez' teachings.

This man, in his chapter "In What Men Does Power To Make Human Laws Reside?", treats of the regal power. He declared, as had Juan de Mariana before him, that:

"Therefore we must say that this power, viewed solely according to the nature of things, resides not in any individual man but rather in the whole body of man-kind. This conclusion is commonly accepted and

¹³Gilbert Burnet, History of His Own Time, London, Nunn, 1818, Ch. 1, p. 43.

is certainly true. It is to be deduced from the words of St. Thomas... in so far as he holds that the prince has the power to make the laws, and that this power was transferred to him by the community.

The basic reason... is evident.... namely, the fact that in the nature of things all men are born free; so that, consequently, no person has political jurisdiction over another person, even as no person has dominion over another, nor is there any reason why such power should ... in the nature of things, be attributed to certain persons over certain other persons, rather than vice versa..."¹⁴

As to the argument from Adam, of which royalist writers were particularly fond, Suarez dismisses the premise with the statement that Adam had only domestic, not political power.

Political power

"..., however, did not make its appearance until many families began to congregate into one perfect community... This community had its beginning ... by the will of all who were assembled therein..."¹⁵

Not only did the Jesuit pronounce the origin of political power to have been with the people (a doctrine particularly close to the hearts and inclinations of the Puritan faction), not only did he declare that it still, in origin, remained with the people; but he effectively scotched the argument that James would advance that, as it were, God had chosen James particularly to exercise power as, again as it were, God's particular vice-regent on

¹⁴Francisco Suarez, De Legibus ac Deo Legislatore, 1612, Vol. II, Book III, Ch. 2, p. 373, in Scott, James Brown, ed., The Classics of International Law, Selections from three works, Oxford, Clarendon, 1914.

¹⁵Francisco Suarez, ibid., p. 373.

the English part of the earth.

"...the power of political dominion or rule over men has not been granted directly by God, to any particular human individual."¹⁶

Not only is this so, but it would seem that the extent of governmental power would be far more limited than it presently was, if one were to study effectively to discover the area of political activity, pertinent to those who have, by one way or another, charge of the community. To do this, one must have a due regard for the ends to which political communities were instituted.

"The multitude of man-kind should,..., be viewed from another standpoint, that is, with regard to the special volition or common consent, by which they are gathered together into one political body... for the purpose of aiding one another in the attainment of a single political end."¹⁷

This proclamation would, indeed, if followed, have a profound effect on the activities of the kings and great ones of this earth, since it would no longer be James' prerogative, or the privileges of Parliament, or anything else, but rather an honest attempt to satisfy all in their needs and desires. However, one fears that such an interpretation would be pleasing to neither of the great areas of contestation, the royal or the parliamentary.

It must not be imagined that the Jesuits were, in

¹⁶Francisco Suarez, op. cit., p. 374.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 374.

any modern sense, democrats. On the contrary, they were true sons of their times, which consider monarchy, within due and prescribed limits, the very best form of government. This they had received from St. Thomas, and his argument from unity. However, the Jesuits were not bigoted on the subject. For while monarchy is the best form of government, others may also be good and useful.

However, whatever may be said for these other forms of government, Suarez always returns to his task of limiting the great monster of his day, monarchical power.

The power of the prince is

"... necessarily... bestowed upon him by the consent of the community." 18

It is easy to see why the Kings of Europe should be stung to the quick when Suarez announced his corollary to the foregoing, since it struck at the very vitals of kingship.

"Title by succession ... cannot be the primary source of this power as it resides in the sovereign." 19

This was truly a doctrine to announce in that day, when dynastic wars, waged to prove that kings had title to such and such a throne, were the order of the day. And would, for that matter, continue to be such for long years to come. England itself would be troubled for years in succeeding centuries over the course of "Pretenders", who

18Francisco Suarez, op. cit., p. 384.

19Ibid., p. 385.

would profess their enherited rights from the dethroned James II.

The idea that succession was not the all-important feature the people of that time held it to be, and the companion idea that a king would, as it were, have to earn his right to occupy the throne, was very radical indeed.

It is easily seen why, therefore, when Bellarmine later echoed this teaching, James I should be wounded to the quick. And sharp came his reply that indeed succession was enough. No monarch, in effect, need earn his right to rule:

"Whereunto..., I grant indeed, that a wicked king is sent by God for a curse to his people, and a plague for their sinnes: but that it is lawfull to them to shake off that curse at their owne hand, which God hath laid on them, that I deny, and may so do iustly. Will any deny th t the king of Babel was a curse to the people of God, as was plainly forespoken and threatened vnto them in the prophecie of their captiuitie? And what was Nero to the Christian Church in his time? And yet Jeremy and Paul (as yee haue else heard) commanded them not onely to obey them, but heartily to pray for their well re."²⁰

But Suarez continues, that under such circumstances (i.e., if the king is actually attacking the state, with the unjust intention of destroying it and slaughtering the citizens), it will certainly be right and just to re-

20C.H. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 67.

sist the ruler, be he prince or king,

"...even by slaying him if defense can not be achieved in any other fashion." 21

St. Thomas is again brought in to prove that

"...it is permissible to slay a tyrant whose title to the throne is tyrannical...",

i.e., one who has usurped a throne which does not by succession belong to him, since

"...no true majesty resides in him." 22

As a matter of fact, Suarez bluntly warned King James I, in his chapter of Defensio Fidei Catholicae, entitled "Does the Oath of King James exact More than Civil Obedience?" that

"...even a King who, supreme in temporal matters may be punished with deposition and sentenced to be deprived of his kingdom..." 23

And here Suarez brought in the indirect power of the Pope, although he left the way clear for action even if the Papal Office should be busy elsewhere, on the part of some other agency.

"...this power to depose a king may reside in either the state itself or in the pope ...For it resides in the state solely by way of a defense necessary to the preservation thereof..." 24

21Francisco Suarez, op. cit., p. 710.

22Ibid., p. 711.

23Ibid., p. 718.

24Ibid., p. 718.

Here indeed the wound smarted. For it was over this set of doctrines that the royal polemicist, who knew his enemies as well as he knew his way about inside the bowels of a philosophical or theological argument (he'd had plenty of experience with such in Scotland) angrily replied to Cardinal Bellarmine, who later, in James' own time, re-echoed Francisco Suarez.

"But ... what shield ... of defence is reached to Kings, to ward or beat off the thrust of a murderers weapon, and to save or secure their life? Seeing the L. Cardinall, building vpon the subtil devise and shift of the Iesuites, hath taught vs out of their Schooles, that by Kings are vnderstood Kings in esse, not yet fallen from the supreame degree of Soueraigne Royaltie: For being once deposed by the Pope, (say the Iesuites) they are no longer Kings, but are fallen from the rights of Soueraigne dignitie; and consequently to make strip and wast of their blood, is not forsooth to make strip and wast of Royall blood. The Iesuiticall masters, in the file of thire words are so supple and so limber, that by leauing still in their speech some starting hole or other, they are able by the same, as by a postern or backdore, to make an escape." 25

That James' eagle eye discerned that coalition (intellectual, but an alliance nonetheless) which was now forming as an answer to his bold claims of Divine Right can be witnessed by the following

"... the maine Article of the Romish faith; and that is the Head of the Church of Peters Primacie; for who denieth this denieth fidem Catholicam, saith Bellarmino. That Bishops ought to be in the Church,

I euer maintained it ... contrary to the Puritanes, and likewise to Bellarmino; who denies that Bishops haue their Iurisdiction immediately from God (But it is no wonder he takes the Puritanes part, since Iesuits are nothing but Puritan-papists.) ... So was I euer anemie to the confused Anarchie or paritie of the Puritanes, as well appeareth in my BASILIKON DORON." 26

The above is, of course, taken from James' work, A Premonition to All Most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendome, (the which he wrote as a strenuous defence against Cardinal Bellarmine. Nonetheless, here he was merely re-echoing the sentiments he had expressed previously in his Basilikon Doron. He had there taken up open warfare with the Puritans, showing them the same token of wrath as he had expressed to Bellarmine. That he knew what the spirit of that party was tending towards is shown by the following taken from the same Basilikon Doron:

"... some fierie spirited men in the ministerie, got such a guiding of the people at that time of confusion, as finding the gust of government sweete, they begouth to fantasie to themselves a Democraticke forme of government: and hauing (by the iniquitie of time) beene ouerwell baited vpon the wracke, first of my Grandmother, and next of mine owne mother, and after vsurping the libertie of the time in my long minority, settled themselves so fast vpon that imagined Democracie, as they fed themselves with the hope to become Tribuni plebis: and so in a popular government by leading the people by the nose, to beere the sway of all the rule ... they that were vpon the factious

part, were ever careful to persuade and allure these unruly spirits among the ministerie, to spouse that quarrell as their owne: ...some of them would sometimes shew out well grossely with the trewth of their intentions, informing the people, that in Kings and Princes were naturally enemies to the libertie of the Church, and could neuer patiently beare the yoke of Christ: with such sound doctrine fed they their flockes." 27

Here James was castigating two sorts of enemies, the Puritans, and their Scots allies, 'they that were upon the factious part', the rather rebellious nobles. The Scots nobles, be it noted, had ever been far less amenable to royal discipline than had those of England for feudalism remained alive in Scotland long after it had become mere dead form south of the border.

Nothing, it may perhaps be here remarked, would have suited James better, in his own search for allies (he had sent his A Premonition to all the secular rulers of Europe not so much, perhaps, to defend himself as to secure assistance by showing the other secular rulers that they faced the same dangers as he) than a General or Oecumenical Council of the Church. The strategy here would have been to so manage things as to legitimize the seizure of ecclesiastical power by the secular princes and thus put an Oecumenical Council's decree between himself and the Jesuits. That the scheme was of this nature is manifested

by his condition that

"... all the incendiaries and Nouelist fire-brands on either side being debarred from the same, as well Iesuites as Puritanes." 28

But Suarez' doctrine reaches not merely to the tyrannant who, having seized a throne which did not belong to him by right, was ruling tyrannically. On the contrary

"If, then, a lawful king is ruling in a tyrannical fashion, if the state finds at hand no other means of self-defence than the expulsion or deposition of this king, the said state, acting as a whole, and in accordance with the public and general deliberations of its communities and leading men, may depose him." 29

Thus could the Puritans have answered Charles Stuart when, on January 21, 1649, he stood before them in Westminster Hall and asked, in answer to his accusers,

"Then for the law of this land, I am no less confident, that no learned lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lie against the king, they all going in his name; and one of their maxims is, that the King can do no wrong. Besides the law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new: if old, show it; if new, tell what authority, warranted by the fundamental laws of the land, hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself (as is well known to all lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge." 30

Thus Charles I, in The King's Reasons for Dec-

28C.H. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 151.

29Francisco Suarez, Defensio Fidei Catholicae, op. cit., p. 718.

30S.B. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, No. 73, p. 285.

lining The Jurisdiction of The High Court of Justice.

Had Charles only known it, however, he had already been given an answer, and by his most celebrated opponent, Oliver Cromwell. The latter had written his now-famous letter to 'Dear Robin', his youthful friend who, the King's jailer, had expressed qualms about the rightness of the cause. In his letter to Colonel Robert Hammond, Cromwell defended his actions (for by now Parliament's actions were really Cromwell's) against Hammond's scruples:

"...Thirdly, Whether this Army be not a lawful Power, called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds; and being in power to such ends, may not oppose one Name of Authority, for those ends, as well as another Name, - since it was not the outward Authority summoning them that by its power made the quarrel lawful, but the quarrel was lawful in itself."³¹

Thus Cromwell put into his own terms the arguments which Suarez had used before him, i.e., the quarrel was lawful by, as it were, natural right. For the Puritans in Parliament (or Cromwell, which would amount to the same thing) had, in their Charge Against The King, accused Charles Stuart, now their prisoner after the long, bitter, internecine war, with

"All which wicked designs, wars, and evil practices of him, the said Charles Stuart, have been, and are carried on for the advancement and upholding of a personal interest of will, power, and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the public interest, common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation, by

³¹Thomas Carlyle, op. cit., Part IV, Letter LXXV, p. 392.

and from whom he was entrusted as aforesaid."32

And it was to this, then, that James' precious prerogative came, when it met head-on under the guidance of his son, Charles, with the entrenched power of the bourgeoisie, the

"...proud Puritanes, claiming to their Paritie, and crying, Wee are all but vile wormes, and yet will iudge and give Law to their King, but will be iudged nor controlled by none?"33

as the royal father had obliquely prophesied.

And thus was Charles done to death, as certainly the direct result of the teaching of Suarez and his companions to the following effect:

"...(the persons entrusted with...) do indeed possess the power to deprive the said king of his realm even by slaying him, if no other means will avail." 34

as otherwise the direct result of any teaching indigenuous to the Precisians. Thus Suarez sufficed for the purposes of the Parliamentarians since they declared:

"For all which treasons and crimes... this Court (a truncated and malformed thing, now Cromwell had purged it) doth adjudge tht he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant..., and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body."35

32S.R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, No. 72, p. 284.

33C.H. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 38.

34Francisco Suarez, Defensio Fidei Catholicae, op. cit., p. 718.

35S.R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, No. 74, p. 289.

This was the ultimate result of Suarez words

"The question... has to do ... with lawful princes who rule tyrannically ... and ... (the King of England) ... is regarded by us as one of this group of lawful sovereigns."³⁶

It must not be imagined that the Puritans saw the indirect power of the Pope in a light any more agreeable than did James or Charles, their royal opponents. For, of course, different reasons. James hated the theory for his Prerogative's welfare. The Puritans hated it (and those who put it forward, i.e. the Jesuits, for good measure) for religious reasons. And yet the writer believes there was another reason for their hate. And that reason was, of course, the commercial reason.

For the indirect power of the Pope would, if put into practice, unbalance the whole set-up of Protestantism, whether royal or common. To the question "Do Kings have Supreme Power in Civil Affairs?", Suarez could answer:

"...temporal dominion with direct jurisdiction of a civil nature over the whole church is not necessary for the spiritual government of the church..."³⁷

And yet this was balanced by the statement that the

³⁶Francisco Suarez, Defensio Fidei Catholicae,
op. cit., p. 718.
³⁷Ibid, P. 679.

power of the popes was supreme, albeit indirect:

"...such sovereigns are as truly the sheep of Peter as are all other (members of the flock): neither does their temporal dignity nor their temporal power render them immune from the force of the said papal power..."³⁸

This then was the papal power, as put forth by the Jesuit philosophers. And the Jesuit Order as a whole was most implacable in maintaining the truth and undiminished force of this doctrine. And considering the effect this doctrine would have on a set of commercialists, it is easy to see why they would care for it not at all. For the very basis of a commercial nation rests upon that without which commerce would not be possible - trust. It is therefore one of the first of the virtues to be put forward by any group which interests itself primarily in business and industry. It is precisely, in short, the Calvinist virtue. It is also therefore the one virtue which all with whom that group deals must have. And if it does not possess that virtue, it is necessarily the enemy of the first group. Cromwell is our witness here.

"...Make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and (of) the Pope himself, - you are bound and they are

³⁸Francisco Suarez, Defensio Fidei Catholicae, op. cit., p. 699.

loose. It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the son is murdered, yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally true is it, ..., That peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. - We have not now to do with any Popish State except France: and it is certain that they do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation of such a think as ... breaking your word at the Pope's bidding. ...there is no other Popish State... but will break their promise... - being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined ..."³⁹

It might, having viewed Cromwell's words, be interesting to note that, for once, the royal James had at one time and earlier in the century, been in the same camp.

"...like that Caeca obedientia whereunto all the Iesuits are sworne: ...that oath of Allegiance, grounded vpon their Naturall Cath; which though at their taking it, they confessed they did it out of conscience, and as obliged thereunto by their naturall duetie; yet now must they forswear it againe, for obedience to the Popes command; to whose will their conscience and reason must be blindly captiuated. And who euer denied this absolute power, might neither buy nor sell; for no man was bound to keepe any faith, or obserue any ciuill contracts with Heretikes: yea, to equiuocate and commit perjury towards them, is a lawfull thing in a Catholike."⁴⁰

Thus His Scots and English Majesty gives us the benefit of his theological learning and instruc-

³⁹Thomas Carlyle, op. cit., p. 69.

⁴⁰C.H. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 144.

tion.

All of which advice and opinion on the part of these two learned theologians is most interesting, & since their advice is, in some respects, dealing with the nature of trust and credit, the which are commercial, not theological, virtues. And yet in the realm of the economic, the Puritans were no more behindhand in borrowing sympathetic ideas than they had been in the matter of political ideas. It is this which makes the whole matter so interesting, this idea-theft. For even when the Puritans despised a group of people, (as they certainly did the Jesuits) they hesitated not at all to steal their ideas. One of the authorities cited in the preparation of this thesis mentions the fact that Bellarmine wrote, not entirely so much against the royal position in Europe, as he did to afford an antidote to Calvinism.⁴¹ That is, Bellarmine's works were first of all, anti-Calvinistic. If that is so, then we have here a very interesting development, indeed. For Bellarmine's ideas were taken by the Puritans (English Calvinists) and used by them against the King, who, although absolutist and also non-Roman Catholic, was yet a great deal closer, religiously

⁴¹Kathleen E. Murphy, trans., De Laicis by Robert Bellarmine, New York, Fordham, 1928, p. 6, intro.

speaking, to Bellarmine and the rest of the Jesuits than ever were the English Calvinists.

So here to is an example of an idea-theft in this line of economics developed by the Jesuits. Thus, the main burden of this part of the thesis is not merely the acceptance by the Puritans of the Jesuits' political theories. Indeed, there is a far deeper significance than mere tyrannicide here. This deeper significance may be traced the alliance between the Jesuits and the Middle Class. Considering that this class in France, the Low Countries, and England had avidly seized upon Calvin's teachings which had boldly accepted interest, not as a dangerous thing to be forbidden, as the Medievals had taught, but rather as an integral part of the necessities of commerce, it is not surprising that they should also have seized with equal avidity upon the Jesuit's theory of society, wherein they ascribed to the social contract the growth of property. It is not too much to say, I believe, that the Jesuits ascribed the whole erection of the state to property.

"Out of the organization of the civil state arose the institution of private property and wealth in general." 42

42Juan de Mariana, Op. cit., p. 127.

It is easily seen that a preachment of this nature would necessarily imply, to the casual reader (or indeed, to one who desired at any cost to buttress the position of property against the onslaughts of arbitrary power) the necessity of the servitude on the part of the state to that purpose for which it was instituted, namely the protection of property.

The Puritans were not, I believe, unwilling to accept this interpretation, although they by no means, at least in theory, accepted it in all its naked potentialities.

Nor did this idea itself possess, for the Jesuits themselves, those same potentialities for economic savagery, with its jungle morality which later ages might, unbeknownst to themselves the origin thereof, make of the idea. This fact will be brought out a little later in the thesis, less harm should be done to the Jesuits by a careless reading of their philosophy.

Before he continues, the writer would like to make clear that he by no means accepts Webber's thesis, (as has been mentioned before) which is that the evils of the age of Laissez-faire, the lessening of the moral conditions of economic life, could be ascribed to the

impact of Calvin's immediate doctrines. On the contrary, he agrees with Tawney that these conditions are are not entirely to be shelved on Calvin's doorstep, but rather to what later and lesser men made of these teachings.

It should not, of course, be overlooked that it was Calvinism which re-adjusted the moral scheme, placing the economic virtues first and assigning to charity the position of a Cinderella. Nonetheless, it is no part of the desire of the writer to add further burden to those the Genevan already carries in historical literature. Still less is it his wish or intention to shift any part of those unto the shoulders of the members of the Society of Jesus. For neither did they, as can be seen by a swift glance at Broderick's work, lessen the force of the Church's teaching where usury or interest were concerned.⁴³

For the Jesuits, and Mariana in particular, taught that

"...the object of wealth is the service of the general good, ... and not the service of their interests or the pleasures of individuals."⁴⁴

and

⁴³James Broderick, The Economic Morals of the Jesuits, London, Oxford University Press, 1934.

⁴⁴Juan de Mariana, op. cit., p. 176.

"Only unbridled and led greed arrogate to itself what God has given to all..."⁴⁵

That the Puritans were not unaware, either, of the existence of the necessity for morality in economics can be instanced by the following: notes John Winthrop made of a sermon preached by John Cotton on the morals of trade:

"1. A man may not sell above the current price, i.e., such a price as is usual in the time and place, and as another (who knows the worth of the commodity) would give for it, if he had occasion to use it...

2. When a man loseth in his commodity for want of skill, etc., he must look at it as his own fault or cross, and must not lay it upon another.

3. Where a man loseth by casualty of sea... it is a loss cast upon himself by providence, and he may not ease himself of it by casting it upon another...

4. A man may not ask any more for his commodity than his selling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth thus much."⁴⁶

It is without question therefore that the Puritans accepted the medieval doctrine of the just price.

Nevertheless, as in every religion, there were within the Puritan party some, especially of the aristocratic entrepreneurs, who accepted only such of Calvin's doctrines or Mariana's teachings as served their purposes. Of none was this more true than of Lord Warwick.

⁴⁵Juan de Mariana, op. cit., p. 177.

⁴⁶Samuel Eliot Morison, op. cit., p. 161.

For it was this noble who formed one of the most important of the links in the liasion between the aristocrats and the Puritan bourgeois.

Yet such was the necessity of the Puritans for intellectual sympathy that they would accept, apparently, even such a writer as Mariana, who supported his position against the sovereign's taxing power by an appeal to the Pope himself, who was, to the Puritans, the veritable Anti-Christ.

"A king, who imposes taxes without the consent of the people not only acts in a spirit of violence and tyranny, but also incurs the excommunication threatened by the Bull Coena Domini."⁴⁷

It was not Mariana, however, with his overtones of papal displeasure, who was chosen to sponsor the Puritans' outburst against the King's attack on their purses. On the contrary, it was Suarez who was selected by John Pym and the occasion was the Parliamentarian's attack on Dr. Manwaring. This man was a Laudian prelate who had, unfortunately for himself, used Suarez in a sermon to buttress the King's position when he (Manwaring) entered the lists on Charles' behalf.

That Pym knew Suarez well can be seen by his

⁴⁷Juan de Mariana, op. cit., p. 125.

attack on Dr. Manwaring, who, Pym said, left out parts of the Jesuit's doctrine when he (Manwaring) preached his sermon upholding the King's rights.

"It was secondly observed, that in the 27 page of his first Sermon, he cites these words, Suarez de legibus, lib. 5, cap. 17. Acceptationem populi non esse conditionem necessariam ex vi juris naturalis aut gentium, neque ex Juri communi, the Jesuite, adds, Neque ex antiquo jure Hispaniae; which words are left out by the Doctor, lest the Reader might be invited to inquire what was antiquum Jus Hispaniae; and it might have been learned from the same Author in another place of that Work, th t about two hundred years since, this liberty was granted to the People by one of the Kings, th t no tribute should be imposed without their consent. And the Author adds further, that after the Law introduced and confirmed by Custom, the King is bound to observe it. From this place, he took occasion to make this short digression, that the Kings of Spain being powerful and wise Princes, would never have parted with such a mark of absolute Royalty, if they had not found in this course more advantage than in the other, and in the success and prosperity of that Kingdom, through the valour and industry of the Spanish Nation, so much advanced since that time, do manifest the wisdom of that change.

The third observation of fraud, in perverting his Authors, was this. In the 20th page of the first Sermon, he cites these words out of the same Suarez, de legibus, lib. 5. c. 15. fol. 300. Tributa esse maxime naturalia, & prae se ferre Justitiam, qui exiguntur de rebus propriis; this he produceth in proof of the just Right of Kings to lay Tribute. And no man th t re ds it doubts, but th t in Suarez's opinion, the King's interest and Propriety in the Goods of his Subjects, is the ground of that Justice; but the truth is, that Suarez in th t Chapter had distributed Tributes into divers kinds, of which he calls one foral, Tributum reale, and describes it thus,

Solent ita vocari pensiones concedi quae erantur
regibus & principibus exteris & agris, quae a
principio ad sustentationem illis applicata fuerunt,
ipsi vero in feodum in aliis et accipiunt sub certa
pensione annua, quae jure civile canon appellare
solet, quia certa regula & lege praescripta erat;
 So that the issue is, this which Suarez affirms
 for justification of one kind of Tribute, which is
 no more than a Fee-farm of Rent due by reserva-
 tion in the Grant of King's own Lands; the Doctor
 herein, worse than a Jesuit, hath wrest to the
 justification of all kinds of Tribute exacted by
 Imposition upon the Goods of the Subjects, wherein
 the King had no interest or propriety at all."⁴⁸

We will meet again with this grant by the
 Kings of Spain to their subjects, when we consider the
 position of the Jesuit philosophy in the struggle of
 the American colonists against another absolutist in-
 strument - the Parliament of England which replaced
 royal absolutism with legislative absolutism. The
 Americans were to remember the Spanish incident and
 to allude to it in their own defense.

However, we are immediately concerned with
 the use the Parliamentarians made of the economic
 teachings of the Jesuits. Here there is little or no
 immediate documentary proof of pertinent connection.
 However, may not one be permitted to place in juxta-
 position those teachings and the actions of the Puri-
 tans, with the suggestion that, overtly at least,

⁴⁸John Rushworth, op. cit. Vol. 1, p.598-603.

there was a connection?

Having learned Suarez' doctrines so well, is it by accident that Mariana's teaching on monopolies

"...monopolies do not differ in substance from taxes, and hence need the people's consent." 49 should be paralleled by the Grand Remonstrance, which inveighed against

"27. The monopolies of soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, and in a manner of all things of most common and necessary use."? 50

Without wishing to belabor the Puritans with hypocrisy, and yet desiring to demonstrate that, such were the exigencies of revolution, they willingly accepted such of the aristocrats who had been foremost in the matter of monopolies, an example of which is the Earl of Holland, who was one of those, as has been demonstrated, who formed the aristocratic-Puritan illusion.⁵¹

This matter of monopolies will always carry with it overtones of revolution, since it was as a direct protest against the monopolistic practice of the British East India Company that the colonists were later to revolt.

49Juan de Mariana, op. cit., p. 125.

50S.R.Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, No. 27, p. 136.

51Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 316.

The matter may have been exacerbated a good deal by the fact that Hyde declares that the Catholics were themselves guilty of monopoly, particularly where the infamous 'Laudian' soap was concerned. It should not be omitted that many Catholics, disbarred from political activity, had given their energies to business. Particularly they had been engaged in cultivating certain monopolies.⁵² In fact, Hyde maintains that the soap with which the London mob pelted the Archbishop of Canterbury was of Catholic manufacture. In the religious alliances of the times, this may help to explain the ease with which the Puritan aristocrats, who were themselves guilty of this practice, joined with the populace in denouncing the system.

Can it not further be suggested that the situation here described may have added further fuel to the Puritan's already burning hatred of Catholics? (It is to be noted that English Catholics by no means accepted the Jesuits' teachings, there being a severe split between many of the Faithful. One party followed the preachments of the secular priests, and the other followed the Jesuits, especially on the matter of

⁵²Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 209.

the Oath of Loyalty exacted by the King.)

Mariana was, as we have seen, in most respects, medievalist in economic teaching, believing

"...that one's gain necessarily means other's loss, and that... no one can amass a great fortune without injury to others..." 53

To the Spanish Jesuit, private property was a deplorable but necessary evil. In the mode of taxation, the eclecticism which would beset the nimble-minded Puritan can best be demonstrated by saying that while they accepted verbatim what obetted them in their struggle with the King, few of them would willingly accept Mariana's theory that taxation should be based on ability to pay. Were that the case, there would, the writer believes, have been no English revolution.

However, where Mariana proclaimed:

"High tariffs are harmful...(they) must be moderate to encourage and facilitate imports from abroad." 54

the entrepreneurs, not as yet having discovered the joys of high tariff barriers behind which to fleece their fellow-citizens, would welcome the teaching. In fact, the instance of tonnage and poundage may well illus-

53Juan de Mariana, op. cit., p. 85.

54Ibid., p. 94.

trate the reluctance of the mercantile to pay any tariff at all (at least, to the King).

"In Michaelmas Term, the Farmers and Officers of the Custom-House seized great quantities of Currants belonging to Mr. Samuel Vassal of London Merchant, because he refused to pay an Imposition of Five Shilling & Six Pence upon every hundred Weight of the said Currants so imported,... and shortly after, the Court of Exchequer imprisoned the said Mr. Vassal for not paying such Sum of Money..., and he could not obtain Restitution of his Goods..."⁵⁵

In fact, in the entire orientation of political power, Mariana seems to have slanted towards the bourgeoisie viewpoint, declaring

"...the King should spare no endeavour to encourage commerce and to make trade remunerative."⁵⁶

In the Grand Remonstrance, the Puritans embodied similar sentiments, protesting against

"19. The Book of Rates lately enhanced to a high proportion, and such merchants that would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of justice, the common birthright of the subject of England, wholly obstructed unto them. ...

28. The restraint of the liberties of the subjects in their habitation, trades and other interests.

36. Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such ports as ere for their own convenience, and forced to bring them to those places which were much for the advantage of the mono-

⁵⁵John Rushworth, op. cit., p. 641.

⁵⁶Juan de Mariana, op. cit., p. 100.

lisers and projectors."⁵⁷

Philip III debased the Spanish copper coinage. As a result the whole nation angrily remonstrated with the Spanish king. Among the protests was one by Juan de Mariana, who wrote the celebrated Tractatus VII in attacking the action. Here he held that:

"... in cases of great importance, such as the enactment of laws, taxation and change of coinage... the nation is higher than the king."⁵⁸

And just as Mariana was emphatically (although not uniquely) against the debasement of the coinage, so were the Puritans:

"33. And not only private interest, but also public faith, have been broken in seizing of the money by guillion in the mint, and the whole kingdom like to be robbed at once in that abominable project of brass money." ⁵⁹

⁵⁷S.R. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, p. 136.

⁵⁸Juan de Mariana, Tractatus VII, p. 13, in Laures, John, The Political Economy of Juan De Mariana, New York, Fordham, 1928.

⁵⁹S.R. Gardiner, Ibid., p. 136.

That the royalist opponents of the Puritan-Parliamentarians were not unaware of this alliance between the Jesuits' political philosophy and the Puritans can be demonstrated by many citations.

The one I have selected is notable indeed for the candour with which he unblushingly couples both of these mainstreams of anti-royal absolutism.

Too, he was a rather belated opponent, writing in 1674. However, hindsight as an intellectual commodity is cheap enough to be possessed in great abundance by both historians and politicians, and may therefore be relied upon to be expended rather extravagantly by those who have a cause to defend, a sovereign to please, or a sincecure to grasp.

Henry Foulcs, in The History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of our Pretended Saints: Representing the Beginning, Constitution, and Designs of the Jesuites ..., gives us a good idea of what the average royalist propagandist thought of the intellectual coalition, anxious as he was to add his bit to the post-mortem on the Interregnum.

"Since the Jesuite... hath been thought ... somewhat of an actor, in ... our late sufferings, Though, 'tis far from my intention to throw any dirt, either upon all of this Society... or those of the Romish persuasion; since experience hath proved many of them to be men, really practising

honesty and loyalty; ...And that Religion is most wicked, which opposeth Civil Obedience."⁶⁰

Thus this rather extraordinary sentence. And yet, Foules thus points out what we had before mentioned, that is, the split in the English Roman Catholics. A part of them loyally supported the King, and shared his dangers and battles. Another part, ably captained by the Jesuits, said in effect, 'Plague on both your houses.', joining neither the one nor the other.

But despite this neutrality, the Royalists were sure that the Jesuits were behind all the sufferings of the English people, ascribing to their malevolent action things which would astound the Jesuits themselves, as for example:

"...And the losse of the Palatinate (if you believe Sir Simonds D'Ewes) had its source from their brains..."⁶¹

Thus any stick was good enough to use while beating the Jesuits. And any rumour, however absurd, was assured of belief. But despite this foolishness, Foules was aware of the intellectual alliance, as instanced by his words:

"No People rail more against the Pope and a

⁶⁰Henry Foules, The History of the wicked Plots London, (Printed for Several Subscribers), 1674, Ch. I, P. 6.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 12.

Jesuite than a Puritan, & yet in their destructive Principles of Government none agree more with them ... thus (though seeming mortal enemies) are they united to destroy the Civil Power."⁶²

Nor was the Restoration writer here cited unaware of the groundwork which had been laid by the great Jesuit philosophers:

"...the Roman Catholicks had as much Reason & Law for their Gun-Powder Treason, as the Scotch & English Puritans for their many Rebellions and may, ..., as much rejoyce, for their delivery from the Presbyterian Tyranny, ..., in this they may both shake hands, and cry Quits Brother: which hath made me smile as often as I hear a Disciplinarian rail against the Romanists... since themselves have been as guilty..."⁶³

Having cited a Royalist as witness, the writer now wishes to call in one even more of an authority, one who was in at the inner councils of the conspirators from the beginning - William Prynne.

The extent to which the extremists would push the doctrines which they had, as it were, stolen from the Jesuits ultimately caused those who earlier had supported the Puritan position to be revolted. This state of mind can best be described by citing the work of William Prynne. This man was a Puritan to the core, of whom Hyde says:

⁶²Henry Foules, op. cit., p. 242.

⁶³Ibid., p. 207.

"William Pryn, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn... not unlearned in the profession of the law, as far as learning is acquired by the mere reading of books; but being a person of great industry, had spent more time in reading divinity; and, which marred th t divinity, in the conversation of factious and hotheaded divines: and so, by a mixture of all three, with the rudeness and arrogance of his own nature, had contracted a proud and venomous dislike to the discipline of the church of England; and so by degrees... an equal irreverence to the government of the state too; both of which he vented in several absurd, petulant, and supercilious discourses in print."⁶⁴

It was this Prynne likewise who had persecuted Dr. Laud, when that man was fallen from power and rested (with what little peace may be imagined, plagued as he was by the most vicious sort of religious criminals) in the Tower.

Prynne had served his masters well but there came, apparently, a time when his usefulness was at an end. Being of the Presbyterian party, he was displaced by Cromwell and his sectaries after Pride's Purge and found himself securely locked up in the Tower of London. That he lodged there uncomfortable, at least in mind, can be seen by the fact that he now began intensive diatribes against those he had lately served.

In his pamphlets, he now bitterly complained

⁶⁴Edward Hyde, op. cit., p. 349-50.

of the work of the Jesuits, denouncing the Cromwellians as those who acted the Jesuit's part well. The fiery hate which bubbled in his perfervid brain is well seen in his pamphlet, A briefe MEMENTO to the Present Un-Parliament ry JUNTO... :

"...I held it my Duty ... to write my Thoughts unto you... without your Fellow Members Advice or Concurrance, about the speedy deposing, and execut-
ing of KING CHARLES, your Lawfull Sovereigne, to
please the General Officers and Grand Councell of
the Army who have unjustly usurped to themselves
the Supreme Authority both of King and Parliament,
or rather the Jesuits and Popish Priests among or
neare them, by whose Councells they and you are now
wholly swayed, and whose traitorous Designs you
really execute, in most of your late Votes and
Actings ..." 65

Prynne proves (to his own satisfaction at least) that 1) this is high treason and, 2) it violates the Oath of Allegiance which all took on entering the House as Members of Parliament.

He curses as effectually as possible that

"...damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes which be excommunicate and deprived by the Popes, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects..." 66

And to clinch the matter, he further declaims:

"...let your conscience determine whether or not you are acting herein the Popes and Iesuites Designs." 67

65Lord Somers, A Fourth Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts, London, Cogen, 1752, Vol. I, p. 325.

66Ibid, p. 327.

67Ibid, p. 327.

Fierce indignation seeths within Frynne's
hitherto disloyal breast, as he, formerly the crea-
ture of the Puritans, rails against his former com-
rades

"...the Officers and Army, or rather those
Iesuits and Popish Priests, who have over-reached,
and instigated them forcibly to prosecute these
their treasonable Designes..."

And he concludes:

"Where will you, where will your St. Crom-
well, St. Ireton, St. Price, St. Peters, that
fast and loose carnal prophet and Arch-Iesuited
Incendiary in these present tumults)⁶⁸ with
other grand Saints of the Army, who now force
you, the General, the Army, and the whole King-
dome, upon such dangerous Councils as these
...(by the Jesuites Principles and Practices)
...?" ⁶⁹

⁶⁸The Peters referred to is that agent sent
by the saints of Massachusetts to aid the 'Good Old
Cause' wherever possible and in whatever way possi-
ble. May one remark with some and apparent cynicism
that 'St. Peters' had previously been very acceptable
indeed to our admirable but belated defender of the
royal Charles?

⁶⁹Lord Somers, op. cit., p. 349.

In the curious structure of the constitutional defence which the American colonists erected as a barrier against the absolute power of Parliament (which power had been itself erected by their spiritual forebears against the royal power), the colonists had necessarily to throw themselves on, as it were, the mercy of the regal power.

In 1649, Parliament had observed that (in An Act Declaring England to be a Commonwealth.):

"Be it declared and enacted... that the people of England, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging,..., shall from henceforth be governed ... by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament..."⁷⁰

Therefore the colonists, suffering from the present (1763-83) implementation of this absolute power, had to shift their allegiance. Hitting back at Parliament, they declared against

"The large strides... taken by the legislature of Great Britain towards establishing over these colonies ... absolute rule ..." ⁷¹

To make the protest effective, they maintained that the colonies had been founded by the power of the kings of England, and were therefore dependent

⁷⁰S.R.Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, No. 80, p. 297.

⁷¹Julian P. Boyd, ed. Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 1706-77, Princeton, University Press, 1950, Vol. I, p. 198.

entirely upon him. It was Thomas Jefferson himself who was given, as it were, the job of working out the theory of this proposition.

"Our forefathers...(having emigrated) arranged themselves by Charters of compact under... the same common King, who thus completed their powers of full and complete legislation and became the link of union between the several parts of the empire..."⁷²

And it was therefore, in the American view, only by the regal power in conjunction with their various parochial assemblies that they should be ruled.

We have, therefore, the curious fiction being presented in the Declaration of Independence that the colonies were revolting against the King rather than against the Parliament.

To revolt against George III, the colonists had first of all to:

1. Establish the fact that they had all this time really been ruled by the King.
2. Establish the fact that they had a right to revolt against him.

Here the greatest confusion abounds. For in attempting the first proposition, the colonists, on the one hand, struggled to persuade the world (and, one

⁷²Julian P. Boyd, ed., op. cit., p. 199.

feels, themselves) that the colonies were in a sense feudatories and yet on the other hand, they had to prove that the king had no feudal rights over them. The writer believes that all will easily recognize the basic contradiction here. It is, the reporter thinks, the substance of much of Jefferson's remarks on the allodial nature of American land.

The first step in this business was to display the various Charters. This the Virginia House of Burgesses did in 1765 when it memorialized the House of Lords:

"The privileges inherent in the persons who discovered and settled these regions, could not be renounced or forfeited by their removal hither ..., on the contrary, it was secured to them and their descendants, with all other rights and immunities of British subjects, by a Royal Charter, which hath been invariably recognized and confirmed by his Majesty and his predecessors..."⁷³

Having thus put their claims on the Charter basis, they had then to defend themselves from the claims of the King, who would, by the same Charters, be their feudal lord, since the Charter of Virginia put that colony on the same basis as the manor of East-Greenwich, a rather unimportant manor to have the same status as a great colony such as Virginia,

⁷³Paul Allen, A History of the American Revolution, Ch. I., p. 62.

as follows:

"And finally, we do for Us, our Heirs... Grant ... all the Lands... TO BE HOLDEN of US,... as of our Manor at East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Socage..."⁷⁴

Thus King James I, founding the colony in 1606, to his new lieges of America.

When reminded of this fact of feudalism by Hutchinson, together with a strong asseveration of the implications inevitable to such a situation, the King's vassals of Massachusetts (where Hutchinson was Lieutenant Governor) had nimbly to leap from logic to invective:

"We trust your Excellency does not mean to introduce the feudal system in its perfection; which, to use the words of one of our greatest historians, was "A state of perpetual war, anarchy and confusion... in its provisions for ... order and tranquility of society, extremely defective, etc...."⁷⁵

Despite this defective argument, the colonists still appear to have felt that a Charter basis was the best foot upon which to stand while contesting Parliament's absolute rule. But was this not leaping from the pan into the fire? For if they left Parliamentary absolutism, was it not to be exchanged for royal absolutism?

⁷⁴William MacDonald, ed., Select Charters and other Documents illustrating the American Revolution, New York, Macmillan, 1899, p. 10.

⁷⁵Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 88.

"If our government be considered as merely feudatory, we are subject to the king's absolute will, and there is no authority of Parliament, as the sovereign authority of the British Empire."⁷⁶

John Adams did not feel that this was any difficulty. He sustained the fact in his character of Novanglus, maintaining:

"...it follows... that he appears 'King of Massachusetts, King of Rhode Island, King of Connecticut, etc.', this is no absurdity at all."⁷⁷

To escape the impasse into which they had by these arguments enmeshed themselves, it remained only to justify rebellion against an absolute king. There were, it appears, no ready-made arguments against Parliamentary absolutism, save only the rather weak one that the colonists were not represented therein. The which is no argument against such absolutism at all, but merely the statement that they did not help administer such absolutism.

But there were plenty of arguments against royal absolutism, since the whole business had been fought out in the previous century by the spiritual predecessors of the American revolutionists - the Parliamentarians.

⁷⁶Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 91.

⁷⁷Charles Francis Adams, ed., The Works of John Adams, Boston, Little, Brown, 1850-58, Vol. I, p. 1.

It would, the writer admits, be far more proper to say that the Americans really rebelled against the English system then prevalent, of the King-in-Parliament. Not the King alone, nor the Parliament alone, but the King-in-Parliament. This needs only the brief explanation that the King, by virtue of patronage and other less altruistic means, was at that time, not merely the Chief of State (as King) but was also the chief politician of the Empire.

Lord North to Cooper: October 5, 1774

"His Lordship (Lord Falmouth) must be told ... that I hope he will permit me to recommend to three of his six seats in Cornwall. The terms he expects are £2,500 a seat, to which I am ready to agree."⁷⁸

Thus King George III, working within Parliament, was a much more powerful king than Charles Stuart, who worked without Parliament, since as Blackstone observes, now it was Parliament which could do no wrong - that Parliament within which George worked.

"If the Parliament will positively enact a thing to be done which is unreasonable, I know of no power in the ordinary forms of the Constitution that is vested with authority to control it."⁷⁹

It was thus as much by the Declaratory Act (Parliament's own declaration of supremacy over the

⁷⁸Dora Mae Clark, British Opinion and the American Revolution, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, Ch. IV, p. 231.

⁷⁹Clarence Manion, The Way to Peace, Chicago, Heritage, 1951, p. 91.

American Colonies) as by the Act for Rescinding the Provincial General Court of Massachusetts in 1774 that the King-in-Parliament system proved itself absolute and, since it was against Acts of this sort that the Americans were goaded to rebellion, we may say that the Americans really rebelled against the Parliament. Nonetheless, at the risk of repeating oneself, the writer again emphasizes that the Americans theoretically rebelled against the King.

Since this was so, it was only natural that the rebels could make use of precisely the same arguments which the old-time Puritans had used against royal absolutism.

Indeed, Jefferson could recall that

"A family of Princes was then on the British throne, whose treasonable crimes against their people brought on them,..., the exertion of those sacred and sovereign rights of punishment, reserved in the hands of the people for cases of extreme necessity, and judged by the constitution unsafe to be delegated to any other judicature."⁸⁰

It is no part of this thesis to attempt to advance the Jesuit influence ahead of the Lockian, just as it was no part either to exclude Calvinistic anti-royalism in favor of Jesuitism in England. However,

⁸⁰Thomas Jefferson Randolph, ed., Memoir, Correspondence and Miscellaneous from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Boston, Gray & Bowen, 1830, Vol. I, p. 104.

it is part of this work to show that, while the Lockian influence is not minimized, the Jesuit philosophy was nonetheless present in the American Revolution. In this view, may not one ask concerning Jefferson's statement if it is not almost purely a Jesuit-inspired statement. What, indeed, was it but the old Jesuit doctrine which Suarez had expounded? It is true that Jefferson may not have known the source of his idea, and it is also true that the idea itself may have undergone many strange and varied sojourns in the journey from the Jesuit to the Deist, but the similarity is too great to be overlooked.

Here we trace our thread not from Mariana to Cromwell, but rather from Bellarmine to Jefferson and George Mason. It will be remembered that Bellarmine had engaged in a verbal battle with King James I. James had answered hotly with several pamphlets but especially with his Basilikon Doron, of which he was so proud that he wrote it in capital letters. It will also be recalled that another writer, Sir Robert Filmer, had continued the royalist attack on the Jesuit position with his work, Patriarcha.⁸¹ This work had upheld the

⁸¹Filmer, Sir Robert, Patriarcha & Other Political Works., Peter Laslett, ed., in Blackwell's Political Texts. Oxford, Blackwell, 1949.

by-now traditional view of the Divine Right of Kings as a monarchy patterned after the Domination of Adam over creation. Another writer, this time a Puritan and an anti-Royalist, Algernon Sydney, had answered him in his Discourses concerning government.⁸²

It has been argued that Sydney's work had no effect whatever on the development of Jefferson's thought. However, the writer feels that this is a false view. Certain it is that Jefferson knew of Sydney's work, since he had a copy of it in his library.

Sydney it was who claimed, at his execution in 1683, that

"...magistrates were set up for the good of nations, not nations for the honour or glory of Magistrates."⁸³

The which is certainly in complete conformity with the political philosophy of the Jesuit writers. It can be compared with Jefferson's words of 1774, contained in "A Summary View..." that the King

"...is no more than the chief officer of the people, appointed by the laws and circumscribed with definite powers, to assist in working the great machine of government, erected for their use and consequently, subject to their superintendence."⁸⁴

⁸²Algernon Sidney, Discourses concerning government, by..., with His Letters, Trial, Apology and some Memoirs of His Life, London, Miller, 1763.

⁸³Ibid., p. 83.

⁸⁴Julian P. Boyd, ed., op. cit., ch. , p.

It is easily discovered here that, despite the mechanistic overtones in Jefferson's phraseology (which might possibly procede, the writer feels, from his Deism), the two men, Sydney and Jefferson, had quite identical ideas on the position of the chief magistrate.

In Sydney's work, Beller line is quoted extensively, just as he was by Filmer. Sydney declares:

"Filmer...thinks it enough to render his doctrine plausible to his own party by joining the Jesuits to Geneva and coupling Buchanan to Delema, as both maintain the same doctrine."⁸⁵

It might be well here to mention that this intellectual alliance which we have seen existing between the English Puritans and the Spanish Jesuits was by no means a fraternal one. The dependence on Jesuit thought is an irksome one to the grudging Sydney, since he declares that the propositions of the "school-divines" are true, but not, however, because they say so.

It remains only to link Sydney to the American rebels, since it was through Sydney that the Americans came to know the doctrines of the Jesuits. It was the work of Gaillard Hunt to point out the similarity

⁸⁵Algernon Sydney, Discourses concerning government, Ch. I, p. 6.

of the Virginia and the English Bills of Rights. Hunt declared that the English Bill of Rights was the "natural model" of the Virginia declaration.

"The English Parliament which in 1689 declared that James II had forfeited the Crown and which prescribed the conditions upon which William of Orange was accepted as King, was the prototype of the Virginia convention which put George III off the American throne."⁸⁶

While this is true, it was George Mason's son, writing many years after the American Revolution, who noticed that there was yet an essential difference:

"The famous English bill of rights sanctioned by William and Mary on their ascending the throne ... is a contract with nobility and royalty, a compromise with despotism, in which the voice of the people is heard in a tone of disturbed supplication and prayer. But in this declaration of Mason's, Man seems to stand erect in all the majesty of his nature - to assert the inalienable rights and equality with which he has been endowed by his Creator, and to declare the fundamental principles by which all rulers should be controlled, and on which all governments should rest." ⁸⁷

And that difference is there, as Hunt later points out. For the first three principles of the Virginia Bill of Rights are lacking in the earlier Bill. And these are:

1. "That all men are by Nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights,

⁸⁶Gaillard Hunt, Virginia Declaration of Rights and Cardinal Bellarmine, Catholic Historical Review, Vol. III, 1917, pp. 276-289. (Reprint)

⁸⁷Hezekiah Niles, op. cit., p. 301.

of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

2. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation, or community; of all the various ... forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."⁸⁸

Here we have four basic propositions:

1. The idea of Natural Law. (Not of Jesuit origin. It was rather a development of Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophy which is and was common to most systems.) However, the Jesuits based their philosophy upon it.
2. The idea of a Social Contract or (as the Americans phrased it) a Compact. This is, the writer believes, thoroughly of Jesuit origin.
3. The idea of Popular Sovereignty. Here we call in Suarez:

⁸⁸S.E. Morison, ed. Sources & Documents illustrating the American Revolution. Oxford, Clarendon, 1923, p. 149.

"Therefore we must say that this power, viewed solely according to the nature of things, resides not in any individual man but rather in the whole body of man-kind...The basic reason...is... the fact that... all men are born free..."⁸⁹

Having again quoted this passage from the great Spanish philosopher, the writer takes it for granted that it is proven that there is an identity of theory here, at the very least.

4. The idea of the Right of Revolution. Here again we call in Suarez:

"...I reply that the private individual who slays a tyrant... does not commit this deed without public authorization, since he is acting both by the authority of a tacitly consenting state, and by the authority of God, who has granted to every man, through the Natural Law, the right to defend himself and his state from the violence inflicted by...a tyrant."⁹⁰

And if tyrannicide is right and just, then is not also rebellion, under certain conditions, equally right and just?

It is Hunt's thesis, and having examined the evidence, both for and against, I am inclined to agree with him, that the three propositions of the Virginia Bill of Rights are far more of Jesuit origin than they are the mind-children of any of the other men who

⁸⁹Francisco Suarez, De Legibus ac Deo Legislatore, Book III, Ch. II, p. 373.

⁹⁰Francisco Suarez, Defensio Fidei Catholicae, Et Apostolici Adversus Anglicanae Sectae Errores, Book IV, Ch. IV, p. 714.

so influenced the political opinions of the American rebels. Examples of these would be Montesquieu, Rousseau and James Berg.

As Hunt points out, Montesquieu's work, while valuable, is an analysis of governmental machinery and nothing more. It put forth no new theories. James Berg's Political Disquisitions was published in 1775, and so would be much too late for the ground work of the American rebellion which was laid long before.

The two then who did influence American political thinking undeniably were Algernon Sydney and John Locke. Both of these drew their inspiration, as has been demonstrated in Sydney's case, from the Filmer-Bellarmino complex.

Not only, however, on the higher levels of rebellious policy were the Jesuit's doctrines still used, but on other levels likewise. That the New England Calvinists had by no means forgotten their Puritan-Jesuit heritage is evidenced by the Election Sermon preached at Cambridge, Massachusetts, by the Reverend Samuel Cooke before Governor Hutchinson and the Governor's Council. It reads just as if it were extracted whole from Mariana.

"...The people, the collective body only, have a right, under God, to determine who shall exercise this trust for the common interest, and to fix the bounds of their authority; and, consequently, ..., those in authority, ..., are accountable to the society which gave their political existence. The is the... natural origin ... of all ... government, the sole end and design of which is, not to ennoble a few and enslave the multitude, but the public benefit, the good of the people..." 91

And to demonstrate that he was not alone, the Reverend Samuel West defends the position:

"From what has been said in this discourse, it will appear that we are in the way of our duty in opposing the tyranny of Great Britain; for, if unlimited submission is not due to any human power, if we have an undoubted right to oppose and resist a set of tyrants that are subverting our just rights and privileges, there cannot remain a doubt in any man, ..., whether we have a right to resist and oppose the arbitrary measures of the King and Parliament; for it is plain to demonstration, nay, it is in a manner self-evident, that they have been and are endeavoring to deprive us not only of the privileges of Englishmen, and our charter rights, but they have endeavored to deprive us of what is much more sacred... of the inalienable rights that the God of nature has given us as men and rational beings..." 92

91 Samuel Cooke, Sermon, in Thornton, John Wingate, op. cit., p. 156.

92 Samuel West, Sermon, in Thornton, John Wingate, op. cit., p. 304.

Although the foregoing is an extremely inadequate unravelling of some of the threads of these two historic revolutions, the writer has attempted to make it as factual as possible. He has given individual instances, rather than generalizations of these trends, in an endeavour to demonstrate as clearly as possible the instances of definite movements in these two bourgeois revolutions. The writer likewise tried to parallel the two revolutions (which he acknowledges as being only, as it were, primary revolutions, that is to say, merely first stages of, again as it were, secondary revolutions). This attempt to establish parallels may indicate some basis for establishing the rules which bourgeois revolutions follow.

On the basis of this admittedly limited study (which is a bare portion only of what was originally projected), the writer believes he may declare that the main mechanical structure for all bourgeois upheavals must exist in the dissatisfaction of that part of the aristocracy, first of all, which finds a community of interest (or, at least, a basis for common action) with the moneyed class. Thus we have the primary fractioning of the power (aristocratic) class (which traditionally assisted the King in ruling). And the subsequent

adhesion of this dissatisfied faction with the money (bourgeois) group. Alone they could do little. Together they could overcome all.

Coupled with this aristo-bourgeois mechanism, there must go a spiritual movement with two facets.

The first facet is one which must express itself in terms of the basic spiritual urges of the lower class, it being this class which will do the fighting (generated by the aristocracy and provisioned by the mercantilists). In the cases studied, these spiritual urges took the form of extreme Protestantism, a religious form which was, on the one hand, a part of the alliance between the classes (bourgeois and aristocratic) and, on the other, the rationale within the framework of which both aristocratic and bourgeois could find justification, both economic and political, for their actions.

The other part of the spiritual will be a buttressing of the political scheme which the victorious party will seek to substitute for that which it destroys.

In the cases studied, this force was Jesuit philosophy. In England, the alliance (intellectual) is open, forthright, easily discovered and not at all reprehensible to those professing it (even though they

were the most rabid Puritans). In America, it cannot be historically proven by definite citation. However, so much a part of the Zeitgeist was it that a comparison of the writings of Jesuit philosophers and American rebels shows the similarity of the lines of thinking. Similarity so complete is almost the equivalent of identity.

A further point which must be noted is the unwillingness of the bourgeois to share its newly-gained power. The merchant alone must have the field, politically speaking. Thus we see the destruction (as far as possible) of the political power of its former ally - the aristocracy. In England, this means the destruction of the House of Lords. In America, the overthrowing of the entail system is the equivalent parallel.

The following citation will, the writer believes, establish the fact that at least for many of the members thereof, the alliance with religion (with its incumbent morality as a direct consequent) was a matter of the purest convenience. It may, therefore, be called that, rather than conviction. In turn, therefore, the arrangement may be consequently termed, with justice, an alliance.

"As governor, he (Captain Argall) robbed the company with one hand and the hapless colonists with the other. ... He boldly fitted out a ship belonging to Lord Rich, and sent an expedition of sheer piracy to the west Indies under an old letter of marque from the Duke of Savoy. When advices from England warned Argall that his downfall was imminent, he forthwith redoubled his felonious diligence. His chief partner in England was Lord Rich, who became the second Earl of Warwick in 1619, about the time of Argall's return, and who is known to history in his later character as a great Puritan nobleman, who served God while he contrived to better his estate with both hands by such means as troublous times put within his reach. He was not content with small pickings. Rich appears to have aimed at nothing less than wrecking the company and securing the land and government of Virginia. The first step toward this was to get a charter for a private or proprietary plantation within Virginia which should be exempt from all authority of the company and the colony. This independent government was to serve as a refuge from prosecutions for Argall and other piratical agents, and at last to possess itself of the wreck and remainder of Virginia. The second step in this intrigue was one that could have availed nothing in any time less respectful to shadowy technicalities and less prone to legal chicanery than that of James I. ... Argall, on his arrival (in England), hastened to notify the company that Opechankano, the brother and successor of Powhatan, had resolved not to sell any more land, but to reserve it for the son of Pocahontas when he should be grown. The company charged that this was

a ruse to serve the ends which Argall, Rich, and others had in view. The larger plan miscarried, but Argall ... lingered longer than was safe, and got away in the nick of time by the aid of Lord Rich, who had stood guard like a burglar's pal, and who contrived to delay the ship carrying out the new governor until a small swift-sailing vessel could be sent to fetch away Argall and his varied booty of public and private plunder."¹

¹Edward Eggleston, The Beginners of a Nation: A History of the Source and Rise of the Earliest English Settlements in America with special reference to the life and character of the people. New York, Appleton, 1896, p. 50-1.

APPENDIX 2

ABSTRACT OF

The Dynamics of Revolution: An Attempt to Trace the Essential Alliances of a Bourgeois Revolution; With That of Stuart England and Revolutionary America Serving As Examples.¹

The writer has attempted to show that both of these revolutions were of a bourgeois nature, being each of them inspired by the use, on the part of the legitimate government, of the money or taxation power. The need of the legitimate government to use this power rather more stringently than usual was occasioned by the fact that in each case great debts had accrued as a result of military adventures with foreign powers. The result of this stringency was that the taxing power made itself felt where the bourgeois or middle class was concerned. This, in turn, was unfortunate because the aforesaid middle class has, historically speaking, been very articulate, possessing in a high degree the instruments needed to place its grievances before the public eye and being in no wise reluctant to do so.

The middle class having determined to raise the standard of revolt, it was necessary for it to discover allies for itself.

Because of the peculiar conditions attending

¹Ph.D. Thesis presented by William Clarkin, in 1952, to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, 200 pages.

the financial standing of the aristocracy at that time, in both cases the aristocracy was, as it were, fractioned into two groups. In this disunited state, one of the two groups was attracted, in each case, to adhere to the cause of the bourgeois. To do this, it left the position it had historically maintained, that of aiding the legitimate government to rule the nation. In exchange, it received a share in guiding the revolt and another potential share in the rewards resulting, should the revolt be successful.

In both cases, however, the dissident aristocracy was ultimately cast off by the victorious bourgeois, which, zealous for its own power, stripped the aristocrats in each case of their peculiar status. In the first case, the House of Lords was destroyed. In the second, the peculiar system which upheld and preserved aristocracy in America, entail and primogeniture, were overthrown by the bourgeois.

The writer has attempted to trace the parallels between these two revolutions in some detail, being as factual as possible. Nowhere has this been more so than in tracing the most vague and at the same time the most substantial of the alliances which the middle class arranged. And that was the one set up with the religious

element. Here the alliance was one between, on the one hand, the aristocrats and the merchants, and, on the other, between these two groups and the Puritans.

The definite instances of alliance cited were the erection of the Massachusetts-Bay Company, a purely commercial enterprise, into a purely religious enterprise, its nature being finally to act as a place of refuge to the dissidents of whatever class, and also the Grand Remonstrance. This latter acted the part, in England, which the granting of religious freedom to the Baptists in Virginia played in the American Revolution. There was, in addition, the citation of the Root and Branch Petition, which made the alliance formal, as it were.

Finally, we come to a consideration of the overall political philosophy which motivated the rebels in both revolutions. And here the writer has considered the intellectual alliance which appears to have existed, *nelle, velle*, between the Puritans and the Jesuits. Because of the peculiar and unique political position each group took in relation to the King and Royal Absolutism, each found itself, to some extent, in the other's camp.

To the extent, then, that each used the arguments as pertaining to the other, this odd alliance exist-

ed. They both of them, immediately in England and very much later in America, assumed positions very proximate in matters of political philosophy and economic philosophy. Thus far, and admittedly no further, did the alliance pertain.

The writings of Mariana, Suarez, and Bellarmine were cited as examples of the anti-Divine Right of Kings doctrines which the Jesuits upheld. Both John Pym and William Prynne are cited as instances of the Puritans acknowledging at least some connection with the Jesuits. In the case of America, no direct connection can be discovered. Therefore, the writer had to present the case for the similarity of situations and therefore a similarity of argument. The arguments being similar, the possibility strongly exists that the source was the same, with the American rebels as with the Puritan rebels.

To prove the truth of at least this, the writer has used Algernon Sydney as a citation, considering him to be a link between the Puritan rebels and the American anti-royalists.

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