NOTES

ON

BRITISH HISTORY

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PART III

FROM THE RESTORATION

TO THE

TREATY OF VERSAILLES, 1660 TO 1783

EIGHTH IMPRESSION

FIFTH EDITION

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PREFACE

It is found impossible in most English schools to devote more than two periods a week to the study of History, and teachers find considerable difficulty in doing thoroughly the work required for public examinations in the time allotted. This difficulty is increased in the case of those who attempt to deal with local records, with the development of civilisation and literature, and with contemporary European history.

The difficulty arises largely because in textbooks the chronological order is usually followed, and events and movements of considerable duration are treated not as wholes, but as portions of the reigns over which they extend. The adequate treatment of such subjects involves oral teaching, and either the dictation of notes in school or the copying of notes by the scholar out of school. The former plan unduly encroaches upon the short time available for actual teaching, the latter trespasses upon leisure time already seriously limited by home work.

These notes have been compiled in order to supplement the information given in the textbook and to lessen the amount of time devoted in school to the mere giving of notes. An attempt has been made to treat each subject fully (this has necessitated a certain amount of repetition), to bring out clearly the leading principles involved and to indicate the exact part played by the actors. The notes are supplemented by references; those under heading A being to the standard histories and biographies which may be found in any well-equipped public library; those under B

to short passages of prose or poetry suitable for reading aloud to the class and not included under A; those under C to historical novels and tales suitable for the scholar's private reading. But it is not intended entirely to obviate the writing of notes by the scholars, and there are some obvious omissions which must be rectified in class, while it is clearly impossible to give in a book like this any information on local history, the study of which adds greatly to the reality and interest of the general subject. No plans, maps, or architectural illustrations have been included, and it is suggested that these should be copied into the scholar's notebook (in the case of the last with the co-operation of the art master), and that they should not be merely consulted in a textbook or atlas as occasion arises.

These notes comply, to a considerable extent, with the suggestions as to the teaching of History contained in the recent circular of the Board of Education. They deal with the leading events of contemporary European History, and with the development of the Constitution, of industry and agriculture. They may be used as headings for essays, and the references "A" will afford further material for the "practice in original composition" upon which the circular lays stress. An attempt has been made to select the most important questions and to indicate their chief features by means of the main headings. At the same time the sub-headings give fuller information for those who wish to study the subject in greater detail.

These notes are intended mainly for the use of scholars preparing for History Scholarships at the Universities, for the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local, Higher Certificate, and Senior Local Examinations, for the Honours and Senior Certificates of the Central Welsh Board, the Irish Intermediate, the Scottish Leaving Certificates, the First Class of

the College of Preceptors, the Civil Service, the Matriculation, Intermediate, and Pupil Teacher Examinations. It is obvious that much of the information given will be beyond the capacity of candidates for Junior Examinations, but it is hoped that the author's *Junior British History Notes* may prove useful for these.

In a number of schools it is not possible to find room on the staff for a specialist in History, and it is hoped that these notes, which are the result of considerable experience in teaching, may be found suggestive and helpful to form masters taking the subject whose main interest lies in other parts of their work.

The author would welcome any suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book. He gladly acknowledges the kindness of Mr. S. Scruton in revising and correcting Part III.

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FIFTH EDITION

A number of additional references have been added to this edition.

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NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY

PART III

THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT

I. Restoration.

The Convention Parliament met on April 25th, **1660**. It was not a legal Parliament, because it had not been summoned by royal writ. It included many Presbyterians, favoured the restoration of the monarchy, and was moderate in tone. It accepted the conditions of the Declaration of Breda (page 427) and offered the Crown to Charles. Charles entered London on his thirtieth birthday, May 29th, **1660**. He made Edward Hyde (page 432) Lord Chancellor, James Duke of York Lord High Admiral, and Antony Ashley Cooper (now created Baron Ashley) Chancellor of the Exchequer.

II. The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion for all offences committed in the Civil War and during the Commonwealth.

A. The regicides.

(1) The Commons refused to order the execution of any who had acted as judges of Royalists as the Lords wished, and only the regicides were exempted from the Act. Twenty-eight were tried and thirteen executed. Vane and Lambert, although not regicides, were imprisoned, but Charles promised, in reply to a request from Lords and Commons, that their lives should be spared.

(2) The Convention ordered that the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw should be removed from Westminster Abbey and hanged at Tyburn

B. The settlement of the land.

(1) Crown lands, Church lands, and estates of Royalists sold by order of the Commonwealth were restored. (The restoration of the Church lands without indemnity to the purchasers was due to Hyde's efforts.)

(2) Their estates were not restored, nor was compensation given to private owners who had sold their estates. These disappointed Royalists declared that the Act was "An Act of Indemnity for the King's enemies and of Oblivion for his friends."

III. The Army.

A. The command of the militia and the fortresses were restored to the King.

B. The army was disbanded after receiving arrears of pay, and the soldiers, who proved sober and law-abiding citizens, were very soon absorbed in the civil population.

C. No provision was made for the legal establishment of a standing army, but Monk's Coldstream Guards and the King's Horse Guards, about 5000 men in all, were retained.

IV. The Settlement of the Royal Revenue.

A. £1,200,000 per annum, including tonnage and poundage for life, were granted to the King. This grant was the origin of the Civil List.

B. Feudal incidents (page 49), of which wardship and marriage had proved particularly vexatious, purveyance and military feudal tenures were abolished. Instead of these the King received the proceeds of a hereditary excise duty on beer, cider, and wine amounting to about £300,000 per annum.

(1) This arrangement laid a tax on the nation in general and relieved the landowners, who continued to exact from their copyhold tenants all the old dues. It is usually regarded as a piece of unjust class legislation.

(2) But some historians have justified the arrangement, because

α. The abolition of purveyance and feudal courts benefited all classes and not landowners alone.

β. The feudal incidents had been abolished by the Long Parliament, and this abolition had caused the payment of a higher price for estates sold during the Commonwealth. In these cases a land tax would have added a double burden.

γ. The excise was a tax on luxuries, and would fall most heavily upon the landowners.

C. The Crown revenue was thus large enough to meet all ordinary expenditure in time of peace. It was not large enough to pay the cost of a large standing army.

V. The Religious Settlement.

A. The Episcopal Church was re-established, but the Presbyterians had loyally co-operated in the Restoration and formed a large proportion of the Convention, while the Presbyterian and Independent ministers appointed to livings by Cromwell's Committees of "Triers" (page 418) were generally competent, of good character, and popular.

B. It was therefore decided that while about 1000 Episcopalians ejected during the Commonwealth should be restored to their livings without intermediate profits, those ministers who had been legally presented to vacant benefices should retain their livings even if they were not Episcopalians.

C. Both Presbyterians and moderate Episcopalians were generally opposed to Toleration, especially of Roman Catholics (for whom Charles was anxious to secure Toleration), but desired some measure of Comprehension. Parliament, therefore advocated the adoption of "Bishop Usher's Model," according to which

(1) Suffragan bishops were appointed to preside over local synods in each rural deanery;

(2) The bishops were to preside over annual diocesan synods of suffragan bishops and representatives.

α. This was a compromise combining Episcopacy with the Presbyterian system of synods.

β. It would not include Independents or Quakers.

D. Offers of bishoprics and deaneries were made to some of the leading Puritan ministers, and though most refused, one, Reynolds, accepted the bishopric of Norwich.

E. Twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterians were appointed to attend a conference at the Savoy, the Bishop of London's palace, to revise the Liturgy and consider the possibility of removing certain "superstitious practices" (e.g. the use of the surplice) to which the Presbyterians objected.

F. But the final settlement of religion was postponed and later the Cavalier Parliament restored to the Anglican Church all its old rights.

VI. The Convention and the Long Parliament.

Confirmation of the Acts of the Long Parliament up to the summer of **1641** and of the Navigation Acts.

References:

A. Hallam's *Constitutional History*, chap. XI.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, pp. 616–19.

C. *My Lord Winchenden*, by Hope. (Smith Elder.)

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON, 1609–1674

I. His Life.

(1) In the Long Parliament he at first supported the opponents of the King and agreed in May, **1641**, to the Bill which provided that that Parliament should not be dissolved but by its own consent.

(2) But he soon became dissatisfied with the extreme opponents of Charles I and, with Lord Falkland, became a leader of the Moderate Party, which finally supported the King owing to

α. The attack of the Long Parliament on the Anglican Church;

β. Resentment at the unfairness of the Grand Remonstrance (November, **1641**), which contained no reference to the concessions Charles had made;

γ. A growing fear that the Long Parliament aimed at a revolution.

(3) He shared the exile of Charles II and returned with him in **1660**.

(4) After the Restoration.

He was appointed Lord Chancellor and created Earl of Clarendon. His position was strengthened by the marriage of his daughter Anne to James Duke of York. He took an active part in the work of the Convention and Cavalier Parliaments, but made many enemies, was impeached for high treason and banished **1667**. He fled to France and spent his last years in writing the *History of the Great Rebellion*, which, although its style is marred by awkward syntax and the remarkable length of its sentences, and although it is written with a strong Royalist bias, is justly regarded as a great English classic owing to the skilful development of the main subject, to the vivid description of particular events, and especially to the brilliant delineation of character. Clarendon died at Rouen **1674**.

II. His Policy

A. Towards the King.

(1) He desired to establish a monarchy as strong as that of Elizabeth, regarded the attempts of Parliament to appropriate supplies, **1665**, and to appoint auditors, **1666**, as undue encroachments upon the royal au-

thority, and assured Charles that the authority of Parliament "was more, or less, or nothing, as he pleased to make it."

(2) But he recognised the importance of Parliament and considered that the King ought to work harmoniously with it.

(3) He saw the need of some constitutional limitations on the power of the Crown and aroused the anger of Charles

α. By failing to support, if he did not actually oppose, proposals to give the King so large a revenue as to make him independent of Parliament;

β. By opposing the King's wish to secure a standing army.

B. Towards the Church.

(1) He was a strong supporter of the Anglican Church.

α. The restoration of Church property and the return of bishops to the House of Lords were due largely to his efforts.

β. He considered that the establishment of the Church was necessary for public order, opposed all schemes of comprehension and toleration, and tried to enforce uniformity of belief and worship.

(2) He persecuted the Nonconformists.

He was largely responsible for the Clarendon Code (page 448), although he tried to induce the Commons to insert clauses in the Act of Uniformity recognising the right of the King to dispense with some of its conditions.

(3) He persecuted the Roman Catholics.

α. These suffered from the Clarendon Code.

β. He steadily opposed the plans of Charles to secure some measure of toleration for the Roman Catholics.

C. His foreign policy.

Like Elizabeth and Cromwell he opposed Spain, and desired to obtain the friendship of France. He failed to see that Spain, which had rapidly declined since the Peace of Westphalia **1648**, was no longer a menace to England, and did not appreciate the great danger arising from the aggression of Louis XIV. The interests of England would have been better served by an alliance with Holland.

(1) **1662.** He favoured the marriage of Charles II to Katharine of Braganza, sister of King Alfonso VI of Portugal. Her marriage portion included Tangier and Bombay (given in **1668** by Charles to the East India Company). Portugal had recently made herself independent of Spain, largely through the influence of Louis, who had supported Portugal through a desire to weaken Spain.

(2) **1662.** He sold Dunkirk to Louis XIV.

α. The harbour of Dunkirk was poor, the cost of keeping the town heavy, and it was of little real use to England.

β. But the sale caused great indignation in England, and strong objection was expressed to the cession of territory to France.

γ. Charles' financial position was greatly improved by this sale and by the consequent saving of the expense of maintaining the garrisons.

δ. Louis gained a valuable base of operations against Holland.

(3) Clarendon was responsible for the beginning of Charles II's policy of subservience to Louis in return for money payments which made Parliamentary grants of less importance, and so tended to weaken the control of Parliament over the King.

(4) He was held responsible for the failures of the Second Dutch War **1664** (page 440), although he had not desired to go to war with Holland.

III. **His Fall.**

A. He had aroused the enmity of all classes.

(1) Charles was enraged by his refusal to give toleration to Roman Catholics, by his action in limiting the grants made by Parliament to the King, by his opposition to the maintenance of a standing army, and by the "long sermons" in which he reproved the King for his immorality and extravagance.

(2) His regard for morality offended the dissolute courtiers, especially Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine (afterwards Duchess of Cleveland), who combined with the Duke of Buckingham and Ashley to ensure his overthrow.

(3) The Commons strongly resented his opposition to the demands for the appropriation of supplies and the audit of public accounts.

(4) The Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics hated him for his share in the Clarendon Code.

(5) The nobles objected to the marriage of his daughter Anne to the Duke of York.

(6) The Cavaliers held him responsible for the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.

(7) He had roused national opposition by the sale of Dunkirk, and was supposed to be liable for the mismanagement of the finances and of the Dutch War.

In spite of his upright conduct and unswerving loyalty he was sacrificed by Charles to appease the growing discontent which had led people to regard the Fire of London, the Plague, and the presence of the Dutch in the Thames as divine punishments for the dissoluteness and misgovernment of the time.

B. His impeachment.

(1) He was impeached for high treason by the Commons before the Lords for—

a. Arbitrary and illegal imprisonment;

This charge was true. He had caused people to be imprisoned on insufficient grounds and had

deprived men of the right of *habeas corpus* by imprisoning them outside the kingdom.

β. Persuading the King to keep a standing army, and in 1667 to keep his army at free quarters. He had rather opposed the maintenance of a standing army, but the latter part of this charge was true, although the circumstances in 1667 were difficult;

γ. The sale of Dunkirk;

δ. The alliance with France.

(2) The charge of high treason was not warranted by the facts, but the importance of his case lies in the fact that Parliament (even the Cavalier Parliament) showed that it was determined to control the executive, and this principle was reasserted in 1678 by the impeachment of Danby (page 456).

References:

A. Hallam's *Constitutional History* (Ward Lock), pp. 538–47.

B. Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 85. Popular Edition. (Longmans.)

C. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 621 and 635.

CHARLES II, LOUIS XIV, AND HOLLAND

I. The Conditions of the Times.

A. Charles II, desiring to escape from the control of Parliament and to restore the Roman Catholic religion, looked to Louis for the money which would help him to gain both those objects.

B. Louis XIV was in a very strong position.

(1) "Le Grand Monarque" had at Versailles a splendid court, which gave the fashion in dress, speech, art, literature, and science to Europe.

(2) The financial position of France was reorganised (1661–1683) by Colbert, who by the revision of the taille,[1] the more equitable redistribution of taxes, the abolition of most of the internal customs, the construction of canals, and the protection of French industries made France the wealthiest country in Europe.

(3) The French army had been reorganised by Louvois, was commanded by Turenne and Condé, two of the greatest generals of the time, and by Vauban, the most skilful engineer of Europe. An efficient French navy was founded by Colbert to assist in the development of his colonial policy.

(4) By the Treaty of Westphalia, which closed the Thirty Years' War in 1648, France gained a position on the Rhine by the acquisition of Alsace, strengthened her hold on the upper waters of the Meuse by the acquisition of the bishopric of Verdun, and on the Moselle by the acquisition of the bishoprics of Metz and Toul.

By the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) France received from Spain (the forces of which had been routed at the battle of the Dunes, page 420) Artois and the towns of Thionville, Landrecies, and Avesnes —affording valuable bases of operations against the Spanish Netherlands—and Roussillon and Cerdagne, which commanded the eastern passes of the Pyrenees.

(5) Louis wished to make the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees the borders of France, and to weaken the power of Protestantism by conquering Holland. But for this purpose it was necessary to ensure the alliance or at least the neutrality of England, and Louis was therefore willing to establish friendly relations with Charles.

C. Holland.

(1) Holland had assumed the lead of the United Provinces owing to the importance of its towns (Amsterdam,

[1] A tax on property.

Rotterdam, Delft, Leyden with its university, and the Hague, the centre of government), and to its wealth and population. The internal wars in England and France had enabled the Dutch to build up a great colonial empire in the East Indies, North America and the Cape of Good Hope, and to extend their commerce. The power had fallen into the hands of the burgher aristocracy, who in **1651** had abolished the hereditary Stadtholderate of the House of Orange, and had elected John de Witt as Grand Pensionary of Holland in **1653.**

(2) The Dutch (whose commerce was weakened by Colbert's protective policy) viewed with alarm Louis' design upon the Spanish Netherlands, knowing that if the French secured the line of the Scheldt and the town of Antwerp Holland would be in grave danger. In subsequent negotiations the Dutch attached great importance to the Barrier Fortresses, on the possession of which the safety of their southern frontier depended.

(3) They were not at first disposed to co-operate with England, owing to commercial jealousy and to the effect of the restoration of Charles II, which abolished the identity of interests between the Dutch and English against the Houses of Stuart and Orange.

II. English Foreign Policy 1660–1667.

A. Clarendon, who failed to understand the great increase in the power of France and the decrease in that of Spain owing to the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, continued the Elizabethan and Cromwellian policy of friendship with France.

(1) 1662. Charles, with the approval of Clarendon and Louis, married Katharine of Braganza, Princess of Portugal, which now, by the help of Louis and Charles, secured its independence of Spain. Katharine's dowry consisted of **£35,000**, Tangier, and **Bombay**.

(2) **1662.** Dunkirk was sold to Louis. Charles thus saved the cost of maintaining Dunkirk and obtained a large sum of money. Louis gained a convenient point of attack on the Spanish Netherlands lying between France and Holland.

(3) Henrietta, Charles' sister, married the Duke of Orleans, Louis' brother.

B. The Second Dutch War **1664.**

(1) The causes.

α. The continuance of the old commercial jealousy between England and Holland.

β. Colonial disputes in North America (between the Dutch of New Amsterdam and the English of Virginia), in Africa and the East Indies (where the Dutch refused to surrender Pularoon in accordance with an agreement).

γ. The indignation of Charles at the exclusion of his nephew, William of Orange, from the Stadtholderate.

(2) The war (formally declared March, **1665**).

1664. Capture of New Amsterdam by the English, and of part of Guiana by the Dutch.

1665. Great victory of the Duke of York over Opdam, at Lowestoft, marred by failure to follow up the pursuit. Louis XIV, fearing the growth of the English naval power, made an alliance with the Dutch, who made other alliances with Denmark and Brandenburg.

1666. June. Monk was out-manœuvred by De Ruyter in a "Four Days' Battle" off the North Foreland, but saved from complete defeat by the arrival of reinforcements under Rupert.

July. Monk routed the Dutch, destroyed one hundred and fifty ships in Terschelling Roads, and burned the unfortified town of Brandaris.

1667. Charles had squandered on his own pleasures the liberal subsidies granted by Parliament for the war, and, to save expense, had laid up the fleet at Chatham and protected it by a boom across the Medway.

June. The Dutch under De Ruyter broke the boom and burnt the ships in Chatham docks. Their success was due to the misgovernment of Charles, and not to the failure of the English leaders, who had held their own against the Dutch.

But the Dutch, realising that this victory was unsubstantial and frightened by the claim advanced to the Spanish Netherlands by Louis XIV, according to the Law of Devolution,[1]

1667. July. Agreed to the Peace of Breda, by which

α. England obtained New Amsterdam.[2]

β. The Dutch obtained Pularoon.

The acquisition of New Amsterdam was very valuable because it connected Virginia and the New England States.

III. The Triple Alliance and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1668.

A. **1667.** The War of Devolution. The armies of Louis (who in **1667** had made a secret treaty with Leopold of Austria for the Partition of the Spanish dominions on the death of Charles II) had invaded the Spanish Netherlands and captured many fortresses. Great alarm of the Dutch, especially of John de Witt, who had concluded an alliance with Louis in **1665**.

B. **1667.** There was a national outburst in England against Louis XIV, whose attack on the Netherlands showed that France and not Spain was most dangerous to England.

[1] The Law of Devolution was a local custom whereby in Brabant female children of a first marriage inherited private property in land in preference to male children of the second. Louis' father-in-law, Philip IV of Spain, had died in 1665, and Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands for his wife, Maria Theresa, Philip's elder daughter. But it was manifestly absurd to assert that the sovereignty of the country was inherited in the same way as landed property.

[2] Renamed New York after James Duke of York.

C. Opposition to France thus became imperative for England and Holland, and the Triple Alliance was concluded by Sir William Temple and de Witt after only five days' negotiations in January, 1668. England, Holland, and Sweden (for whom the victories of Gustavus Adolphus and the diplomacy of Oxenstierna had gained a reputation disproportionate to her real power) united in a defensive alliance to help each other if attacked, and to make peace between France and Spain, on condition that Louis should keep his conquests in the Netherlands or Franche Comté. By a secret clause they undertook to attack Louis if he refused to make peace.

The Triple Alliance ("The only good public thing that hath been done since the King came to England"—PEPYS) restored the reputation of England abroad, caused great satisfaction at home, anticipated the policy of the Grand Alliance, and compelled Louis, who, in February, 1668, had conquered Franche Comté, to agree to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

D. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1668.

Louis gave back Franche Comté to Spain, but received a number of fortresses on the borders of France and the Netherlands, including Lille, Charleroi, and Tournai.

α. Thus Louis secured Paris from an attack from the north.

β. But his policy of aggression was checked, and he determined to take vengeance upon "messieurs les marchands" of Holland. He therefore tried to isolate the Dutch.

IV. The Treaty of Dover, 1670, and the Third Dutch War, 1672–1674.

A. The Treaty of Dover.

Charles, realising that French help was necessary to save him from the control of Parliament, to keep up a standing army and to establish Roman Catholicism in England, made the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV through the agency of his sister Henrietta Duchess of

Orleans. Louis was glad to secure the help of England in his projected attack on Holland, and in his design to secure part of the Spanish dominions on the death of Charles II. The treaty consisted of two parts:

(1) The open treaty which was known to all the members of the Cabal (page 450).

α. France and England to attack Holland. England was to conduct the naval war and to receive Zeeland.

β. Charles to assist Louis to maintain his wife's claims to the Spanish dominions and to receive Ostend, Minorca, and any conquests he could make in Spanish South America.

γ. Louis was to pay Charles £300,000 a year.

(2) The secret treaty, known only to Clifford and Arlington.

α. Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic and to restore Catholicism in England.

β. Louis to give Charles a further payment of £200,000 a year, and to supply an army of 6000 French soldiers to suppress rebellion in England.

The same ministers who had supported the Triple Alliance now agreed to attack Holland, Arlington and Clifford in the hope of promoting the cause of Catholicism, the others owing to Charles' promise to issue a Declaration of Indulgence to Protestant (not Catholic) Nonconformists. The proposed war against Holland was most unpopular, and Charles said he was almost the only man in the kingdom who liked the French Alliance.

The Treaty of Dover, which would have made England a province of France, supplies the key to the subsequent policy of Charles and James, and "may be reckoned as the first act of a drama which ended in the Revolution"

B. The Isolation of Holland.

The Emperor Leopold promised to give no help to the Dutch.

Sweden and many of the lesser German princes deserted the Dutch Louis had thus succeeded in isolating Holland.

C. The Third Dutch War 1672–1674.

Before war was declared the English made a disgraceful but unsuccessful attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet off the Isle of Wight.

(1) 1672. March 17th. War declared.

June 7th. De Ruyter defeated the French and English fleets in Southwold Bay, and averted a naval attack on Holland.

Using Charleroi (gained by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle) as a base, Louis XIV invaded Holland and, owing to the strategy of Turenne, advanced nearly to Amsterdam. De Witt, who had neglected to maintain an efficient army through fear lest it might declare in favour of the young William of Orange, was murdered by a mob at the Hague. William was elected Captain-General, and Amsterdam was saved by cutting the dykes.

October. The Emperor Leopold and Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, "The Great Elector," made an alliance with Holland.

(2) 1673. Louis' troops were successful on land, but De Ruyter, by a naval victory over Rupert off Zeeland on August 21st, again saved Holland.

The Coalition was now joined by Spain, and

(3) 1674. February. England made peace with Holland owing to the Country Party, who demanded war with France but feared to give Charles the necessary forces. Louis, whose only ally was Sweden, continued the war, but the death of Turenne 1675, the exhaustion of France, the strength of the Coalition, and the marriage of William of Orange and Mary 1677, compelled him to accede to the

(4) **1678.** Treaty of Nymwegen, although Charles had offered to disband his army, to dissolve Parliament, and to abstain from helping the Dutch, in return for a new pension (page 468). By this treaty Holland was saved from Louis, but it was so weakened that its influence was greatly impaired. Louis kept most of the barrier fortresses and got also Franche Comté, but the treaty marks the height of the power of Louis, which had now reached its limit. The possibility of checking France by a European coalition had again been demonstrated, and William of Orange had undertaken his life's work of opposition to France.

References:

A. Wakeman. *The Ascendancy of France.* Chaps. IX. and X. (Rivingtons.)

B. Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 102. Popular Edition. (Longmans.)
Pepys' Diary, June 8th, 1665, June 4th, 1666.

C. *Vicomte de Bragelonne*, by Dumas. (Dent.)
The Refugees, by Conan Doyle. (Smith Elder.)
John Burnet of Barns, by Buchan. (Lane.)

THE CAVALIER PARLIAMENT 1661–1679

I. **The Interval between the Convention and Cavalier Parliaments.**

The Convention Parliament was dissolved in December, **1660**, and before the Cavalier Parliament met in May, **1661**,

A. A rising in London of Anabaptists under Thomas Venner, a cooper, was used by Charles as a justification for the retention of the Horse and Coldstream Guards, which thus, in spite of popular opposition to the principle involved, became the nucleus of a standing army.

B The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, Pym, and Blake were removed from Westminster Abbey. The first three were hanged at Tyburn, and the last two reinterred in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

C. The Conference at the Savoy between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians utterly failed to carry into effect the ideas of comprehension supported by the Convention, and this failure embittered the opposition between the two parties.

The Cavalier Parliament, elected during a strong Royalist reaction, contained only about fifty Presbyterians, and proved "more zealous for royalty than the King, more zealous for episcopacy than the bishops." Its members desired to strengthen the royal power, to re-establish the Anglican Church, to take vengeance on the Nonconformists for the persecution of the Anglicans under the Commonwealth, and to weaken Roman Catholicism. This Parliament was also called the Pensionary Parliament owing to the bribery of its members by the Court party, especially by Danby.

II. **The First Period to the Fall of Clarendon 1667.**

A. The royal power.

(1) **1661.** At first there existed general agreement between King and Parliament which greatly strengthened his position.

α. The Acts of the Long Parliament which had not been passed by King, Lords, and Commons were annulled.

β. It was declared illegal for either House of Parliament to wage war against the King.

γ. The consent of the King was declared necessary for legislation, and the command of the militia was vested in the Crown.

δ. The King's right of dissolving and proroguing Parliament at pleasure was asserted.

(2) **1661.** The Solemn League and Covenant was declared illegal and ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

(3) Vane and Lambert were accused of high treason on account of their services to the Commonwealth. Vane was condemned to death and executed June 14th, 1662, and Lambert was imprisoned for life. Vane's execution was a judicial murder.

α. By a statute of Henry VII, 1496, obedience to a *de facto* King was declared legal.

β. But the Cavalier Parliament asserted, inaccurately and absurdly, that Charles II's reign had begun in 1649 and that, therefore, the Commonwealth was not a *de facto* Government.

γ. Charles had promised the Convention that Vane's life should be spared, but consented to his execution because he was "too dangerous a man to let live."

(4) But even the Cavalier Parliament recognised the need of limiting the absolute power of the King.

1661. α. It confirmed the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion (in spite of strong opposition).

β. It refused to restore the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission.

1662. γ. The King, hoping to secure the help of the Nonconformists in his attempt to secure toleration for the Roman Catholics and relying upon his dispensing power, issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending the Act of Uniformity for three months.

1663. The Commons absolutely denied the King's right to dispense with the laws, and compelled him to withdraw the Declaration.

(5) Dissension between the King and the Cavalier Parliament due to

α. The gross wickedness of the Court;

β. The general incompetence of the Government, especially the mismanagement of the public money, much of which was squandered by the King on his own pleasures;

1662. γ. The sale of Dunkirk to the French;

1667. δ. The appearance in the Thames and Medway (at Rochester) of the Dutch fleet.

This dissatisfaction was clearly shown

1665. α. By the appropriation of the supply of £1,250,000 to the Dutch War;

1666. β. By the appointment of commissioners to inspect accounts.

B. Religious policy.

The Cavalier Parliament enthusiastically supported the Anglican Church and, unlike the King, opposed all schemes of Comprehension and Toleration.

(1) **1661.** The bishops regained their seats in the House of Lords.

(2) All members were compelled to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church.

(3) The Clarendon Code. Acts of vengeance on the Puritans for their intolerance under the Commonwealth.

1661. α. The Corporation Act required all members of corporations to accept the doctrine of Passive Obedience, to renounce the Covenant, and to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church.

This Act was passed to weaken the Presbyterians, who were strong in the towns and had great influence in the town councils.

1662. β. The Act of Uniformity provided that every clergyman, schoolmaster, and fellow of a college should accept the Book of Common Prayer which alone could be used in public worship; that they should take the oath of non-resistance and renounce the Solemn League and Covenant; that every minister must be ordained by a bishop.

1. This Act was directed against the Puritan clergy, many of whom, estimated by some writers at 2000, refused to conform to it, and were ejected from their livings on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, **1662**.

2. The expulsion of one-fifth of the most learned and respected of the clergy greatly weakened the Anglican Church, which, by the assertion of the necessity of episcopal ordination, was cut off from the Protestant churches of the Continent.

3. The Presbyterians now gave up the idea of Comprehension; their adhesion greatly strengthened the cause of Nonconformity; the united Nonconformists became so powerful that they subsequently secured Toleration, and became an important religious and political party.

1664. γ. The Conventicle Act forbade meetings (other than family meetings) of more than five persons for religious worship, except in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, on pain, for the first offence, of fines, for the second of imprisonment, for the third of transportation. A single Justice of the Peace could inflict punishment for breaches of this Act.

1. This Act was due to the attempts of dispossessed clergymen to continue their ministrations in secret.

2. It deprived the accused of their right to trial by jury.

3. Many Nonconformists were imprisoned; five hundred Quakers, one of the smallest bodies, were thrown into prison in London alone.

1665. δ. The Five Mile Act forbade all ejected clergymen to teach in schools or to come within five miles of any corporate town.

1. Due to the jealousy felt by the Anglican clergy, most of whom had fled from London during the Plague 1665, of the ejected Nonconformists who had preached and ministered to the sick.
2. It was now most difficult for Nonconformists, most of whom lived in towns, to obtain religious instruction; their ministers found it almost impossible to make a living, and suffered the greatest hardships.

(4) The Cavalier Parliament strongly opposed Roman Catholicism, and in 1663 successfully opposed the King's attempt to give Catholics and Nonconformists some measure of toleration by the exercise of his dispensing power.

C. The assertion of the right of Parliament to control the Executive.

(1) 1665. The appropriation of supplies.

(2) 1666. Commissioners appointed to audit the accounts.

(3) 1667. The impeachment of Clarendon (page 436), an assertion of the responsibility of ministers to Parliament.

D. 1662. A Licensing Act provided that all publications must be entered at Stationers' Hall, that printing should be allowed only in London, York, Oxford, and Cambridge, and that the number of master printers should be limited.

III. The Cavalier Parliament and the Cabal 1667–1673.

Charles, fearing the opposition of Parliament, determined to rule through a small executive. This involved to some extent the weakening of the Parliamentary authority over the executive which had just been asserted by the impeachment of Clarendon. He entrusted the adminis-

tration to the Cabal,[1] a kind of commission for foreign affairs, consisting of Clifford (a Roman Catholic, appointed Lord Treasurer), the Earl of Arlington (a Roman Catholic at heart, appointed Secretary of State), the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer), the Earl of Lauderdale (who was governing Scotland). Ashley and Lauderdale were inclined to support the Presbyterians, Buckingham, the son-in-law of Fairfax, favoured the Independents. The Cabal cannot be regarded as a modern "Ministry" or "Cabinet," as its members were not

α. United in policy.

β. Collectively responsible for their policy.

▲ Religious questions.

(1) 1668. The Parliament, still strongly Anglican, refused to agree to a scheme of Protestant Comprehension supported by Ashley and Buckingham.

(2) 1673. Parliament compelled Charles to withdraw a Declaration of Indulgence (issued in 1672 during the prorogation), by which the King suspended all penal statutes against Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics.

(3) 1673. The Test Act provided that all persons holding any civil or military office should take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church and abjure Transubstantiation.

α. Consequent resignation of James Duke of York, the Lord High Admiral, who had become a Roman Catholic in 1669, and of Lord Clifford, the Lord Treasurer.

β. The break-up of the Cabal.

[1] Although the initials of the five members happened to make the word "Cabal," the term was not new, but had been used previously to indicate what we should now term a Cabinet. The work of these particular ministers gave the name a special and sinister meaning.

γ. The Nonconformists, although affected by the Test Act, supported it through enmity to the Roman Catholics.

B. Foreign affairs.

1668. Parliament strongly approved of the Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden against France, and was prorogued for twenty-one months on April 2nd, **1671**, because the King felt that the agreement made by the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV to attack Holland would be strongly opposed by Parliament.

1674. Parliament compelled Charles to end the Third Dutch War by threatening to refuse supplies.

C. Growing opposition to the King.

(1) The extravagance of the King aroused suspicions that he was receiving financial assistance from Louis XIV, although the provisions of the Treaty of Dover (p. 442) were not known.

(2) **1671.** Owing to an attack made, at the King's instigation, on Sir John Coventry, who had opposed him, the indignant Parliament brought in a Bill making malicious maiming a capital crime.

(3) **1672.** The Stop of the Exchequer.

Investors had entrusted money to London goldsmiths, who made a considerable profit by lending it, on the security of the revenue, to the Exchequer at a higher rate of interest than they paid to their own clients, and the Exchequer now owed £1,300,000. All payments from the Exchequer were suspended by royal proclamation for twelve months, and a commercial crisis resulted from this dishonest act.

(4) Much indignation was caused by the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, **1672**, and by the unjustifiable attack on the Dutch trading fleet in March, **1672**.

(5) The Duke of York had openly acknowledged himself a Roman Catholic, and it was believed that Charles was one too.

D. The rise of the Country Party

(1) Due to the opposition roused by the King's conduct and to the skilful leadership of Shaftesbury—a supporter of the Presbyterians who became leader of the opposition on learning of the secret clauses in the Treaty of Dover by which the King undertook to restore Roman Catholicism in England.

(2) The Country Party, which included Lord Russell and Lord Cavendish, desired to prevent the King from gaining absolute power and from establishing the Roman Catholic religion. While favourable to the relief of the religious disabilities of Nonconformists, they made the limitation of the royal power their first object. They therefore refused to accept Toleration when offered as the result of the dispensing power, and denied the King's right to dispense with penal statutes without consent of Parliament. They followed up this action by strongly supporting the passage of the Test Act, which broke up the Cabal. They unsuccessfully opposed the marriage of James and Mary of Modena, a Roman Catholic, and their Bill for Protestant Securities excluding from the throne the husband of a Roman Catholic was not passed.

(3) In foreign politics they strongly opposed Louis XIV, on whose support they suspected the success of Charles' schemes depended, and compelled Charles to make peace with the Dutch, February, **1674**.

IV. The Cavalier Parliament, Danby and the Country Party 1674–1679.

A. The Earl of Danby.

(1) Sir Thomas Osborne was created Earl of Danby and appointed Lord Treasurer in succession to Clifford.

(2) The King had found that the Nonconformists could not be won over to support him, and therefore turned to Danby, who, like Clarendon, was a strong Anglican, an opponent of Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity, and a supporter of the royal authority. The Danby

Ministry was an alliance between the Crown and the High Church Party.

(3) Unlike Clarendon, Danby was opposed to France and favoured union with Holland. But Charles' success depended upon the continuance of the pensions from Louis, and he persistently opposed Danby's repeated demands for war with France.

(4) Danby anticipated the policy of Walpole, and was the first English minister to maintain his position by organised bribery. Under his administration the "Pensionary Parliament" well deserved its name.

B. The Country Party.

(1) **1675.** Danby endeavoured to compel all State officials to take the oath of non-resistance and to undertake "not to endeavour any alteration in the Government in Church or State as it is by law established." The House of Lords, in which the Court Party was strong, carried the Bill, but Shaftesbury and the Country Party ensured its rejection in the Commons.

(2) The Country Party repeatedly urged Charles, the pensioner of Louis XIV, to declare war on France, but, through fear of the growth of the King's power, refused to vote the necessary supplies.

(3) Prorogation of Parliament from November 22, **1675**, to February 15, **1677**.

α. Charles was bribed to prorogue the Parliament by Louis, who feared that the Country Party would insist on a war against France.

1675. December. β. To check political discussions in the coffee-houses (equivalent to modern clubs), Charles by proclamation revoked all their licences, but was compelled by popular indignation to withdraw the proclamation.

1676. γ. Another secret treaty concluded between Louis XIV and Charles enabled the former to continue his victorious career without fear of interference from England.

(4) **1677.** February. Parliament reassembled. Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of contempt for protesting against the long prorogation and attempting to force a dissolution. (He hoped that the Country Party would secure a majority in any new Parliament.)

(5) **1677.** The Country Party ensured the rejection in the Commons of a Bill introduced by Danby, which provided that in case of the accession of James, the Archbishop of Canterbury should act as guardian of the King's children, and that vacancies in the episcopate should be filled up by the bishops.

α. This Bill was regarded as an inadequate protection for the Protestant cause.

β. It affords an illustration of the bitter enmity of the Country Party against James, already shown in its opposition to his marriage to Mary of Modena.

(6) **1677.** The Country Party, though anxious for war with France and wishing to help Holland, feared that the army of about 20,000 men assembled for these objects would be used by Charles to strengthen his own power and to support Catholicism, and demanded that it should be disbanded.

(7) Louis XIV, through fear of this army, bribed Charles by a promise of £2,000,000 livres to prorogue Parliament until April, **1678.** But, through anger at the marriage of James' daughter Mary to William of Orange, which Danby arranged in **1677**, Louis refused to pay the promised subsidy, and Charles in revenge summoned Parliament in February, **1678.**

(8) The co-operation of Louis XIV and the Country Party.

1678. Charles was now anxious for war with France, and again collected an army of about 20,000 men. The Country Party, strengthened by the unscrupu-

lous use of the Popish Plot by Shaftesbury just released from the Tower, and fearing an increase of the royal power, now accepted bribes from Louis XIV (who saw that war with Charles would hamper his operations against Holland) to demand that it should be disbanded.

α. The action of Shaftesbury and the majority of the Country Party (not Lord Russell) in accepting bribes from Louis seems to us unpardonable.

β. But the bribes were too small to have much influence, and the opposition would have followed the same policy of their own accord without any bribes.

(9) The fall of Danby.

1678. Charles, annoyed at the refusal of the Country Party to support the war against France, again renewed his friendship with Louis, and five days after supplies had been voted in Parliament for war against France compelled Danby to write a letter to Louis proposing a new treaty and demanding a fresh pension. Louis in 1678 concluded the Treaty of Nymwegen with Holland, and, no longer requiring the assistance of Charles, refused to give another pension, and in order to gratify his desire for vengeance on Danby for his action in promoting the marriage of Mary and William of Orange, he published the letter in question.

(10) The impeachment of Danby.

The House of Commons, believing in the existence of the Popish Plot and fearing the re-establishment of Catholicism with the help of Louis XIV, followed the lead of Shaftesbury and the Country Party, and at once impeached Danby for high treason. This trial is a most important element in the attempt of Parliament to gain control over the executive. It clearly established the responsibility of ministers to Parliament.

α. The Commons persisted in holding Danby responsible, although the treaty and demand for a pension were acknowledged by the King as his own acts, and Charles stated that Danby signed the treaty at his command.

β. Charles tried to save Danby by issuing a pardon under the Great Seal, but the Commons maintained that no such pardon can be pleaded in bar of impeachment. This principle was finally accepted in the Act of Settlement.

γ. Charles having dissolved Parliament January, 1679, to save Danby, the question arose whether an impeachment ceased with the prorogation or dissolution of Parliament. This remained long in dispute, but was finally settled in the
1791. negative in the case of Warren Hastings.

V. Some constitutional questions 1668-1679.

(1) The original jurisdiction of the House of Lords Skinner *v.* East India Company.

1668. α. Skinner, fearing that the ordinary courts could not give him redress for injuries done to his property in India by the East India Company, petitioned the King, who referred the matter to the Lords. The Lords awarded him £5000 damages.

β. The Company then petitioned the Commons against the action of the Lords, and the Commons declared that it was illegal for the Lords to exercise such original jurisdiction.

γ. After a violent dispute between both Houses all records were erased from the journals at the King's suggestion, but the Lords abandoned their claim to original jurisdiction in civil cases.

(2) The appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords Shirley *v.* Fagg.

1675. α. Dr. Shirley appealed to the House of Lords from a decision of the Court of Chancery in favour of his opponent, Sir John Fagg, a member of the House of Commons.

β. The Commons, wishing to assert their right of freedom from legal proceedings while Parliament was sitting, opposed the appeal as a breach of their privilege.

γ. But the Lords maintained their right of jurisdiction over appeals from the Court of Chancery.

(3) 1670. The legal position of jurors.

Bushell's Case. Edmund Bushell had acted as foreman of a jury which had acquitted William Penn, the Quaker, for preaching in London in spite of the Conventicle Act, and had been imprisoned for refusing to pay a fine imposed on the jury by the Recorder of London for their verdict. He was released by a writ of habeas corpus. Chief Justice Vaughan declared that jurors were not liable to legal penalties for any verdict they might give.

References:

A. Hallam's *Constitutional History.* Chaps. XI. and XII.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 620, 623, 641.

C. *Whitefriars*, by Robinson. (Routledge.)

THE GREAT PLAGUE AND THE FIRE OF LONDON

I. The Great Plague 1665.

It was not of foreign origin. England repeatedly suffered from intermittent outbreaks of the plague, especially **1603** and **1625** when enormous crowds thronged to London for the Coronations of James I and Charles I, and during the Civil War when the towns were greatly overcrowded.

A. Causes.

(1) It was due to poisonous exhalations from the soil, greatly increased by the great drought of the preceding winter and spring.

(2) Owing to the growth of London it was found very difficult to dispose of refuse and to provide for the proper interment of the dead.

(3) The evil was aggravated by the narrow streets with overhanging houses which impeded the free circulation of air.

The Plague was popularly regarded as a divine punishment for the wickedness of the times.

B. Course.

The Plague began May, 1665, in St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and advanced eastward. At its worst period, the beginning of September, over 1000 died each day and about 80,000 died of the plague in London.

Infected houses were shut up and marked with a red cross and often inscribed with the words, "Lord, have mercy on us."

Most of the Anglican clergy and the doctors fled. The Nonconformist ministers rendered excellent services to the sick, and the Lord Mayor administered a relief fund.

II. **The Fire of London 1666.**

Began September 3rd in a baker's shop in Pudding Lane. Was ascribed, quite wrongly, to the Roman Catholics. Lasted until September 6th, extended from the Tower to the Temple and from the Thames to Smithfield. Destroyed old St. Paul's, 89 churches and 13,000 houses, made 200,000 people homeless; the damage estimated at £7,000,000. Ultimately checked by blowing up houses in its path with gunpowder under the King's personal direction. Great indignation was caused by the action of the courtiers, who openly rejoiced in the ruin of the city which had strongly opposed the King.

The fire burnt out the plague, but London continued most unsanitary and was always liable to epidemics.

Sir Christopher Wren, whose Renaissance buildings are remarkable for their excellent proportions, built St. Paul's Cathedral and 50 churches (including St. Mary-le-Bow).

References:

A. *Social England.* Vol. IV, pp. 637–46.
Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year.*

B. *Pepys' Diary,* August and September, 1665, and September 2nd–6th, 1666.

C. Ainsworth, *Old St. Paul's.* (Routledge.)

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY 1621–1688 AND THE COUNTRY PARTY

I. **The Life of Shaftesbury to the Break-up of the Cabal.**

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart., was a member of the Short and Long Parliaments. At first he took the King's side, but became a Parliamentarian, and was a member of the Council of State appointed to supervise the Government. As a Puritan he showed himself "the loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train"; but quarrelled with Oliver Cromwell, and strongly supported the restoration of Charles II, acting as one of the commissioners who invited Charles to return.

1660. At the Restoration he was created Baron Ashley, and appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was a member of the Court Party from 1660–1667, strongly opposed the religious persecution of the Cavalier Parliament, helped to overthrow Clarendon 1667, became one of the Cabal (page 450), and in 1672 was appointed Lord Chancellor and made Earl of Shaftesbury.

II. As Leader of the Country Party 1672–1679.

A. His breach with the King.

Up to **1672** he had tried to secure the friendship of Charles, hoping thereby to secure toleration for Nonconformists, and to unite all in resistance to absolutism at home and danger from Louis XIV abroad. In **1672** he defended the Dutch War in Parliament, although he had in **1668** supported the Triple Alliance with Holland. But on discovering in **1672** that, by the Treaty of Dover **1670** (page 442), Charles had agreed with Louis not only to join in war with Holland (as all the members of the Cabal knew), but also to establish Catholicism in England (of which Shaftesbury and Buckingham were kept in ignorance), he finally left the King's party and became the leader of the Country Party (pages 454–7).

B. Resistance to Roman Catholicism.

Shaftesbury now considered that resistance to Roman Catholicism was urgently necessary.

1673. (1) He co-operated in the passage of the Test Act which broke up the Cabal (page 450), although it pressed heavily on the Nonconformists, for whom he had much sympathy.

1673. (2) He realised the danger to English Protestantism if James became King, and especially if he married a Catholic princess for his second wife. He therefore opposed the proposed marriage of James with Mary of Modena.

[November, **1673.** He was deprived of the office of Lord Chancellor.]

1674. Supported the Bill for Protestant Securities (page 453).

1674. (3) Shaftesbury was dismissed from the Privy Council and removed from the lord lieutenancy of Dorset.

1678. (4) He took full advantage of the growing suspicion of the danger of the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism and also of the national outburst caused

by the Popish Plot to strengthen his position, and to ensure the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament, although he failed to prevent James from retaining his seat in the House of Lords.

C. Shaftesbury and Louis XIV.

(1) He realised the danger to England from Louis XIV
1674 and supported the peace with Holland.

(2) But his fear that Charles would use supplies and the army voted by Parliament for war with France, in order to establish absolute monarchy in England, led him to agree with Louis to secure the dissolution of Parliament, which was strongly opposed to France, and
1678 to support the impeachment of Danby (page 456).

III. **The First Short Parliament of the Restoration. March, 1679, to May, 1679.**

A. The elections had aroused great excitement. Shaftesbury had gone from place to place, speaking in favour of members of the Country Party (one of the first examples of "stumping the country"), and candidates had been required to pledge themselves to support the Exclusion Bill in Parliament (probably the first time such a pledge was exacted). Owing to the fear of the Popish Plot, to the impeachment of Danby, and the discredit into which the King had fallen, a strong anti-Catholic majority was returned.

B. The impeachment of Danby.

The impeachment was renewed, but subsequently dropped. Danby was committed to the Tower, where he remained for five years.

C. The exclusion of James.

The Country Party were determined to exclude James, and Lord Russell said that "if James became king his subjects must either become Papists or be burnt." They refused to accept a proposal of Charles that on the accession of a Roman Catholic the last Parliament of the previous reign should continue and should make all civil and military appointments. They introduced an

Exclusion Bill which was read twice in the Commons. Charles therefore dissolved Parliament. May, **1679.**

D. The Habeas Corpus Act **1679.**

The arbitrary imprisonment of political offenders by Lord Clarendon had directed attention to the inadequacy of ancient remedies against illegal detention. Although the writ of habeas corpus issued of right, it was sometimes evaded by delay on the part of the gaoler in making returns to the writ, and by moving the prisoner from place to place. The jurisdiction of the Courts was not clear; the Court of Exchequer had never issued a writ; it was doubtful whether the Court of Common Pleas could do so, and whether a single judge of the King's Bench could grant a writ in a vacation.

(1) Provisions.

α. Any judge could, during a vacation, award a writ of habeas corpus to any prisoner accused of crime other than treason or felony on request being made in writing.

β. Prisoners committed for treason or felony should be tried at the next sessions or released on bail, they should be discharged if not indicted at the following sessions.

γ. Gaolers disobeying the writ to pay the aggrieved party £100 for the first offence, and on a second to pay £200 and to lose their office. Any judge illegally denying a writ to pay £500 damages.

δ. No prisoner once delivered by habeas corpus to be recommitted for the same offence.

ε. No inhabitant of England or Wales to be imprisoned in Scotland or beyond the seas.

(2) Criticism.

α. The Habeas Corpus Act did not introduce any new principle or confer any new right. "The right of personal liberty is as old as the Constitution itself." But it did much to remedy evasions of this right.

β. Its chief defects were :—

1. It did not limit the amount of bail. This defect was remedied by the Bill of Rights 1689.
2. It applied only to criminal cases.
3. It did not ensure a true return.

These last two defects were remedied in 1816 when Judges were required to determine the accuracy of the return, and the right of Habeas Corpus was extended to non-criminal cases.

IV. The Duke of Monmouth.

After the dissolution of Parliament in May, 1679, the national feeling against the accession of a Roman Catholic king grew, and Shaftesbury continued to use the Popish Plot to support his effort to exclude the Duke of York from the throne. He now supported the Duke of Monmouth as the successor of Charles II.

A. The Duke of Monmouth was the illegitimate son of Charles and Lucy Walters, and to support his claim to the throne Shaftesbury circulated the story of the existence of a "Black Box" containing the certificate of the marriage of Lucy Walters and Charles, while Monmouth dropped the baton sinister from his arms.

Monmouth, although a profligate, was popular on account of his handsome person, the clemency he had shown to the Covenanters after his victory at Bothwell Brig, June, 1679 (page 473), and his support of Protestantism, which gained him the name of "the Protestant Prince." His cause was strengthened by the great unpopularity of James, and by the fact that William of Orange, the other possible successor of Charles II, was a foreigner.

B. Halifax, Sunderland, and Essex objected to Monmouth on account of his birth, resented Shaftesbury's violent methods, and supported the cause of William of Orange.

whose wife Mary, a Protestant, had the next claim to the throne after her father James. Shaftesbury distrusted William because of his relationship to James, and his unwillingness to weaken the royal power.

V. **Reaction in favour of the King.**

A. The serious illness of the King in June, **1679**, had increased his popularity. The King recovered, and Monmouth withdrew to Flanders, while James was appointed as High Commissioner to Scotland (page 473). In October, 1679, Shaftesbury was deprived of his office as Lord President of the Council.

B. In spite of Shaftesbury's efforts to increase the opposition to James by means of the Popish Plot and of his unscrupulous use of the Meal Tub Plot[1] popular feeling began to turn. Four of Oates' victims were acquitted in 1679, many objected to the prospect of having a sovereign of illegitimate birth, there was a strong feeling that the Roman Catholicism of James ought not to prevent the accession of his Protestant children, and it seemed possible that Shaftesbury's policy might lead to civil war.

C. **1679.** The King had prorogued for one year the newly elected Parliament, and his action led the Country Party, at Shaftesbury's instigation, to present petitions that Parliament should meet. "The Petitioners" were called Whigs (from the term "Whigamore"[2] applied to the Scotch Covenanters), and this name was due to their strong Protestant sympathies and involved a suggestion of treasonable opposition to the Crown. The Court Party, gradually growing stronger, resented this attempt to put pressure upon the King, and declared their abhorrence of the action of the Petitioners. "The Abhorrers" were called Tories

[1] A plot against James invented by Dangerfield and so called because on his subsequent arrest incriminatory papers were found in a Meal Tub.

[2] From "Whey." A reference to the stern looks of the earnest Covenanters

(the term Tory was given to the popish robbers in Ireland), and this name referred to their support of Roman Catholicism. Owing to Louis' subsidies, Charles was independent of Parliament, while Shaftesbury thought that Charles would be compelled to depend on Parliamentary grants to meet his expenses.

D. In 1680, Shaftesbury's bold action in presenting the Duke of York as a popish recusant before the Grand Jury of Westminster failed, as Chief Justice Scroggs quashed the action on a technical point.

VI. The Parliament of 1680.

A. Parliament met in October, 1680, and the Country Party carried the Exclusion Bill in the Commons, but it was thrown out in the Lords owing to the opposition of Halifax.

B. Halifax, who wished to protect the interests of William of Orange and Mary, induced the Lords to pass a Bill for Protestant Securities which, while allowing James to succeed, would have greatly limited his power. The Bill was thrown out by the Commons.

C. In order to rouse public feeling, the Commons impeached Lord Stafford for supporting the Popish Plot. He was condemned by the Lords and executed, although no charge against him was supported by more than one witness. This execution was a gross judicial murder.

D. The Commons refused to vote supplies until the Exclusion Bill had been passed, demanded the expulsion of Halifax from the Council, and asserted that the Papists had caused the Fire of London. Therefore January 18th, 1681, Charles dissolved Parliament.

VII. The Oxford Parliament, March 21st–28th, 1681.

A. During the interval between this and the preceding Parliament

(1) Monmouth had made quasi-royal progresses throughout the country to strengthen his cause.

(2) Charles had secured a promise of £250,000 a year for three years from Louis, who feared that if James were excluded William of Orange might unite England and Holland against France.

(3) Charles, anticipating that the violence of the Country Party would play into his hands, called the third Short Parliament of his reign at Oxford.

α. Oxford had always been strongly loyalist.

β. London was "fanatically antipapist."

γ. The Whigs, fearing an attack, appeared at Oxford in arms and thus supported the assertion of the Court Party that they were preparing for civil war.

(4) Shaftesbury insisted on the recognition of Monmouth as heir to the throne, and refused to accept the offer of Charles that James should be banished, and William of Orange should act as regent for him. Charles therefore dissolved Parliament.

VIII. **The importance of the Country Party.**

A. They recognised the necessity of limiting the authority of the Crown.

B. They saw that the power of Louis XIV was dangerous to Europe and advocated the alliance between England and Holland, which became the main element in the Grand Alliance that, under William III and Marlborough, ultimately checked the aggression of France.

C. They believed that the cause of Protestantism was imperilled and therefore opposed France and endeavoured to exclude James from the throne. This policy was justified

(1) By the existence of the plot made by Charles and Louis in the Secret Treaty of Dover to restore Roman Catholicism in England;

(2) By the policy of James II which resulted in the Great Revolution.

D. But the Country Party injured their cause by their violence.

(1) They made a shameful use of the disgraceful Popish Plot to strengthen their position and must be held responsible for the judicial murders which resulted, especially that of Lord Stafford (although the Lords who condemned him share the blame).

(2) Their refusal to accept the reasonable offer of Charles at the Oxford Parliament and the factious way they supported the Exclusion Bill weakened their position.

(3) Their support of Monmouth's candidature and the proposed exclusion of James' Protestant children roused much indignation.

(4) Moderate men were alienated by their illegal impeachment of some Abhorrers, by their extravagant assertions, e.g. that the Papists were responsible for the Fire of London, and by the danger of Civil War due to their actions.

(5) In 1681 Charles saw that the violence of his opponents had caused a strong reaction in his favour. He skilfully put them in the wrong at the Oxford Parliament, and was able to pose as a generous sovereign anxious to preserve the monarchy, willing to give reasonable securities for the safety of Protestantism, but unwilling to yield to the violence of a factious opposition whose action had brought the country to the verge of civil war.

IX. The Character of Shaftesbury.

A. Dryden calls him "the false Achitophel . . a name to all succeeding ages cursed"; Macaulay says that "he was a principal member of the most profligate Administration ever known and a principal member of the most profligate Opposition ever known"; Hallam refers to him as "destitute of all honest principle."

B. His reputation for profligacy rests largely upon his answer to Charles II: "You are the wickedest dog in England!"

"Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am." But the physical weakness of his "pigmy body" rendered gross dissipation impossible, and he was probably a temperate man.

C. In the early part of his very varied political career he was a political Bohemian, and he had been a supporter of Cromwell, an opponent of Cromwell, a member of the Court Party 1660–1667, and of the Cabal 1667–1673. But when Charles deceived him about the Secret Treaty of Dover he joined the Opposition, and during the rest of his life he consistently supported the policy of the Country Party, especially the limitation of the royal power, the exclusion of James, and opposition to France.

As a politician he was clear-sighted. He supported the Habeas Corpus Act because he saw that the vindication of the liberty of the subject was an effective means of limiting the absolute power of the King. He was ambitious and "resolved to ruin or to rule the state." He was utterly unscrupulous in his methods, and his use of the Popish Plot is one of the greatest of the blots on his fame.

Although he cared little for religion, he was a firm supporter of religious toleration, but he supported the Test Act in 1673 because such a measure seemed necessary to check the power of Charles II.

D. He was a great Parliamentary tactician, and had the power of influencing large masses. By organising the Country Party, by giving it a definite policy, he led the supporters of Charles to organise themselves. The nicknames of Whig and Tory tended to unite the parties so formed, and Shaftesbury thus played a very important part in the development of Party Government in England.

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 642–46.

B. Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. "Of these the false Achitophel was first."

C. *In the Golden Days*, by Lyall. (Hurst and Blackett.)

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S PLAN FOR THE REORGANISATION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL 1679

A. The arrangement whereby the Privy Council had been divided into committees for administrative purposes which had been in force under Charles I had been revived by Clarendon, and the Committee for Foreign Affairs became the most important. The unpopularity of the Cabal and the difficulty of ensuring harmonious relations between the legislature and the administration (shown by the impeachment of Clarendon **1667** and Danby **1678**) had discredited this system.

B. The violence of the Parliament of **1679** made Charles II willing to agree to Temple's scheme, which seemed likely to limit the power of Parliament, while the nation welcomed a scheme which they thought would deliver them from such committees as the Cabal and would check the power of the King.

C. Details of the scheme.

(1) The Privy Council to be reorganised, and to consist of thirty (instead of fifty) members, half being officers of State, and ten Lords and five Commoners forming the remainder, the total income of the Councillors to be not less than £300,000.

α. Thus the Council would be too large for a "Cabal";

β. The wealth and position of its members would inspire confidence in the country.

(2) The King promised to act according to the advice of this Council, to whom all State secrets were to be disclosed. Thus the Council would act as a check upon the royal power.

D. Criticism.

(1) The scheme failed as an attempt to reconcile the executive and the legislature.

(2) The new Council was too large for administration and for unanimity among the members.

(3) An inner Cabinet of four—Temple, Halifax, Essex, and Sunderland—soon became supreme, and thus the old evil of government by a small committee, which the new arrangement was intended to obviate, again arose. There were grave differences between this Cabinet and the other twenty-six members, and especially between Shaftesbury, the President, and Halifax.

(4) The King acted on the advice of the small Cabinet, and prorogued Parliament without consulting the Council.

(5) Macaulay thought that Temple's object was to establish not a Privy Council, but an Assembly of Estates.

α. The numbers were too large for a Privy Council.

β. The Peerage, the Commons, the Law, and the Church were all represented.

γ. Half the councillors were excluded from office under the Crown, and this shows that the sole object was not, as in the case of a Privy Council, executive.

SCOTLAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

"No part, I believe, of modern history, for so long a period, can be compared for the wickedness of government to the Scots administration of this reign" (Hallam). On the arrival of Charles in London, 1660, he was met by James Sharp begging him to re-establish Presbyterianism, of which religion the Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland, was a supporter. Sharp and Lauderdale adopted the cause of Episcopacy, and the former was created Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Earl of Middleton was created Lord Commissioner of Scotland. Charles had promised that no change should be made in religious matters in Scotland, but Lauderdale, Sharp, and Middleton now did their best to overthrow the Presbyterian Church.

I. **The "Drunken" Parliament 1661.**

A. By an "Act Rescissory" all Acts passed after **1641** were rescinded, and this evolved the separation of England and Scotland, united under the Commonwealth (page 408), and the overthrow of Presbyterianism.

B. The restoration of Episcopacy.

(1) The Episcopal Church was formally restored and general assemblies were discontinued.

(2) All officials were ordered to renounce the Covenant, which was burned by the hangman.

The Privy Council continued the work of Parliament after prorogation.

(3) **1662.** All ministers holding livings were required to accept episcopal ordination. (With one exception every man present at the Council on this occasion was said to have been drunk.) About 350 ministers who refused to comply were ejected from their livings.

(4) The Scotch Mile Act forbade any minister not so ordained to live within twenty miles of his parish or within three miles of a royal borough.

(5) The Court of High Commission was established to enforce Episcopacy.

II. **The Execution of Argyle.**

Although Argyle had strongly supported the Restoration he was condemned of treason and executed May, 1661. His condemnation was partly due to the production by Monk of letters in which Argyle had written favourably of Cromwell's policy. The real reasons for his execution were his position as leader of the Covenanters, the great authority he exercised in the Highlands, and his share in the execution of Montrose **1650** (page 407).

III. **The Resistance of the Covenanters.**

On the removal of Middleton from office, Lauderdale and Sharp continued the policy of persecution, but the Covenanters met for worship secretly, especially in the Western Lowlands, where they were termed Whigamores.

A. The people of Galloway, Ayr, and Dumfries rose in insurrection, but were routed at Rullion Green, and many were executed after cruel torture.

B. **1679.** Archbishop Sharp was murdered on Magus Moor, near Cupar, by a party of Covenanters lying in wait for an official named Carmichael who had cruelly enforced the laws against Presbyterianism in Fifeshire.

C. **1679.** Second rising of the Western Lowlands. The Cameronians.

(1) This was due to the atrocities of the Highlanders—"The Highland Host"—sent to suppress the Covenanters, and to the influence of the murderers of Sharp, who fled to the West.

(2) John Graham, of Claverhouse, one of the most cruel opponents of the Covenanters, was defeated at Drumclog and Glasgow was captured by the rebels.

(3) The Duke of Monmouth routed the Covenanters at Bothwell Brig, where, in spite of Monmouth's orders to show mercy to them, many were slain by Claverhouse and the Highlanders. Monmouth showed leniency to the rebels and, partly for this reason, was recalled.

(4) James Duke of York was then appointed Royal Commissioner and treated the Covenanters with gross cruelty. He made a great use of torture,[1] and is said to have invented the "Boot."

The new Duke of Argyle took the oath of allegiance, but reserved his right to support any "beneficial reform in Church and State." He was therefore condemned to death for treason on grounds for which Halifax asserted, "We should not hang a dog here," but, with the help of his daughter, escaped to Holland.

References:

B. Macaulay's *History of England*, pp. 244–5. (Longmans.)

C. *Old Mortality*, Sir Walter Scott.
The Men of the Moss Hags, by Crockett. (Isbister.)

[1] The last case of torture in England was in 1640, when a criminal was racked for attacking Laud's palace. It ceased in Scotland about 1690.

THE ABSOLUTE GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES II 1681–1685

I. **The Causes of Charles' Absolute Power.**

A. He was in receipt of £250,000 a year from Louis XIV (paid on condition that he did not summon Parliament), his income from the customs was growing, and there were no wars to pay for. Charles was therefore independent of Parliament.

B. He had used the garrison of Tangier to increase his Guards, who now numbered 9000 men.

C. The power of the Whigs was broken.

(1) Their violent support of the Exclusion Bill (especially in the Oxford Parliament 1681), the belief that they were ready to stir up civil war in favour of Monmouth, and the violent reaction against the Popish Plot had gained for Charles the strong support of the majority of the nation.

(2) The vengeance of the King.

(*a*) College, "the Protestant joiner," the inventor of the "Protestant flail,"[1] was charged with treason, and although acquitted in London, was convicted by a Tory jury at Oxford and executed, although the facts of his case did not warrant the charge.

(*b*) Shaftesbury was accused of high treason. Dryden published *Absalom and Achitophel* to ensure his conviction, but the Middlesex Grand Jury, whose sympathies were Whig, threw out the bill. Shaftesbury vainly tried to form an association in favour of Parliamentary government and the Exclusion Bill and fled to Holland (October, 1682), and died there, January, 1683.

[1] A stick loaded with lead, carried by Protestants at the time of the Popish Plot.

(*c*) 1682. Monmouth was arrested at Stafford during a progress through England. He was accused of a share in the Rye House Plot, pardoned, but fled to Holland 1684.

(*d*) The Rye House Plot, 1683.

After Shaftesbury's flight some of the leaders of the Country Party, including Lord Howard of Escrick, Lord Russell, Lord Essex, and Algernon Sidney, formed an association to compel the King to summon Parliament.

Another and quite distinct plot was formed without the knowledge of Howard, Russell, and Sidney by Col. Rumbold, an old Cromwellian and one of Shaftesbury's most violent supporters, to murder Charles and James on their way to Newmarket races at the Rye House, near Hoddesdon, which belonged to Rumbold

The two plots were discovered, and the Crown lawyers, wishing completely to break up the Country Party, successfully implicated Howard, Russell, Essex, and Sidney in Rumbold's plot. Howard turned informer, Essex committed suicide in June, 1683, Russell and Sidney were executed in July and December, 1683, respectively. These executions were judicial murders.

α. The juries were packed by the Tory sheriffs of London.

β. Two witnesses were necessary to prove treason, but in the case of Russell hearsay evidence was admitted instead of a second witness, and in Sidney's case a Republican treatise found in his desk, written years before, containing expressions of approval of insurrections against Nero and Caligula, and asserting the right of subjects to depose an unworthy king was accepted as evidence in place of a second witness.

γ. The attainder was reversed at the Revolution as incorrect in fact and law.

(*e*) The laws against Nonconformists were rigidly enforced.

D. The confiscation of town charters.

(1) London in particular and the towns in general were Whig strongholds, and Charles strongly resented the action of the Grand Jury of Middlesex who had thrown out the bill against Shaftesbury. The right of voting for members of Parliament was often vested in the town councils, and Charles determined to remodel the corporations in order to punish the towns for their Whig sympathies and to ensure a Tory majority in any Parliament he might summon.

(2) 1683. A *quo warranto* writ was issued against the city of London accusing the corporation of having forfeited their charter by

α. Illegally imposing tolls by their own by-laws;

β. Petitioning the King to summon Parliament and publishing the Petition, December, 1679.

1683. Judgment was given against London by the Court of King's Bench, and its charter was declared forfeited. The forfeiture was not enforced, because the corporation agreed to give to the King control over the election of the mayor, sheriff, and recorder. By a similar process before judges of assize, or, in many cases, by voluntary surrender of charters, the corporations of many towns were remodelled, and Judge Jeffreys in 1684 on the Northern Circuit "made all the charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him." There was now a Tory majority in the town councils.

E. Charles' cause was helped by the partial recognition of the King's right to absolute power.

(1) Many of the Anglican clergy preached the duty of non-resistance.

(2) 1683. The University of Oxford declared the theories:—

α. That all civil authority is derived originally from the people,

β. That there is a compact, tacit or express, between the King and his subjects,

to be "false, seditious, and impious."

(3) The posthumous works of Sir Robert Filmer were now published and widely read. They asserted the derivation of the sovereign power by hereditary right from patriarchal government, wherein the head exercises absolute power over his family, and maintained that "as kingly power is by the law of God, so hath it no inferior power to limit it."

II. The King's Policy 1681–1685.

A. There is a marked difference between the personal government of Charles I from 1629–1640 (page 365) and that of Charles II from 1681–1685. Unlike his father, Charles II imposed no arbitrary taxes, exercised no censorship over the press, and imprisoned no men without a trial (although servile judges and jurors sometimes, e.g. in the cases of Russell and Sidney, committed judicial murder at the King's wish).

B. But while keeping within the letter of the law, Charles II contrived to ruin the Whigs, to establish his control over the towns.

C. He steadily refused to call Parliament in spite of the Triennial Act, and although his Tory supporters favoured Parliamentary government. But the French subsidies (owing to which Charles had connived at the seizure of Strasburg and Luxemburg by Louis) ceased in 1684, and if Charles had lived he would have been compelled to summon Parliament through want of money.

D. He appointed James Lord High Admiral and summoned him to the Council in spite of the Test Act of 1673.

E. Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester (second son of Clarendon), supported the King in his illegal policy, but Halifax the "Trimmer," who now became leader of the Opposition, protested strongly against the violation of the Triennial and Test Acts, urged the King to rule as a constitutional monarch, and secured the dismissal of Rochester from his post as First Lord of the Treasury.

F. February 6th, 1685. Death, after a short illness, of Charles II, who on his deathbed declared himself a Roman Catholic.

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 661–64.

CHARLES II

I. **His Early Life.**

Born 1630, landed in Scotland June 24th, 1650, after the execution of Montrose had made his presence imperative for the success of his cause. He accepted the Covenant, but endeavoured to escape from Argyle and the strict Covenanters to the Highland Royalists. "The Start." The "Engagers" (page 401) under Hamilton came to an agreement with Argyle and Charles was crowned at Scone January 1st, 1651. He was routed by Cromwell at Worcester, September 3rd, 1651, but escaped to Normandy and found a refuge with his cousin, Louis XIV.

II. **His Objects.**

A. He wished to secure absolute power.

(1) The example of absolute power of Louis XIV, who declared "L'État! C'est moi," influenced Charles.

(2) He may possibly have believed in Divine Right.

B. He wished to secure toleration for Roman Catholics.

He probably had become a Roman Catholic before 1660, but did not announce his conversion.

III. **His Character.**

A. (1) He was utterly selfish, aiming at his own enjoyment, and apparently could not appreciate any good qualities in others. He squandered public money on his own pleasures, ruined the London goldsmiths to relieve his financial embarrassment, basely deceived his ministers

In his negotiations with Louis XIV he sacrificed personal dignity and national honour in order to secure his own ends, and treated with great ingratitude many who had made great sacrifices for his cause.

(2) He was shamelessly immoral; his illegitimate children were publicly acknowledged and received grants of titles and money. He was a gambler and a drunkard.

B. He was a man of charming manners and of great wit. He "never said a foolish thing" and apologised on his death-bed to his courtiers for being "such an unconscionable time in dying."

C. But it is quite wrong to assume that he was simply a "Merrie Monarch" who "discovered a most delicious mode of walking called sauntering" (Pepys) and whose sole object was "not to go on his travels again."

(1) Charles II was the ablest of the Stuarts. He had been trained in the school of adversity and had shown great courage and coolness in danger. He knew what he wanted, but recognised the difficulties of his position. He was a keen and accurate observer of facts (e.g. he saw that it was impossible to maintain his Declarations of Indulgence, **1662** and **1672**, in face of national opposition; he also saw that the Country Party had gone too far in **1681** and profited by the reaction of feeling caused by their extravagance).

(2) Although he was very lazy he was capable at times of vigorous action and could make the most of favourable opportunities, e.g. the prompt measures he took to establish his power after the fall of the Country Party.

(3) He was a clever tactician, he succeeded in diverting the wrath of Parliament from himself to his ministers, he abstained from useless resistance, e.g. to the outcry against the "Popish Plot," although he knew that the danger was greatly exaggerated.

(4) At the end of his life he had secured absolute power and "his death at the very moment of his triumph saved English freedom."

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 629–31.
Macaulay's *History of England*. Popular Edition. Vol. I, pp. 82–3.

B. Macaulay's *History*. Vol. I, p. 213.

C. *Simon Dale*, by Anthony Hope. (Methuen.)

THE REIGN OF JAMES II FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1685

I. The Position of James at his Accession.

His position was very strong. Charles II had made the royal power absolute at the end of his reign. The nation as a whole favoured hereditary monarchy. The Tory party, including most of the nobility and gentry, and (owing to the remodelling of the corporations by Charles II) possessing a majority on the town councils, supported the accession of James in the expectation of the ultimate succession of his daughter Mary, a Protestant. The Anglican Church, although now rather Latitudinarian than Laudian, accepted the doctrines of Divine Right and passive obedience. The University of Oxford (page 476) was strongly Royalist. The standing army, gradually strengthened by Charles, now numbered about 10,000 men, and was at the King's disposal.

II. The Objects of James.

A. Like Charles II he wished to re-establish Roman Catholicism. Unlike Charles he failed to perceive the strength of the national opposition to this policy, and the openness with which he pursued his object soon roused strong opposition.

B. He wished to rule absolutely, believed firmly in the Divine Right of Kings, thought that the royal prerogative enabled him to override the law, wished in particular to abrogate the Test Act and to annul the Habeas Corpus Act.

C. He determined to rely upon the standing army, which he soon increased.

D. A conviction of the identity of his religious policy with that of Louis XIV led him at first to renew the alliance with France. He accepted gifts of £37,000 and £30,000 from Louis and told Barillon the French ambassador that without Louis' aid he "could do nothing." But he refused to become a mere servant of Louis and would not assist him in his schemes of aggression in Europe, devoting all his energies to the maintenance of absolutism and the establishment of Roman Catholicism in England. He summoned Parliament partly in the hope that its subsidies would make him independent of Louis.

III. The King's Promise.

A. On his accession he promised to "preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by law established." This promise made a most favourable impression and deepened the loyalty of the country.

B. But James, pending the meeting of Parliament, by the advice of Jeffreys collected and used the customs duties by Royal Proclamation without Parliamentary sanction (these duties had been granted to Charles II for his life only).

α. He thus at once broke his promise.

β. While delay in the collection of the customs would have interfered with the trade of the country, they ought, after collection, to have been kept unused until Parliament authorised their expenditure.

C. Judge Jeffreys condemned Titus Oates to be flogged twice from Newgate to Tyburn within two days, and after a disgraceful trial imprisoned Richard Baxter, a Nonconformist minister of the highest character, for protesting against religious persecution. Although these verdicts were given in accordance with the forms of law, they showed that the Court, of which Jefferies was a servile instrument, would not shrink from violence and cruelty in pursuit of its aims.

IV. The Parliament. May to November, 1685.

The Rye House Plot had broken the Whig party, and the remodelled corporations returned a strong Tory and Royalist majority.

Parliament voted the King an annual revenue of nearly £2,000,000 for life. As James did not wish to take an active part in European politics, this grant made him independent of Louis XIV's subsidies and of Parliamentary control in England. But a Committee of Parliament showed the feeling of the nation by petitioning James to enforce the penal statutes against Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics.

V. The Rebellions.

A. Argyle, a strong Presbyterian, returned from Holland May 2nd, 1685, and raised a rebellion in Scotland, owing to his opposition to a Roman Catholic king. He wished to secure the Highlands, where he could rely upon his own clan, the Campbells, but his Lowland supporters, Patrick Hume and Cochrane, over whom his authority was limited, compelled him to divert part of his forces to the Western Lowlands. He was captured in Renfrewshire and executed on the old charge of treason (page 473) June 30th.

B. June 11th. Monmouth returned from Holland, landed at Lyme, and issued a proclamation in favour of Parliamentary Government and Religious Toleration for Pro-

testant Nonconformists. He was attainted by Parliament and the gentry held aloof partly owing to his illegitimate birth, but the country people supported him, and he soon had a force of about 5000 men, very badly equipped with arms. He was well received at Taunton, where he assumed the title of king, and at Bridgwater, but the Lords Lieutenant called out the militia against him. He failed to capture Bristol, and after a successful skirmish at Philip's Norton, fell back on Bridgwater pursued by the Earl of Feversham and the Royalist army, which encamped in three divisions on Sedgemoor. Monmouth wisely planned a night attack, July 6th, but the advance of his army, which had safely crossed two ditches, was checked by the Bussex Rhine, and a pistol fired in the confusion warned the Royalists, who, under Churchill, at once attacked the rebels. Monmouth fled, but his followers fought bravely until the King's artillery appeared. Monmouth was captured July 8th, and executed July 15th, in spite of the servile entreaties for his life he made to James.

Colonel Kirke, formerly commander at Tangier, and his "Lambs" stamped out the rising with gross cruelty, and executed one hundred people within a week after the battle. Judge Jeffreys, who was frequently drunk at the trials, in the Bloody Assize, condemned about four hundred to death, and over eight hundred to slavery for ten years in the West Indian plantations. Many of the latter were presented to the Queen, her maids of honour, and the courtiers, who made large sums by selling them to the planters. Mrs. Alice Lisle was beheaded and Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt burned for sheltering rebels. Jeffreys was created Lord Chancellor for his services.

C. The failure of these rebellions showed the general loyalty of the country and marks the height of the power of James, who now began to give commissions to Roman Catholic officers, and demanded supplies for a large standing army "to avoid such risings in the future."

VI. **The Beginning of Resistance.**

A. The execution of Monmouth removed a cause of dissension among the Whigs, who united to advocate the claims of William and Mary to the throne, while the King's approval of the cruelties of Jeffreys caused much indignation.

B. October, 1685. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV greatly aggravated the opposition to Roman Catholicism in England. (Louis wished to ensure uniformity of religion in France, and to show that, in spite of a quarrel with the Pope as to the disposition of the income of vacant bishoprics, he was an orthodox Catholic. He had secretly married, in 1633, the devout Madame de Maintenon, whose influence had done much to purify the French Court and who approved of the persecution of the Huguenots. In 1684 many Huguenots of the Cevennes recanted owing to the "Dragonnades," to protect their families from the dragoons quartered on them. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked and Protestantism became an illegal religion. Fifty thousand Huguenot families left France and went to England (especially Spitalfields, where they founded the silk trade), Holland, and Brandenburg, in all of which their presence led to an industrial revival, while French commerce suffered much from their departure).

C. James had roused opposition by publicly attending Mass, and in October, 1685, Halifax was dismissed from the Privy Council for protesting against the King's violation of the Test Act. Rochester, James' brother-in-law, continued to maintain the cause of the English Church in opposition to a strong Roman Catholic party led by Sunderland, Father Petre (James' Jesuit confessor), and Tyrconnel.

D. Parliament reassembled November 9th, 1685.

The Commons by a majority of one vote refused supplies until grievances were redressed, and the Lords

and Commons protested against the illegal grant of commissions to Roman Catholics and the King's claim to the Dispensing Power. Parliament prorogued November 20th, and not summoned again by James.

[For references see next note.]

THE REIGN OF JAMES II FROM THE PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT TO THE DISMISSAL OF ROCHESTER AND CLARENDON, NOVEMBER, 1685, TO JANUARY, 1687

The attempt of James, relying upon the subservience of the judges, and the royal supremacy over the Church and the army, to admit Roman Catholics to office.

I. The Dispensing Power.

A. The Dispensing Power was the power claimed by the Crown of exempting individuals from the operation of particular statutes. It was based on the old theory that the king made the statutes and could therefore grant exemption from their operation. It was usefully employed to mitigate hardships caused by the enforcement of carelessly drafted statutes, and was usually exercised, as at the present day, in pardoning offenders for breaches of the law actually committed.

B. Hales' Case 1686.

James wished to use the Dispensing Power to admit Roman Catholics to office. He removed from office those judges who would not support him, and a collusive action was brought against Sir Edward Hales, a Roman

Catholic who had received a commission in the army, by his coachman. The judicial bench was packed, and eleven out of twelve judges decided that "the King of England is a sovereign prince, and the laws are his laws, whence it follows that it is part of his prerogative to dispense with penal law as he sees fit and necessary," June 21st, 1686.

α. The decision in this special case was probably legally correct.

β. But the assertion of the absolute power of the Crown to nullify statutes and the theory that no statute could limit the King's prerogative threatened the liberty of the subject and Parliamentary government and "may be said to have sealed the condemnation of the House of Stuart."

Relying on this decision, James at once appointed four Roman Catholic peers to be members of the Privy Council.

C. The University of Oxford.

The University of Oxford had always been strongly Royalist and had firmly maintained the illegality of any resistance to a king. The Anglican Church had adopted the same attitude, and James anticipated little opposition to his attempt to use the Dispensing Power to appoint Roman Catholics to ecclesiastical and academic posts at Oxford. He therefore

(1) Appointed Massey, a Roman Catholic, Dean of Christ Church;

(2) Granted a dispensation to Walker, Master of University College, who had become a Roman Catholic, to retain his mastership.

II. The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

A. July, 1686. In order to enforce the royal supremacy over the Church, James re-established the Court of High Commission under the name of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. His action was illegal because he re-established by his own authority a court which had been abolished by Parliament 1641. The abolition had been confirmed in 1661. Chancellor Jeffreys, the President, Chief Justice Herbert, the Earls of Rochester and Sunderland, and three bishops formed the Court, which had jurisdiction over all clergymen and all teachers, and was bound by no rules of legal procedure. Archbishop Sancroft refused to become a member.

B. The Court suspended Compton, Bishop of London, for refusing to suspend Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles-in-the Fields, who, in defiance of James' orders, had preached strongly against Roman Catholicism.

III. The Army.

Great indignation had been roused in London by James' policy, especially by his reception of the Papal Nuncio at Court and his public attendance at Mass. A serious riot broke out at the opening of a new Catholic church in London, and James gladly seized the opportunity of strengthening the royal power, and stationed an army of 13,000 men on Hounslow Heath to overawe the capital. July, 1686.

IV. Scotland.

The Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, a Catholic, had ensured the removal of the Commissioner, the Protestant Duke of Queensberry, and tried to get Parliament to repeal the Test Act. Parliament refused and was prorogued by James, who endeavoured to relieve Roman Catholics by declaring null and void all penal statutes which had been passed against them.

V. Ireland.

James determined to overthrow the Settlement made in 1661 and to favour the Irish Roman Catholics at the expense of the English Protestants. The Earl of Clarendon was appointed Lord Lieutenant, but Tyrconnel had more power, and by replacing Protestant officers by Roman Catholics and enlisting 2000 Catholic soldiers secured the support of the Irish army for James.

VI. The Dismissal of Rochester and Clarendon, January, 1687.

James, who failed to appreciate the opposition of the country to the establishment of Roman Catholicism, deprived Rochester and Clarendon, who refused to become Catholics, of their offices of Lord Treasurer and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Consequent alienation of the Protestant nobility. Three Catholic peers were appointed to high offices of State, Lord Belasyse was put at the head of the Treasury (now placed in commission), the Earl of Tyrconnel was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Arundell[1] was made Lord Privy Seal. Father Petre, James' Jesuit confessor, was admitted to the Privy Council.

References;

A. Gardiner's *Student's History of England.* Chap. XLI. (Longmans.)

B. Judge Jeffreys. Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I, p 220. (Longmans.)
Richard Baxter. Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I, p. 239. (Longmans.)
Argyle. Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I, p 274. (Longmans.)

C. *The Courtship of Morrice Buckler*, by Mason. (Macmillan.)
Lorna Doone, by Blackmore. (Sampson Low.)
Micah Clarke, by Conan Doyle. (Longmans.)

[1] Baron Arundell of Wardour. His title must be distinguished from that of Earl of Arundel, which was held by the Howards.

THE REIGN OF JAMES II FROM THE DISMISSAL OF ROCHESTER AND CLARENDON TO THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS, JANUARY, 1687, TO JUNE, 1688

James now endeavoured to secure his objects by winning over the Protestant Nonconformists.

I. The First Declaration of Indulgence, April 4th, 1687.

James II, on his own authority, suspended all penal laws and annulled all religious tests. The Suspending Power thus claimed as part of the royal prerogative was much more serious than the power of dispensing with the law in the case of individuals, and was quite incompatible with constitutional government. Although many Nonconformists were released from prison in consequence, the majority of the party (who were strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism and absolutism, and had never accepted the theory of the Divine Right of Kings), led by Baxter and Bunyan, refused to accept toleration obtained by a method which made laws useless.

II. James' Attempt to secure a Parliament.

Owing to the failure of the Declaration of Indulgence James determined to secure the repeal of the Test Act by Parliament. He dissolved the Parliament prorogued in November, 1685 (page 485), appointed "Regulators" to remodel corporations by the admission of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, demanded from the Lords Lieutenant the names of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists who would support him. But the "Regulators" failed, and the dismissal of many Lords Lieutenant for refusing to carry out his orders further alienated the country gentry.

III **Further Attack through the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission upon the Universities, 1687.**

A. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge dismissed from office for refusing to confer a degree on a Benedictine monk.

B. Oxford.

(1) The Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, refused to accept as president Antony Farmer, a Roman Catholic who, although he was not eligible for the post, and was of bad character, had been nominated by the King.

(2) The Fellows duly elected John Hough.

(3) The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission declared Hough's election void and installed Parker Bishop of Oxford, and on his death Bonaventura Giffard a Roman Catholic Bishop, as President of Magdalen.

(4) The Court expelled the Fellows and Demies (scholars) of Magdalen for non-compliance with its orders and appointed Roman Catholics in their place.

IV. **The Second Declaration of Indulgence, April 22nd, 1688.**

A second Declaration was issued by James and ordered to be read in the churches on two successive Sundays. This led to the final alienation of the Anglican Church from James. The Declaration was read in only four churches in London, and in these cases the congregation left as a protest. Sancroft the Primate, and Bishops Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Trelawney of Bristol,[1] Lake of Chichester, Turner of Ely, petitioned the King that they might not be compelled to break the law by publishing an illegal declaration. James called the petition a "standard of rebellion," and by the advice of Jeffreys

[1] The famous ballad,

"And shall Trelawney die, and shall Trelawney die?
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why,"

was not sung by the Cornish peasants in 1688 as Macaulay asserted, but was composed in the nineteenth century by Rev. R. S. Hawker, rector of Morwenstow.

the seven bishops were summoned before the King's Bench on a charge of seditious libel and committed to the Tower on refusing to give bail, from which necessity they claimed exemption as Peers. Somers, the Bishops' counsel, declared that the petition was neither seditious, as it had been presented in private, nor a libel, as every subject had a right to petition the sovereign against a grievance. The jury acquitted the bishops June 30th, and the acquittal was gladly received even by the army on Hounslow Heath. A foolish attempt to proceed in the High Commission Court against those clergymen who had refused to read the Declaration failed. Thus the Church, previously the servile instrument of the King, had become his strong opponent, and for the first time in defending its own rights had maintained the cause of national liberty and constitutional government against the absolutism of the Crown.

V. Birth of James Prince of Wales, "The Old Pretender."

June 10. A son was born to James and Mary of Modena. But many believed, wrongly, that the baby had been smuggled into the palace and was not the King's son, especially as only Catholics were present at its birth, and this belief increased the unpopularity of James.

VI. James, doubting the loyalty of the army at Hounslow, now brought over some of Tyrconnel's Irish soldiers, enough to cause great discontent, not enough to crush his opponents. General resignation of Protestant officers.

References:

B. Declaration of Indulgence, Macaulay's *History*, Vol. I, p. 431. Popular Edition. (Longmans.)

The Trial of the Seven Bishops, Macaulay's *History*, Vol. I, pp. 500, 519.

William's entry into London, Macaulay's *History*, Vol. I, pp. 613–15.

THE FALL OF JAMES II

The Whigs had always opposed James. He had now alienated the Tory nobility and gentry, the Church, the Universities, and the Nonconformists. The birth of his son, which seemed likely to perpetuate the Catholic succession, proved the last straw, and on the day of the bishops' acquittal, June 30, Admiral Herbert, representing the Whigs, the Tories, and the Church, invited William of Orange to come to England with an army to restore national liberty and protect the Protestant religion. In August even Sunderland, James' chief supporter, and Churchill, second in command of the army, promised their help to William. Thus the whole nation was united against James.

I. **William of Orange.**

Hitherto William had not supported the overthrow of James II, as he hoped that James would oppose Louis XIV, and the ultimate succession of his wife Mary seemed assured. But James' refusal actively to oppose Louis and the birth of his heir completely changed William's position and made him willing to interfere.

A. His difficulties.

(1) William's great object was to oppose France, and the alliance he had formed against Louis XIV by the League of Augsburg (1686) included Catholic states (Spain and Austria), which would object to strong measures in support of Protestantism in England.

(2) The burgher oligarchy of Holland, the opponents of the House of Orange and especially Amsterdam, would prevent the provincial states from authorising war against James.

(3) The defeat of James' English army by a Dutch force would cause national resentment in England.

B. The removal of the difficulties.

(1) Louis XIV alienated Austria and Spain by forming an alliance with the Turks, by quarrelling with the Pope,

by attempting to secure the archbishopric of Cologne for a strong supporter, and thus to strengthen his power on the Rhine.

(2) The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (page 484) and the injury done to their trade, especially the herring trade, by Louis' protective policy embittered the Dutch towns, and their pride was touched by the orders Louis issued forbidding them to attack his ally James II.

(3) The English would gladly welcome William if he could defeat the Irish troops James had brought over.

(4) James II quarrelled with Louis XIV, who therefore, instead of using his army to prevent William's descent on England by intervention in the Netherlands, moved his army to the Rhine and seized the Palatinate, thus giving William a free hand.

C. William's Declaration, October 10th, 1688.

(1) He enumerated James' illegal acts, the breach of the Test Act, formation of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, interference with town charters, the trial of the bishops.

(2) As husband of Mary, the heiress to the throne, he claimed the right of armed interference in England, but promised to leave the final settlement to a free Parliament.

II. James' Concessions.

James vainly tried to win over the Church and Tory Party by restoring the President and Fellows of Magdalen, by reinstating the Lords Lieutenant, by dissolving the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, by dismissing Sunderland, and by giving the Privy Council proofs of the legitimacy of his son. These concessions came too late to win back the support of the nation.

III. The Landing of William and the Flight of James.

William profited by Louis' attack on the Palatinate to leave Holland, October 19th. He was compelled to return owing to bad weather, but landed in Torbay (not as he intended, in the north, where he hoped to join

Danby and Devonshire) November 5. The remembrance of the Bloody Assize made the West-country people slow to join him, but Danby and Lumley roused Yorkshire, Devonshire roused the Midlands, Norfolk, and the eastern counties, and William gradually got more support. Churchill, whose plot to seize James had failed, Lord Cornbury,[1] Ormonde, Princess Anne and her husband Prince George of Denmark, and many of the chief towns (York, Hull, Bristol), deserted James, who appointed Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin to treat with William. Writs for a new Parliament were prepared, but James burnt the writs, tried to escape to France, and threw the Great Seal into the Thames, hoping thus to disorganise public business, December 11th. Halifax and many Tories, who thought that James' flight absolved them from allegiance, joined William, who marched towards London to quell riots caused by the fear of an attack from Feversham's Irish army. James returned to London, but on William's approach escaped to France, December 23rd, 1688.

References:

A. Gardiner's *Student's History.* Chap. XLI.
Life of Burnet, by Clarke and Foxcroft. (Cambridge University Press.) Chap. VII.
History of England, by Macaulay, edited by Firth. (Macmillan.) Vol. III, Chap. IX.

B. Declaration of Indulgence, Macaulay's *History.* Popular Edition. Vol. I, p. 431. [pp. 500, 519.
The Trial of the Seven Bishops, Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I, pp. 613–15.
William's entry into London, Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I,

THE REVOLUTION

I. Causes.

A. The events of the reign of Charles II do not form part of the causes of the Revolution. At his death the monarchy was in a strong position (page 476), and James' unquestioned accession showed the adherence of the nation to the principle of hereditary succession. The causes are to be found in the conduct of James II.

[1] Son of the second Earl of Clarendon.

B. The main cause was James' illegal use of the prerogative to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion and to give Catholics privileges which were contrary to law. His actions (the attempt to keep a standing army, the establishment of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, the attacks on the Universities, the dismissal of Protestants from office, the admission of Roman Catholics to office, his use of the dispensing and suspending powers, the trial of the bishops) alienated the whole nation. He thus threatened the continuance of the Established Church, of constitutional government, and of the liberty of the subject.

C. The success of the Revolution was facilitated by James' utter folly.

(1) He refused to listen to the warnings Louis XIV gave him of the danger from William.

(2) His voluntary flight removed one of the greatest difficulties of William.

D. The birth of the Old Pretender was "the last straw."

II. The Settlement of the Succession.

A. The Convention.

William reached London December 18th, wisely abstained from using his army to promote his cause, resolved to keep his promise to leave the settlement to Parliament, and by the advice of the Peers, of surviving members of Charles II's Parliament, and of the authorities of London, summoned a Convention Parliament which met January 22nd, 1689.

B. Several courses were advocated.

(1) Some of the extreme Tories wished to restore James provided the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution of England were adequately protected. This plan was not even brought before the Convention owing to the profound distrust caused by James' past policy and by a foolish manifesto he issued January 4th.

(2) Other Tories took Archbishop Sancroft's view that James was unfit to rule, but that Englishmen were bound by their oaths of allegiance to him, and that William should act as Regent and rule in James name.

(3) Other Tories, led by Danby and Compton Bishop of London, accepted the illegitimacy of James' son and considered that by James' flight the crown had devolved upon his heiress, Princess Mary, and that she was actually Queen.

(4) The Whigs wished to declare the throne vacant and to elect a new sovereign on conditions which would ensure good government.

C. The decision of the Convention.

(1) The Commons passed a resolution that King James, "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant."

This resolution was skilfully worded so as to win over as many of the popular party as possible, e.g. the reference to the original contract conciliated the followers of Sydney, the reference to the Jesuits won over the strong Protestants, the declaration of the vacancy of the throne pleased the strong Whig section.

(2) The Lords voted that the throne was not vacant and substituted the word "deserted" for "abdicated."

(3) The division of opinion between the two Houses seemed to endanger a settlement, and William, with Mary's cordial approval, therefore publicly declared that he would neither act as regent nor as his wife's "gentleman usher," and that he would return to Holland if the crown were not offered to him.

(4) The Lords then accepted the resolution of the Commons and it was decided to offer the crown to William and Mary jointly, William to direct the administration. But before the offer of the crown was made the Declaration of Rights was drawn up to safeguard the constitution and to settle the terms of the "Contract between King and People."

D. The Declaration of Rights.

(1) After mentioning the illegal acts of James and the consequent vote of abdication declared—

α. That the sovereign had no right without the authority of Parliament to—

1. Suspend laws;
2. To use the dispensing power "as it hath been assumed and exercised of late";
3. To levy money;
4. To create commissions and courts for ecclesiastical cases;
5. To raise or keep a standing army in time of peace.

β. That the subject had the right—

1. To petition the King;
2. To have freedom of election to Parliament, which ought to meet frequently;
3. To have freedom of speech in Parliament;
4. To be secure from excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel punishment.

The Bill of Rights (the third great charter of English liberty) passed by William's first Parliament, October 25th, 1689, turned the Declaration into a regular statute, and added to it an Act of Succession which asserted that any Papist or person married to a Papist was incapable of being sovereign of England, and also that the succession should pass to the heirs of Mary, then to Anne and her heirs, then to the heirs of William by another wife.

(2) Criticism.

The Declaration and Bill of Rights—

α. Involve the theory of a contract between King and People;

β. Do not formally define the fundamental basis of the constitution, but are practical attempts to deal with particular grievances;

γ. Assume that no change is made in the constitution, but

1. The settlement they made implied a limitation of the prerogative;

2. The prohibition of the maintenance of a standing army annulled the law of 1661 (which vested the control of the militia in the Crown) and introduced a new principle.

δ. Are moderate and not extreme, e.g. there is no absolute prohibition of the dispensing power but only "as it hath been assumed and exercised of late."

E. The offer of the Crown.

February 13th, 1689. William and Mary agreed to the Declaration of Rights, and Halifax then offered them the crown in the name of the estates of the realm. William answered, "We thankfully accept what you have offered us," and promised that his wife and he would keep the laws and rule according to the advice of Parliament.

III. **The Character of the Revolution.**

A. Macaulay maintains that the Revolution was a political rather than a religious movement, and points out that James was deposed because he had "broken the fundamental laws of the kingdom," not because he was a Roman Catholic. But his attack on the English Church and his attempt to improve the position of Roman Catholics were very important causes.

B. The term "Revolution" is somewhat misleading. The movement was largely defensive and conservative, and the Convention, unlike the Long Parliament, preserved the constitution. One of its leading features was the vindication of the ancient rights of the people against the Crown, and there is little new in the Bill of Rights. There was comparatively little change in the laws, but the laws were made more efficient.

C. The Whig landowning aristocracy took the leading part in the Revolution, but the Whig doctrines were not as yet generally accepted by the nation. Swift correctly asserts that in Anne's reign the country was mainly Tory and the Whig supremacy does not begin until the reign of George I.

D. The Revolution was not "glorious." There was a large element of chance and luck (e.g. the flight of James). It came as a surprise to the majority of the people. It was decidedly inglorious that foreign aid had to be sought to drive a despot from the throne of England. The falsehoods about the birth of the Old Pretender, the gross treachery of James' principal supporters contributed largely to William's success. "No sacrifices were made for the deliverance of the nation, except the sacrifice which Churchill made of honour, and Anne of natural affection."

E. But the Revolution, except for the loss of ten lives in a skirmish between Dutch and Irish in Reading market-place, was "bloodless," and its results (page 509) promoted national well-being. It was "the least violent and most beneficent of all revolutions."

[References, see end of next note.]

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND

The Convention was declared a Parliament from February 13th, 1689, and proceeded to effect a settlement of the country. William selected his ministers from both Whigs and Tories. Danby (now made Marquis of Caermarthen), a Tory, became President of the Council; Godolphin, a Tory, went to the Treasury; two Whigs, Russell and Herbert, controlled the Admiralty; of the two Secretaries of State Shrewsbury was a Whig and Nottingham a Tory; Halifax, a "Trimmer," became Lord Privy Seal.

I. **The Church.**

A. The non-jurors.

March, 1689. Parliament required all officials of the State and Church to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Archbishop Sancroft, Bishop Ken, five other bishops, and about four hundred clergy refused to take the oath, as they still believed in the Divine Right of Kings, and although willing to accept the Revolution really regarded William as a usurper. They also maintained that Parliament had no right to deprive a bishop of his office. They were deprived of their livings. They formed a party which continued until 1805, and tended to support the Stuarts, thus weakening Church and State. William therefore had to depend upon the Latitudinarians led by Tillotson (appointed Archbishop of Canterbury) and Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury Bishoprics were bestowed mainly on Whigs, and the Church was further weakened by the opposition between the bishops and the clergy, who were largely Tory.

B. The Toleration Act, 1689.

(1) The Nonconformists had loyally co-operated with the Anglicans in opposing James, and an attempt, strongly supported by William, was now made to remove their religious disabilities.

(2) But Convocation refused to sanction changes in the Prayer Book, which would have removed some of their grievances. Parliament threw out a Comprehension Bill, and the Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed.

(3) The Toleration Act.

Granted freedom of worship to all who would take an oath of allegiance and supremacy and subscribe a declaration against Popery, relieved Nonconformist ministers, who accepted most of the Thirty-nine Articles, from the restrictions of the Act of Uniformity and the Conventicle Act, allowed Quakers to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath, protected from molestation all registered conventicles.

The Toleration Act (due largely to Nottingham's influence) was not a full measure of toleration.

α. It practically put an end to the persecution of Nonconformists for the exercise of their religion, but Papists and disbelievers in the Trinity were expressly excluded from its benefits.

β. The Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed.

II. The Bill of Rights, October, 1689 (page 497).

Gave Parliamentary sanction to the limitation of the royal power and to the assertion of the rights of the subject contained in the Declaration of Rights, and also excluded from the throne all who should be members of the Church of Rome or marry a Papist.

III. The Army.

(1) Disaffection arose in the Army partly owing to the disgraceful treachery of some of its leaders towards James II and the inglorious part it had played in the Revolution, partly owing to jealousy of William's Dutch soldiers. A mutiny in favour of James at Ipswich was put down by force, and the mutineers sent to Holland. But as yet the soldiers were in

theory only civilians, and it was necessary to provide legal means of ensuring military discipline.

(2) There was still much opposition to a standing army. But the French war made a standing army necessary, and Parliament wished to secure control.

(3) The Mutiny Act, 1689, provided,

α. That for breaches of military discipline soldiers shall be punished by court-martial;

β. That no standing army may be maintained without consent of Parliament.

The Mutiny Act (now termed the Army Act) thus secured discipline[1] and Parliamentary control. It remained in force for one year only, and therefore limited the power of the Crown by ensuring the annual meeting of Parliament.

IV. **Bill of Indemnity, 1689.**

A. The Whigs, to whom the Revolution was mainly due, wished to take vengeance on the Tories, many of whom had supported James II. William desired to conciliate both parties, especially in view of the need of union in England to check the danger from Ireland, and would not become a mere party leader as the Whigs wished.

B. The Whigs attacked Halifax, who was held responsible for the misgovernment of Ireland, and Caermarthen, and proposed, unsuccessfully, that all who had been concerned in the recent remodelling of town charters (page 489), i.e. many of the leading Tories, should hold no municipal office for seven years. The Whigs then tried to exclude many Tories from the benefit of the proposed Act of Indemnity, but William, disgusted with the violence of the Whigs, threatened to return to Holland, leaving Mary to reign alone. The Convention Parliament was dissolved January, 1690.

[1] But a British soldier, though subject to military laws for military offences, remains liable to the common law for offences other than military, and thus differs from the French soldier, who can be tried for any offence only by a military tribunal.

C. 1690. An Act of Grace strongly supported by William passed by a new Parliament gave indemnity for all previous political offences. Some nominal exceptions were made, but no one was actually punished.

V. **The Settlement of the Revenue, 1690.**

The new Parliament was largely Tory, and Caermarthen[1] became William's leading minister.

A. Repeated quarrels had arisen between Parliament and previous kings as to the revenue. In **1614** and **1640** the grant of supplies had been made conditional upon the redress of grievances. In **1665** supplies had been appropriated to a special purpose in order to prevent the King from spending Parliamentary grants as he pleased (page **448**). The Whigs now determined to settle and to appropriate the revenue, partly to prevent the King from securing the means to keep a standing army without consent of Parliament, partly to prevent waste of public money.

B. The revenue included

(1) The ancient hereditary revenue of the Crown derived from the rent of Crown lands, feudal dues (replaced **1660** by an excise on beer, and **1663** revenues of the Post Office), profits of justice;

(2) Additional excise duties;

(3) Customs duties.

C. The settlement.

(1) The revenue of the Crown was fixed at £1,200,000 per annum in time of peace.

(2) £700,000, the proceeds of the hereditary revenues and of the excise, were granted to William and Mary for life, but were appropriated to the Civil List (including the personal expenses of the monarch, the cost of the Court, payment of ambassadors, judges, and other civil servants, payment of pensions). The remainder, about £600,000, derived from the customs, was voted for four years only, and appropriated to public defence and the cost of government.

[1] Danby.

(3) Commissioners were appointed to audit accounts and to ensure the proper appropriation of grants.

This settlement very greatly strengthened the control of Parliament over the Crown in the work of executive government.

References:

A. *English Constitutional History*, Taswell-Langmead, pp. 538–43.

History of England, by Macaulay, edited by Firth. (Macmillan.) Vol. III, Chaps. x. and xi.

B. Macaulay's *History*. Vol. I, pp. 531, 549, 551.

THE SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND

I. **The Convention Parliament.**

A. 1688–1689. James had been more successful in crushing Nonconformists in Scotland than in England, and the revolution was more violent in consequence. Presbyterian reaction against Episcopalian oppression. "Rabbling" of Episcopalian ministers.

B. The Convention Parliament, to which Presbyterians though legally ineligible were admitted, asserted that James had forfeited the crown by misgovernment, drew up a "Claim of Right," similar to the Bill of Rights, demanded the abolition of Episcopacy, and offered the crown to William and Mary, who accepted it.

The Presbyterian religion was established, but owing to William's influence toleration was given to Episcopacy.

II. **"Bonny Dundee."**

(1) John Graham of Claverhouse, created Viscount Dundee for his attack on the Covenanters, stirred up the Western Highlanders, who cared little for James' cause, but were jealous of the great power of the Whig Earl of Argyle.

(2) July 27th, 1689. General Mackay was routed at Killiecrankie by Dundee, partly owing to the time lost by the English in fixing their bayonets in the muzzles

of their muskets after they fired a volley. But the death of Dundee neutralised his victory, the Highlanders were checked by the gallant defence of Dunkeld Cathedral by the Cameronians (a newly-raised regiment of Covenanters), and Fort William was built by Mackay, who subdued the Highlands.

III. The Massacre of Glencoe, February 13th, 1692.

In order to pacify the Highlands £15,000 was distributed by the Marquis of Bredalbane, a Campbell, to the chiefs of the clans, and pardon promised to all who submitted by January 1st, 1692. Macdonald of Glencoe was unable, owing to the absence of a magistrate, to take the oath of allegiance at Fort William, whither he went for this purpose on December 31st, 1691, but took it at Inverary January 6th, 1692, six days too late. Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair,[1] who was acting as Secretary for Scotland, obtained from William a warrant "to extirpate that sect of thieves." The execution of the warrant was entrusted to Campbell of Glenlyon and soldiers of his clan (bitterly opposed to the Macdonalds), who, after having been kindly entertained at Glencoe for twelve days, murdered thirty-eight of their hosts in a sudden attack on the night of February 13th, 1692. In May, 1695, the Scottish Parliament established the guilt of Dalrymple, who was deprived of his office in consequence. William's failure to inflict adequate punishment on Dalrymple after his guilt was proved is a serious blot on his reputation. The resentment caused by the massacre increased the difficulty of making the union between England and Scotland, and greatly strengthened the Stuart cause in the Highlands.

References:

A. *History of England*, by Macaulay, edited by Firth. (Macmillan.) Vol. IV, Chap. XIII.

B. Macaulay's *History of England*. Popular Ed. Vol. II, pp. 341-3. Aytoun's "Burial March of Dundee" in the *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*.

C. *The Glen of Weeping*, by Marjorie Bowen. (Alston Rivers.)

[1] Eldest son of Viscount Stair.

THE SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND

The Revolution led to a "war of race and religion" in Ireland, where the Roman Catholics now held most of the important offices, had a majority on the town councils and, through the sheriffs, controlled the nomination of juries. The Roman Catholic Irish led by Tyrconnel supported James, although Tyrconnel's main object was to make Ireland independent of England and not to restore James to the throne, the Protestant English and Scotch colonists supported William.

Louis XIV gladly supported an Irish rising which would divert William's attention from the Continent.

I. The Roman Catholic Reaction.

A. March 12th, **1689.** James, escorted by the fleet of Louis, which commanded the Channel, and accompanied by 8000 French soldiers, landed at Kinsale.

B. An Irish Parliament in Dublin annulled all grants of land made by the Act of Settlement in **1661** to English settlers, established Catholicism, proscribed the Protestant religion, and condemned 2500 Protestants to death for treason. James injured trade by the issue of a depreciated coinage, largely of brass.

C. The whole country submitted except Enniskillen and Londonderry, in which many Protestants took refuge.

II. The Catholics Checked.

A. In spite of weak fortifications and scanty provisions Londonderry, owing to the influence of Rev. G. Walker, held out for 105 days until, on July 30th, **1689,** Colonel Kirke, commanding a relief squadron of three ships, broke the boom the besiegers had thrown across the Foyle and saved the town.

B. August 2nd, **1689.** James' army was routed at Newtown Butler by the men of Enniskillen, led by Colonel Wolseley

C. Schomberg, a Huguenot refugee, was sent over by William. His soldiers were largely recruits and were badly supplied with food and horses, but he captured Carrickfergus. He failed to capture Dublin, and took up his winter quarters at Dundalk, where he lost many men owing to pestilence.

D. Tourville defeated Torrington in Bantry Bay, and Louis sent reinforcements of 6000 men, under Lauzun, to James.

III. William's Campaign, 1690.

A. William had been prevented from leaving England in **1689** owing to the difficulties of settling the government, to the danger of a reaction in favour of James, to the popular indignation at the expulsion of the Non-Jurors, and to a plot formed by Clarendon against him. But, realising that the success of James and Louis in Ireland would weaken the cause of Protestantism in Europe, he landed at Carrickfergus on June 14th, **1690**, instead of going to fight the French in the Netherlands. Louis' fleet, most unwisely, did not try to stop him. Tourville completely routed Torrington (who was suspected of treachery and superseded for his failure) off Beachy Head on June 30th, **1690**. The French thus gained command of the Channel and could send reinforcements to Ireland as required. The battle of Beachy Head thus counteracted to some extent the battle of the Boyne.

B. **July 1st, 1690.** Victory of William at the battle of the Boyne, in which Schomberg was killed and James displayed great cowardice. Dublin at once submitted, James fled to France and thus ruined his cause. July 25th, **1690**, William captured Waterford. He failed to capture Limerick (most gallantly defended by Sarsfield, although Lauzun said "the wall could be knocked down with roasted apples"), and in September returned to England.

IV. The Subjugation of Ireland, 1691.

A. Marlborough, recalled from the Netherlands, took Cork and Kinsale, and subdued the south.

B. Ginkel, a Dutch general, subdued the west. He captured Athlone, routed St. Ruth at Aughrim, and after a three months' siege captured Limerick, October 3rd, 1691, again defended by Sarsfield.

V. The Treaty of Limerick, October, 1691.

A. Roman Catholics to have the privileges they enjoyed under Charles II.

B. Irish soldiers to be allowed to go to France. Consequent departure of 10,000 men under Sarsfield, the "Irish Brigade" of Louis XIV.

VI. The Breaking of the Treaty.

1695. The Irish Parliament (in which Catholics were not represented) annulled the treaty, passed severe penal laws forbidding Catholics to enter the learned professions, to carry arms, to act as guardians of minors, to purchase land or to marry Protestants.

The Catholics "became hewers of wood and drawers of water to their conquerors" (Swift), and Ireland was so utterly crushed that the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 found no support there.

Limerick was nicknamed the "City of the Broken Treaty."

References:

A. *History of England*, by Macaulay, edited by Firth. (Macmillan.) Vol. III, Chap. XII. Vol. IV, Chap. XVI.

B. Londonderry, Macaulay's *History*. Popular Edition. Vol. I, pp. 751–3, 769–71.

Battle of the Boyne, Macaulay's *History*. Vol II, pp. 191–3.

C. *A Man's Foes*, by Strain. (Ward, Lock.)
Wild Geese, by Weyman. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION

I. Constitutional Results.

A. Limited monarchy was established.

(1) The authority of Parliament over the Crown was asserted. The Convention deposed and expelled James II, and thus broke the succession. The tenure of the Crown was made dependent upon the faithful observance of the law and the maintenance of the constitution. This involved the denial of the doctrines of Divine Right and Passive Obedience (for the monarch became a "mere creature of an Act of Parliament"), and the establishment of the Reign of Law.

(2) The power of the Crown, already limited by the Bill of Rights (page 497), was further restricted by

α. The limitation of the grant of revenue to four years, and subsequently to only one (the revenues of Charles II and James II had been granted for life), and the strict appropriation of supplies.

1694. β. The Triennial Bill limited the duration of Parliament to three years, and ensured the meeting of Parliament at least once in three years. This was to prevent the King from keeping a subservient Parliament for an indefinite period.

γ. The Mutiny Act (page 502), renewable yearly, which gave to Parliament the control of the army.

δ. The provision of the Act of Settlement (page 525) that judges should hold office *quam diu se bene gesserint*, instead of according to the King's will, removed a means of tyranny which James I (page 342), Charles I (page 368), and James II (page 485) had used with effect.

c. Although no mention was made in the Bill of Rights of the control of trade by Parliament this power was soon gained, and thus the Crown lost another important part of its prerogative.

B. The supremacy of Parliament was assured. The Revolution marks the final triumph of the legislature over the executive, and the Commons, the popular element, soon became the most important part of Parliament. These results of the Revolution led to

(1) The development of Party Government, whereby the executive (the Ministry) holds office according as it secures the support of the Commons. Party Government greatly modified the ferocity of political life. A defeated politician was no longer executed, like Strafford, or impeached, like Danby, but took a recognised place as leader of the Opposition.

(2) The growth of bribery, especially in the Commons, in order to gain for a ministry the support necessary for its continuance. From this, and other reasons, arose the demand for Parliamentary Reform.

(3) The Liberty of the Subject was protected by the Bill of Rights, by the Toleration Act, 1689, by the Treasons Bill of 1696, which ensured a fair trial to prisoners accused of treason, and by the lapse of the Censorship of the Press. Thus the permanence of the Revolution settlement became highly desirable in the interests of the great majority of the nation.

II. **Finance.**

A. The settlement of the royal revenue (page 503).

B. The establishment of the National Debt, which made national credit the foundation of public finance (page 519).

III. **Religious Toleration.**

Religious Toleration resulted from the Revolution, and henceforth men were allowed to worship God in their own way without persecution. But the Test and Cor-

poration Acts (although evaded by Protestant Nonconformists) were not repealed until 1828; Roman Catholics were not emancipated from legal disabilities until 1829, and Jews were not admitted to Parliament until 1858.

IV. England again became a first-class European Power.

A. The Revolution involved war with France. William's great object was to check the aggression of Louis XIV, and England became the leading member of the Grand Alliance, the chief Protestant power in Europe, and the chief element in the Balance of Power which William, like Wolsey, tried to establish.

B. Rivalry with France remained the leading feature of British foreign policy until 1815, but two views as to the best method of procedure were held.

(1) William wished England to adopt a policy of active military interference on the Continent.

(2) The other view, first prominently advocated by Bolingbroke and subsequently adopted by Chatham and Wm. Pitt, involved the payment of allies to fight France in Europe, and the employment of the forces of England in naval attacks on the French colonies.

C. The later connection with Hanover increased the interest of England in continental politics.

V. The Growing Power of the Whigs (page 555), **who made Adherence to the "Glorious Revolution" a Leading Element in their Political Creed.**

VI. Freedom of the Press.

The freedom of the Press was ensured by the Revolution.

A. Before the Reformation the Church exercised a strict censorship over publications, especially after the invention of printing. After the Reformation the right to control the Press passed to the Government as part of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown.

B. **1585.** Printing was restricted to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Stationers' Company exercised supervision over printers and publishers. Offenders were liable to death, mutilation, fine, or imprisonment.

C. Under the Stuarts the Star Chamber exercised strict censorship of the Press and severely punished the authors of Puritan publications—Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton (page 366). The abolition of the Star Chamber in **1641** was followed by the publication of many pamphlets on the great questions of the day. Upwards of 30,000 newspapers and pamphlets appeared between **1640** and **1660**. Therefore

D. **1643.** The Long Parliament, in order "to repress disorders in printing," instructed its agents to apprehend authors and printers when necessary.

E. **1644.** In the *Areopagitica* Milton supported the cause of the liberty of the Press, asserting the ultimate victory of truth over error. "Let Truth and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?", and maintaining that "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience was above all liberties."

F. **1662.** A Licensing Act vested the control of printing in the Government; restricted printing to London, York, Oxford, and Cambridge; limited the number of master printers.

G. **1679.** The judges declared it a common law offence to publish criticisms of the Government without licence. All newspapers (except the official *Gazette* and *Observator*) were stopped; consequent development of the coffee-houses as a means of expressing public opinion.

H. **1685.** The Licensing Act was revived.

I. **1695.** The Commons refused to renew the Licensing Act. Thus the liberty of the Press in England does not rest upon a positive enactment, but on the negative fact

that the censorship of the Press, which expired in **1695**, was not renewed. The Press was restricted by the Stamp Duty on newspapers, by the law of libel, by punishment for improper publications. The Stamp Duty was abolished in **1855**, the injustice of the law of libel was modified by Fox's Libel Act **1792** and Lord Campbell's Libel Act **1843**, and absolute freedom of publication is now limited only by the right of a person libelled to sue for damages, and by State prosecutions for improper publications.

The removal of the tax on paper in **1861** made the Press more effective, owing to the consequent diminution in the price of newspapers.

References:

A. Hallam, *Constitutional History*. Chap. **xv**

B. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 91–3.

THE WAR OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE 1689–1697

I. The Formation of the Grand Alliance.

Opposition to the aggression of Louis XIV (who aimed at extending the frontiers of France to the Rhine) was the leading feature of William III's policy. In **1689** he succeeded in uniting Western Europe against France.

A. England.

Louis realised the importance of driving William from the English throne, and of detaching the English fleet from the Coalition formed to check the expansion of his power. He therefore welcomed James in Paris, and, realising that the war in Ireland would prevent William from active opposition on the Continent, he sent considerable reinforcements to help James in that country. The English cared little for Louis' policy on

the Continent, but strongly resented his attempt to restore James II to the throne of England. Therefore

May 13th, 1689, England declared war on France, and Holland soon followed. The beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War."

B. Austria.

Austria joined the Coalition because Louis was in alliance with the Turks, who were attacking her eastern border; because on hearing of William's success in England, Louis had utterly devastated the Palatinate before withdrawing his troops for operations against William; and because the Emperor[1] Leopold I hoped for the assistance of the allies in prosecuting his claim to the Spanish dominions on the expected death of King Charles II, and feared the results of the possible union of Spain and France.

C. Spain joined the Alliance to defend the Spanish Netherlands against France and to maintain her independence of Louis.

D. Victor II, Duke of Savoy, joined the Alliance 1690, hoping to secure independence of France.

II. **The Course of the War.**

A. The war in Ireland (page 506).

The battles of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690, and Aughrim, July 12th, 1691, removed all danger from Ireland, and enabled William to direct the war on the Continent.

B. The naval struggle.

(1) Seignelay, son of Colbert, had reorganised the French navy, which had secured the command of the Mediterranean. Both Torrington and Russell had negotiated with France, and Louis expected their co-operation in his designs on England.

[1] The Holy Roman Emperor. There was no "Emperor of Austria" until 1806.

(2) June 30th, 1690. Defeat of Torrington, commanding the English and Dutch fleets, by Tourville, off Beachy Head. The French secured command of the Channel and could therefore easily send reinforcements to Ireland. Torrington was acquitted of having "brought dishonour on the British nation," but deprived of his post.

(3) Tourville's fleet then caused great indignation by burning Teignmouth.

(4) 1692. Proposed attack on England from Normandy by the French, in co-operation with English Jacobites. Tourville's fleet to convoy the necessary transports.

May 19th, 1692. Russell with a fleet of ninety English and Dutch vessels routed, off Cape La Hogue, Tourville's fleet of fifty, which had attacked in the expectation of treacherous co-operation from Russell. But a foolish proclamation in which James had proscribed his opponents had roused the loyalty of Englishmen, and Queen Mary had made a personal appeal to Russell, who declared, "If I meet them I will fight them, even if King James himself should be aboard." Russell destroyed, in the bay of La Hogue, sixteen French vessels which had escaped from the battle. This victory

α. Gained for England the command of the seas, averted the danger of a French invasion, and ensured the English supremacy in Ireland;

β. Broke the naval power of France, and inspired the allies to further efforts on land, which prevented Louis from giving the necessary attention to his navy.

1693. But the French privateers, commanded by Jean Bart and others, continued to attack English commerce, and the greater part of the Smyrna merchant fleet was captured or destroyed by Tourville off Lagos, June 17th, 1693.

C. The war on the Continent.

An exhausting and uninteresting war, in which sieges, greatly protracted owing to the skilful fortifications of Vauban and Coehorn, were the most important part. Luxemburg, though a brilliant tactician, could not secure the results of victory. William, although most skilful in avoiding the results of defeat, was a poor tactician on the battlefield.

1691. The French captured Mons.

1692. The French captured Namur.

William, attempting to save Namur, was defeated (1692) at Steinkirk, and (1693) Neerwinden (or Landen) by Luxemburg, who failed to follow up his victories.

1694. June. Failure of an English attack on Brest, owing to the treachery of Marlborough, who sent information to the French, hoping to ensure the failure of his personal rival Talmash, the English commander.

1695. August. William recaptured Namur. His greatest achievement.

1696. The Whigs strongly supported the war, and therefore William, who hitherto had tried to remain neutral, by the advice of Sunderland, now formed a Ministry of Whigs alone. "The Junto."

III. The Treaty of Ryswick 1697.

Both parties desired peace.

Louis wished to end the war because France had become "one vast hospital," and he had spent enormous sums. Louis knew that the question of the succession to the throne of Spain would soon arise, and wished to make preparations for the war which was sure to break out on the death of Charles II. William found difficulty in meeting the expenses of the war, as the excise and customs brought in less than had been expected, and the alteration of the currency caused temporary embarrassment.

A. September 10th, 1697, by the Treaty of Ryswick
   (1) Louis gave up all his conquests since the Treaty of Nymwegen, 1678 (page 445), except Strasburg;
   (2) Louis recognised William as King of England, and Anne as his successor, and promised to give no more help to James;
   (3) The Dutch were allowed to garrison the "Barrier Fortresses" on the French frontier.

B. Criticism.
   (1) William had checked the aggression of Louis on the Continent, and made England independent of the French influence, which had been powerful since 1660.
   (2) The Protestant succession was guaranteed in England.
   (3) The success of the English in gaining command of the sea and ruining the French navy enabled them in the next war to secure a great colonial empire.

References:

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman, pp. 260–5. (Rivingtons.)
B. Macaulay's *History*. Vol. II, pp. 630–1.
C. *The Blue Pavilions*, by "Q." (Cassell.)
   The King's Agent, by Paterson. (Heinemann.)

DOMESTIC HISTORY 1689-1699

I. Jacobite Plots.

A. Causes.
   (1) William was most unpopular.

His manners were cold, he hated society, he was a foreigner speaking English badly; he caused great discontent by giving promotion in the army, lands and titles to his Dutch followers. His position was greatly weakened by the death, in 1694, of Queen Mary, whose amiability and fine character endeared her to her subjects.

(2) There was a reaction in favour of James due to fear of Whig vengeance, the expulsion of the Non-Jurors, the heavy taxation and injury to trade caused by the war which the Tories steadily opposed.

(3) There was considerable doubt whether William could maintain his position, and many leading men (including Russell and Godolphin), anticipating the restoration of James, had secured written pardons from him for their share in the Revolution. Marlborough promised to get rid of William's Dutch troops and then to restore James by means of the English army. The French attack in 1692 (page 515) was due to the expected co-operation of Russell and Marlborough.

B. The plots.

(1) **1690.** Failure of a plot made by Clarendon, Dartmouth, and Preston (Secretary of State to James II) to restore James.

(2) **1692.** William discovered Marlborough's treachery "Were I and my Lord Marlborough private persons the sword would have to settle between us." Marlborough lost all his appointments and was imprisoned in the Tower. Consequent estrangement between Princess Anne (the great friend of Marlborough's wife) and William and Mary.

(3) **1696.** The Assassination Plot.

Sir George Barclay, with about forty other Jacobites, formed a plot to kill William at Turnham Green. The plot was discovered, and as a result

α. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended;

β. A Bill was passed to ensure the continuance of Parliament on the death of William;

γ. An association was formed to protect William and, if necessary, to avenge his murder.

Sir John Fenwick, a well-known Jacobite, was implicated in the plot, and there were two witnesses against him, but on the flight of one, the Whigs,

unable to secure Fenwick's conviction in the law courts owing to the new Law for the Regulation of Trial in Cases of Treason (page 521), and exasperated by his charges against Marlborough, Godolphin, Russell, and Shrewsbury, condemned him to death by Bill of Attainder. Fenwick was the last person condemned by Bill of Attainder. The action of the Whigs was legal, but such interference with the usual course of legal procedure was most undesirable.

II. The Financial Settlement.

The heavy expenses of the wars and the strong opposition to any further increase of taxation led to the rearrangement of the finances.

A. The Land Tax 1692.

Land had been long assessed for taxation at four shillings in the pound. But the rise in the value of land, and the fall in the value of gold and silver (due to the import of precious metals from America) had made the old assessment quite inadequate, and the Land Tax produced only twopence in the pound. This was now reassessed and the Land Tax produced from one shilling to four shillings in the pound according to necessity.

B. The National Debt 1693 and the Bank of England 1694.

The reorganised Land Tax did not produce enough to defray the cost of the war and additional taxation would cause grave discontent. Montague solved the difficulty by raising a loan "on the security of the nation." On this "National Debt" interest was to be paid, but the capital was not repayable. Montague borrowed £1,200,000 at eight per cent from the London merchants. The capital was never repaid, and certain taxes were assigned as security for payment of the interest, which was to become a permanent charge on the Government. The subscribers were incorporated by royal charter as "The Governor and Company of the Bank of England," and the negotiation of public loans was entrusted to them.

(1) These new arrangements secured the support of the moneyed classes for the Government, as a Jacobite restoration would have meant the repudiation of the debts.

(2) Previously the London goldsmiths had acted as bankers. But they could not give absolute security to their clients, and in 1672 Charles II had caused great distress by suspending repayment of their clients' money advanced to the Exchequer by the goldsmiths (page 452).

(3) The Bank of England was a national bank, and national finances were now firmly established on a foundation of national credit.

C. The reform of the coinage.

Such harm had been done to the coinage by clipping that "it was a mere chance whether what was called a shilling was really tenpence, sixpence, or a groat." Shopkeepers often refused to take coin in payment except by weight, and thus trade was impaired and great hardship inflicted on the poorest classes. Montague, Somers, John Locke, and Sir Isaac Newton made the necessary arrangements.

(1) The Bank of England advanced £1,200,000 to the Government on the security of a window tax to compensate the holders of clipped coin which was withdrawn from circulation. Thus the cost of the reform fell rightly upon the nation and not upon individuals.

(2) By the use of Exchequer Bills (issued by Montague), of paper money, cheques, and credit, the difficulties arising from the withdrawal of the old coins before the issue of the new were obviated.

(3) Only "milled" coins, the clipping of which could be easily detected, were to be current in future.

III. The Beginning of Party Government.

A. In spite of the leading part played by the Whigs at the Revolution, William, anxious to secure the support of both parties for his opposition to Louis XIV, chose as

his first ministers both Whigs and Tories (page 571). But, although William retained in his own hands the direction of foreign affairs, he was compelled to rely upon Parliament for the necessary supplies. His original plan for the selection of ministers from both parties tended to increase faction and disorganisation in Parliament, and realising the need of the steady support of Parliament for the furtherance of his policy, he gradually, by the advice of Sunderland, formed a ministry consisting solely of the Whigs—the strong supporters of the war. Russell became head of the Admiralty, and his personal enemy, Nottingham (a Tory), therefore resigned the Secretaryship, which was given to Shrewsbury, a Whig. Somers, who had first come into prominence as junior counsel for the Seven Bishops, became Lord Keeper; Montague became Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Duke of Leeds,[1] the Tory Lord President, was impeached for corruption in 1695. Thus, by 1696, the Whig Junto, the first ministry composed of men of identical political views, was formed, and the dependence of the ministry upon the support of a majority of the House of Commons was recognised. (For the subsequent development of Party Government see page 571.)

IV. **The Triennial Bill** 1694 (page 509).

V. **The Liberty of the Press 1695** (page 511).

VI. **The Treasons Act** 1696.

Up to this time persons accused of treason had been tried most unfairly, and trials for treason had often resulted in judicial murders. This Act provided that the accused

(1) Should be furnished with a copy of the indictment five days, and a list of the jury two days, before the trial;

(2) Should be represented by counsel;

[1] Sir Thomas Osborne, Bart., had been created Earl of Danby 1674, Marquis of Caermarthen 1689, and Duke of Leeds 1694. His impeachment broke down, but he lost all influence owing to it.

(3) Should be convicted on the evidence of not less than two witnesses.

This Act made conviction difficult, and Burnet said its object "seemed to be to make men as safe in all treasonable practices as possible." But it afforded valuable protection to innocent men unjustly accused of treason.

VII. Opposition to William.

A. The army reduced 1697.

(1) The Treaty of Ryswick had given peace, and owing to the pressure of taxation, to the objection to the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace both on constitutional grounds and owing to the heavy expense involved, to the failure to appreciate the danger from Louis' plans, the Whig Parliament, in spite of William's strong opposition, reduced the Army from 80,000 to 10,000 men.

(2) The new Parliament, which met December 6th, 1698, was mainly Tory, and reduced the army to 7000 Englishmen, and dismissed William's Dutch Guards.

(3) William was dissuaded from returning to Holland only by the earnest entreaties of Somers.

B. The attacks on William's ministers.

1699. Unsuccessful attempts of the Tory Parliament to impeach Montague, Somers, and Orford (Russell).

1701. Proposed impeachment by the Tory House of Commons of Portland, Orford, Somers, Montague, for their action in supporting the Partition Treaties. The impeachment failed because the Commons refused to appear to prosecute before the House of Lords, the Whig majority of which would be sure to acquit the accused.

C. The resumption of the Irish grants.

1700. Parliament "resumed" the forfeited Irish lands, much of which had been granted to William's Dutch friends. The Lords opposed the Bill, but the Commons compelled them to accept it by "tacking" it to a Money Bill.

D. But the growing danger from Louis' designs on Spain (page 530), the seizure by Louis of the Barrier Fortresses (page 531), and the violence of the Tories provoked a reaction in William's favour. The Grand Jury and freeholders of Kent sent to Parliament the Kentish Petition in 1701, urging the Commons to "turn their loyal addresses into bills of supply." The Commons voted the petition to be seditious and committed the five gentlemen who presented it to the Gatehouse. A Whig pamphlet, the *Legion Memorial*, by Defoe helped to gain the approval of the nation for war with France.

VIII. **The Act of Settlement** (page 525).

References:

A. *Life of Burnet*, by Clarke and Foxcroft. (Cambridge University Press.) Chaps. VIII. and IX.

WILLIAM III

I. **A European Statesman.**

A. Hallam calls William "the greatest man of the age," and his chief title to fame rests on his success as the champion of the liberty of Europe against Louis XIV. He loved Holland intensely and rendered great services to England, but his success in maintaining the Balance of Power and in checking the aggression of Louis, saved Western Europe, and not merely Holland and England, from the domination of France.

B. In this struggle he displayed keen political insight and great organising ability. He saw the danger and very skilfully organised the Grand Alliance to meet it.

II. **King of England.**

A. He accepted the throne of England largely because the support of England (especially of the navy) was essential for successful resistance to Louis. His main interest lay in foreign politics, the direction of which he kept in his own hands, particularly the arrangement of the Partition Treaties (page 527).

B. He was most unpopular in England.

(1) The conditions of his accession, which involved the denials of Divine Right, and Passive Obedience, and the assertion of the Parliamentary control of the Church, alienated many of the Tories.

(2) He was a foreigner, spoke English badly, displayed a strong partiality for his Dutch friends (to whom he made lavish grants), and his Dutch Guards, and repeatedly left England to visit Holland.

(3) His manners were cold, he hated pomp and show, he was silent and taciturn. He was entirely lacking in the geniality which had gained for Charles II much undeserved popularity.

C. But England derived great blessings from his reign, and he is the only great English King after Henry VIII.

(1) He made England one of the leading countries in Europe and saved her from danger from France.

(2) He strengthened the cause of Protestantism and strongly supported Religious Toleration in England and Scotland.

(3) He saved England from absolute monarchy.

(4) During his reign the finances of the country were reorganised, the liberty of the Press was secured, and Cabinet government was introduced.

III. William III as a General.

He could not, like Marlborough, plan a great campaign, and his tactics on the battlefield were inferior to those of Luxemburg. But he was most skilful in averting the consequences of defeat, his dogged perseverance inspired his soldiers, and the adoption of his foreign policy led to the victories of Marlborough and Nelson.

IV. Personal Characteristics.

He had learned, during an unhappy childhood, to hide his feelings, and his chronic dyspepsia and asthma made him shun society. "Generous instincts withered away in a heart in which affection had ever to give place to

policy" (Wakeman). But his determination, his courage and patience enabled him to triumph over opposition. He refused to accept defeat or recognise failure, and his resolve to "die in the last ditch" if necessary for the country he loved was no empty boast.

His fond love for his wife and his devotion to Holland are the most pleasing features in his character.

References:

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman, pp. 246–8 (Rivingtons.)
William III, Traill. *Twelve English Statesmen*, pp. 196–204.

B. Macaulay's *History of England* (Vol. II, p. 772). (Longmans.)

C. *The Sword of the King*, by Macdonald. (John Murray.)

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT 1701

The death of the Duke of Gloucester, Anne's sole surviving child, in 1700 led to the passage of the Act of Settlement (or Act of Succession).

I. **The Provisions.**

A. That the Electress Sophia of Hanover (daughter of James I's daughter Elizabeth, the wife of the Elector Palatine) and her heirs, being Protestants, should succeed to the throne after Anne.

B. That England should not go to war for the defence of any territory not belonging to the Crown of England without consent of Parliament.

C. That the sovereign should not go abroad without consent of Parliament.

D. That the sovereign should be a communicant of the Church of England.

E. That no foreigners should hold any public post.

F. That all public business should be done in the Privy Council, the decisions of which should be signed by all its members.

G. No pensioner or placeman to be a member of the House of Commons.

H. Judges to hold office *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and to be removable only upon an address from both Houses of Parliament.

I. No pardon under the Great Seal should stop impeachment by the Commons.

II. Criticism.

(1) The Act was passed by a Tory Parliament, and thus the Tories repudiated the idea of Divine Right and recognised the national right to regulate the succession, and the whole nation was committed to support the Protestant succession.

(2) Clauses B, C (repealed at the request of George I), and E show the bitter enmity of the Tories towards William, and amount to a vote of censure especially on his foreign policy.

(3) Clause F (repealed in 1705) was due to jealousy of the power exercised by the Cabinets, and if it had been strictly enforced would have made Cabinet government impossible.

(4) Clause G was intended to prevent the sovereign from exercising undue influence on the Commons, but was far too strict and would have weakened the connection between the Legislature and the Executive, which is one of the chief features of Cabinet government. It was modified by an Act passed in 1706 which excluded holders of pensions at the pleasure of the Crown and holders of offices created since 1705, while members of the House of Commons accepting offices existing before 1705 were compelled to seek re-election.

(5) Clause H made the judges independent of the Crown.

References:

A. *English Constitutional History*, by Taswell-Langmead, pp. 550–6.

THE PARTITION TREATIES 1698-1700

I. The candidates for the Spanish Throne.

A. Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, who had succeeded his father, Philip IV, in 1665, was imbecile and childless. His death, which was likely to happen soon, would lead to a great struggle for his dominions, for which there were three possible claimants.

B. Charles II's elder sister, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV, but by the Treaty of the Pyrenees had renounced all her claims to the Spanish throne on payment of a dowry of 500,000 crowns. But the dowry had not been paid, and it was therefore maintained that the renunciation was cancelled in consequence, and that her eldest son, the Dauphin, was heir to the Spanish dominions. He had passed his rights to his *second* son, Philip of Anjou, to avoid the union of the thrones of France and Spain.

C. Charles II's younger sister, Margaret Theresa, had married the Emperor Leopold I. Her only child, Maria Antonia, had married the Elector of Bavaria, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria would therefore have succeeded to the rights of his grandmother if Maria Antonia had not renounced all claim to the throne of Spain on her marriage.

D. Charles II's aunt, Anne of Austria, younger daughter of Philip III, had married Louis XIII, but her renunciation of her claim to Spain deprived her son, Louis XIV, of any right to the throne.

E. Maria, elder daughter of Philip III, had married the Emperor Ferdinand III, had made no renunciation of her rights, which had therefore passed to her son, the Emperor Leopold I. He passed his rights to his *second* son, the Archduke Charles, to avoid the union of the thrones of Austria and Spain.

II. **Political Conditions.**

A. France objected to the accession of the Archduke, Austria to the accession of Philip; Germany, England, and Holland would strongly oppose the accession of either Philip of Anjou or the Archduke Charles, which would endanger the Balance of Power in Europe owing to the closer union of France and Spain or Spain and Austria.

B. The struggles between Catholics and Protestants in Central Europe up to **1648** had averted a general attack on the weak power of Spain. But the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War in **1648**, settled the religious question, and now a division of the Spanish dominions seemed imminent because

(1) The maritime nations, England and Holland, would no longer submit to exclusion from the trade with the West Indies, especially the slave trade;

(2) Austria wanted to gain part of Northern Italy;

(3) France was determined to secure such of the Spanish possessions as would strengthen her frontiers and prevent the union of Austria and Northern Italy in one united monarchy;

(4) Holland, greatly strengthened by the success of the Grand Alliance, was resolutely opposed to the extension of French influence in the Spanish Netherlands.

III. **The First Partition Treaty 1698.**

Louis realised that more could be gained by diplomacy than by war, and made the first Partition Treaty with William (who carried on the negotiations himself) and Holland. This provided

(1) That the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should receive Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands;

(2) That the Dauphin should receive Naples and Sicily;

(3) That the Archduke Charles should receive Milan and Luxemburg.

Thus both the French and Austrian candidates were excluded, and the Netherlands were saved from France.

IV. **The Second Partition Treaty 1700.**

A. The Electoral Prince died 1699, and a new treaty was made, which provided

(1) That the Archduke Charles should receive Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands;

(2) That the Dauphin should receive Naples, Sicily, and Milan—the last to be exchanged for Lorraine.

B. Criticism.

The second treaty was less satisfactory than the first.

(1) The House of Austria was apparently receiving too much, and the possibility of united action between Spain and Austria seemed dangerous to the peace of Europe. But

α. Spain was very weak and Austria bankrupt.

β. The Austro-Spanish dominions, though very extensive, were divided into four parts—Austria, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies. France and the fleets of the maritime powers could prevent effective combination between these parts.

(2) France gained great advantages.

α. The possession of Naples and Sicily gave her command of the Mediterranean.

β. The acquisition of Lorraine strengthened France on the east.

γ. The possession of Milan by the Duke of Lorraine, an ally of France, checked the Spanish power in the north of Italy.

C. But the Partition Treaties were unpopular in England.

(1) Englishmen did not appreciate the danger to Europe from the aggrandisement of Austria or France, and many objected to interference in the affairs of Spain.

(2) The secrecy with which William had conducted the negotiations roused opposition.

(3) William was now at the height of his unpopularity (page 517), and owing to the reduction of the army 1698 and the hatred of the Tories was less able to offer active opposition to Louis.

V. **The Will of Charles II.**

A. The Spaniards strongly resented the proposed Partition of the Spanish dominions, and Charles II, influenced by Porto Carrero, Archbishop of Toledo, the supporter of France, and thinking that William was losing power in England and that Louis XIV would be strong enough to keep the Spanish territories united, left them all to Philip of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin.

B. Louis, on the death of Charles, November, 1700, accepted the Spanish dominions for his grandson, who entered Madrid in triumph, and with the approval of the nation became Philip V of Spain. Louis' famous saying, "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées."

(1) The action of Louis, to whom the Partition Treaties were mainly due, was absolutely dishonourable, but

(2) To force the Spaniards to accept the Archduke would have meant a war to aggrandise Austria the rival of France.

(3) The republicans in Holland (especially the people of Amsterdam, the strong opponents of the House of Orange) and the majority of Englishmen (especially the Tories) were pleased "that France has preferred the will to the treaty," and William and Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, seemed unable to rouse effective opposition in England and Holland.

References:

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman. Chap. XIV (Rivingtons.)

Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 242–8. Popular Edition. (Longmans.)

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

I The Immediate Causes.

War might have been averted if Louis had not foolishly roused the Dutch and English, who would not have gone to war to maintain the Partition Treaties.

A. 1701. He expelled the Dutch from the Barrier Fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, which he claimed for his grandson, and put in French garrisons, thus breaking the Treaty of Ryswick and threatening the independence of Holland.

William, in May, formed the second Grand Alliance (page 532), to obtain compensation for the Emperor, to regain the Barrier Fortresses for Holland, and to protect England and her allies, and sent Marlborough with an English force to Flanders.

B. By commercial decrees Louis tried to exclude the Dutch and English from trading with the Spanish Indies. The commercial question was very important.

C. September, 1701. On the death of James II he recognised James Edward, the Old Pretender, as King of England, thus again violating the Treaty of Ryswick and threatening the Revolution Settlement and the Protestant Succession to which Whigs and Tories were now committed.

Owing to these causes, commercial as well as dynastic, and not to the breach of the Partition Treaties, England and Holland determined on war.

A large number of Whigs were returned in the new Parliament in 1702, which voted 40,000 soldiers for the war with France, passed a Bill of Attainder against the Old Pretender, and required all members of Parliament and all officials of Church and State to take an oath to support the Protestant Succession in England.

March 8th, 1702. Death of William, who on February 20th had been thrown from his horse, which stepped upon a molehill at Hampton Court. He was so weak

from disease and anxiety that the accident proved fatal. One of the most famous Jacobite toasts was "The little gentleman in the brown jacket" who caused William's death. But his death caused no break in policy, as his work was continued by Marlborough, and May 4th, 1702, war was declared against France by England, Holland, and the Emperor.

II. **The Extension of the Grand Alliance.**

A. Many German princes joined the Alliance.

(1) The Elector of Brandenburg, who was recognised as King in Prussia by the allies.

[The Mark of Brandenburg, the nucleus of the German Empire, lay between the Havel and the Spree, and was founded by Henry the Fowler, 928, as an outpost against the Slavs. It was given to Frederick of Hohenzollern by the Emperor Sigismund **1415**. Count Albert of Hohenzollern, the last Grand Master of the Knights of the Teutonic Order (page 188), seized the lands of the Order and became Duke of East Prussia **1525**. Frederick William, the "Great Elector of Brandenburg," annexed Eastern Pomerania and established his supremacy over East Prussia. His son, Frederick I, was recognised by the Emperor Leopold as King of Prussia in **1700** in return for his help against France. In the nineteenth century the King of Prussia wrested from Austria the supremacy over the German Confederation by the victory of Königgrätz (Sadowa), **1866**, and was recognised as German Emperor after the Franco-Prussian War, January 18th, **1871**.]

(2) The Elector of Hanover, the heir to the throne of England.

(3) The Elector Palatine.

(4) The Elector of Bavaria joined Louis, and thus added to the danger of Austria, which was isolated from her allies.

B. The Duke of Savoy, father-in-law of Philip of Anjou, a first supported Louis, but in 1703 joined the Alliance, thus cutting off the French army in the Milanese from connection with France and affording a base of operations against France from the south-east.

C. 1703. The Methuen Treaty secured the adhesion of Portugal. It arranged that the duty on Portuguese wine imported into England was to be a third less than the duty on French wine, and that Portugal should have preferential treatment in regard to the English wool trade.

(1) Thus the allies secured a base of operations against Spain, but the attack on Spain itself, as distinct from the Spanish dominions, was an unwise extension of the area of the war and added greatly to he difficulties of England.

(2) Drunkenness greatly increased in England owing to the substitution of port wine for the lighter claret of France.

D. The allies were helped by

(1) The rising of Catalonia against Philip of Anjou;

(2) The rising of the Huguenots of the Cevennes, the Camisards,[1] against Louis XIV.

III. The Operations of the War.

A. Marlborough.

Marlborough (page 544) was appointed commander-in-chief of the Dutch and English armies, but his action was greatly hampered by the interference of the civilian field deputies, who were appointed by the Dutch to accompany and advise him and who attached too much importance to the capture of the Barrier Fortresses and failed to appreciate the wider issues of the war.

(1) The safety of Holland ensured.

The command of the Spanish Netherlands gave a base of operations against Holland to the French, who now held the lower Rhine and the Meuse.

[1] So called from the shirt (Fr. chemise) they wore over their clothes in night attacks.

α. 1702. Marlborough secured the line of the Meuse and captured Liége;

β. 1703. Marlborough drove the French from the lower Rhine and captured Bonn.

Thus Holland had been saved and Marlborough had secured his communications with North Germany.

(2) Blenheim, 1704, saved Vienna.

Louis XIV planned a threefold attack on Vienna, the fall of which would compel the Emperor to sue for peace.

α. An attempt of Villeroi to advance on Vienna through Italy had been prevented by the defeat of the French at Cremona by Prince Eugene of Savoy, 1702, and the defection of Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy, 1703, rendered a further attack from the south impossible.

β. Louis had stirred up the Hungarians to attack Vienna on the east.

γ. 1704. An army under Tallard was sent to co-operate with the Elector of Bavaria in an attack on Vienna from the west.

Marlborough realised the supreme importance of saving Vienna. He deceived the Dutch (who would not have consented to his leaving the Netherlands) by pretending that he was going to advance into France up the Moselle, and led his army to Maintz, thence to the Danube. He routed the Elector of Bavaria at Donauwörth and Tallard at Blenheim on August 13th, 1704, and returned at once to the Netherlands.

α. His operations were remarkable for the daring of the scheme, the rapidity of his march, the distance of the scene of his triumph from his base, and the cavalry charge which, led by Marlborough in person, broke the French centre and ensured victory for the allies.

β. The victory, the first important English victory on the Continent since Agincourt, saved Vienna and Germany, made a French invasion of England impossible, ensured the Protestant Succession in England, broke the prestige of the French troops, and showed the importance of England as a military power. It caused great enthusiasm for the war in England and strengthened Marlborough's position.

(3) Ramillies, **1706**, secured Flanders.

The Dutch prevented Marlborough from attacking the French at Waterloo in **1705**, but he regained part of Brabant, and in **1706**, by the victory he gained over Villeroi at Ramillies, he secured the line of the Scheldt and drove the French out of Flanders.

(4) Oudenarde, **1708**, ensured the capture of Lille.

By the rapidity of his advance, Marlborough threw into confusion the French (already hampered by contradictory orders issued by the Duke of Burgundy, Louis' grandson, and his adviser, General Vendôme) and utterly routed them at Oudenarde.

Capture of Lille commanding the road to France.

(5) Malplaquet, **1709**, followed by the capture of Mons.

Villars advanced to relieve Mons, which Marlborough was besieging, and occupied a very strong position at Malplaquet where only a front attack was possible. Marlborough and Eugene defeated Villars, but lost 22,000 men, while Villars lost 12,000 in this "deluge of blood." Marlborough captured Mons.

This was the last of Marlborough's great battles. His influence was weakened by the quarrel between his wife and Queen Anne, by the fall of the Whig Ministry **1710**, by the withdrawal of British troops from Flanders to serve in Canada **1711**, by secret negotiations between the French and the Tories, who feared that Marlborough was wishing to establish a military despotism. December **31st, 1711**, he was dismissed from his command.

B. Spain.

The attempt of the allies to force a foreign king, the Archduke Charles, on Spain failed before the national opposition of the Spaniards. In Catalonia alone was there a strong feeling in his favour.

1704. Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel captured Gibraltar. England thus obtained a naval base of supreme importance in the Mediterranean and prevented communication by sea between Naples and France.

1705. The Earl of Peterborough captured Barcelona and secured Arragon.

1706. The Earl of Galway, who replaced Peterborough, took Madrid and proclaimed the Archduke Charles as king. The Spaniards refused to accept him, and Galway evacuated Madrid on the approach of the Duke of Berwick (natural son of James II and nephew of Marlborough).

1707. Galway routed by Berwick at Almanza. This battle strengthened the position of Philip V and brought Arragon again under his rule.

1708. The capture of Port Mahon in Minorca by Stanhope, who succeeded Galway, gave England a valuable naval base in the Mediterranean.

1710. The allies gained the victories of Almenara and Saragossa. The Archduke Charles entered Madrid but soon withdrew, as the Spaniards refused to recognise him.

Vendôme routed Stanhope at Brihuega and Staremberg at Villa Viciosa, and these victories finally secured the position of Philip V.

C. Italy.

1702. Prince Eugene routed Villeroi at Cremona.

1706. Prince Eugene routed Marsin at Turin, conquered Northern Italy and cut off communication by land between Naples and France.

IV. Negotiations for Peace.

A. 1706.

After the battles of Ramillies and Turin and the occupation of Madrid by Galway, Louis offered to recognise the Archduke Charles as King of Spain and the Netherlands; to accept Naples, Sicily, and the Milanese for Philip of Anjou, to give up the Barrier Fortresses to Holland, and to recognise the Protestant Succession in England.

The Emperor Joseph objected to the separation of the Barrier Fortresses from the Spanish Netherlands, which he hoped to secure for his brother, the Archduke Charles; Marlborough thought that the French were asking far too much and wished, for his own advantage, to continue the war. The Whigs, therefore, unwisely refused Louis' terms. The allies did not secure such an advantage over Louis again.

B. 1709.

Owing to his defeat at Oudenarde, to the capture of Lille and Port Mahon, to the financial exhaustion of France and to famine resulting from the very hard winter of 1708–9, Louis offered at the Hague to withdraw help from Philip, to give up the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch and Strasburg to the Emperor, to recognise the Protestant Succession in England, to expel the Pretender from France, and to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

The Whigs demanded that he should also assist the allies to compel Philip to resign the Spanish crown, and Louis broke off negotiations, declaring, "If I have to fight I would rather fight my enemies than my children." There was a great outburst of national patriotism in France which prompted the stubborn resistance offered by Villars at Malplaquet.

Peace ought probably to have been concluded after Ramillies and certainly after Oudenarde.

C. 1710. Ineffectual negotiations for peace at Gertruydenberg.

D. The Treaty of Utrecht **1713.**

The Tories, who were opposed to the continuation of the war, had come into office in **1710**. They feared Marlborough; objected to the enormous expense of the war; feared that as, in **1711**, the Archduke Charles became the Emperor Charles VI there would be grave danger if he secured Spain as well as Austria. There was a strong feeling against the waste of British blood and money in the cause of the allies, which was shown in Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*. "The High Allies have been the ruin of us. We are paying the Allies to be allowed to fight their battles for them." Marlborough was accused of peculation and dismissed from office. His successor, Ormonde, was hampered by "restraining orders" which forbade him to fight without the Queen's permission. Twelve Tory Peers, created to swamp the Whig majority in the House of Lords, ensured the acceptance of the Treaty of Utrecht by the Upper House.

(1) The Treaty.

α. Great Britain to receive Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, Acadia (Nova Scotia), and Hudson's Bay territory; to have the Assiento, the sole right of supplying negro slaves to Spanish America; to send one merchant ship a year to the Spanish colonies.

β. Louis XIV to recognise Anne and the Protestant Succession, to expel the Pretender from France, to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

γ. Philip V to keep Spain and the Indies, but the crowns of France and Spain never to be united.

δ. The Emperor Charles VI to receive the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Sardinia and Naples.

ε. The Duke of Savoy to receive Sicily.

ζ. The Dutch to receive the Barrier Fortresses.

(2) Criticism.

The treaty was advantageous to Great Britain, but possibly inadequate and certainly dishonourable.

α. Great Britain profited greatly. Her trade and colonial empire were greatly extended, and the development of the colonies, due largely to the Treaty of Utrecht, was one of the leading features of British history in the eighteenth century. Britain became the leading naval power, and the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca gave her the command of the Mediterranean. She had shown her military power, and was now recognised as one of the leading nations of Europe. The Revolution Settlement and the Protestant Succession were secured.

β. The treaty put an end to the Grand Alliance, which had succeeded in limiting the power of France.

γ. Many thought that France ought to have been crushed. It is probable that Great Britain might have secured more advantages from the great victories of Marlborough, and at no time after Ramillies could Louis have hoped for such favourable terms.

δ. The peace was dishonourable to Great Britain, who shamefully deserted her allies. The treaty was concluded without due consideration for the Dutch and Austrians, who had to make their own terms No measures were taken to protect the Catalans from the vengeance of Philip or the Camisards from Louis XIV.

References:

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman. Chap. xv. (Rivingtons.)

Macaulay's *Essay on the War of Succession in Spain.*

England under Queen Anne, by Trevelyan.

C. *The Bravest of the Brave*, by Henty. (Blackie.)

Lally of the Brigade. by McManus. (Unwin.)

UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

I. **Long-standing Enmity.**

A. The traditional policy of Scotland from the time of Edward I (page 136) to the middle of the sixteenth century had been alliance with France against England. This was shown repeatedly, e.g. **1346** Scotch invasion of the north in alliance with Philip of Valois checked at Neville's Cross; a strong Scotch force helped the French at Beaugé **1421**.

B. The union of the crowns under James I, **1603**, did not involve the union of the countries. Attempts were made to effect such a union but failed because

α. The Commons refused to accept the doctrine that naturalisation depended upon the relation to a king, i.e. that Scotchmen born after James succeeded to the English throne should be regarded as Englishmen.

β. James objected to naturalisation by Parliamentary statute.

γ. The English merchants objected to Free Trade between England and Scotland.

C. A union of the Parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland was carried out under the Commonwealth. Five representatives from Scotland sat in Barebone's Parliament **1653**, and the Instrument of Government **1653** provided that thirty Scotch members should sit in the English Parliament But the old enmity continued, and this Parliamentary Union was annulled at the Restoration.

II. **Difficulties.**

A. **Religious.**

(1) The majority of the Scotch were strong Presbyterians. The attempts of James I and Charles I to force Episcopacy on Scotland and the persecution of the Covenanters under Charles II and James II had

roused strong opposition. In 1689 the Scotch Parliament asserted that Episcopacy was "a great and intolerable grievance."

(2) The Scotch Episcopalians tended to join the Jacobites.

(3) Some of the Covenanters favoured republican principles.

B. Commercial.

English merchants had steadily refused to give commercial equality to Scotland because they feared the competition with their own trade that would follow.

(1) Scotland suffered greatly from the Navigation Acts 1651 and 1660, which excluded them from the colonial markets. An attempt in the reign of William III to found a Scotch East India Company failed owing to English opposition.

(2) The Darien Scheme 1699. An attempt was made by Paterson to found a Scotch colony on the isthmus of Darien, in Spanish America. In spite of the opposition of King William, who knew that the attempt would lead to hostilities with Spain, of the House of Commons and the East India Company, Paterson, *relying upon the authority of the Scotch Parliament* which had sanctioned his scheme, raised £200,000 capital and took out 1200 colonists to "New Caledonia." The undertaking utterly failed owing to the unhealthy climate, the attacks of the Spaniards, and the colonists' ignorance of the possibilities of the district. The failure caused the greatest indignation in Scotland, where it was ascribed to national jealousy and to William's wish to protect Dutch trade from possible competitors. The whole affair showed the grave danger that might arise from the separation of the Parliaments.

(3) Scotch goods were excluded from English markets owing to heavy customs duties imposed to protect English trade, and the discontent thus caused was aggravated by the contrast between the poverty of Scotland and the wealth of England.

C. The massacre of Glencoe, 1692 (page 505), had greatly increased the hatred of England, and ever since the Restoration the connection with England had been regarded as injurious to Scotland.

III. **Danger of Continued Separation.**

A. 1703. The Scotch Parliament passed an Act of Security refusing to recognise Anne's successor as King of Scotland unless the trade restrictions were removed and the Presbyterian religion was secured, and authorising the formation of a national militia.

B. August, 1704, the English Parliament, fearing that if Marlborough were defeated the French might invade Scotland, accepted the Act of Security with great reluctance.

C. 1704. The victory of Blenheim removed the danger of a French invasion of Scotland. The English Parliament therefore declared the Scotch to be aliens, prohibited trade with Scotland, and ordered the border towns to be fortified.

This difference afforded a further proof of the danger of separate Parliaments. For a time there seemed some possibility of war, which would have been welcomed by the Jacobites, who were a strong party in Scotland. But in 1706 thirty-one Commissioners were appointed on each side to consider the question, and the Union came into force May 1st, 1707.

IV. **The Terms of the Act of Union.**

A. England and Scotland to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and the succession to the throne of Great Britain to follow the Act of Settlement of 1701 (page 525).

B. The Scotch Church and Law to remain unaltered.

C. Scotland and England to have the same rights of trade and to be liable to the same taxes.

D. England to pay to Scotland £398,000 partly as compensation to the shareholders in the Darien Company, partly as a contribution towards the Scotch National Debt.

E. Scotland to be represented by forty-five members in the House of Commons, and by sixteen elected Peers in the House of Lords.

F. The national flag to be the Union Jack,[1] in which the white cross of St. Andrew was incorporated with the red cross of St. George.

V. **The Results of the Union.**

A. There was little, if any, opposition to the Act of Union in England, but "this sad and sorrowful union" aroused fierce opposition in Scotland. The Presbyterians feared that the Episcopal Church would secure a strong position in Scotland. The Highland chiefs feared the loss of their feudal rights. The Jacobites objected to the exclusion of the Stuarts. It was thought that the transference of the Scotch Parliament to London would injure Edinburgh, and many feared that Scotch national sentiment would be gradually destroyed.

B. But "all that passed away was the jealousy which had parted, since the days of Edward I, two peoples whom a common blood and common speech proclaimed to be one" (Green).

(1) Increased trade led to great material prosperity. Towns grew rapidly. Roads were made. Agriculture was improved. Manufactures developed.

(2) The guarantee of Scotch religion and laws[2] did much to preserve national sentiment.

(3) The pacification of the Highlands was a slow process. A Disarming Act was passed in 1715, in 1746 the hereditary feudal jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs was abolished, and the Highland regiments enrolled by Pitt did great service in the Seven Years' War.

Reference:

A. *The Age of Anne*, Morris. Chap. XVI. (Longmans.)
England under Queen Anne, by Trevelyan.

[1] The Union Jack (so called from "Jacobus") had superseded the banner of St. George as the flag of England 1606, three years after James I united the Crowns of England and Scotland.

[2] The famous Gretna Green marriages were due to the difference between Scotch and English marriage laws.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
1650–1722

I. **A Great Statesman.**

A. He continued the work of William III, who recognised his great ability and appointed him to command the English troops in Holland in **1702**. His skilful diplomacy kept together the Grand Alliance and ruined the plans of Louis XIV, thus saving Europe from possible French domination. The personal friendship of Marlborough, Heinsius (the Grand Pensionary of Holland), and Prince Eugene, "the Triumvirate of the Grand Alliance," was very important.

B. His home politics were decided by the war. At first he was a Tory, but as the Tories did not strongly support the war he joined the Whigs. He brought his son-in-law, Sunderland, a strong Whig, into the ministry **1706**, and relied upon the Whigs exclusively after **1708**. The war became a "Whig war," and Marlborough's victories greatly strengthened that party.

II. **A Great General.**

A. He had "the power of conceiving and executing combined movements on a large scale," e.g. the campaign of **1704**.

B. He was a great tactician, able to see the weak points of the enemy's arrangements, prompt to act, able quickly to concentrate his whole force wherever necessary, and to move with such rapidity that he prevented the foe from finding out his real object, e.g.

(1) **1704**. The rapid march to Blenheim and the quick concentration of his attack on the enemy's centre, which turned a possible defeat into a brilliant victory. On this occasion Marlborough altered the formation of his army in a quarter of an hour.

(2) **1706**. At Ramillies he completely deceived Villeroi, who, in consequence, concentrated his forces at a point where they were of little use to resist the English attack.

(3) **1708.** His rapid movements enabled him to catch the French in confusion at Oudenarde.

C. He displayed the greatest tact in keeping together and managing his armies, which were composed of English, Dutch, Prussians, and Hanoverians. His unfailing courage on the field of battle inspired his men.

D. "He never fought a battle which he did not win, nor besieged a town which he did not take," but the timidity and folly of the allies, particularly of the Dutch deputies, often prevented him from securing the full result of his victories. But in spite of all difficulties, his military genius enabled him to save Europe from the domination of France.

III. His Character and Personality.

A. "The Handsome Englishman" possessed charming manners. He "engrossed the graces," was diplomatic, even tempered, tactful, and it was largely his personal influence that kept the Alliance together. He was an excellent speaker, but confessed "I do not love writing."

B. He was utterly selfish and cared only for his own advantage.

(1) He was ready to betray his friends to serve his own interests.

α. **1689.** He deserted James II, who had trusted him implicitly and treated him with generosity.

β. **1692.** He intrigued against William on behalf of Anne, whose accession would greatly strengthen his own position.

γ. **1694.** To injure Talmash, a possible rival, he informed the French of an impending attack on Brest.

δ. He steadily supported William after the death of Mary, in **1694**, because Anne was then sure to succeed.

(2) He was avaricious. "He is perhaps the only man of real greatness who loved money for money's sake."

1711. He was accused of taking £63,000 as commission from the army bread contractors, and of receiving 2½ per cent on all subsidies paid to the allies. He replied that all generals serving in Flanders had received commissions on the bread, and that the money he had received had been spent in secret service; that the percentage on the subsidies had been a voluntary gift from the allies, and that he had received a royal warrant allowing him to accept these payments. His defence was probably sound. He certainly gained an enormous fortune, but probably did not break the law.

(3) He was greedy of power, and his opposition to the proposals for peace, in 1706, was largely due to the fear that the importance of his own position would be diminished if the war came to an end.

C. His great love for his domineering wife "ran like a thread of gold through the dark web of his career."

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 701–20.
Marlborough, by Winston Churchill.
Marlborough. The Heroes of the Nations, by C. T. Atkinson. (Putnam.)

B. *The Ascendancy of France*, by Wakeman, pp. 345–7. (Rivingtons.)

C. *The Cornet of Horse*, by Henty. (Blackie.)

WHIGS AND TORIES IN THE REIGN OF ANNE

I. The Growth of the Power of the Whigs.

A. Anne's first Ministry.

(1) Marlborough, although a Tory, wished to unite Whigs and moderate Tories in following the policy of William III. Anne's first ministry included Marlborough, Godolphin (a connection by marriage of Marlborough and a great financier), appointed Lord Treasurer, and Nottingham, who became Secretary of

State, and also the Duke of Devonshire, a prominent Whig, appointed Lord Steward. This arrangement shows that the principle of Party Government was not finally established.

(2) Differences of opinion.

The moderate Tories, with whom the Queen agreed, like the Whigs, supported the war in the hope of checking the power of France and maintaining the Protestant Succession. They strongly supported the Anglican Church, and thus differed from the Whigs, who received the support of the Nonconformists and advocated religious toleration.

The extreme Tories, led by Rochester, were High Churchmen, opposed the war, and regarded the Pretender as the rightful king.

(3) The influence of the Tories, who had a majority in the House of Commons from 1702–1705, appeared in

1702. α. A declaration that Marlborough had "retrieved the ancient honour of the English nation." This involved a serious reflection upon William III.

1702–3–4. β. The passage through the Commons of the Bill against Occasional Conformity. This Bill was intended to exclude from office Nonconformists who "occasionally conformed" to the rites of the Anglican Church in order to qualify for municipal and other offices. The Bill was rejected by a Whig majority in the Lords.

(4) The weakening of the Tory element in the ministry.

1703. Dismissal of Rochester, the leader of the extreme Tories, from office.

1704. Nottingham and others of the advanced Tories replaced by Harley and St. John, the leaders of the moderate Tories.

1704. The victory of Blenheim greatly strengthened the Whigs

B. The Whig triumph 1708.

(1) The Tories gradually turned against the war, partly owing to its cost (£5,000,000 per annum), partly because of Marlborough's closer connection with the Whigs.

(2) **1705.** A Whig majority was returned to Parliament.

1706. Sunderland, a strong Whig and Marlborough's son-in-law, was appointed Secretary of State.

1707. Parliament resolved that there should be no peace as long as a Bourbon occupied the throne of Spain.

(3) The Whigs had appointed several Latitudinarian bishops, and Harley tried to rouse the opposition of the Queen (who favoured the High Church party) and to weaken the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough by introducing his cousin, Mrs. Masham, into the Queen's confidence. Harley and St. John supported an attack on the ministry for failing to maintain an efficient force in Spain. Partly owing to these reasons, partly because one of Harley's clerks had divulged some State secrets, Marlborough and Godolphin dismissed Harley, St. John, and the moderate Tories from the ministry, which now consisted solely of Whigs, Robert Walpole becoming Secretary at War. The war was now a "Whig War," and the Lords declared "That no peace can be safe and honourable until the whole monarchy of Spain be restored to the House of Austria." But Marlborough's position was weakened

α. By his refusal of the terms offered by Louis in 1709;

β. By the great loss of the English at Malplaquet;

γ. By his request for the post of Captain-General for life, which aroused a fear that he was aiming at a military dictatorship and was refused by Anne.

II. **The Fall of the Whigs 1710**

A. Very strong feeling was caused by the cost of the war, the refusal of the Whigs to conclude peace, the ambition of Marlborough.

B. April, 1710. The Duchess of Marlborough was dismissed from Court.

C. Dr. Sacheverell had denounced the Revolution, the Toleration Act, and the ministry in a sermon on "The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State," preached before the Lord Mayor in St. Paul's Cathedral, November 5th, **1709**. The sermon was printed and widely distributed and greatly increased the feeling against the Whigs. The ministry most foolishly proceeded against Sacheverell, not by common law process, but by impeachment before the Lords for "high crimes and misdemeanours"—a method which suggested party spite. He was tried in Westminster Hall, but only suspended from preaching for three years.

D. Largely owing to this impeachment a Tory majority was returned to Parliament. Sunderland and Godolphin were dismissed, and a Tory ministry was formed in **1710** with Harley (created Earl of Oxford **1711**) as Chancellor of the Exchequer. This ministry

(1) **1711**. Passed the Act against Occasional Conformity, thus strengthening the Anglican Church;

(2) Secured the dismissal of Marlborough for peculation (page 546), committed Walpole to the Tower;

(3) Endeavoured to come to terms with France.

α. Ormonde, who succeeded Marlborough as commander-in-chief, was ordered to adopt a less aggressive policy against France.

1713. *β*. Concluded the Treaty of Utrecht (page 538).

III. **The Question of the Succession.**

A. Both Oxford (Harley) and Bolingbroke (St. John) were in negotiation with the Old Pretender, who at the election of **1714** advised his friends to support the ministry.

(1) Oxford had negotiated with the Duke of Berwick, but was a strong Protestant, and absolutely refused to support the cause of James Edward, who refused to renounce Catholicism. (He would certainly have succeeded Anne if he had become a Protestant.) But Oxford was dilatory, fond of intrigue. He failed to take strong action and Bolingbroke gradually became supreme.

(2) Bolingbroke, an atheist, cared nothing for the Pretender's religion, had incurred the enmity of the Elector of Hanover, and did all he could to ensure the return of the Stuarts, from whom he looked for important preferment.

B. Measures were taken to secure the Pretender's accession.

(1) Athol and Mar, two Jacobites, received important offices in Scotland.

(2) Ormonde, a strong Jacobite, was put in command of the Cinque Ports to facilitate the landing of a French army.

(3) The army was reorganised.

(4) To secure the support of the High Church Party the Schism Act was passed 1714, which provided that no person who was not a member of the Anglican Church should keep a school or act as a tutor.

Oxford, who had been brought up as a Nonconformist, strongly opposed the Bill and was dismissed from office.

C. The Whigs.

The Whigs, led by Stanhope, strongly resisted Bolingbroke.

(1) A resolution in favour of the Protestant Succession was passed by the Commons, although the small majority showed the strength of the Jacobites.

(2) Marlborough returned from Flanders to command the Whig troops if necessary.

(3) The Whigs demanded that the Electoral Prince of Hanover should be summoned to the House of Lords by

his English title of Duke of Cambridge. Anne in consequence wrote so angry a letter to his grandmother, the aged Electress Sophia, that it was supposed to have hastened her death.

D. The sudden illness of the Queen.

Civil war seemed imminent when Anne was seized with apoplexy, and her sudden illness ruined the Jacobite plans.

The two Whig Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, acting as Privy Councillors,[1] attended the Cabinet Council and induced the dying Queen to appoint Shrewsbury as Lord Treasurer, and these three Whigs took measures to ensure the recognition of the Elector as George I.

References:

A. *The Age of Anne*, by Morris. (Longmans.) Chap. XIII.
Life of Burnet, by Clarke and Foxcroft. (Cambridge University Press.) Chap. X.
The History of the Tory Party, by Fielding. (Clarendon Press.) Chaps. XIII. to XVI.
B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 715, 717.
C. *In Kings' Houses*, by Dorr. (Duckworth.)
St. James's, by Ainsworth (Routledge.)

THE FIFTEEN 1715

I. Causes.

A. In Scotland.

(1) There was much dissatisfaction in Scotland owing to the foreign domination imposed on the country by the Union, the advantages of which were not yet apparent.

(2) The Duke of Argyle and the Campbells were strong Whigs, and opposition to the Campbells made many of the Highlanders Tories and Jacobites.

(3) The prospect of putting a Scotch king on the throne of England appealed to the national feeling.

[1] Such an action on the part of a Privy Councillor opposed to the ministry would be regarded as irregular now, as it is an unwritten law that only supporters of the ministry attend Cabinet Councils.

B. In England.

(1) There was much disaffection in England owing to the vindictive policy of the Whigs, who had impeached the Tory leaders for their share in the Treaty of Utrecht, and passed the Riot Act (1715) to put down riots which broke out in consequence.

(2) George I was very unpopular.

II. Failure was certain.

A. Foreign aid was essential for success, but Louis XIV, who had supported the rising, died September 1st, 1715, and the Duke of Orleans, the Regent of France, was anxious to ensure his own accession if the young Louis XV died, was jealous of Philip of Spain, his possible rival, and therefore adopted a friendly policy towards England and refused to help.

B. It was necessary that the English Jacobites should rise, but the refusal of James Edward to become a Protestant made a general rising impossible in England.

C. The Pretender was supremely dull and uninteresting, and quite unable to inspire the enthusiasm necessary for success, while Mar was distrusted owing to his vacillating policy, which gained for him the nickname of "Bobbing John."

D. Bolingbroke, a most capable organiser, who had been deprived by the Pretender of the direction of the rebellion, broke with the Jacobites.

III. The Course of the Rebellion.

A. In Scotland.

(1) The absence of the Pretender weakened his cause at the outset.

(2) September 6th, Mar proclaimed the Pretender as James VIII of Scotland and III of England at Braemar, "The Hunting of Braemar." He was supported by the Murrays and Gordons and other enemies of the Campbells, seized Perth and Aberdeen, and collected an army of 12,000 badly equipped Highlanders.

(3) Argyle held Stirling (to prevent Mar from invading England) and fought a drawn battle with Mar, November 13th, 1715, at Sheriffmuir, where the left wing of each army was defeated. Retreat of Mar to Perth.

(4) December, 1715. The Pretender landed at Peterhead, was crowned at Scone, but on the approach of Argyle deserted his followers and fled with Mar to France, February, 1716.

B. In England.

(1) Failure of Ormonde to effect a landing in the south.

(2) Rising in Northumberland under Mr. Forster, M.P. for the county, and Lord Derwentwater. These rebels were joined by the Border Jacobites under Lord Kenmure and by 1500 of Mar's followers under Mackintosh who had evaded Argyle, crossed the Forth, and marched south after failing to capture Edinburgh. The united forces marched through Carlisle and Penrith, and ignominiously surrendered to General Carpenter at Preston November 13th, 1715.

IV. The Results.

A. Punishment of the rebels.

(1) Execution of Derwentwater and Kenmure.

(2) Escape of Nithsdale, with his wife's aid, and of Forster, possibly with his gaoler's connivance.

(3) Execution of about thirty rebels of lower rank.

But the Government did not show undue severity to the rebels.

B. The Septennial Act was passed 1716 to avoid the danger of a Jacobite rising during the elections (page 554).

C. The Hanoverian and Protestant Succession was confirmed.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1702–1760*, Leadam. Chaps. XIV., XV. (Longmans.)

C. *Rob Roy*, Sir Walter Scott.
Dorothy Forster, by Besant. (Chatto and Windus.)

THE SEPTENNIAL ACT 1716

I. **Reasons for the Septennial Act.**

A. In accordance with the Triennial Act of 1694, Parliament would be dissolved and an election would be necessary in the spring of 1718.

B. Elections always led to disorder and riots, and although the Fifteen had been easily suppressed, it was difficult to gauge the feeling of the nation. It was possible that a Tory majority might be returned which would imperil the "Whig Settlement" made at the Revolution.

II. **The Septennial Act.**

The Act provided that the existing Parliament should continue for seven and not simply for the three years for which it had been elected.

III. **Criticism.**

A. Thirty-one peers protested that by this extension the constituencies were disfranchised, and that M.P.s would not represent their constituents for the last four years.

This protest apparently assumed, incorrectly, that Parliament acts as the agent or trustee of the electors.

B. Hallam justifies the Act on the ground that the Triennial Act "was of little more than twenty years' continuance. It was an experiment, which, as was argued, had proved unsuccessful; it was subject, like every other law, to be repealed entirely or to be modified at discretion."

C. It was asserted that Parliament had a right to pass laws affecting its successors, but that it had no right to pass a law to continue its own existence.

This argument is wrong and unduly limits the legislative authority of Parliament, which has an absolute right to pass any law it chooses.

IV. **Results.**

A. The Act strengthened the position of the House of Hanover by ensuring the continuance of a Whig House of Commons at a time of national danger.

B. Owing to the longer duration of Parliament the House of Commons became more independent of the Crown, the House of Lords, and of the electors. In order to secure control over the Commons ministers were compelled to make a greater use of bribery, and thus the Act led to an increase in Parliamentary corruption.

C. The Act gave greater stability to national policy, ensured a fair trial for a new ministry, and saved the country much expense by diminishing the number of general elections.

Reference:

A. *The Law of the Constitution*, by Dicey, p. 41. (Macmillan.)

THE WHIG SUPREMACY 1714–1761

I. The Reasons for the Supremacy.

A. Although the Whigs had done much to ensure the "Glorious Revolution," their supremacy was not finally established until **1714**, when George I, who could not speak English, was utterly ignorant of the conditions of English life and politics, and cared more for Hanover than England, naturally gave his confidence to the party that had ensured his accession.

B. The party was better organised than the Tories owing to its united action against James II in **1688**, and against the Pretender in **1715** (p. 550), and included all the ablest men of the time, with the exception of Bolingbroke.

C. The majority of the peers were Whigs, who thus had a majority in the House of Lords. These Whig peers owned about two-thirds of the country and many "rotten" boroughs (and thus controlled elections to the House of Commons). They secured control of State patronage (and were thus able to bribe members of Parliament to support their policy) and of the administration of local government, especially the militia and poor law.

D. The Whigs were supported by the trading classes, who had supplied the loans necessary to carry on the wars against France, and feared that the return of the Stuarts (of which the Whigs were the strongest opponents) would be followed by the repudiation of the national debt. The opposition of the Whigs to France led to the development of the British colonial empire and an enormous increase in trade. The towns still remembered the attack of Charles and James on their charters, and the opposition of the Whigs to these kings.

E. The Nonconformists, who were strong in the towns, supported the Whigs, who advocated Religious Toleration and repealed, in 1719, the Schism Act and the Act against Occasional Conformity, and, although they feared to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, passed an annual Act of Indemnity [1] for the violation of these laws, thus giving practical relief to the Nonconformists.

II. **The Nature of the Whig Supremacy.**

A. The Whigs, by the low personal character and the corruption of some of their leading men (Aislabie, Walpole, Newcastle), lowered the tone of the nation. They made bribery into a system and aimed often at the maintenance of their own power rather than the advantage of the nation. Their rule, which depended upon a few great families, has been called a "Venetian oligarchy," and their power is shown by the success of the Pelhams in compelling George II to accept Pitt, whom he hated, as Paymaster of the Forces in 1746.

B. By suppressing Convocation in 1717, and by giving high ecclesiastical preferment as a reward of political support, the Whigs did much to reduce the Anglican Church to the low position it held under George I and II.

C. But in spite of serious faults the Whigs rendered great service to England.

[1] An Act of Indemnity is a statute the object of which is to make legal transactions which, when they took place, were illegal.

(1) They steadily supported the principles of the "Glorious Revolution," which represent a great advance upon the constitutional practice of Stuart times, and were infinitely better than any European system of government in the eighteenth century. "Before their long rule was over, Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for difference of opinion, or to put down the liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without a Parliament" (Green).

(2) They finally established party government in England (page 571).

(3) They showed some respect for public opinion, e.g. in the settlement of the South Sea Bubble in 1721, the withdrawal of the Excise Bill 1733, and the proclamation of war with Spain.

(4) They generally were good financiers, they maintained national credit, tried to reduce the national debt, and by removing unnecessary duties increased the revenue.

(5) English trade prospered greatly under their administration. The volume of trade doubled between 1715 and 1750, manufactures developed with the growth of towns, agriculture flourished, and the reign of George I has been termed "the golden age of the English agricultural labourer."

(6) They recognised the supreme importance of the development of the navy, secured the command of the seas for Great Britain, and thus promoted the growth of the colonies.

(7) It is certain that the Tories would not have done as well, and although the Whig methods of government were corrupt, government at the time could not have been carried on at all without bribery.

References:

A. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I, chap. II.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY
1715–1721

I. Foreign Policy.

Stanhope (Secretary of State for the Southern department 1714–1717, First Lord of the Treasury 1717–1718, and Secretary of State for the Northern department 1718–1721) aimed at maintaining the Balance of Power established by the Treaty of Utrecht 1713 and at defending Hanover.

A. Conditions of Europe.

(1) France.

Louis XIV died in 1715. His great-grandson, Louis XV, was a weakly infant, and the Regent, the Duke of Orleans, who hoped to secure the throne if Louis XV died, was a personal friend of Stanhope. He cultivated friendly relations with England, through fear that, if Louis XV died, Philip V of Spain (Louis' uncle) would obtain the French crown in spite of the Treaty of Utrecht, which forbade the union in one person of the French and Spanish crowns.

(2) Spain.

Philip V and his minister Alberoni wished to recover Sicily, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and Gibraltar (lost by the Treaty of Utrecht), and therefore reorganised the Spanish navy, with which they hoped also to weaken British trade and to help the Jacobites if necessary. Philip's wife, Elizabeth Farnese, wished to secure for her son, Don Carlos, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

(3) The Emperor.

The Emperor Charles VI (formerly the Archduke Charles) wished to retain the Austrian Netherlands, Milan and Naples, and to exchange Sardinia for Sicily.

(4) Hanover.

George I, as Elector of Hanover, wished to retain the duchies of Bremen and Verden, taken from

Sweden during the absence of Charles XII in Turkey by the King of Denmark, and sold by him to Hanover in 1715. George I feared the designs of Peter the Great on Hanover.

The protection afforded by Stanhope to Hanover was due not only to the partiality of George for his Electorate, but also to the need of securing the control of the mouths of the Weser and Elbe for a state which was friendly to Great Britain, which carried on a great trade with the Baltic and Northern Germany.

(5) Sweden.

Charles XII wished to recover Bremen and Verden, and was willing to help the Jacobites.

(6) Russia.

Peter the Great wished to secure supremacy in the Baltic, and thus endangered British commerce.

The interests of Great Britain, Hanover, France, the Empire, and Holland, were thus opposed to those of Spain and the "Northern Powers." Stanhope aimed at alliance with France, Holland (anxious to keep the Barrier Towns), and Austria, and the Austrian alliance remained the keynote of his foreign policy.

December 15th, 1716, dismissal of Townshend, Secretary of State for the Northern Department, owing to unwillingness to go to war with Sweden to protect Hanover, and to his friendship with the Prince of Wales. Resignation by Walpole, Townshend's brother-in-law, of the Treasury and Exchequer, 1717.

B. The Triple Alliance 1717.

1717. Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland to ensure the Hanoverian Succession, and to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain. The Pretender to be expelled from France, and the fortifications of Dunkirk and Mardyke (dangerous to England) to be destroyed

C. The Quadruple Alliance 1718.

(1) Cardinal Alberoni's aim was to recapture Sicily and Sardinia by the Spanish fleet, while the Emperor was engaged in warfare with the Turks, and to induce Sweden and Denmark to facilitate his designs by attacking Great Britain and restoring the Stuarts.

(2) Stanhope negotiated the Peace of Passarovitz between the Turks (defeated by Eugène at Belgrade, 1717) and Austria, and concluded the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, Holland, France, and Austria, which provided that

α. The Emperor should renounce his claim to Spain.

β. The Emperor should receive Sicily.

γ. Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, should give up Sicily and receive the Kingdom of Sardinia.

The beginning of the Royal Family of Savoy which has since secured the Kingdom of Italy.

δ. Don Carlos should receive Parma and Piacenza.

(3) Alberoni, who had previously seized Sardinia, refused to accept these terms.

1718. July. Alberoni attacked Sicily.

1718. August 11th. Byng, although Great Britain had not declared war on Spain, destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro.

1718. December 11th. The death of Charles XII at the siege of Friedrickshall averted a threatened Swedish attack on Scotland in alliance with the Jacobites.

1719. March 29th. A new Spanish fleet, carrying Jacobites to Scotland, wrecked off Cape Finisterre. Surrender of the Jacobites who had escaped the storm and their Spanish allies to the British at Glen Shiel.

D. Peace.

(1) Spain.

1719. The failure of Alberoni's scheme led to his dismissal

1720. Philip V of Spain agreed to observe the conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht.

(2) Hanover.

1719. Sweden recognised the cession of Bremen and Verden to Hanover, and Prussia formed a treaty with Hanover

(3) Russia made peace with Sweden, and became the leading Northern power.

Stanhope's policy gave Europe peace for twelve years, maintained the Treaty of Utrecht, secured Bremen and Verden for Hanover, and protected the British trade with the Baltic.

II. Domestic Policy.

A. Ecclesiastical Policy.

(1) The Whigs, who were generally Latitudinarians, strongly resented the Jacobite sympathies of many of the clergy, and in **1717** suppressed Convocation owing to its opposition to the doctrines of religious liberty advocated by Hoadly, the Whig Bishop of Bangor.

Convocation was revived in **1853.**

(2) The Relief of the Nonconformists.

To reward the Nonconformists, their steady supporters, the Whigs in **1719,** repealed the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.

The opposition of Walpole, who feared "the unpopularity of such a measure," prevented Stanhope from repealing the Test Act.

B. The Peerage Bill.

(1) The Whigs, now supreme in the House of Lords, wished to maintain their position by limiting the extension of the Peerage, and thus preventing the Crown from making sudden creations for a definite purpose, as in **1712,** and from giving peerages to foreigners. The Bill provided

a. That, with the exception of the Royal Family, not more than six peers should be added to the existing number;

β. That the Scotch peers sitting in the Lords should be increased from sixteen elective to twenty-five hereditary peers.

(2) The Bill passed the Lords, but was thrown out by the Commons owing to Walpole's strong opposition. Walpole was justified in his action because the Bill would

α. Have made the Peerage an independent oligarchy;

β. Have weakened the connection between the House of Commons, the leading members of which hoped for peerages as a reward for political services, and the House of Lords;

γ. Have weakened unduly the prerogative of the Crown.

C. The South Sea "Bubble."

(1) The National Debt.

In 1719 the National Debt stood at £51,000,000, on which the Government paid interest at the rate of seven or eight per cent, largely in the form of irredeemable annuities, while the normal rate of interest was only four per cent. Financiers, failing to realise that the country, largely owing to the policy of the Whigs, was wealthy enough to bear the burden easily, wished to diminish the amount of, and the rate of interest on, the Debt.

(2) The South Sea Company had been founded by Harley in 1711, by the incorporation of holders of £10,000,000 Government stock, who received the monopoly of the Pacific trade.

(3) 1719. The Company offered to take over the National Debt, accepting five per cent (four per cent after 1727) from the Government. The holders of Government stock were induced to accept South Sea stock, influenced by the prospect of the high dividends, and the appreciation in the value of the stock, which were expected to follow the Government credit thus

secured by the Company. The Directors offered to pay seven and a half millions premium to the Government for the bargain, thus outbidding their rival the Bank of England.

α. Thus the Company became the sole Government creditor.

β. The Debt would be reduced immediately by the amount of the premium, and the Government stood to gain by the reduction of interest.

γ. The large amount of available capital in the country ensured the ready subscription of the additional capital necessary, and the consequent appreciation of the stock.

δ. The scheme depended upon the expected expansion of trade, and the £100 shares rose to £1000 on July 16th, 1720.

(4) The success of the scheme (ensured partly by presents of South Sea stock to members of Parliament and to the Hanoverian courtiers, and to the strong support of Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had bought largely in expectation of a rise in price) led to the formation of many other companies, and a "disease of speculation" broke out.

α. Some of the new companies were sound, e.g. the Royal Exchange and London Assurance, which are still prospering.

β. Many were unsound and illegal because unchartered, e.g. companies to import asses from Spain, to fix quicksilver, and for a business "the nature of which will be revealed in due time."

(5) The South Sea Company, "unconscious how much their success depended upon the universal delusion," proceeded against some illegal companies. The bubble burst. The stock fell from £1000 to £135 and all other stocks fell in sympathy, thus causing an acute financial crisis.

(6) The settlement.

The South Sea Company never actually became bankrupt, and proved successful after reconstruction But an inquiry led to the expulsion of Aislabie from the Commons for "notorious and infamous corruption," to the death[1] of Craggs, the Postmaster-General, to the death of Stanhope (not personally involved in the scandal) of apoplexy, due to anger at unjust accusations, and to the resignation of Sunderland, though innocent of corruption. Walpole, who made a fortune by selling South Sea stock at a high figure, finally arranged

α. That the premium should be remitted;

β. That the directors' estates, worth £2,000,000, should be confiscated for the benefit of the shareholders;

γ. That the Government should resume its stock.

Thus the proprietors received about one-third of their capital.

References:

A. *Political History of England, 1703–1760*, Leadam. Chaps XVI., XVII.
The Balance of Power, by Hassall. Chaps. I. and II. (Rivingtons)
James, 1st Earl Stanhope, by Edwards. (Gandy.)
Stanhope, by Williams. (Clarendon Press.) Chaps. VI.–XV.
Queen Anne, by Paul. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

B. South Sea Bubble. Macaulay's *Essays*, p. 291.

C. *The Regent's Daughter*, by Dumas. (Dent.)
The Mississippi Bubble, by Hough. (Methuen.)

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

I. **His Character.**

A. His private character was bad and his ideals of conduct low

B. Coarse; no sympathy with music and learning—"loved neither reading nor writing."

C. But he possessed a profound knowledge of men, of the needs of England, and of the House of Commons. A great debater and tactician, a man of robust common sense.

[1] There was a strong suspicion that he had poisoned himself.

D. An excellent business man, methodical and hardworking.

E. Not vindictive. "He gave to our government that character of lenity which it has since generally preserved."

II. In Home Affairs.

His great principle was "quieta non movere," i.e. "let sleeping dogs lie." Walpole made no important alterations in any institution and shrank from making even desirable changes if they were likely to rouse opposition.

A. He did nothing to relieve Nonconformists of their disabilities, in spite of the strong support he got from them, except to pass an Indemnity Bill.

B. He did nothing to pacify the Highlands.

C. He withdrew good measures owing to opposition.

(1) The Excise Bill 1733.

Owing to a very extensive system of smuggling the Government received only two-thirds of the duty payable on wine and tobacco. Walpole proposed to levy excise not customs duties on wine and tobacco, and to allow them to be put in bond and re-exported free of duty. This was an excellent measure, and would have

α. Checked smuggling;

β. Increased the carrying trade of England;

γ. Made London a free port;

δ. Made possible the total or partial repeal of the Land Tax.

There was a great outcry against "that monster the Excise" because of the objection to the inspection of shops and warehouses necessitated by the Bill, and it was feared that the large number of revenue officers necessary would always support Walpole in elections.

(2) Wood's Halfpence.

1722. The right of coining the additional halfpence and farthings required to make up a deficiency in the Irish coinage was granted to William Wood, of Wolver-

hampton. *Drapier's Letters*, by Swift, aroused great opposition to the new coinage on the ground that it was too light, and Walpole cancelled the issue.

α. "The first constitutional victory of the people of Ireland over Great Britain."

β. All Irishmen, irrespective of creed or party, "united to acclaim the man whose pen had evoked from a country of distracted factions an effective sense of nationality" (Leadam).

D. The Porteous Bill.

1736. John Porteous, Captain of the City Guard, without reading the Riot Act, ordered his men to fire on an Edinburgh mob during a riot occasioned by the success of a smuggler named Wilson who had facilitated the escape of a fellow-prisoner on the way to execution. Six people were killed. Porteous was condemned to death, but respited. He was taken from the Tolbooth by the mob and hanged in the Grassmarket.

A Bill was introduced to abolish the charter and guard of Edinburgh, but owing to the opposition it provoked Walpole withdrew it. The city was fined £2000 (given to Porteous' widow) and the provost deprived of office.

E. He yielded to the popular demand for war with Spain in defiance of his better judgment, in 1739. "They are ringing their bells now, they will be wringing their hands soon."

III. In Foreign Politics.

His great object was to save England from war.

A. Maintained friendship with France. The Duke of Orleans Regent and heir-presumptive to Louis XV, remained friendly with England in order to oppose his possible rival, Philip V of Spain. 1721. Orleans revealed Atterbury's plot. Cardinal Fleury afterwards continued the policy of Orleans.

B. Sought friendship with Prussia

C. Opposed Austria and Spain.

(1) Both Austria and Spain were hostile to Great Britain because each wished to regain advantages lost by the Treaty of Utrecht. The Emperor Charles VI wished to regain for the Austrian Netherlands the trade with the East and West Indies, and 1722 founded the Ostend East India Company, which threatened to become a rival of the English East India Company. Philip V demanded the restoration of Gibraltar, and wished to secure Parma for his stepson, Don Carlos.

(2) 1725. Spain and Austria made the Treaty of Vienna, by which

α. Philip V guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, which provided for the succession of Maria Theresa to the dominions of her father, the Emperor Charles VI, and recognised the Ostend East India Company;

β. The Emperor guaranteed the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Placentia, and promised to support Philip V's demand for the restoration of Gibraltar.

(3) 1725. Counter alliance of England, France, Hanover, and Prussia negotiated by Townshend. The Treaty of Hanover.

(4) 1727. Unsuccessful siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards.

(5) 1729. Peace made with Spain by the Treaty of Seville, by which

α. Great Britain recognised the claim of Don Carlos on Parma;

β. Spain withdrew the recognition of the Ostend East India Company.

(6) 1731. Peace was made with Austria by the Treaty of Vienna, by which Great Britain guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. But the peace thus obtained was very precarious because it was based upon arbitrary arrangements of territory made to maintain the Balance of Power.

D. The Family Compact 1733.

The Family Compact (following the birth of a son to Louis XV, and the consequent impossibility of the union of the French and Spanish thrones) formed by France and Spain against Great Britain and Austria.

War between Great Britain and France and Spain was ultimately certain because

α. Of the commercial rivalry with Spain in the West Indies;

β. Of the rivalry between British and French colonies in America. The French tried to prevent the British from extending westward, and the British colonies prevented the union of Canada and Louisiana.

E. The Polish Succession War 1733–1735.

Walpole refused to join in this war, and in 1734 declared "there are 50,000 men slain this year in Europe and not one Englishman."

F. Agreed to the war with Spain 1739.

IV. **Causes of his Power.**

Walpole was "moderate in exercising power, not equitable in engrossing it."

A. George I could not speak English, did not attend Cabinet meetings, was more anxious to ensure the welfare of Hanover than Britain, and left the control of English politics in Walpole's hands.

B. Walpole refused to retain in the ministry those who disagreed with him.

(1) Dismissal of Townshend, who, when Prussia and Austria made an alliance in 1730, wanted to fight both. "The firm must be Walpole and Townshend, not Townshend and Walpole."

(2) Dismissal of Chesterfield for opposing the Excise Bill.

(3) This policy had an important effect upon the development of Cabinet government.

α. Walpole did much to ensure unity in the Cabinet.

He acted as "the drill-sergeant of the Whig party," insisted on uniformity of policy, and was practically the first Prime Minister, although the term was not generally used until about 1760.

β. He had to face fierce opposition, but the opposition was disunited, and the only bond was hatred of Walpole. The nominal leader was Frederick Prince of Wales, "who was alive and is dead." The opposition included

1. Tories—led by Shippen—weak;
2. Discontented Whigs—"The Patriots"—led by Carteret and Pulteney;
3. The "Boys"—led by Pitt.
4. Frederick Prince of Wales, owing to a quarrel with his father, supported the opponents of his father's minister.
5. Walpole's leniency to his opponents encouraged them to attack him with great violence in such papers as the *Craftsman*.

C. His management of Parliament.

He made a great use of bribery.[1] He was obliged to bribe because government was impossible without it, and the House of Commons, which was independent of the Crown and electors, could be reached by no other means. He was not himself corrupt, and some of his successors bribed far more than he did. His reputation for bribery is partly due to the bitter attacks of the *Craftsman*.

D. The strong support of George I and, owing to Queen Caroline of Anspach, of George II. Walpole was never a popular minister. He was "a minister given by the King to the people."

[1] He did not say, "All men have their price." The statement he really made was, "All these men have their price," and referred to a particular group.

V. **Walpole was a Great Financier and Extended Trade.**

A. He arranged the South Sea Bubble.

B. His Excise Bill was a most wise measure.

C. He allowed Georgia to export rice direct to Europe in spite of the Navigation Acts.

D. He steadily reduced the National Debt and took off many taxes.

E. The alliance with France promoted English trade in the Mediterranean.

F. Hence he gained the strong support of the merchant classes.

VI. **The Importance of his Work.**

He gave England peace and thus

A. Ensured the permanence of the Whig Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian succession. The trading classes supported a Government under which they were becoming wealthy, and the result of Walpole's policy was seen in the utter failure of the Young Pretender to get help in the south of England.

B. He gave England time to recover from the wars against Louis XIV, to extend her colonial empire, to obtain wealth and thus to gain strength for the coming war. The wealth of England, acquired partly owing to Walpole's policy, enabled Pitt to subsidise Frederick the Great and to devote his attention to the development of the colonies. But Walpole was quite unfit to direct a war, and this work was taken up by Pitt (Chatham).

C. But his character, policy, and methods lowered the tone of English public life. Low ideals marked the middle of the eighteenth century. The evil was aggravated by the appointment (for party purposes) of Whig bishops who were out of touch with the Tory country clergy.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*, Walpole. Chaps. VI., VIII., IX., X.
English Men and Manners in the XVIII. Century, by Turberville. (Clarendon Press.) Chap. V.
The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole, by Brisco. (Columbia University Press.)

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 728–30.
Macaulay's *Essays*. Pop. Ed., pp. 276–84. (Longmans.)

C. *Mohawks*, by Braddon. *The Heart of Midlothian*, by Scott.

PARTY GOVERNMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABINET

I. **The Origin of Party Government.**

A. The development of parties.

(1) The opposition of Whigs and Tories in the reigns of Charles II (page 466) and James II is the beginning of regular party government in England. Previous parties, e.g. Reformers and Catholics, Cavaliers and Parliamentarians, had lacked cohesion and organisation, both of which, in some measure, Shaftesbury gave to the Whigs.

(2) The two parties were clearly defined at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary. Both accepted the Revolution, but the Tories strongly supported the Anglican Church and believed in hereditary succession, while the Whigs favoured the Nonconformists and upheld the doctrine of limited monarchy. Later the war against Louis further divided the parties. In time it became a "Whig war," and the peace of Utrecht, **1713**, was regarded as a "Tory peace."

II. **Ministerial Unanimity.**

The theory that the ministry should be chosen exclusively from one party was not finally accepted until **1714**.

A. William III's first ministry included both Whigs and Tories, as he wished to secure the support of all parties against Louis XIV.

B. **1696.** Owing to the difficulty of inducing Whigs and Tories to adopt a uniform policy, William III formed a ministry of the Whigs alone. The first ministry ever formed from one party.

C. Marlborough and Anne at first included both Whigs and Tories in the ministry, but

D. **1708.** Marlborough and Sunderland formed an exclusively Whig ministry.

E. **1710.** Harley and St. John formed an exclusively Tory ministry.

F. **1714.** The action of the Whigs in securing the Hanoverian succession gained for them the steady support of George I, and from **1714–1761** the ministries were composed mainly of Whigs, the dominant party (page 555).

III. The Cabinet.

The formation of ministries exclusively from the Whigs, and the great amount of power given to their ministers by George I and II, had important effects upon the history of the Cabinet. In the past great jealousy had been aroused by the formation of Cabinets, especially in the case of the Cabal (page 450), and Temple's scheme (page 470) had aimed at strengthening the authority of the Privy Council rather than that of the Cabinet. But from the time of George I the Cabinet System steadily developed.

A. Political unanimity was enforced.

(1) Previously, even in ministries composed of men of one party, radically different views were held, e.g.

1710. Harley had been brought up as a Nonconformist, and opposed the policy of St. John, who supported the Schism Act and the Act against Occasional Conformity to secure the support of the High Church Party.

(2) Walpole, "the drill-sergeant of the Whig party," maintained strict party discipline and the exclusion of Townshend,[1] Pulteney, and Carteret made the ministry homogeneous.

(3) After the fall of Walpole there was a return to the old system in the Broad Bottom Administration **1744**, in which Whigs and Tories found a place; but

[1] Walpole's brother-in-law, called "Turnip Townshend," because he devoted himself to agriculture after giving up politics, and introduced the cultivation of turnips into England.

(4) William Pitt's personal influence, together with the support of George III, made the Cabinets from 1783-1801 homogeneous, and practically since that time political unanimity has been recognised as a condition of Cabinet government.

B. Simultaneous changes of the whole Cabinet.

The Cabinet became a Committee of both Houses, and its dependence upon the support of the majority of the House of Commons was gradually recognised.

(1) 1742. Sir Robert Walpole recognised that the House of Commons was the most important part of the Parliament, and resigned office on being defeated in the House of Commons on the question of the Chippenham election. The first instance of the resignation of the leader of the ministry without reference to the sovereign, and owing to an adverse vote in the Commons.

(2) 1782. Lord North, seeing that defeat in the Commons was certain, resigned office with all his colleagues (except Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor). "The first instance of the simultaneous change of the whole administration, in deference altogether to the opinions of the House of Commons."

C. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet.

The supreme authority of the Prime Minister is a most important factor in ensuring unanimity in the Cabinet, but the final recognition of the Prime Minister as an element in politics was delayed until the time of the younger Pitt.

α. The idea of a "prime minister" was most unpopular, and this unpopularity had been shown in the opposition to such "favourites" as Gaveston 1312, and Suffolk 1450.

β. William III was the head of his ministries, and under him there was no room for a Prime Minister.

γ. Walpole was practically the first Prime Minister, but he strongly objected to the term.

δ. After the fall of Walpole 1742, the country was governed by departments, and the heads of departments (notably the elder Pitt) often acted independently of their chiefs.

ε. The supremacy of the Prime Minister[1] over the Cabinet was finally established by William Pitt 1783–1801, partly owing to the steady support accorded to him by George III, partly owing to his own outstanding ability.

D. The Cabinet System and the Crown.

The development of Cabinet government has been marked by increasing freedom from royal interference.

(1) From the time of Charles II to that of Anne the sovereign regularly presided at Cabinet meetings, but as George I could not understand English he did not attend in person. George III attended once soon after his accession, but it is now a recognised convention of the constitution that the sovereign shall not attend.

(2) During the Whig supremacy the ministers usurped much of the royal power.

(3) George III, wishing to re-establish the royal supremacy, endeavoured to break the power of the Cabinet by acting as his own minister, especially during the ministry of Lord North 1770–1782, when the country was governed by departments and the King repeatedly interfered.

(4) The authority of the Cabinet was restored by Pitt and has since steadily increased.

[1] The office of Prime Minister or Premier was first formally recognised in December, 1905, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was appointed. The Premier is a Privy Councillor who holds a Cabinet office, usually First Lord of the Treasury (i.e. the first of the five Commissioners in whom the old office of Lord High Treasurer is vested), although Lord Salisbury was Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1885–1886 and 1886–1892. In Cabinet meetings previous to 1905 the Premier had no official precedence over his colleagues, but his personal influence and the power he possessed of recommending the sovereign to dissolve Parliament gave him supremacy.

E. The constitutional position of the Cabinet.

(1) The Cabinet, technically a committee of the Privy Council, is a committee of both Houses, acts as a link between the legislature and the executive, and has thus solved the struggle between the two which led to the Great Civil War. But the Cabinet Council has no constitutional authority, and no formal notice of the appointment of a Cabinet minister is published in the *London Gazette*, although appointments of Privy Councillors are so published.

(2) There are no rules as to place, time or quorum of Cabinet meetings. The proceedings are secret and no minutes are taken.

(3) The Cabinet is thus a conspicuous instance of the tendency in English history to find practical solutions of difficult constitutional questions without much attention to constitutional theories.

References:

A. *English Constitutional History*, by Taswell-Langmead, pp. 556–71.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION 1740–1748

The title "War of the Austrian Succession" is inadequate. In addition to the question of the succession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria, there arose the question of the right of Spain to search British vessels in the West Indies; the growth of the kingdom of Prussia (page 532); the development of the British Navy and Colonial Empire; the defence of Scotland against the Jacobites (page 581) and the concern of George II for Hanover (the war is sometimes called "King George's War"). War broke out with Spain in spite of Walpole's opposition in 1739, "The War of Jenkins' Ear," owing to the claim by Spain of the right of search. 1739. Vernon captured Porto Bello. 1741. Failure of a British attack on Carthagena. This war was merged in the war of the Austrian Succession after 1743

I. **The Outbreak to the End of the First Silesian War.**

A. **1740.** Death of Frederick William I of Prussia (a tyrant who had made the Prussian army that his son Frederick II used with such success) and of the Emperor Charles VI, who had tried to ensure the succession of Maria Theresa to his dominions by the Pragmatic Sanction, to which most European nations had agreed.

B. Frederick II began the war without any justification and seized Silesia. The war extended over the world. "In order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

C. The Elector of Bavaria (who had married the daughter of Charles VI's elder brother) claimed the Empire and Bohemia, and he was supported by France and Spain.

D. Walpole and George II, who was anxious for Hanover, tried to preserve peace and to reconcile Frederick and Maria Theresa. The latter was enthusiastically supported by the Hungarians—who did *not* say "Let us die for our King Maria Theresa."

E. Walpole fell in **1742**, and Carteret adopted a new policy. He

(1) Favoured an alliance with Austria against France;

(2) Used Hanoverian soldiers. Opposition of Pitt, and a growing feeling in favour of a strong naval rather than a military policy.

(3) **1742.** Concluded the First Silesian War by inducing Maria Theresa to recognise Frederick as master of Silesia by the Treaty of Breslau.

α. A great diplomatic success.

β. England ought then to have withdrawn from the continental war.

(4) But Carteret tried to restore Maria Theresa to her old position, and adopted an aggressive rather than a defensive policy against France. Maria (freed from danger from Prussia) aimed at the reconquest of Alsace.

(5) **1743.** George II's victory at Dettingen (the last time an English king fought in person) compelled the French to evacuate Germany.

(6) Formal alliance of England and Austria in **1743** by the Treaty of Worms.

(7) This led to the counter-alliances of France and Spain, and France and Prussia. Frederick II feared the growing power of Maria Theresa, who would probably attempt to regain Silesia, and the second Silesian War broke out.

II. Second Silesian War 1744.

A. Different from the first.

(1) England and France were now the chief opponents in accordance with the old Whig theory, and the rivalry between Austria and Prussia was less important.

(2) Colonial problems now became of supreme importance.

(3) Danger of French aid to the Pretender.

B. India.

(1) British "factories" at Fort William, Madras, and Bombay; French at Chandernagore and Pondicherry. The idea of European supremacy was not considered at first, as the "factories" were apparently too weak to form centres of political power.

(2) Dupleix saw the real weakness of the native after the break-up of the Mogul Empire on the death of Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, in **1707**, and the weakness of their undisciplined armies. He acted as agent of the Mogul Emperor, established French influence in the native courts, reorganised the native army, and captured Madras **1746**. No similar policy was adopted by the English (whose interests were mainly commercial) until Clive appeared. Dupleix was supreme in the South. The chief obstacle to his schemes was the British navy, which was checked by the French naval station at Mauritius.

C. America. Rivalry of British and French. The French held

(1) Cape Breton (Louisburg the chief port), commanding the St. Lawrence;

(2) Louisiana (New Orleans chief port), commanding the Mississippi.

(3) Their policy was to build forts along the great lakes and head-waters of the Mississippi to

α. Unite their own possessions;

β. Prevent the British from extending westwards.

"The war was becoming a world-wide duel which was to settle the destinies of mankind."

D. 1740–1744. Anson's successful voyage round the world, during which he sacked the town of Paita in Peru, captured a treasure-ship near the Philippines, and brought home booty worth £1,250,000.

E. 1745. The victory of Maurice of Saxony (Marechale de Saxe) over Cumberland at Fontenoy, due partly to the withdrawal of the Dutch troops from the English army, encouraged "The Forty-Five" (page 582). Therefore peace was concluded by Great Britain (which did not wish unduly to weaken the chief Protestant state in Europe) and Austria with Frederick, who found little advantage in the French alliance. End of the Second Silesian War.

α. Frederick II kept Silesia.

β. Frederick II acknowledged Maria's husband Francis as emperor.

F. Great Britain and Austria continued the struggle against France.

1746–1747. French successes on land at Roucaux and Lauffeld. English successes on the sea. Capture of Louisburg and the defeat of the French fleet by Anson off Finisterre and by Hawke off Belle Isle.

III. **The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748,** ensured the mutual surrender of conquests and the expulsion of the Pretender from France.

A. It weakened the alliance of Great Britain and Austria.

B. It did not ensure peace in Europe, as Austria was still anxious to regain Silesia from Prussia.

C. It did not extinguish colonial rivalry between the British and French.

Dupleix gave up Madras, but rejoiced in the removal of the danger from the British navy.

Louisburg was surrendered.

D. It ruined the Jacobite cause. Charles Edward became a hopeless drunkard, and after much wandering died at Rome in 1788.

E. There was no settlement of the right of search claimed by Spain.

Thus "the fruit of years of expenditure of blood and treasure was the *status quo ante bellum.*"

IV. **The Importance of the War for Great Britain.**

The war marks a new epoch in European history and British foreign policy. Prussia became one of the most important states in Europe and tended to alliance with Britain through fear of France and Austria. Britain was now to carry on wars to secure commercial, naval, and colonial supremacy, while European questions became of secondary importance to British statesmen. Hence the supreme importance of the navy.

References:

A. Macaulay's *Essay on Frederick the Great.*
The Balance of Power, Hassall. Chaps. VI. and VII. (Rivingtons.)

B. Carteret. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 285–6. (Longmans)

C. *Ned Leger*, by Fenn. (S.P.C.K.)
Treasure Trove, by Lever (Constable.)

THE REFORM OF THE CALENDAR 1751

England, Russia, and Sweden had retained the "old style" of reckoning time according to the Julian Calendar invented by Julius Cæsar. The errors of the Julian Calendar were corrected by Pope Gregory XIII, whose Gregorian Calendar, introduced in 1582, had been accepted by many of the states of Europe. Therefore, in England the year began on March 25th, while in most of Europe it began on January 1st, and the error in reckoning in England had amounted to eleven days. Lord Chesterfield, assisted by Lord Macclesfield, induced Parliament in 1751 to sanction a Reform of the calendar by which

α. The year 1752 was to begin on January 1st;

β. Eleven days were to be dropped between September 2nd and 14th.

Thus the legal and solar years were made identical, and England adopted the same calendar as most of Europe.

There was considerable opposition to the change, and a cry was raised at elections, "Give us back our eleven days."

LORD HARDWICKE'S MARRIAGE ACT 1753

Grave scandal had arisen owing to the facilities existing for secret marriages, especially of minors, for whose marriages the consent of parents or guardians was not necessary. The evil was aggravated by the readiness of dissolute "Fleet parsons" to celebrate marriages for a small fee, and nearly 3000 "Fleet marriages" were celebrated in four months. This excellent Act provided:—

(1) The banns of the parties to be published in the parish church for three successive Sundays before the ceremony.

(2) Marriages to be performed in church between 6 a.m. and noon.

(3) A special licence from the archbishop was declared necessary for a legal marriage under any other conditions.

THE FORTY-FIVE

I. Causes.

A. In Scotland the majority of the Highlanders were still Jacobites, and there remained a strong desire to regain the national independence lost by the Union, the advantages of which were not even yet generally appreciated.

B. In England the Hanoverian kings had utterly failed to secure the favour of the people, although George II's bravery at Dettingen had gained him temporary popularity. The violence of the Opposition led to a belief that the Government was weak, and many, without any intention of supporting a Stuart restoration, had evinced an amiable interest in the Young Pretender.

C. The defeat of the British at Fontenoy in **1745** induced Charles Edward to attempt to regain the throne.

II. The Rebellion.

Although in **1744** Louis XV had projected an invasion of England by Marshal Saxe on behalf of the Pretender he gave no efficient help in **1745**, and on July 25th Charles Edward landed at Moidart with only seven supporters—"The Seven Men of Moidart." He was joined by Cameron of Lochiel and some of the Macdonalds, raised his standard at Glenfinnan, evaded General Cope, marched through the Pass of Killiecrankie and Perth, defeated some Royalist dragoons at the "Canter of Coltbrigg" outside Edinburgh, which was surprised by his Highlanders, although the Castle held out. Cope, who had come by ship to Dunbar, was routed in six minutes owing to the furious charge of the Highlanders at Prestonpans, September 21st

The necessity of collecting men and arms kept the Pretender at Edinburgh and gave the Government time to organise its forces. Charles Edward, with an army of 6000 men, marched south via Carlisle (thus avoiding General Wade's army at Newcastle), Lancaster, Preston, and Manchester to Derby, which he reached on December 4th, "Black Friday," and, as he had evaded Cumberland, the way to London lay open. There was a panic in London, there was a run on the Bank of England, and George II prepared to flee to Hanover, but the Highland chiefs, especially Lord George Murray, rightly insisted on a retreat in view of the superior forces opposing them, and Charles returned to secure Scotland. His retreat was disorderly, but he routed General Hawley, who had succeeded Wade, at Falkirk, January 17th, 1746. He unwisely wasted time in besieging Stirling, thus giving Cumberland time to follow him, and was finally routed on April 16th at Culloden, partly owing to the inaction of the Macdonalds, who refused to fight on the left flank while the Camerons and Stuarts had the post of honour on the right. He escaped to France through the devotion of Flora Macdonald, and in spite of the offer of £30,000 to any one who would betray him. The gross cruelty with which Cumberland (who shot about two hundred prisoners) punished the Highlanders gained him the nickname of the "Butcher." Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, "the Martyrs," were beheaded, and about a hundred commoners executed for their share in the rebellion.

III. Criticism.

The rebellion was hopeless. The Government had control of the English army; no help came from France; the English middle class had gained so much wealth owing to Walpole's policy that although they disliked the Hanoverian kings, they would not support rebellion, and without support from England there was no chance of success. The Highland chiefs were jealous of each

other; Lord George Murray, who had skilfully conducted the march to Derby, was unpopular owing to his hasty temper, and although the remarkable personal charm of the Pretender gained a large measure of support, it could not counteract the apathy of the English.

IV. Results.

A. The failure of the Forty-Five finally ensured the maintenance of the Hanoverian line and the Act of Union, and showed the weakness of the Jacobites in England.

B. It showed the danger from the Highlands, where the chiefs still exercised feudal power over their clans. Therefore—

(1) The hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs was abolished.

(2) The clans were disarmed, and the wearing of the tartan was prohibited. (This last clause was soon repealed.)

(3) Pitt made an excellent use of the military skill of the Highlanders by enrolling them in the English army.

References:

A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy. Chaps. XXXIV.–VI.
Political History of England from 1703 to 1760, Leadam. Chap. XXIV
William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, Charteris. (Edward Arnold.)

C. *Waverley*, Sir Walter Scott.
Poor Sons of a Day, by McAulay. (Nisbet.)
Ricroft of Withens, by Sutcliffe. (Unwin.)
The Master of Ballantrae and (for years following the Forty-Five) *Kidnapped* and *Catriona*, by Stevenson. (Cassell.)
An Exiled Scot, by Bryden. (Chatto.)

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR 1756–1763

I. The Events leading up to the War.

A. In spite of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the struggle for the colonies between Great Britain and France continued, and this was the most important feature of the War.

(1) America.

No definite boundaries had been fixed between the French and English colonies. The French forts, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Duquesne (on the Ohio), ensured the connection between Canada and Louisiana, and prevented the English from extending westwards.

1755. An attack on Fort Duquesne by Braddock failed. Braddock, ignorant of the methods of colonial warfare, foolishly kept his troops in close order in the forests of the Alleghanies. They therefore fell an easy prey to the French and Indians. His last words were, "We shall do better next time."

(2) India.

1751. Clive's seizure and gallant defence of Arcot (the turning-point in the history of the British in India) established Mahomet Ali, the British nominee, as Nawab of the Carnatic, and thus led to the foundation of our Indian Empire. Dupleix was recalled by the French Government, which failed to appreciate his policy, and objected to the expense (much of which he paid out of his own pocket). His successors were less capable men, though Lally Tollendal (an Irishman by birth) was a brave soldier.

(3) The British navy was in good condition, owing to the previous war.

Europe.

Maria Theresa determined to regain Silesia and to break the power of Prussia. She united with France (Louis XV was willing to support a Catholic against a Protestant nation, and Madame de Pompadour hated Frederick), Russia (the Empress Elizabeth hated Frederick), and Saxony. This involved a complete change in the foreign policy of France, which now made an alliance with the Hapsburgs.

Prussia was compelled to get the support of Great Britain, which was anxious for the safety of Hanover,

C. William Pitt.

Like Elizabeth, he roused the national spirit by his patriotism. He was able to carry out his policy, involving high ideals of patriotism, owing to the success of the materialistic policy of Walpole, which had provided the wealth necessary to subsidise Frederick. In **1755** he had protested against the payment of subsidies; in **1757** he adopted this policy in order to "conquer America in Europe."

II. The War.

A. **1756.**

(1) Capture of Minorca by the French and the consequent loss of British supremacy in the Mediterranean. The execution of Admiral Byng "pour encourager les autres" on a charge of "disobedience to orders and criminal feebleness" was undeserved. He was guilty of nothing worse than an error of judgment.

(2) Frederick conquered Saxony.

B. **1757.** A black year.

(1) Frederick was surrounded by enemies on the east and south, but by remarkable rapidity of movement he kept them in check.

(2) The Convention of Klosterseven and the surrender of Cumberland ["My son has ruined me and disgraced himself" (George II)].

(3) Hanover was therefore occupied by the French, who now threatened Frederick's western border.

(4) Frederick saved himself by defeating the French at Rossbach, and the Austrians at Leuthen.

(5) Montcalm was successful in Canada.

(6) Failure of the British naval attack on Rochefort.

(7) Defeat of Suraj-ud-Dauleh at Plassey by Clive [in revenge for the death of 123 out of 146 British subjects imprisoned for one night in the Black Hole—a small room twenty feet square, with only two windows]. Mir Jaffir (whose agent Omichund had been tricked into an agreement by Clive's forgery of

Admiral Watson's signature) was made Nawab of Bengal, which became a British dependency.

C. **1758.** The turn of the tide.

(1) Repudiation of the Convention (which was not binding on the home Government like a Capitulation) of Klosterseven. The French driven out of Hanover.

(2) Frederick defeated the French and the Russians and drove the Austrians south.

(3) Capture of Louisburg (commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence) and Fort Duquesne—renamed Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg)—"The key of the great west."

(4) Lally checked at Madras.

D. **1759.** The Year of Victories. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is for fear of missing one" (Horace Walpole).

(1) Frederick routed at Kunersdorf by the Russians. But Ferdinand of Brunswick routed the French at Minden (where Lord George Sackville refused to charge the defeated foe), and thus saved Frederick and Hanover.

(2) The destruction of the French navy and the consequent interruption of communications between France and her colonies.

The Toulon fleet was defeated off Lagos by Boscawen.

The Brest fleet defeated in Quiberon Bay (off a very rocky and dangerous shore and during a storm) by Hawke, who answered the protest of the pilot as to the dangers, "You have done your duty in speaking, now lay me alongside the French admiral."

This success, the greatest naval victory since the Armada, averted a threatened invasion of England.

(3) Canada.

Quebec captured by Wolfe—"Thank God, I die happy." The British navy commanded the sea and facilitated the conquest of Canada by preventing the French from sending reinforcements to Quebec. The

French power was further weakened by the capture of Niagara and Crown Point, and the destruction of Ticonderoga.

E. 1760.

(1) Eyre Coote routed Lally at Wandewash, in which only English and French troops were engaged. This defeat greatly weakened the prestige of the French in India. The British navy prevented the French from sending reinforcements to India, and Pondicherry fell in 1761. Lally was executed for failure on his return to France.

(2) Death of George II. George III was anxious to restore the power of the Crown, and wished to end the war which ensured the supremacy of Pitt, which was inconsistent with the assertion of the royal prerogative.

(3) Naval successes 1761. Capture of Belle Isle (French soil as distinct from a French colony).

F. Spain joined France.

(1) Pitt, suspecting the union of Spain and France through the Family Compact (renewed 1761), urged war with Spain—"There is not an hour to lose." Resigned on his failure to secure war.

(2) Bute adopted the Tory policy of peace, disapproved of continental alliances, stopped Frederick's subsidy, thought all attention should be devoted to a naval policy, and objected to the heavy expense of the war.

(3) December, 1761. War declared against Spain. Capture of Havana and Manilla by the English fleet, and Martinique captured from the French.

III. **The Treaty of Paris, 1763, provided that**

A. England should keep, in Europe, Minorca (Belle Isle to be restored to the French); in North America, Canada and Cape Breton Island; in India, all conquests except Pondicherry; in Central America, the islands of Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Grenada, and also the right of cutting logwood in Honduras Bay.

B. Spain should give up Florida in exchange for Havana, and should receive back the Philippines unconditionally.

Criticism.

(1) Great Britain got much. She secured the eastern part of North America, supremacy in India, and command of the seas.

(2) Ought to have got more.

Manilla and Martinique were given up without equivalent, and Florida was not equivalent to Havana.

(3) The French naval and colonial policy was unduly favoured by the restoration to France of certain West Indian colonies, of Goree, of the "factories" in India, and a share of the Newfoundland fisheries, which were very important as a nursery of French sailors.

(4) The desertion of Frederick the Great, who was left to make his own terms, was disgraceful. He never forgave this, and refused to make any further alliance with Great Britain.

(5) The Treaty of Paris was a party peace (like Utrecht), carried through by shameful means by Henry Fox.

α. A bribery office was opened at the Treasury. £25,000 were paid in one day, and the lowest payment for a vote was £200.

β. Punishment of the opponents of the peace.

1. Newcastle and Devonshire lost their lord lieutenancies.

2. General expulsion from office of all who owed their position to the Whigs however humble it was.

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The Influence of Sea Power on History, Mahan. Chap. VIII. (Sampson Low.)

B. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 519, 523–4.

C. *The Virginians*, by Thackeray.
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A Fallen Star, by Lowe. (Downey.)
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The Last of the Mohicans, by Cooper.

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM. 1708–1778

I. His Life.

Grandson of a Governor of Madras, and educated at Eton and Oxford.

1735. Became member for Old Sarum, a family rotten borough; Cornet of the 1st Dragoon Guards (not "the Blues"), but lost his commission through opposing Walpole.

1746. Paymaster of the Forces, but in spite of his poverty he made no profit out of the office, contrary to the custom of the day.

1755. Dismissed for opposing treaties with Russia and Hesse for the protection of Hanover.

1756. Secretary of State under Devonshire. Pacified the Highlands by raising Highland regiments.

1757–1761. Secretary of State under Newcastle. Directed the Seven Years' War (see page 586).

1763. Refused to form a ministry, because George III would not accept some leading Whigs.

1765. Opposed the Stamp Act. Refused to form a ministry without Temple.

1766. Opposed the Declaratory Act. Formed a ministry, but soon retired through illness. Resigned **1768.**

1769. Protested against the action of the Commons with regard to the Middlesex election (page 598).

1774. Opposed the Boston Port Bill.

1775. Brought in a Bill to conciliate the Americans by repealing recent Acts, and leaving taxation to colonial assemblies.

1778. Stricken with apoplexy while protesting against the recognition of American independence and died May 11th.

II. **The Great Commoner.**

A. His great work was to rouse the national spirit. He gave the people ideals of national greatness, and inspired them with his own patriotic passion. He revived to some extent the Elizabethan spirit, and by substituting high ideals for Walpole's materialism raised the tone of the nation in politics as Wesley did in religion. "He was the first Englishman of his time and he made England the first country in the world."

B. His influence due to

(1) His patriotism (he loved England with a great and passionate love);

(2) His "ostentatious purity" and uprightness, contrasted with the jobbery of Newcastle (which was, however, necessary to secure the Parliamentary support for Pitt's policy), the dishonest gains of Fox as Paymaster of the Forces, and the general immorality of the nobility.

(3) His position was greatly damaged by his acceptance of the Earldom of Chatham in 1766, which removed him from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, where his rhetoric had little effect.

C. He fully recognised the importance of the general body of the nation. "It is the people who have sent me here" (i.e. the House of Commons), and when assuring George II that the House of Commons opposed the execution of Byng in 1757, the King said, "You have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons."

D. His home policy was democratic, and strongly supported by London and Alderman Beckford.

He opposed general warrants, supported the liberty of the Press, the rights of constituencies in the case of the Middlesex election, and Parliamentary reform.

III. Pitt and the Empire.

Relying on popular support and on the wealth that had accumulated during Walpole's time, he adopted an aggressive policy of colonial expansion which his own "magnificent driving power" brought to a successful issue. This involved a world-wide struggle with France, carried on

A. On the Continent.

(1) Pitt reversed the old Whig policy of alliance with Austria, and made an alliance with Prussia (thus ensuring the safety of Hanover in spite of his previous objections to subsidising other countries for the defence of Hanover). George II was jealous of Frederick the Great, but was won over.

(2) Pitt's subsidies (rendered possible by Walpole's policy) enabled Frederick to carry on war against France, Austria, and Russia. Pitt's assistance was especially valuable to Frederick after his great defeat at Kunersdorf by the Russians in 1759.

(3) He resigned owing to the refusal of the Council to declare war against Spain in 1761, and thus counteract the renewed Family Compact. In 1766 he tried to form a northern league (Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia) to check the Bourbons.

B. In the Colonies.

(1) Owing to the subsidies Pitt paid to Frederick, France was kept busy fighting England's allies on the Continent, and thus prevented from using all her power to defend Canada. Pitt thus "conquered America in Europe."

(2) Hitherto attacks on Canada had been disorganised. Pitt adopted a general scheme of attack (against the forts, against Quebec, and against settlements at the mouth of the St. Lawrence), sent adequate numbers of troops, and showed his sound judgment of men by the choice of Wolfe and Amherst.

(3) He was most unwilling to weaken the Empire, and therefore opposed the proposal to recognise the independence of the United States, and protested against "the dismemberment of this ancient and glorious monarchy."

(4) He recognised the importance of the navy as a factor in colonial development, and made England mistress of the seas.

(5) Successes in India were not due directly to Pitt, but were perhaps inspired by successes elsewhere.

(6) Great increase in trade owing to colonial expansion. "Commerce has been made to flourish by war."

C. His general policy. "His greatness lay in action."

(1) His plans were wide and far-reaching.

(2) But he failed to appreciate the cost of his policy, which frightened Grenville, who, in order to reduce the enormous debt incurred by Pitt, tried to tax the colonies.

(3) He had no mind for details, and "knew nothing accurately except the *Faerie Queen*."

IV. Pitt and Parliament.

A. (1) His successes were due to the skill with which Newcastle managed Parliament and secured the Parliamentary support necessary for the success of his policy ("Mr. Pitt does everything, and the Duke gives everything"), but he objected to government by the Whig connection and by bribery.

(2) His policy from **1757–1761** was supported by men of all parties, and his ideal was a ministry composed of the best men available, united under a prime minister, and supported by the King and the nation. To this ideal the Whigs, who had long monopolised political power, and the King, who wished to govern as well as to reign, were opposed.

B. Pitt was not a successful party leader.

(1) He was too vain. "I know that I can save this country, and I know no other man can." His temper (partly owing to gout) was too bad to make him a successful leader. He could not manage a party, his personal following was very small (his was a "personal and solitary grandeur"), and he would not bribe.

(2) He refused to take office in **1763** "without the great families who have supported the Revolution settlement," and in **1765** because Temple did not join.

(3) He ought in **1765** to have supported Rockingham, whose views corresponded with his own, and who treated him with the utmost deference. Had he done so he might have averted the American War.

(4) **1766.** Accepted office to check "the Bloomsbury Gang," but soon retired owing to illness.

C. Pitt and reform.

(1) He wished to reform Parliament by triennial Parliaments, and thus differed from Burke, who sought reform by the diminution of royal influence and the exclusion of placemen.

(2) He strongly opposed the illegal extension of Parliamentary privilege in the case of Wheble and the printers.

V. He was a great orator, had a remarkable power of appealing to the passions of his audience, was rhetorical, and possessed a great command of language. But he was not good in debate, and his set speeches were poor.

VI. He was too theatrical, and was always acting. His character lacked simplicity.

References:

A. Macaulay's *Essays* on William Pitt and the Earl of Chatham.
J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 748–57.
Chatham. *Twelve English Statesmen*, F. Harrison. (Macmillan.)
English Men and Manners in the XVIII. Century, by Turberville. (Clarendon Press.) Chap. VII.

GEORGE III

I. **George I and George II had been very unpopular.**

A. George II spoke English badly, George I not at all

B. Both were very fond of Hanover, and many Englishmen strongly resented the demands made upon England to ensure the safety of Hanover.

C. Both were immoral, and their courts impure.

D. The personal character of each was unpleasing (although the bravery of George II at Dettingen gained him a temporary popularity).

E. The severities following the Fifteen and the Forty-Five added to their unpopularity.

F. Their unpopularity unfairly obscured the great service both had rendered to Great Britain by their loyal acceptance of the restrictions which the conditions of limited monarchy placed upon their power, and by their success in avoiding discord between Crown and Parliament, which would have afforded opportunities for Jacobite intrigue.

II. **The Whigs had Enormous Power** (see page 555).

A. The party had been organised by Walpole, and had defended the Hanoverian succession and the Revolution settlement against the Jacobites.

B. They dispensed Crown patronage and owned many rotten boroughs themselves, while public money and their own wealth ensured a large bribery fund. The Whig nobles were supreme in the Lords, and by bribery gained control of the Commons.

C. Newcastle (the head of the Treasury) was "a hoary old jobber,"[1] whose personal character tended to bring himself and his followers into contempt. The nation had become thoroughly tired of the monopoly of power enjoyed by the "Revolution families."

[1] "There was not, it was said, a single prelate who had not owed either his first elevation, or some subsequent translation, to Newcastle."

D. The Jacobite cause had been ruined by Culloden, and the depraved character of Charles Edward, who was drunken and immoral.

III. George III, 1760.

A. Many circumstances combined to make him popular. He was young (only 22), chaste, pious, and sincerely attached to the Church of England, thus affording a pleasing contrast to his predecessors. He was a patriotic Englishman. "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Britain" (not "Briton").

He had some claim to hereditary descent, as his grandfather and great-grandfather had been kings of England, and this was one reason for the strong support of the Tories, who were uninfluenced by the ideas of limited monarchy which had grown up during the eighteenth century, and gave to George III all the devotion they had formerly given to the Stuarts. The Tories "had left their king, but brought with them their principles."

B. "He came to the throne determined to exalt the kingly office, and throughout his long reign he never lost sight of this object."

(1) His mother and his tutor, Bute, had great influence, and both encouraged him in this object. His mother's advice was, "George, be King," and he aimed at being a "Patriot King," as portrayed by Bolingbroke, ruling absolutely, but for his people's good. His character fitted him for such an attempt. He was narrow-minded, tenacious of his rights, stubborn and industrious.

(2) To do this he had to break up the Whig supremacy, already weakened by division into four parties, viz. Newcastle and the aristocratic Whigs, Pitt and the democratic Whigs (e.g. Alderman Beckford), Bedford, the head of the "Bloomsbury Gang," and Grenville. He got rid of Newcastle by resuming the patronage of

the Crown, and Pitt resigned on the refusal of the Cabinet to declare war on Spain.

(3) George then aimed at being his own minister.

α. This would be impossible now, but then the Cabinet system was not fully developed, and George succeeded, to some extent, in doing what the Prime Minister (this term was in regular use by 1760) does now—keeping the ministry together. The King became a party man.

β. The gradual formation of "The King's Friends," who supported the King even against his own ministers—"a reptile species of politician" won over by the exercise of the Crown patronage resumed by the King. But

γ. The King presided only once at a Cabinet Council, and thus the Crown finally renounced a custom which would have greatly strengthened its power.

(4) The King soon showed his determination to interfere.

1760. α. He altered the King's Speech without consulting his ministers, inserting with his own hand the words, "I glory in the name of Britain."

β. He took a keen interest in the proceedings which led to the Peace of Paris.

The Peace of Paris was a triumph for George III, "Now indeed my son is King," but it was followed by a fierce outcry against Bute, who was hated as a Scotchman who gave many posts to his fellow-countrymen, and as the reputed lover of the Princess Dowager (this suspicion was quite unjust). The cry of the London mob was, "No petticoat government, no Scotch minister." Bute was driven from office in spite of his majority.

1763. γ. He took an active part in the prosecution of Wilkes (page 599).

(5) 1770–1782. The personal power of George III reached its height during Lord North's administration. During this time the King was "his own unadvised minister,"

and governed as well as reigned. He directed all matters of home and foreign policy, dispensed all civil, judicial, military, and ecclesiastical patronage, and in spite of North's earnest desire for peace, compelled him to carry on the American War.

(6) **1780.** The strong opposition of the Commons to this policy was shown by the passage of Dunning's motion, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," and **1782** by Burke's Place Bill which weakened the influence of the Crown by diminishing the amount of secret service money and cutting down the Pension List.

(7) After William Pitt became the Prime Minister in **1783** the King's power was weakened because "he had now a minister who, with higher abilities and larger views of State policy, had a will even stronger than his own." But the power of the King was shown

α. **1801.** By the resignation of Pitt on the King's persistent opposition to Roman Catholic Relief;

β. **1804.** By the omission of Fox from the Cabinet owing to the King's personal dislike.

(8) The attempt of George III appears now to be utterly unconstitutional, and some of his actions, especially the use of the "King's Friends," against his own ministers were not honest. But

α. Popular feeling supported his attempt to wrest supreme power from the Whigs.

β. The fact that the sovereign reigns, but does not govern, was not fully recognised in **1760.**

γ. George III thought that he was merely resuming the rights of the Crown. He was not definitely aiming at the violation of the Constitution.

References:

A. *English Constitutional History*, Taswell-Langmead, pp. 572–85.

The Political History of England, 1760–1801 Hunt pp. 1–12. (Longmans.)

Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 777–9

JOHN WILKES

A dissolute "man about town," famed for his extraordinary ugliness and charming manners. Very clever. A strong opponent of Bute. Started the *North Briton* in opposition to *The Briton*, edited by Smollett for Bute. In spite of his disreputable character, he was concerned in constitutional questions of great importance.

I. **The Question of General Warrants.**

A. **1763.** In No. 45 of the *North Briton*, Wilkes attacked the King's Speech for a false statement about the Treaty of Paris. Although his ministers were responsible for the speech, George III took the criticism as a personal insult and ordered the prosecution of Wilkes. Halifax (Secretary of State) issued a "general warrant" (not specifying any individual), by which 49 people were arrested.

B. Wilkes was arrested, brought up for trial, but released on claiming, as a member of Parliament, the privilege of freedom from arrest, save for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

C. Lord Chief Justice Pratt declared that general warrants were illegal, and Wilkes recovered £1000 damages from Under-Secretary Wood for searching his house, and later £1000 from Halifax for illegal arrest.

II. **The Rights of Parliamentary Electors.**

A. **1763.** Grenville, finding that the law courts did not help him, brought Wilkes' case before the House of Commons, who declared No. 45 a false, seditious libel, and maintained that privilege of Parliament did not extend to such cases.

B. Wilkes printed privately (did not publish) *An Essay on Woman*, an indecent parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*, put Bishop Warburton's name to the appended notes, and addressed it to his boon companion Lord Sandwich. Its first words were "Awake, my Sandwich."

An Essay on Woman was voted by the Lords (of which Warburton and Sandwich were members) a breach of privilege and a scandalous libel. **December, 1763.**

C. Wilkes went to France and did not appear when summoned before the Commons, who voted him guilty of seditious libel and expelled him from the House in 1764.

He was outlawed by the Court of King's Bench for failure to appear to answer the charge of publishing No. 45.

D. 1768. Wilkes returned from France and was elected M.P. for Middlesex. He was sentenced to a fine of £1000 and twenty-two months' imprisonment on the original charge of seditious libel.

E. 1769. Expelled from the House for a libel on Weymouth (the Secretary of State). This action was unjustifiable. Libel should not have been tried at the bar of the House but in the ordinary court, and libel on a peer was not a breach of the privilege of the House of Commons. The House of Commons declared him incapable of sitting in Parliament, from which he had been expelled. This was unconstitutional. The House has the right to expel an unworthy member, but to declare a man incapable of being a member was a most arbitrary proceeding.

F. Re-elected by a majority of 847 votes over Colonel Luttrell, the King's candidate, but the Commons declared Luttrell M.P. for Middlesex.

α. Their illegal refusal to accept the duly elected member was a gross interference with the rights of electors.

β. The assumption of the power of election by the House of Commons was utterly illegal.

Strong feeling was aroused for Wilkes, who was made an alderman of London. Riots in London in favour of "Wilkes and Liberty."

G. 1774. Re-elected for Middlesex and took his seat. In 1782 the motion of 1769 declaring him incapable of re-election was erased from the journal of the House.

III. **The Reporting of Debates.**

Wilkes took an active part in securing freedom of report for the printers.

A. The House of Commons was jealous of the secrecy of its proceedings, and reporting, though tacitly allowed, was regarded as a breach of privilege.

B. **1771.** Wheble and other printers were summoned to the bar of the House of Commons on the complaint of Colonel Onslow that they had unfairly reported his speeches. They refused to attend, and Wheble was brought before Wilkes, as alderman of London, by collusive action, and discharged.

C. Miller, a printer, gave in charge a messenger from Parliament who went to arrest him. Crosby (the Lord Mayor) and Wilkes discharged Miller, and held the messenger to bail. Crosby, after having been heard in his place in the House of Commons, was imprisoned in the Tower until the end of the session. Wilkes, who refused to obey the summons except in his capacity of M.P. for Middlesex, was unmolested.

D. The Commons dropped the struggle and reporting henceforth was allowed, although, technically, it continued to be a breach of privilege.

IV. The Importance of Wilkes.

A. His case shows how the House of Commons, secure for seven years, had got out of sympathy with the electors. Parliament displayed a foolish insistence on its privileges, to which it wished to subordinate the rights of action of the ordinary courts.

Wilkes thus indirectly promoted the cause of Parliamentary reform, and the growth of modern Radicalism.

B. By his opposition to general warrants he protected the liberty of the subject from illegal official interference.

C. Indirectly he helped to promote the power of the Press, which was destined in time to limit the arbitrary power of Parliament.

D. His case shows the active part taken in the Government by the King, who had declared "that the expulsion of Wilkes is highly expedient and must be effected," and had done all he could to ensure that expulsion.

References:

A. *History of the Four Georges*, by McCarthy.
Chaps. XLIV., XLV., XLIX.
The Early History of Charles James Fox, by Trevelyan. (Longmans.) Chap. VIII.

B. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 769-70.

THE RELATION OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES

I. Commercial Relation.

A. It was thought that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country, and efforts were made to ensure that the Balance of Trade should be in favour of Great Britain, i.e. that the exports to the colonies should exceed the imports from the colonies, thus necessitating the payment of the difference in money (which alone was regarded as wealth) to Great Britain. This theory had led to the application to America of the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, compelling the colonists to trade only in English and colonial ships, to export their chief products to England alone, and to import European goods only through England.

B. Parliamentary legislation for the colonies had been confined strictly to the regulation of trade. Customs duties had been imposed, but "England pursued trade and forgot revenue." Parliament had not taxed the colonies "for a revenue," and America "had, except the commercial restraint, every characteristic mark of a free people in all her internal concerns."

C. In spite of these restrictions the colonial policy of Great Britain was more generous than that of any other European country, and the harshness of these commercial regulations had been mitigated

(1) By the monopoly of trade with England in certain articles enjoyed by the colonists.

(2) English capital had been used for the development of colonial trade, and had proved "a hot bed to them."

(3) Contraband trade with the French and Spanish colonies (especially in lumber and cattle) had yielded great profits to the New England merchants, who had thus been enabled to obtain the money necessary to discharge their debts to English traders.

α. Walpole and succeeding ministers had connived at this smuggling in spite of the heavy loss of customs duties and the injury to British trade which it caused. They treated the colonies with a "wise and salutary neglect."

β. Grenville, a man of "small, sharp mind," determined

1. To stop the smuggling, the reports of which had been neglected by his predecessors. Hence the statement that we lost America because Grenville read the colonial despatches.
2. To levy internal taxes to defray the cost of defending the colonies against the French.

II. The Right to Tax.

A. The view of the Colonists and Pitt.

(1) "No taxation without representation," but this view recognised a distinction between "internal" taxes raised "for a revenue" and the old "external" taxes regulating trade. It denied the right of Parliament to levy internal, but submitted to the levy of external taxes. The colonists therefore

α. Accepted Grenville's regulations *re* smuggling, 1764 (page 605), but

β. Opposed the Stamp Act 1765, and the duty on glass, paper, paints and tea imposed in 1767.

(2) The colonists and Pitt feared the extension of the absolute power of the King. Hence the opposition of the colonists to the Quebec Act (page 608), providing for the appointment of colonial officials by the Crown and Pitt's speech :—

"I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of men so dead to all the feelings

of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

(3) But Chatham was a strong Imperialist, and opposed the grant of Independence, which would weaken the Empire.

B. Rockingham and Burke.

The doctrine of Political Expediency

(1) Asserted that the sovereign right of Parliament included full right of taxation as well as legislation, and stated this in the Declaratory Act 1766.

(2) But opposed the strict assertion of rights, which, though legal, might prove oppressive, and repealed the Stamp Act because, though legal, it was inexpedient and, when added to the external taxes on trade, would have imposed on the colonists "perfect uncompensated slavery."

(3) After Saratoga, Rockingham advocated the recognition of the independence of America in order to leave England free to fight the French.

C. The King advocated the strict enforcement of legal right, maintained, like Rockingham, that Parliament had absolute right of taxation and legislation, and, unlike Rockingham, that this right ought to be exercised.

(1) He therefore opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act—the "fatal compliance of 1766."

(2) He favoured a resolute policy, and said that after the Congress of Philadelphia "blows must decide" the question.

(3) North, inclined to conciliatory measures, was overruled by the King.

(4) The King's action is now generally condemned; but it must be remembered that the majority of the nation strongly supported the King, including Oxford, Cambridge, the merchants, and Liverpool (but not London or Bristol).

III. General Notes.

A. Separation was inevitable.

(1) The growth of a spirit of independence due to the political Puritanism of the New England colonies led to the assertion of "no taxation without representation." But representation was physically impossible. "Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them."

(2) The removal of the danger from France by the Peace of Paris broke the chief bond of union.

(3) The lack of any central authority controlling individual colonies, made it impossible to leave to each state the decision of the amount of its contribution to the British Exchequer as North advocated in 1775.

(4) The burden of the commercial restrictions when contraband trading was stopped was too heavy.

B. The English Parliament and people failed to understand the position.

(1) They insisted unduly on their legal rights, but the question was most difficult.

(2) When military operations became necessary they underestimated the difficulties arising from the size of the country, "which fought for the colonists even more than their armies." The Government did not leave a free hand to the generals in America.

C. A small party of extremists, strongest in Massachusetts, led by Patrick Henry of Virginia and John Adams of Massachusetts, took the lead. Their extreme views led to misrepresentation of the British position, to violence, and a somewhat unreasonable and factious policy.

The supporters of independence were in a minority at first, but gradually gained power, and the loyalists were often treated with much barbarity.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1760–1801*, Hunt. Chap. VII.
Burke's *Select Works*, Clarendon Press, Vol. I, pp. 126–9, 177, 180–1, 230–1
Edmund Burke, Morley. (Macmillan.) Chap. IV.
The American Revolution, Trevelyan. (Longmans.) Chap. I.
Chatham. *Twelve English Statesmen.* Chap. XII.

B. Macaulay's *Essays.* Stamp Act, pp. 771–2.
Rockingham, p. 776.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE AMERICAN WAR

A. The Peace of Paris by removing the danger of French attacks from Canada and Louisiana made the Colonies, which had been compelled to rely upon the military power of Great Britain for defence against the French, less dependent upon the mother country.

B. The National Debt, owing to Pitt's extravagant war policy, had grown to £140,000,000. Of this a portion was due to the heavy cost of protecting the English colonies in America against the continual attacks of the French in Canada and Louisiana, in the recent wars.

C. **1764.** Grenville (Chancellor of the Exchequer) naturally wished to diminish this debt, and not unreasonably expected the colonists to meet part of the cost of the Seven Years' War and of British garrisons still defending the colonies. He therefore

(1) Strengthened the regulations against smuggling. This cut off the contraband trade which had enabled them to endure the Navigation Acts, and inflicted considerable hardship on the New England merchants.

(2) Passed the Stamp Act to "raise a revenue" of £100,000 a year from the sale of stamps on legal documents, **1765**

D. Strong opposition arose in the colonies to the Stamp Act, an "internal tax" as opposed to "external" (customs). Opposition to "taxation for a revenue" and "taxation without representation."

(1) Riots in Boston, stamps burned, damage to British trade by the refusal of Americans to import English goods.

(2) The Assembly of Virginia.

α. Denied the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies without their consent. This was wrong, for Parliament is a sovereign assembly and taxation is an attribute of sovereignty.

β. Demanded that the Stamp Act should be repealed.

(3) The Congress of New York, attended by deputies from nine out of thirteen colonies.

α. Recognised their allegiance to the Crown, and acknowledged the superintendence of Parliament in commercial questions, but

β. Asserted "the undoubted right of Englishmen that no taxes should be imposed on them but with their consent."

E. **1766.** Rockingham passed the Declaratory Act (declaring the absolute supremacy of the British Parliament) in spite of Pitt's opposition, and repealed the Stamp Act in spite of the King, who strongly objected to this "fatal compliance." He reduced unpopular taxes and thus made smuggling unprofitable, and increased the revenue. The Declaratory Act was an attempt to save the dignity of Parliament, but, as it involved the "right to tax," it utterly failed to conciliate the colonists.

F. **1767.** Charles Townshend put duties on tea, paper, glass, and painters' colours. The resulting revenue, £40,000, was to be used for the cost of the government and defence of the colonies.

(1) Dissolution of the Assembly of Massachusetts for refusing to comply.

(2) Revival of an old statute of Henry VIII authorising criminals to be brought for trial to England (not enforced).

G 1770. March. The Boston massacre (three colonists killed in an encounter with British soldiers) caused great indignation in Massachusetts, although the soldiers, who had fired under great provocation, were acquitted by a New England jury.

March. Repeal of all taxes save 3d. per pound on tea —retained by North by the King's wishes, though worth only £300 a year, owing to a rebate which allowed the Americans to buy their tea cheaper than England. Continued objection of the colonists because this duty, though small, involved the "right to tax."

1773. Private letters of Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts, containing adverse criticisms on colonists and advising repressive measures, were obtained by Franklin dishonourably and published in America.

H. 1773. North, in order to help the East India Company, then in financial difficulties, owing to a war with Hyder Ali in 1767 and 1768, and a famine in Bengal in 1770, allowed them to export tea to America free of English duty, but liable only to the small colonial duty. Thus the Company would get rid of their surplus stock, and the colonists would get their tea cheaper.

(2) December 16th. The "Boston Tea-party." Three hundred and forty chests of Indian tea were emptied into the harbour by young colonists disguised as Red Indians.

(3) The Government therefore

1774. *a.* Passed the Boston Port Act, closing the port, and removing the Custom House to Salem.

β. Passed the Massachusetts Government Bill, annulling the charter and making it a Crown Colony.

I. The Quebec Act extended the borders of Canada, granted religious toleration, provided trial according to the French law in civil, and English in criminal, cases. The nomination of the assembly retained by the Crown. This measure was wise and just, and ensured the fidelity of Canada. The colonists objected because

(1) The expansion of the northern colonies was limited;

(2) Roman Catholics received toleration;

(3) The absolute power of the Crown was retained.

J. **1774.** Congress at Philadelphia.

(1) Due largely to the fear that other charters would, like that of Massachusetts, be cancelled.

(2) Attended by representatives of all the colonies except Georgia.

(3) There was a strong loyalist party which professed no desire for independence, but owing to the skilful policy of John Adams and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry of Virginia, the Congress

α. Denied the right of the English Parliament to tax for a revenue.

β. Condemned the Penal Acts passed against Massachusetts.

The Assembly in Massachusetts was dissolved, but the delegates met in a "Provincial Congress"; a committee of defence was formed and "minute men," liable to serve at a minute's notice, were enrolled.

K. **1775.** Attempts at conciliation by Chatham and the merchants of London and Bristol.

Parliament showed a real desire for peace by accepting North's resolution to forgo taxes (except for purposes of trade) in case of any colony voluntarily paying a fair share of the cost of its defence and government. This resolution was reasonable, but came too late.

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

I. First Period to Saratoga.

A. 1775. Boston.

(1) Gage's troops, who had seized some stores at Concord, were defeated at Lexington.

At the Second Congress at Philadelphia

α. The name of "The United Colonies" was adopted.

β. The action of Arnold, who had raised troops and captured Ticonderoga, was approved. This amounted to a declaration of war.

γ. George Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief.

1. He had to make his army and keep it together. The American troops were weakened by the jealousy of different militia regiments, by lack of uniform dress and of equipment, by lack of discipline and deficiency of powder. But the American cause was aided by the size of the country, which made conquest difficult and effective occupation impossible, by the distance between England and the United Colonies which made it most difficult to send reinforcements to the British. As the war progressed, the military skill of the Americans greatly increased.

2. His remarkable self-control, honesty, simple dignity, and military skill were admirable qualifications for his difficult task.

(2) June 17th. British victory at Bunker's Hill.[1]

The Americans besieged Boston.

Gage foolishly made a frontal attack on an entrenched enemy, and failed to use his ships to attack their flank. The Americans fought most bravely and the British lost eight hundred men, but drove the colonists from their position.

The British army was strengthened by the addition of men brought from Hesse and Brunswick.

(3) Gage's successor, Howe, evacuated Boston.

(4) The colonists gained confidence from Lexington and Bunker's Hill and the evacuation of Boston.

B. The Invasion of Canada.

(1) The success of Arnold at Ticonderoga, and the expectation that the Canadians would be willing to revolt, encouraged the colonists to invade Canada.

(2) Montreal was captured by Montgomery, but he was slain December 31st, 1775, at Quebec, which was saved by Sir Guy Carleton, who was supported by the Canadians owing to the Quebec Act (page 608).

[The Olive Branch Petition, 1775, was an appeal from Congress to George III to avoid war. It was rejected nominally because, as George said, "Congress had no legal existence." It threw the blame of continuing the war on the English ministry, but the hostile attitude of the Congress rendered it almost impossible for the ministry to accept the Petition.]

C. The South.

(1) 1776. Virginia was alienated by Lord Dunmore, who burnt Norfolk and offered to liberate slaves.

(2) Clinton failed to take Charleston, and his attempt united the Southerners, many of whom had been well disposed towards Great Britain.

July 4th, 1776. The Declaration of Independence.

Lord Howe, brother of General Howe, had authority

[1] The battle is usually known as "Bunker's Hill," the name of the whole ridge commanding Boston. It took place on Breed's Hill, a portion of the ridge which the Americans had fortified to command Boston.

to grant pardon to any rebels who submitted, and owing to the injury caused to trade in New England by the war, to the weakness of Washington's army owing to illness and desertion, there seemed some chance of reconciliation. But the republican and democratic party, influenced largely by the writings of Tom Paine, secured the lead and issued the Declaration of Independence, asserting the Independence of the Colonies, and renouncing all political connection with Great Britain.

D. New York.

(1) 1776. August 27th. Howe easily routed Washington at Brooklyn and captured Long Island, but failed to prevent the escape of Washington's army in the fog. He made New York, which was strongly Royalist, his centre, thus securing an excellent base with easy access from the sea, which as yet was commanded by British ships.

(2) Howe most foolishly wasted four weeks in New York instead of pursuing Washington, whose army was disorderly and undisciplined and could not have resisted an immediate and vigorous attack.

(3) Washington, by victories at Trenton (December 25th, 1776) and Princeton (January 3rd, 1777), recovered New Jersey.

E. Saratoga.

(1) Howe delayed active operations until June (thus giving the Americans time to organise their army), and then an attempt was made to put into execution a new plan of campaign. Burgoyne was to march from Canada along Lake Champlain (capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point) and to join a force from New York under Clinton on the Hudson, thus ensuring the connection of New York and Canada, and cutting off the New England States from the rest of the colonies. Howe was to attack Philadelphia.

(2) The plan failed because

1777. α. Although Howe, after defeating Washington at Brandywine, captured Philadelphia, his army wasted the winter there in dissipation instead of attacking Washington's army (which was in great straits at Valley Forge) and then joining Burgoyne.

β. Clinton, who was in command at New York, had too few troops to leave the place and join Burgoyne.

γ. Burgoyne captured Ticonderoga, but through the lack of supplies, the failure of expected reinforcements from New York, the apathy of local loyalists, and the desertion of the Indians, was compelled to submit to Gates at Saratoga. October 17th, 1777.

The surrender at Saratoga the turning-point of the war.

F. (1) In this first period the home Government failed to appreciate the danger and to send adequate troops, but retained the command of the sea.

(2) Gage and Howe proved most incompetent, while the American army steadily improved under the direction of Washington. But this army was in need of stores and badly disciplined, and the Americans, who possessed no fleet, would probably have been compelled to surrender but for the support of the French, who, owing to the defeat of the British at Saratoga, made an alliance with the colonists (February 6th, 1778) in the hope of regaining the colonial empire France had lost in the Seven Years' War.

(3) The support of the French made reconciliation impossible.

Feb. 1778. North had proposed that no direct taxes should be levied upon the colonists, and that commissioners should be sent to America to effect a reconciliation.

April 7th, 1778. Chatham, who strongly resented the action of France, while anxious to make peace with the colonies, objected to a grant of independence and protested against the "dismemberment of this ancient monarchy."

May 11th. Death of Chatham, following an apoplectic seizure in the House of Lords on April 7th.

II. Second Period. Britain opposed to Europe and America.

A. Opponents of Britain in Europe.

(1) France.

The French alliance was invaluable to the colonists.

α. The French fleet checked the British, and French ports offered refuge to American privateers, e.g. Paul Jones.

β. French officers (e.g. Lafayette) drilled the Americans, who received money and arms from France.

(2) Spain.

1779. Spain declared war on Britain owing to the Family Compact and the desire to regain Gibraltar.

(3) Holland.

1780. Great Britain declared war on Holland, which supplied naval stores and afforded harbours of refuge to the American privateers in the Dutch West Indies.

(4) **1780.** Russia.

The difficulties of Britain were increased by the formation of the Armed Neutrality (including Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Prussia, France, Spain, and Russia) at the instigation of the Empress Katharine. These countries resolutely opposed the British claim to search neutral vessels, and asserted that neutral ships make neutral cargoes, and that blockades, to be recognised, must be effective.

B. Britain lost command of the sea, which she had maintained since the Battle of La Hogue (page 515).

(1) The British fleet was in a bad condition owing to insubordination, to embezzlement and waste of public money voted for the maintenance of the navy, to

lack of stores, ships and men (in spite of vigorous impressment, which was costly and unpopular).

(2) The navy was badly used. It did not blockade French ports, and thus prevent French fleets from sailing to America.

(3) The weakness of the navy was the main reason for the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

C. **1778.** The British evacuated Philadelphia, thus losing control over most of the middle States, and retired to New York.

D. **1780.** Major André.

General Arnold, owing to his bad treatment by the Congress, had promised to surrender to Clinton, Howe's successor, West Point Fort, commanding the Hudson (the chief means of communication between New York and Canada). Negotiations were carried out through Major André, Adjutant-General of Clinton's army, who was captured in civilian dress in the American lines, with papers from Arnold concealed in his boots. In spite of the strongest representations in his favour he was hanged (not shot, as he begged) as a spy by Washington's orders. His punishment was not unjust, as he was captured in disguise in the enemy's lines while engaged in abetting the treachery of one of their officers, and in view of the difficulty of maintaining discipline in the American army, Washington felt compelled to inflict the punishment André had incurred.

E. **1780.** Success of the British in Carolina.

(1) The Southern States were more friendly disposed to Great Britain than the Northern, and it was hoped that a campaign in Carolina would re-establish the British authority, and enable a twofold attack to be made upon Virginia from Carolina and New York.

(2) Clinton captured Charleston, and Cornwallis gained victories at Camden and Guildford (1781), but his forces were so small that he determined (as it was impossible to get reinforcements by sea) to rejoin

Clinton. He reached Yorktown, but Washington, knowing that financial embarrassment in France made the continuance of the French fleet in American waters impossible, resolved on immediate action in co-operation with De Grasse, the French Admiral.

[1780. Great victory of Rodney over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent.]

F. 1781. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Cornwallis was compelled to surrender because Britain had lost command of the sea, and therefore

(1) Clinton could not effect a junction by sea with Cornwallis;

(2) Cornwallis could not escape by sea;

(3) The British could not prevent De Grasse from co-operating with Washington in the blockade of Yorktown, 1781.

[1781. Grave danger was caused to the British possessions in India by the attack of Hyder Ali of Mysore, in alliance with the French and the Mahrattas. He had overrun the Carnatic in 1780, but the British power was saved by the capture of Gwalior by Popham in 1780, and the complete defeat of Hyder Ali by Eyre Coote at Porto Novo, July 1st, 1781.]

III. Third Period. The naval struggle between Great Britain and her European rivals.

After the capitulation of Yorktown, operations in America became less important than the naval operations between Great Britain and her Continental opponents.

A. British reverses.

(1) 1782. The French captured all the British possessions in the West Indian Islands except Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua.

(2) February. Minorca captured by the French and Spanish.

B. British successes.

(1) April 12th. Naval victory of Rodney over De Grasse off Ile des Saints, near Dominica. The "Victory of

the Saints." The adoption of the new tactics of "breaking the line," instead of engaging ship with ship along the line, enabled Rodney to direct his attack against the weakest part of the enemy's line and to throw the opposing fleet into confusion. The French fleet was annihilated.

(2) September 13th, 1782. The successful resistance of General Eliott (Lord Heathfield) to the Spanish attack on Gibraltar, which had lasted since 1779. He used red-hot cannon balls during the attack from September 8th to 13th. Relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe, October, 1782, and end of the siege February 6th, 1783.

C. The Treaty of Versailles.

(1) All sides were ready for peace. The American civilian troops were tired of war and disgusted with the quarrels of their leaders. France and Spain were in a state of financial exhaustion.

(2) 1783. The Treaty of Versailles.

α. Recognition of the United States. The Mississippi and the Great Lakes to be the western boundary.

β. Spain got Minorca and Florida.

γ. France got St. Lucia, Tobago, Senegal, and some small stations in India.

δ. Great Britain kept the Bahamas, and secured the long-disputed right of cutting logwood in Honduras.

ε. Holland agreed to a mutual restoration of conquests.

(3) Criticism.

A. The peace was unpopular in England owing to the loss of the American colonies and the increase of £100,000,000 in the National Debt, due to the war.

B. But the victory of Rodney and the defence of Gibraltar had saved Great Britain from possible conquest, and enabled her to make peace on honourable terms with France and Spain.

C. Although the colonies were lost, Great Britain learned valuable lessons from the war, and in due time a wiser and more considerate colonial policy was adopted.

D. But the Treaty of Versailles did not protect the American loyalists, who were very badly treated, and many of whom lost their property. Many settled in New Brunswick and along the valley of the St. Lawrence.

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INDIA

[See note on the War of the Austrian Succession, page 577.]

India, half the size of Europe, had two dominant and opposed religions, and many entirely different races.

The Moguls[1] had ruled most of India, but the Mogul Empire broke up on the death of Aurungzebe in 1707 and some of his subordinates became independent.

The Nizam of Haiderabad ruled the Deccan, and his lieutenant, the Nawab, ruled the Carnatic.

The Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh ruled the Ganges valley.

Dupleix had aimed, not at conquest, but at the extension of French influence by intriguing with the native states, and had set up an ally of France in Haiderabad.

1. **Clive.**

A. First period. The maintenance of British influence.

The struggle between England and France was for predominant influence (not for conquest) in Southern India.

[1] Mongols.

By the defence of Arcot 1751, and the relief of Trichinopoli 1752, Clive established a British ally, Mahomet Ali, in the Carnatic. The English successes were aided by

α. The apathy of the French Government, which did not support Dupleix;

β. British control of the sea;

γ. The recall of Dupleix.

1753. Clive returned to England.

B. Second period. The beginning of the British rule.

1755. Clive returned to India as Governor of Fort St. David.

June 20th, 1756. The action of Suraj-ud-Dauleh, who caused the death of 123 out of 146 English whom he shut up in the Black Hole, led to the conquest of Bengal, i.e. a change of policy. A plot was formed to make Mir Jaffir Nawab. Omichund, his agent, was deceived by Clive's forgery of Admiral Watson's name.

1757. Plassey. "With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, he had scattered an army of nearly 60,000 men, and subdued an area greater and more populous than Great Britain."

Plassey was the beginning of British rule in India Mir Jaffir was made Nawab of Bengal, which became a dependency of the East India Company.

1759. Clive defeated the Dutch at Chinsura.

1760. The French influence in the south was finally broken by the victory of Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash (page 587).

1760. Clive returned to England.

C. During Clive's absence.

(1) Rising of Mir Cossim, son-in-law of Mir Jaffir (whom he had superseded), who made an alliance with the Nawab of Oudh, and massacred the British.

1764. Great victory of Munro over Cossim and Oudh at Buxar.

(2) Gross corruption and misgovernment of officials, who had engaged in private trade and accepted presents from the natives to augment their small salaries. This was possibly one reason for Mir Cossim's rising.

D. Clive's third period. The reform of the Government.

1765. Clive returned to India and effected great reforms.

(1) Restored Oudh to Sujah Dowlah (except Corah and Allahabad, which were given to the Mogul), and made Mahomet Reza Khan head of the finances.

(2) Stopped "double batta," i.e. double pay of soldiers.

(3) Stopped private trading of officials.

(4) Increased salaries—using the salt tax for this purpose.

(5) Crushed mutiny among the soldiers and disaffection among the civilians.

He returned home poorer than he went, having done splendid work and roused the enmity of the corrupt officials, owing to his reforms.

E. 1773. Tried before a committee of the House of Commons, nominally for his treatment of Omichund and for accepting money from Mir Jaffir, but really for the reforms of 1765–1766. He acknowledged accepting presents from Mir Jaffir, but on thinking of the additional amount he could have obtained, expressed astonishment "at my own moderation." The committee censured him, but added "that Robert, Lord Clive, did render great and meritorious services to his country."

Suicide of Clive **1774**.

F. Character of Clive.

(1) A born soldier. Achieved great success in spite of lack of military training.

(2) An able statesman and diplomatist, but he used Oriental methods in dealing with Orientals. "He considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair."

(3) His work

α. "From his first visit dates the renown of English arms in the East."

β. From his second visit dates British political ascendency in India.

γ. From his third visit dates purity of administration.

II. **Lord North's Regulating Act, 1773.**

A. Owing to high dividends, expensive wars with Hyder Ali, pensions to natives, and famine in Bengal, the East India Company was in danger of bankruptcy. There was strong objection at home to the great power exercised by a trading company, but Burke, on principle, opposed interference with its royal charter. North, however, carried the Regulating Act, which was meant to "keep the East India Company directly responsible, but to give Parliament a supervisory control."

B. The Regulating Act.

(1) To relieve the company's financial embarrassment a loan was made by the Government, and permission granted to export tea to America free from English duty (page 607).

(2) The Governor of Bengal was to become Governor-General of India, with a Council of four.

(3) A court of supreme jurisdiction was established.

(4) The Crown to approve of political, military, and financial arrangements.

α. No provision was made against difficulties that might arise from the numerical superiority of the Council over the Governor-General.

β. There was no connection between the Council and the court of justice.

III. **Warren Hastings.**

Appointed first Governor-General. His position was very difficult owing to the interference of directors at home, the demand for high dividends from India which was a poor country, divisions in the Council, distress in India, and the cost of wars. He tried to form subsidiary treaties with native princes, especially with those of Oudh and Berar, and thus to prevent the Mahrattas from overrunning the whole of India and taking the place which the Mogul emperors had held. His great object was to make Britain the dominant power in India.

A. As Governor of Bengal.

(1) **1772.** Abolished the dual system, established by Clive, and arranged that English officials should direct internal, as well as external, policy. Mahomet Reza Khan was deprived of the direction of the finances.

(2) Reduced the allowance paid to the Nawab.

(3) Reduced the tribute paid to the Mogul Emperor by the East India Company.

(4) Took Corah and Allahabad from the Emperor and sold them to the Nawab of Oudh for £500,000.

(5) **1774.** Lent British troops to the Nawab of Oudh, to crush the Rohillas, for £400,000.

α. Thus strengthened Oudh, the barrier state of Bengal, at a time when the Afghans, who were making overtures to the Mahrattas, constituted a danger to the British supremacy.

β. But Hastings made a great mistake in making British troops mere instruments of the Nawab, whose ruthless cruelties to the Rohillas, whom the British had conquered, justly roused great indignation in England.

(6) "In less than two years after he assumed the government he had, without imposing any additional burden on the people, added about £450,000 to the annual income of the East India Company, besides gaining £1,000,000 in ready money."

B. As Governor-General of India.

(1) Heavy expenses had been incurred owing to wars.

α. The Mahrattas—a great confederacy in Central India (Peishwa of Poona, Scindia at Gwalior, Holkar at Indore, Guicowar of Guzerat at Baroda, and the Rajah of Berar at Nagpur).

1777. The shelter given in Bombay to Rao Ragoba, an exiled Mahratta, led to an alliance between the Mahrattas and the French.

1778. Defeat of the British at Wurgaum near Poonah.

1780. Goddard defeated Scindia and Holkar, and Popham captured Gwalior.

1780. β. Hyder Ali of Mysore attacked Madras because

(1) The British were engaged in the Mahratta war;

(2) He hoped for French assistance;

(3) He had heard of the news of the British failure in America.

He captured Arcot. Hastings suspended the Governor of Madras, and sent Eyre Coote, who

1781. Defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novoand Pollilore.

(2) Financial measures to meet the cost.

α. Deposition and seizure of the treasure of Cheyte Singh, Nawab of Benares. Cheyte Singh was contumacious, but the punishment was too severe.

β. A million was extorted from the Begums of Oudh, who were supposed to have urged Cheyte Singh to opposition. Torture of their attendants.

Hastings was not directly responsible for the cruelty, but he ought not to have been mixed up in it.

(3) Execution for forgery of Nuncomar, who had helped Hastings' enemies by bringing charges against him.

α. Macaulay's account of Hastings' action in this matter is quite unjust.

β. Nuncomar was properly tried in accordance with British law, but forgery was regarded as a small crime by the Hindoos.

γ. Hastings had nothing to do with the punishment and sentence.

δ. But Hastings' position was strengthened by the overthrow and execution of a man of such importance as Nuncomar.

e. The subsequent grant of a salary from the East India Company to Sir Elijah Impey ensured proper co-ordination between the Government and the law courts, and thus removed a serious fault in the Regulating Act.

(4) Growing feeling in England against Hastings. The Proprietors refused to recall him at the request of the House of Commons. He returned from India in 1785, and was impeached on February 13th, 1788. The case against him was conducted with great eloquence and violence by Burke and Sheridan. The House of Commons rejected the charge of making unjust war on the Rohillas, but, following Pitt's lead, accepted the charges regarding Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oudh. After seven years' trial Hastings was acquitted on April 23rd, 1795. His trial taught men "that Asiatics have rights and that Europeans have obligations."

C. Character and importance of Hastings.

(1) He made Bengal a secure possession, Oudh a friendly dependency, maintained English power in the south, and checked the Mahrattas.

(2) He was a great organiser and administrator, and gave firm government to Bengal. Every public office in Bengal when he left was his own creation.

(3) He had an intimate knowledge of the people of India, and was "the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India." He had a thorough knowledge of Persian and Arabic.

(4) He was deficient in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others. He was a man of lax moral principles, but he was a great ruler who served England well.

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England in the XVIII. Century, Mowat. (Harrap.) Chap. XIV.

C. *With Clive in India*, by Henty. (Blackie.)
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FOX'S INDIA BILL 1783

A. The territory, power, and wealth of the East India Company had greatly increased, but it was obvious that the government of India could no longer be left to a trading company, whose main object was not the welfare of its subjects, but the financial advantage of its shareholders. Parliament was naturally jealous of the extensive authority of the Company, and in 1781 two Parliamentary committees had condemned the government of India and demanded the recall of Hastings. The directors refused to recall Hastings. Fox brought in his India Bill to remedy the acknowledged abuses.

B. Fox's Bill.
(1) Seven specified commissioners to have the management of the Company for four years. The Crown to fill vacancies, and after four years to appoint commissioners.
(2) Parliament to choose a subordinate board from the "proprietors" to regulate commerce.
(3) Other clauses abolished monopolies, the acceptance of presents, and the loan of British troops to native princes.

C. Criticism.
(1) The Bill was a good one, but raised fierce opposition.
(2) The original commissioners were Fox's friends, and the Bill would confer on his party enormous patronage which, it was thought, they would use to maintain

their power in Parliament. Fox was caricatured as "King of Bengal" and "Carlo Khan."

(3) There was strong objection to the violation of the Company's charter, which had been renewed in 1781, and the transference of so much power to the Crown. Burke supported the Bill owing to the alleged sufferings of the Hindoos under Hastings, but the merchants objected to the interference with chartered rights.

(4) The King hated the Coalition Ministry, and resented the loss of royal patronage involved in the Bill. In a most unconstitutional manner he opposed his own ministers and ensured the rejection of the Bill in the House of Lords by declaring through Temple that any one voting for the Bill was "not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy."

The rejection of the Bill was followed by the resignation of the Coalition and the acceptance of office by Pitt, who brought in another India Bill the next year.

PITT'S INDIA BILL 1784

A. The Bill.

(1) A Board of Control, consisting of a Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and four Privy Councillors appointed to control the political government of India.

(2) A Committee of Secrecy of three directors to transmit to India the secret orders of the Board of Control.

(3) The directors to control the commercial policy and to retain their patronage, but the Crown to retain a veto on the appointment of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

(4) The Governor-General to be supreme over other governors, to be bound by the decisions of his

council of three as a rule, but to have a free hand in crises and to be allowed considerable discretion in regard to the orders of the directors.

(5) A court was established in England to try offences committed in India.

B. Criticism.

The dual government thus established was not a permanent settlement, but it continued until 1858 in spite of

α. Difficulties arising from lack of connection between the exercise of patronage and the political government;

β. Difficulties arising from differences between the directors and the Board of Control;

γ. The great authority allowed to the Governor-General.

Reference:

A. *William Pitt*, by Rose. (Bell.) Chap. x.

ENGLISH INDUSTRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

1. Conditions of English Industry prior to the Industrial Revolution.

A. Mediæval industry.

Industry in the Middle Ages was restricted.

(1) The Roman Catholic Church opposed usury as unscriptural, and thus restricted the profitable employment of capital.

(2) The feudal and manorial systems tended to perpetuate arrangements which promoted agriculture rather than manufactures.

(3) Industry in towns was greatly hampered by the restrictions of the guilds.

B. English industry in the seventeenth century.

(1) The "Mercantile Theory" of trade was generally accepted according to which money constituted wealth.

(2) It was considered to be the duty of the State to regulate trade, and the State aimed at protecting English industries by bounties and regulations (e.g. by the Navigation Acts), and at ensuring a surplus of exports over imports, the difference being paid in cash. It was thought that the wealth of the country was thus increased.

C. Growth of English trade, **1700–1750**.

(1) Causes.

α. The number of merchants and skilled Huguenot artisans driven from France by the religious persecution of Louis XIV.

β. The final settlement of the Hanoverian succession ensured the stability of the national credit.

γ. Walpole's peace policy greatly promoted trade.

δ. The wars with France and Spain were largely wars of commerce, and an extensive trade sprang up with the new colonies.

(2) The silk trade.

The development of the silk trade (especially in Spitalfields) was due to the Huguenot refugees.

(3) The iron trade.

α. Up to about **1750** charcoal was used for smelting iron and Sussex was the chief centre of the iron trade owing to the ample supply of wood afforded by the forests of the Weald. The use of coal instead of charcoal and the improvement of the blast furnace led to a great increase in iron smelting, which gradually centred round the coalfields. "Up to **1760** there was no Black Country."

1760. β. Foundation of the Carron Ironworks in Stirlingshire.[1]

[1] The name of "carronades" was given to a kind of ordnance cast at Carron,

(4) Pottery.

1762. Josiah Wedgwood first made Wedgwood ware at Etruria.

D. The domestic system.

The manufacture of woollen goods had long been a domestic industry carried on largely in farmhouses. Every farmer was a manufacturer, every farmhouse a factory. The surplus not required for family use was sold to travelling "packmen" or at fairs. Under this system [1]

α. There was no need of much capital, the loom being the only "machinery";

β. Production was limited;

γ. Distribution was simple;

δ. There was little division of labour;

ε. The relations between employer and employed (who often lived in the farmhouse) were intimate and friendly;

ζ. Trade was steady.

II. **The Causes of the Industrial Revolution.**

A. Improvement in means of communication.

(1) The roads, up to about 1760, the main means of communication, were very bad. Only those which followed the old Roman roads had good foundations, and ruts were sometimes four feet deep.

(2) Canals.[2]

1759. Brindley, engineer to the Duke of Bridgewater, "the father of canal navigation" in England, commenced the Bridgewater Canal.

1766. Brindley commenced the Grand Trunk Canal.

1790. Grand Junction Canal commenced.

(3) Later improvements.

α. Roads.

1802–1820. Telford constructed 920 miles of good roads with 1200 bridges.

[1] The wool was often spun by the "spinsters" of the family.

[2] The labourers engaged in this work were called "navigators." Hence our "navvies."

c. 1815. Macadam greatly improved the surface of roads by using granite chippings.

β. Trams.

About 1800. Employment by Outram[1] for general traffic of cars running on rails, which had been long used in mines.

γ. 1825. The Stockton and Darlington Railway opened for passengers.

(4) Effects.

Internal trade increased very rapidly, owing to the greater facilities for distributing merchandise. Labour became mobile, and moved more easily to the best markets. Hitherto "Human beings" had been "of all baggage the most difficult to be transferred" (Adam Smith).

B. Mechanical inventions.

(1) Spinning machines.

1767. Invention of Hargreaves' spinning jenny,[2] a hand machine, originally working eight spindles.

1769. Invention of Arkwright's spinning machine, driven by water power.

1779. Completion of Crompton's mule, which spun a finer and stronger yarn than its predecessors and made the manufacture of muslin possible.

(2) Steam.

1782. Improvement by Watt of Newcomen's steam engine, followed by the use of steam as a motive power in cotton and woollen mills.

(3) Effects.

α. Vast increase in the number of spindles worked and amount produced. "The shuttle drops from the fingers of the weaver, and falls into iron hands that ply it faster."

β. Growing importance of the capitalist, owing to the increasing cost of machinery.

[1] The word "tram" probably comes not from "Outram," as often stated, but from the Provincial English "tram," a beam.

[2] The name spinning "jenny" is derived not from the name of the inventor's wife, but from gin (*L. ingenium*), a machine

C. Banking.

The extension of the system of credit banking greatly facilitated business transactions.

D. Increased demand for manufactured goods due to growth of population at home and the expansion of the colonies after the Peace of Paris.

E. The Teaching of Adam Smith.

Adam Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, published, 1776, the *Wealth of Nations*, in which he advanced new theories of trade which affected the Industrial Revolution.

(1) He maintained the necessity of Free Trade at home and abroad, unhampered by Government regulations, and was thus the founder of the "Laissez Faire" school of economists.

(2) He insisted on the importance of the division of labour.

(3) His opinions were accepted by William Pitt.

III. **The Course of the Industrial Revolution.**

A. The rise of the small capitalist owning a number of looms worked in a factory. The beginning of the "Factory System."

B. The utilisation of water power in factories. The "river stage."

C. The utilisation of steam and the transference of factories to towns. The "city stage."

IV. **The Results of the Industrial Revolution.**

A. Political results.

It enabled England

(1) Rapidly to recover from the loss of the American colonies;

(2) To become so wealthy that she was able to stand the heavy strain of the French Wars, 1793–1815, and to save Europe from Napoleon.

B. Trade increased enormously, and especially the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods, and England became a manufacturing rather than an agricultural country.

C. Results on population.

(1) Owing partly to the increased demand for labour, population greatly increased. The population of England was 5,000,000 in **1700**, 6,000,000 in **1750**, and 9,000,000 in **1800**.

(2) There was a great increase in the size of the manufacturing towns, owing to the immigration of labourers from country districts, and this has led to some of the most important political and social problems, e.g. the extension of the franchise and overcrowding.

(3) The centre of population gradually changed from the South to the North, and with the increase of population the North exercised a far greater influence on English politics.

D. The extension of the *laissez-faire* system, by which all State interference with trade was deprecated, led to some bad results, the worst being the system of apprenticeship by which children of seven or eight were compelled to work sometimes fourteen hours a day under most cruel conditions. This led in the nineteenth century to a revival of State interference shown in the Factory Acts, by which the conditions of labour were greatly improved.

E. The growth of the Factory System weakened the close friendly relations between master and men which had marked the domestic system and led to the beginning of the struggles between capital and labour.

References:

A. *Social England*, Cassell. Vol. V, pp. 806–22.
Lectures on the Industrial Revolution. Arnold Toynbee.
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Industry in England, Gibbins. (Methuen.) Chaps. XX.–XXIV.

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. Agriculture before the Revolution.

A. The Common Field System was used in three-fifths of the cultivated land.

(1) The members of the village community held in common the arable land, which was divided into three (sometimes two) fields, one of which lay fallow, one grew wheat, and the other barley each year. Each field was divided into narrow strips allotted to the villagers.

(2) The meadow land was held in common, except from about Lady Day to hay harvest.

(3) Each villager had rights of pasture on the waste lying outside the cultivated land.

B. Each village community was isolated owing to the bad roads, self-sufficing, making its own implements and household utensils, spinning its own wool, and making its own clothes.

C. This system, which had remained practically unaltered since the Norman Conquest, was utterly wasteful.

(1) The grain crops were miserable, as it was impossible to secure the assent of the whole community to new methods of tillage, and the ignorance of or prejudice against the cultivation of root crops and artificial grasses made it impossible to raise good stock.

(2) The separation of the strips allotted to each man (in order to ensure a fair division of good and bad land) entailed great waste of time and labour.

(3) There was little inducement to clean or manure land which another would occupy the next season.

(4) There were continual quarrels as to boundaries and trespass.

D. A great part of England was utterly uncultivated, e.g. a great heather-covered waste stretched for 150 miles from North Derbyshire to Northumberland, and there were vast areas of forest.

II. The Agricultural Revolution.

The increased demand for food, due to the growing population, made new methods imperative. The object of farming became profit, previously the object had been subsistence.

A. Farming became more scientific, new methods replaced the old.

(1) "Turnip Townshend" (page 572) introduced the cultivation of turnips and clover, and the rotation of crops, which

α. Obviated the necessity of fallow land, and added a third to the cultivable area of England;

β. Provided winter food for stock, and the increase in stock meant increased manure for the fields.

(2) The fertility of the soil was increased by improved methods of manuring and drainage, by the marling of light lands, by the use of better implements.

(3) Robert Bakewell, a Leicestershire farmer (1725–1795), greatly improved sheep-breeding, and his "New Leicesters" were remarkable for weight rather than size, which had been the great object of his predecessors. The "Durham Shorthorns" of Charles Colling showed the value of Bakewell's principles when applied to the raising of cattle.

B. Enclosures.

The failure of the Common Field System to meet the increased demand for agricultural produce led to the enclosure of common land. This policy was supported by Arthur Young (appointed Secretary to the new Agricultural Board, 1793), whose account of his tours of observation in England, beginning 1767, stimulated the Agricultural Revolution. From 1760–1800 about 1500 Enclosure Acts were passed by Parliament and about three million acres were enclosed.

C. Corn Laws.

In spite of improved methods of cultivation and enclosures England, by **1790**, owing to the enormous increase in population (page 632), failed to produce sufficient corn to meet home needs, except in good years, and ceased to be a corn exporting country.

(1) **1773.** A Corn Law allowed the free importation of corn when the price realised 48/- per quarter, and forbade exportation when it fell to 44/-.

(2) **1791.** A Corn Law prohibited importation when the price was below 50/-. An attempt to protect English corn growers.

III. **Results of the Agricultural Revolution.**

A. The gradual disappearance of the old Common Field System and a vast increase in production and in the value of good farms, e.g.—in thirty years the annual rent of one farm increased from £180 to £800.

B. The increased importance of the capitalist in Agriculture. This was due to the cost of new methods, the expense of large farms, formed by enclosure or the amalgamation of small ones. Owing to the French wars and other causes, there were violent fluctuations in the price of corn, which rose to 127/- a quarter in 1800. This and other causes made farming a highly speculative industry, and capital was needed to meet the new conditions.

C. The decay of the yeomen (i.e. small farmers owning their farms).

(1) Owing to the increased value of land, many sold their property at a high price and migrated to the towns.

(2) Those who retained their farms could not afford to introduce new methods, were impoverished by the decay of domestic manufactures, and often ruined by fluctuations in the price of corn. They gradually sank into the position of labourers.

D. The degradation of the labourers.

(1) Enclosure Acts rarely gave compensation for the old rights of common pasture, and of cutting fodder and

bedding, which had been of great value to the lower classes.

(2) Wages did not rise with prices, and dear corn meant starvation to labourers, who found it difficult to leave their parishes for places where work was more plentiful owing to the stringent laws of "Settlement."

(3) 1795. Owing to the terrible distress, the Speenhamland (Berks) magistrates decided to grant capitation allowances to labourers and their families to supplement their insufficient wages.

α. This, originally intended for a temporary measure, became permanent.

β. It led to a great increase in the rates, and this helped to crush the yeomen.

γ. "It kept wages from rising, encouraged thriftless marriages and dissolute living, discouraged industry and efficient work, destroyed self-respect, and pauperised the poor" (Hunt).

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A. *Social England*, Cassell. Vol. V, pp. 130–45, 403–8, 617–25.
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THE METHODIST REVIVAL

I. The Decay of Religion in the Early Part of the Eighteenth Century.

A. Causes.

(1) The Whig bishops, appointed for political reasons, frequently neglected their dioceses.[1] They were on bad terms with the better-class country clergy, who were generally Tories, and often Jacobites. The humbler clergy were wretchedly poor and little better than dependents on their patrons.

[1] A bishop of Llandaff lived by Lake Windermere and visited his diocese only once.

(2) There was a neglect of spiritual teaching in the Established Church and among the Nonconformists.

(3) Scepticism and atheism became fashionable (e.g Bolingbroke).

(4) Walpole's policy aimed at material prosperity and lowered national ideals.

B. There was a general laxity of moral tone.

(1) Drunkenness increased greatly.

α. The greater consumption of port owing to the Methuen Treaty (page 533) led to an increase in drunkenness among the upper classes.

β. The introduction of gin in the early part of the century had the same effect on the lower classes, and retailers told their customers they could "get drunk for 1d., dead drunk for 2d., and have clean straw to lie on for nothing." By 1750 there were 17,000 gin shops in London.

(2) Immorality and gambling were general among the upper classes. The private character of many of the leading men of the time was bad, and their example had a bad effect on society.

(3) The penal code was "ferocious," and prescribed capital punishment for trivial offences, e.g. for a theft of more than twelve pence from the pocket.

The "Methodists" at Oxford.

1727. John Wesley (fellow of Lincoln), his brother Charles Wesley, and George Whitfield (son of a Gloucester innkeeper and servitor of Pembroke) formed for mutual edification by religious exercises a society whose members, from the methodical and orderly arrangement of their lives, were called Methodists. Whitfield was the greatest preacher of the age, and his "field preaching" spread the new ideas. He was a strong Calvinist, and in 1741 separated himself from Wesley (who rejected the doctrine of election) and founded the "Calvinistic Methodists."

III. John Wesley, 1703–1791.

Son of the Rector of Epworth (Lincs.), educated at Charterhouse and Oxford, founded the Methodists at Oxford. After acting as a missionary in Georgia he returned to England, and in 1738 the Methodists moved to London. The movement spread, and, in spite of the opposition of Anglicans owing to the extravagance of some of its supporters, to the use of extempore preaching, and the employment of lay preachers, it gained a great hold on the lower and lower-middle (not the upper) classes. Its success was due to John Wesley, although the hymns of Charles "the sweet singer" had great effect.

A. He was conservative in his methods.

(1) He did not separate himself from the Anglican Church. He was himself an ordained clergyman, and towards the end of his life said, "I live and die a member of the Church of England."

(2) He at first objected to "field preaching," and built many chapels to obviate the need of open-air preaching. But he became (although inferior to Whitfield) a great field preacher, preaching all over England with remarkable success, especially in Cornwall.

(3) He at first hesitated to use laymen as preachers, but subsequently made "local preachers" an important part of his system.

B. He was a great organiser.

"His genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu." The opposition of the Anglican clergy made co-operation with them impossible, and he organised his society on independent and democratic lines.

(1) The country was divided into circuits, ministers "travelling" from circuit to circuit every three years.

(2) 1784. Meeting of the first annual "Conference."

(3) Wesleyan services.

α. Wesley adopted from the Moravians the Class Meeting.[1]

β. He instituted the Covenant Service,[2] and the Watchnight Service held during the last hour of each year.

C. His religious teaching.

(1) He wished to make religion "heartfelt," and to convert men from their sins (especially the lower classes whom the Anglican Church utterly failed to reach).

(2) His preaching was homely, logical, and thoughtful. It often led to emotional outbursts on the part of his congregation.

IV. **The Results of Wesley's Work.**

A. A great revival of Puritanism, a marked improvement in conduct, a growing respect for religion.

B. The formation of a new denomination. The Wesleyan Methodists formally left the Anglican Church in **1795.**

C. The growth of Evangelical teaching within the Anglican Church, which threw off its lethargy and became a great influence for good.

Cowper, the great Evangelical poet, shows in his *Olney Hymns* the religious devotion, and in *The Task* the humanitarian ideas, of this school of religious thought.

D. The Evangelical Anglicans distinguished themselves by their unselfish efforts to remove the evils of the time

(1) **1780.** Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, established the first Sunday School.

(2) Hannah More championed the cause of the agricultural labourer.

(3) John Howard (1726–1790) reformed the prisons.

(4) Thomas Clarkson (1761–1846) and William Wilberforce (1759–1833) founded the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, **1787.**

[1] A weekly meeting for mutual help under the direction of a senior member of the Society.

[2] An annual dedication service.

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A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy. Chap. xxx.
Encyclopædia Britannica, "John Wesley."
Wesley. *English Leaders of Religion*, Overton. (Methuen.)
Wesley and his Century, Fitchett. (Smith, Elder.)

B. *Wesley his own Biographer*, by C. H. Kelly. Pages 192, 571, 614, 616.

C. *Hetty Wesley*, by Quiller-Couch. (Harper.)
The Messenger, by Frankfort Moore.

THE GORDON RIOTS 1780

A. Sir George Savile's Catholic Relief Bill.

The stringent laws against Roman Catholics were "a disgrace to humanity," but the general feeling of the nation was opposed to repeal. Parliament was more tolerant than the nation generally and in **1778** passed a Relief Bill introduced by Sir George Savile which provided

α. That Roman Catholics who abjured the temporal authority of the Pope could purchase and inherit land;

β. That Roman Catholic priests should not be imprisoned for the exercise of their religion.

B. Scotland.

1779. Abandonment of a similar measure for Scotland owing to violent Protestant riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow and general opposition.

C. The Gordon Riots.

Protestant fanatics in England, led by Lord George Gordon, formed a Protestant Association for the repeal of the English Act.

June 2nd, 1780. Attempt of a London mob of about 60,000 men, led by Gordon, to force an entry into the House of Commons. Destruction of the Roman Catholic chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian embassies, and, owing to the failure of the magistrates to enforce order,

of other Roman Catholic chapels and some houses, including Savile's. Newgate broken open. Sack of the house and destruction of the valuable library of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, a supporter of Relief. Attacks on the Bank of England. Holborn distillery wrecked. Thirty-six fires broke out. Vigorous action of George III, who issued orders in Council to put down the rising by military force, which the magistrates had feared to employ. Probably 500 rioters perished in the rising. Twenty-one were executed. Lord George Gordon was acquitted of a charge of high treason and soon after embraced the Jewish faith and died in Newgate, to which he had been committed for libel.

References:

A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy. Chap. LV.
The Gordon Riots, De Castro. (Clarendon Press.)

C. *Barnaby Rudge*, by Charles Dickens.

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