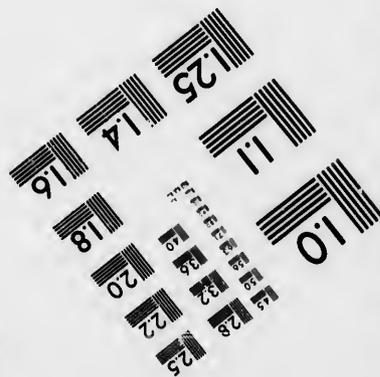
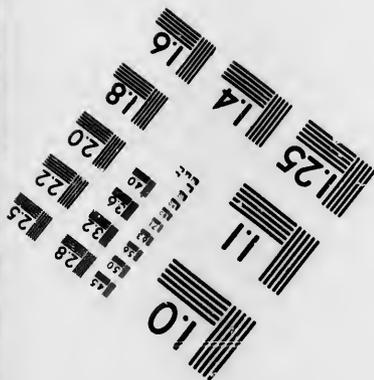
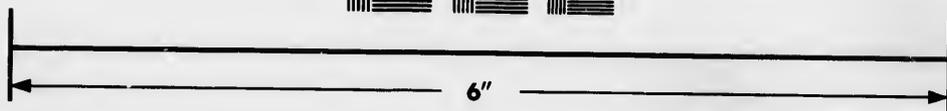
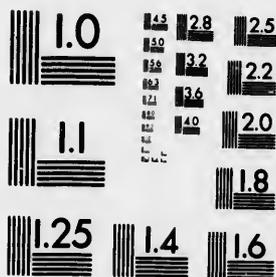


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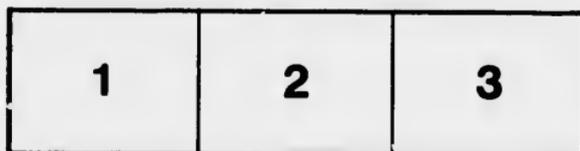
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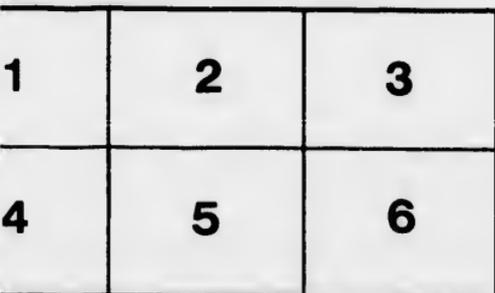
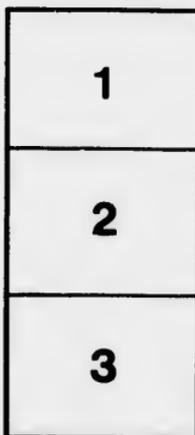
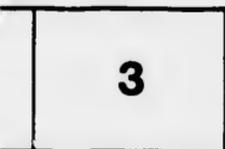
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EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

THE
SETTLEMENT OF THE
CONSTITUTION

1689-1784

BY

JAMES ROWLEY, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY AND LITERATURE
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, BRISTOL

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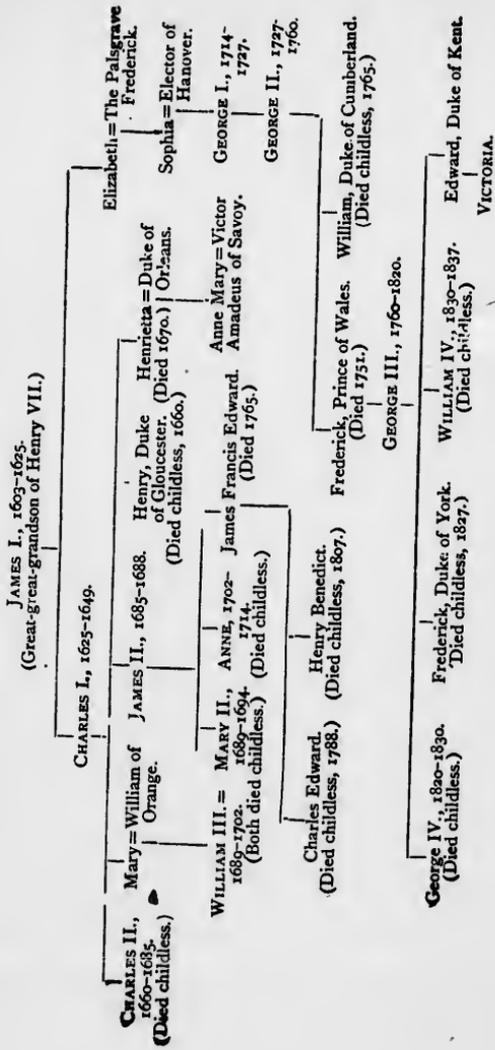
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THE
SETTLEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE chief aim of this little book is to show the following things :—

1. How the Revolution of 1688 made the House of Commons the strongest thing in the State.
2. How England engaged in a long and costly war with France, the greatest nation in Europe at that time, because the French king thought fit to meddle in her affairs, and how she won much fame and new lands thereby.
3. How a new line of kings was set on the throne ; and how, during the reigns of the first two of these kings, the great families among the English nobility took to themselves the foremost place in ruling the country.
4. How the rule of the great families broke down at a time when England was called upon to put forth all her strength ; and how the task of guiding the country through its troubles was given to a man of surpassing genius, who raised it to a height of greatness such as it had never before reached.

5. How a king came to the throne, who strove with all his might to beat down the strength of the great families, and win for himself some of the power which his forefathers had held ; and how, after a hard fight, he gained his object.

BOOK I.

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND AND THE REVOLUTION.

I. In February 1689 the Lords and Commons asked William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, to become King and Queen of England. William, King, 1689-1702. William and Mary agreed to do so ; and at once the new order of things which is called the ' Revolution settlement,' began.

Mary, Queen, 1689-1694.

2. Though a good many changes in our rulers and ways of ruling have been brought about by force, the change made at this time is the only one to which the name ' Revolution' has been given. Yet it is not a good name. For the change, though it led to great things in later times, was not itself a great one. The laws which were in force under William and Mary were not very different from those which ought to have been in force under James II. The rights of the people were much the same. The Declaration of Rights made nothing law that had not been law before. It only stated clearly, so that henceforth there could be no mistake about them, what the rights of the people were.

' Revolution' not a good name for the change of 1688-9.

3. Yet the nation gained a good deal by the Revolution. (1) There was no longer as much quarrelling between the king and the Parliament as there had been. Parliament now got the mastery in the State; from this time it grew ever stronger, and the king ever weaker, until the king could do nothing which the Parliament disliked, and the Parliament could force the king to do anything it pleased. (2) The House of Commons became much more powerful than the House of Lords. All the money that was wanted for keeping up an army and a navy, or for any other public purpose, had first to be voted by the Commons. Thus the Commons were able henceforth to get anything they greatly wished to have; for, if the king or the Lords were unwilling to assent to what they asked, they had only to refuse to vote the taxes, and the king and the Lords *had* to assent. It is true that the king might still choose his ministers; but, if most of the Commons did not like a minister, they could make the king send him away. Hence the king had to put into offices of State such men as the Commons wished to see there. (3) Though the laws were much the same, the way in which they were put in force was different. Parliament made a law that the judges should stay in their offices so long as they gave just judgement. Before this the king could make and unmake judges as he pleased, and so they had been too careful to do his will.

4. The parliament which gave the throne to William and Mary had not been called by a king, and was therefore supposed not to be a true parliament, able to pass laws binding on the people. It was only named a convention. But it was thought dangerous to have a new parliament chosen while men's minds were unsettled; and accordingly it changed itself from a convention to a parlia-

What the
Revolution
did for
England.

The Con-
vention
made a
Parliament,
February,
1689.

ment. It lasted a year longer, and did many things of great importance.

5. The men who had been most helpful in bringing about the late changes did not all belong to one party; some were Whigs, some were Tories. William's first ministers therefore wished to show no liking for Whigs more than for Tories, and took as his ministers men of all parties. Chief among these were the Earls of Danby, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury. This plan, however, did not work well; and afterwards William had to choose his ministers almost all from the same party; the Commons would not let him do anything else.

Moreover the men who had been most helpful in bringing about the late changes were not all of the same way of thinking in religion; many of them belonged to the Church of England; many were Dissenters. It seemed, therefore, a fitting time to grant the Dissenters some relief from the harsh laws passed against them in Charles II.'s reign. Protestant Dissenters, save those who denied the Trinity, were no longer forbidden to have places of worship and services of their own, if they would only swear to be loyal to the king, and that his power was as lawful in Church as in State matters. The law that gave them this is called the Toleration Act. Men's notions were still, however, very narrow; care was taken that the Roman Catholics should get no benefit from this law. Even a Protestant Dissenter might not yet lawfully be a member of either House of Parliament, or take a post in the king's service; for the Test Acts¹ were left untouched.

6. King William, who was a Presbyterian in his own land, wanted very much to see the Dissenters won back to the Church of England. To bring this about, he wished the Church to alter those things in the Prayer Book which kept Dis-

William's
first
ministers.

The Tolera-
tion Act,
April, 1689.

The Com-
prehension
Scheme,
1689.

¹ See Epoch V., pp. 64, 68.

senters from joining with her. But most of the clergy would not have any change; and because these were the stronger party in Convocation—as the Parliament of the Church is called—William could get nothing done.

At the same time a rent, which at first seemed likely to be serious, was made in the Church itself. There was a strong feeling among the clergy in favour of the banished king. So a law was made by The Non-jurors, 1689. which every man who held any preferment in the Church, or either of the Universities, had to swear to be true to King William and Queen Mary, or had to give up his preferment. Most of the clergy were very unwilling to obey this law; but only 400 were found stout-hearted enough to give up their livings rather than do what they thought to be a wicked thing. These were called *non-jurors*, or men who would not swear. Among them were five out of the seven Bishops who had withstood James II. only a year before. The sect of non-jurors, who looked upon themselves as the only true Churchmen, did not spread. But it did not die out altogether until seventy years ago.

7. It was at this time that the names High-Church and Low-Church first came into use. The parties so called were of much the same way of thinking as High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen are now. Another new name, which we shall meet very often, is also now first found in our history. Those who wished to bring back James II. were known as *Jacobites* (from *Jacobus*, the Latin word for *James*) as those who held to William were known as *Williamites*. The Jacobite party were never strong enough to rise in arms during this reign; but it was very restless, made many plots, and gave a good deal of trouble to the Government. Its great longing was to overthrow William by getting Lewis of France to send an army to

The Jacobites, 1689-1760.

England. The English never cared much for William. He was a stranger; his temper was gloomy; he was cold and distant with all save his old and tried friends; and he took no pains to win the love of those who came near him. Mary's character was different; she was frank, cheerful, and gay; and her sweetness of temper and grace of manner did more at first to strengthen the new order of things than all her husband's wisdom and valour. But there was a good deal of mismanagement and wicked dealing among William's ministers at this time; some men in office thought the new king and queen would soon be driven out of the kingdom, and eagerly filled their pockets out of the king's treasury whilst they had the chance. In this way the Government fell into disfavour with the people; the Jacobites became every day stronger; and before a year was over it seemed as if the Revolution Settlement would soon be all unsettled again by a second restoration of the Stuarts.

Characters
of William
and Mary.

Unpopu-
larity of
William's
rule at first.

8. Moreover, William was himself ill at ease in

England. His Whig ministers quarrelled with his Tory ministers; Parliament would not give him the revenue which had been given to James II.; it would not settle the Crown, as William wished, on the Electress Sophia of Hanover in case he and Mary died childless. Nor would it agree to an Act for granting a full pardon to the agents of tyranny in the late reigns unless a great many men were shut out from its benefits. Early in 1690 the king is said to have thought of going back to Holland, so little did he like the way the English were treating him. However this may be, he deemed it impossible for him to get on with the Parliament that then was; therefore he put an end to it, and

William's
dissatisfac-
tion.

Revolution
Parliament
dissolved,
1690.

called a new one, which he hoped would be easier to deal with.

9. But before this, two laws of great importance had been passed—the Mutiny Bill and the Bill of Rights. The Mutiny Bill gave the king power to put to death any soldier who deserted his colours or mutinied against his officers. At first it was very short, and was to have force for six months only; but it has since grown into a kind of military code, and is passed from year to year. It has thus become a means of forcing the king to bring together Parliament every year. The Bill of Rights is little more than the Declaration of Rights¹ turned into a regular law. There are two things, however, in it which are not in the Declaration: (1) it makes it impossible for any King or Queen of England to be a Roman Catholic; and (2) it settles that the Crown has no power of setting aside a law in any case whatever. The Declaration had only said that the way in which James had used such a power was unlawful.

But bitter foes rose up against the new settlement in Scotland, Ireland, and France.

CHAPTER II.

SCOTLAND AND THE REVOLUTION.

1. IN 1688-9 Scotland and England were still separate kingdoms. The only bond of union between them was that the king of one country was also king of the other. It was not therefore a matter of course that when James II. ceased to be King of England, and William and Mary were given his place in England, he should cease to be King of Scot-

¹ See *Epoch* V., p. 79.

² *Ibid.* p. 75.

land also, and William and Mary be given his place in Scotland. It was for the Scottish people to decide whether they would follow the lead of England. But the bulk of the Scottish people were only too glad to get rid of the Stuarts. The Stuarts had tried to root out the Presbyterian religion, and had set up among them a Church which most Scotsmen disliked and many hated. In other ways, too, the later Stuart kings had

The Scots
rise against
James II.,
1688.

deeply wronged the worthiest of their Scottish subjects; they had caused oppressive laws to be made, and had dealt harshly with those whom they disliked or feared. As soon, therefore, as the Scots heard of the overthrow of James II.'s rule in England, they took up arms and frightened the Scottish Council into changing sides. Then many Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, who chanced to be in London,

Scottish
Convention
meets,
March,
1689.

met together and asked William to assemble a Convention of the Scottish Estates, and take upon himself the rule of the country in the meantime. William did both the things they asked; and in March 1689 the Scottish Convention came together in Edinburgh.

2. James had still some friends left him in Scotland. Chief among these was John Graham of Claverhouse,

Graham of
Claver-
house.

now Viscount Dundee, who worked hard to make a party in the Convention in favour of his old master. When he failed he rode away with fifty horsemen to his castle in Angus. The Estates at once went swiftly to work. They voted that James, by

William and
Mary
chosen
King and
Queen of
Scotland,
1689.

his acts of injustice and tyranny, had forfeited (*forfeited*) the throne, and was no longer king, and agreed to ask William and Mary to become King and Queen of Scotland. They also drew up a statement of the people's rights, which they called the Claim of Right, and

told the men whom they sent to offer the crown to William and Mary to take care that the new king and queen should promise to abide by this claim as long as they reigned. This paper said that prelacy, or the rule of the Church by bishops, was unbearable, and ought to be done away with. In May the Scottish crown was offered to William and Mary on these terms. They agreed to them, and took the oath in the form which the Estates had approved of. Thus a king and a queen who had no other title to rule save what Parliament could give them were set up in Scotland as well as in England.

3. There were still Scotsmen who thought that the Estates had been over-hasty in what they had done; and there were others who felt that James was still their lawful king, and that they were bound to fight for him at all risks. Most of the chieftains of the Highland clans were of this way of thinking; and these men were able to do much mischief, for their clansmen were sure to follow them in any cause with dog-like fidelity. The Highlanders were a daring race, fond of fighting, often at war among themselves, and had usages and laws of their own.

Many Highland chieftains now saw reason to take up arms for James; and a war broke out which lasted for almost a year. It is true that the largest clan, the Campbells, whose chief was the Earl of Argyle, was loyal to William; but most of the other clans hated Argyle and looked upon his friends as their foes. As soon, then, as Dundee came into their country they at once gathered round him. He was just the man to lead them, being fearless and skilful, fiery in onset and wary; and he was willing to let them deal with their foes their own way. In May 1689 some thousands of armed Highlanders came together in Lochaber; Dundee put himself at their head, and civil war began.

War breaks
out in Scot-
land, 1689.

The High-
landers.

4. To make head against this danger General Hugh Mackay was sent from Edinburgh with a few thousand soldiers. For a time nothing was done ; but late in July Mackay led his army through the wild pass of Killiecrankie. He was making for the Castle of Blair in Athol, which had fallen into Dundee's hands. But Dundee was too quick for him ; Mackay's men had just reached the head of the pass, when, in the dusk of the evening, the Highland army came down upon them. There were only 2,000 Highlanders against 4,000 trained soldiers ; yet so mighty was their rush that in a few minutes Mackay's army was broken in pieces. But a chance bullet smote down Dundee, and the cause of James gained nothing by the victory.

Less than a month later the shame of Killiecrankie was wiped away by the heroic defence of Dunkeld. A short time before, the Government had raised a regiment from 'the wild western Whigs,' who were such fierce Covenanters that many of them thought it sinful to fight for William, for in England William still upheld the bishops. This regiment was called 'Cameronian,' from Richard Cameron, a preacher who had been killed in the evil days. Sent as a garrison to Dunkeld, they held the cathedral of that place for four hours of the night against 5,000 Highlanders, whom they beat off at last. But their commander, William Cleland, a very brave man, was killed. Next year the last remnant of the Highland army was caught sleeping, as it lay in Cromdale on the Spey, by a force sent from Inverness, and was easily routed. This affair may be said to have ended the war in the Highlands. Forts were built to keep the clans in awe. Of these the strongest was Fort William in the west, named after the king.

Battle of
Killie-
crankie,
July, 1689.

Defence of
Dunkeld,
August,
1689.

Highland
war ends,
1690.

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1690-92. *Scotland and the Revolution.*

5. Yet the clans which had taken part in the war still held aloof from the new Government; and William found that other means than war was needed to bring them to put themselves under his rule. He sent money to be divided among their chiefs, and let it be made known, at the same time, that he was ready to forgive all who would swear, before January 1, 1692, to be loyal to him for the future. When that day came, it turned out that all had sworn but the Macdonalds of Glencoe. Their chief, Maclan, had put off taking the oath until the latest day, and then, finding no one at Fort William who could lawfully give it to him, had to travel to Inverary in search of some one who could. Thus it happened that Maclan was not sworn until six days after the time fixed. Sir John Dalrymple, William's chief man in Scotland, wishing to strike a great fear into the Highlanders, whose lawless habits he hated, did not tell the king that Maclan had come in at last, and got William to sign a warrant giving his Scottish ministers power to root out 'that sect (*set*) of thieves,' the men of Glencoe. Accordingly, in February 1692, a band of soldiers, led by Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, marched to Glencoe, and after having lived as guests among the Macdonalds for twelve days, fell upon their hosts before dawn one morning and shot down thirty of them. The rest of the tribe, hearing the peals of musketry, rushed out of their homes into the surrounding mountains, then deep with snow. It is thought that thirty more afterwards died of cold and hunger. It was a frightful deed, and William has been greatly blamed for it; but it is hard to think that he looked forward to such a thing being done when he put his name to the warrant. Still when, some years later, the Scottish Parliament dragged the horrible thing to light, William did not punish as they deserved the men

Massacre of
 Glencoe,
 February,
 1692.

who were chiefly guilty ; the worst of them, Dalrymple, he only sent away from his service.

6. In the meantime the Presbyterian form of Church government had been set up again in Scotland, and henceforth there was less religious strife than before. The zealous Whigs of the west were indeed angry because the Covenant was not also set up again, but the bulk of the people were satisfied.

CHAPTER III.

IRELAND AND THE REVOLUTION.

1. THINGS took a very different turn in Ireland from what they had taken in Scotland. In that country the Revolution led to a long and deadly war, in which nearly the whole land had to be conquered over again by the English.

Ireland, like Scotland, was in 1688 a separate kingdom, with a Parliament of its own. But, unlike Scotland, it was not free to act for itself ; its Parliament could not do what it pleased, as the Scottish Parliament could ; it was generally believed in England that Ireland was

The native
Irish side
with James,
1688-91.

nothing but an English colony, and that William and Mary became its king and queen when they were chosen to the English throne. Indeed they at once called themselves so. Most of the Irish people, however, wanted to keep James II. as their king, because he had the same faith as themselves. But the English settlers, who were Protestants, were afraid of being massacred, or at least of losing their lands and power in the country, if the native Irish got the upper hand. Most of these, therefore, would have no king but William, and taking up

1688-9.

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Ireland and the Revolution.

13

arms, tried to hold out against Tyrconnel, James's deputy, until help should come to them from England. They were not very successful at first, and in the beginning of 1689 had only two strong places in their hands--Londonderry and Enniskillen.

The English
settlers side
with
William.

2. In March 1689 James came to Ireland from France, and set about bringing the whole land under his rule. He called a parliament to meet him at Dublin, and then went north to join his army which was marching to besiege Londonderry.

James comes
to Ireland,
1689.

In this city were gathered many thousands of the English settlers who had fled from their homes through fear of the Irish. They were bent on resisting to the last, and would not listen to James, who offered to forgive them if they would yield at once. Thereupon James went back to Dublin ; and the siege of Londonderry began.

This siege lasted for more than three months. Some people look upon it as the greatest siege in British history. At first the Irish sought to batter down the town with cannon ; but the men inside had made up their minds to bear anything rather than give way. Then Richard Hamilton, the Irish general, tried to take the place by storm ; but the men of Derry fought well, and Hamilton had to call back his soldiers. The Irish then waited quietly until want of food should force the townsmen to give in. At length, when all seemed over, three ships, sent from England, made their way up the river Foyle, on which the town is built, in spite of the Irish, and brought food to the starving people. Then the besiegers lost heart and marched away. About the same time not only was Enniskillen relieved, but its defenders attacked a large body of Irish horse near Newtonbutler, and put them to flight.

Siege of
Londonderry,
1689.

Siege raised,
August,
1689.

3. The war had now become one of races and religions. Nearly all the Protestants distrusted James, and held to William; and the Irish longed only to drive the English from the land, and get it to themselves. They did not care for James because he was their rightful king,

Doings of
the Irish
Parliament,
1689.

but they fought for him because he was a Roman Catholic, and because they hoped he would give them the mastery of the country.

It was patriotism, not loyalty, which made them join James. When Parliament met, it passed a bill for doing away with an Act of Settlement made in 1663, that is, for taking away from most of the English settlers the lands which that Act had secured to them. A cruel Bill of Attainder was also carried, by which 2,500 persons, whose names were given, were ordered to deliver themselves up before a certain day, on pain of losing their lands and being put to death without trial. James did not like either of these bills; but through fear of displeasing the Irish he agreed to them both. This did him much harm in England.

4. Next year, 1690, William himself came to Ireland. Landing at Carrickfergus, he at once pushed towards

William
lands in
Ireland,
June, 1690.

Dublin with 30,000 troops, many of whom were French Protestants, Germans, and Danes. During the winter King Lewis XIV. of France had sent 7,000 French soldiers to aid James; yet James did not feel himself strong enough to meet his son-in-law in the open field. He therefore posted his army, in number about 30,000, on the right bank of the Boyne, near Drogheda, and there awaited William's coming. But William, on reaching the place, sent a force to cross

Battle of the
Boyne,
July, 1690.

the river six miles higher up. When James, fearing that his retreat to Dublin might be cut off, hurried with his French soldiers to meet this force, William led his main body across the

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river in front. The Irish horse fought well, the Irish foot badly, and William won the day. James fled back to France; and William soon entered Dublin, and put the power there into the hands of the Protestants. Then, after taking several other strong places, he led his men to Limerick, which he thought he could take very easily, and so end the war. But there was a valiant Irish general inside the city, Patrick Sarsfield, who saved it for a time. Then William went back to England (September 1690).

5. In June 1691 William's general, Ginkell, a Dutchman, renewed the war by taking Athlone before the eyes of the enemy. Then following the retreating Irish he came up with them at Aughrim. Battle of Aughrim, July, 1691. Here took place the last pitched battle of this war. The Irish were strongly posted; and for a time it seemed as if they were going to win. But their general, St. Ruth, got killed by a cannon-ball; one last fierce onset was made by Ginkell's men; and the disheartened Irish broke and fled. In another month Ginkell was before Limerick, the last refuge of the native race. There was little hope of their being able to beat back their foes this time. A treaty was made in which the victors pledged themselves to let Treaty of Limerick, 1691. the Irish worship God in their own way as freely as they had done in Charles II.'s time, and to allow those soldiers of King James who had come from certain counties to keep the lands they had in the same king's reign. Many thousands of the Irish sailed away to France, where they entered the army of King Lewis. Ireland once more lay at the feet of the English.

6. The treaty of Limerick was not kept, though William was eager that it should be. The Irish Parliament would not be bound by it, and made law after law to take away utterly from the natives everything they

most valued. To Protestants only was given any power in the State ; and even those Protestants who dissented from the Church could not sit in Parliament or hold any place under the Crown. The law forbade Roman Catholics to send their children to schools of their own
 The Irish either at home or abroad, to buy lands, to vote
 penal laws. for members of Parliament, to keep arms, to gain lands by marrying Protestant heiresses, or to inherit lands from Protestants. Roman Catholic bishops were to be banished from the country ; the priests then in Ireland were allowed to stay on giving in their names to the Government ; but care was to be taken that no others should come to the country. Every Roman Catholic was believed to be a rebel ; and Parliament wanted to make the whole Irish people Protestant. Thus the Revolution was far from being a blessing to the greater part of the Irish nation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WILLIAMITE WAR WITH FRANCE.

I. FROM the summer of 1689 to the summer of 1697, England was waging a fierce and costly war with Lewis XIV. of France. In this war the English spent more money and made greater efforts than in any previous one ; but they could not help engaging in it. It was part of the price they had to pay for getting rid of the Stuarts and making their freedom safe. In 1689 they had to choose between a war with France or taking back James as their king.

From his youth up William had been the steady foe of the French king. Lewis XIV. was a very unpleasant neighbour ; he had a large and well-trained army, and

War with
France,
1689-97.

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skilful generals, and often used his strength to seize lands and towns which belonged to Germany or Spain. Once indeed (1672) he had sent an army into Holland; and ever after William thought of nothing so much as how to take away Lewis's strength from him. It was this deep feeling of dislike of Lewis, and dread that his power would do lasting harm to the other States of Europe, that made William wish to overthrow James II.'s rule in England. He knew that so long as James was king, England would not only take no part against Lewis, but might even help Lewis against William and his friends. He also knew that there was little chance of beating France in war if England stood apart. William was of course glad to be able to save English Protestantism and freedom; but he wanted above all things to draw England into the Grand Alliance which Spain, Germany, and Holland had then formed against Lewis XIV. Lewis was well aware that this was William's aim; he was afraid that, if England were added to the number of his enemies, he might lose his lordly place in Europe. Therefore he determined to try and set James again on the English throne. This war with France came soon after the Revolution.

William
III. and
Lewis XIV.

War with
France
begins,
May, 1689.

2. In this struggle England had many allies—the Empire, Spain, Brandenburg (the Prussia of our own times), and even Savoy. This array of States against France was called the Grand Alliance. But France was then so mighty a power; King Lewis had so many and such good soldiers, and such wise ministers and able generals, that William with all his allies was not able to do him nearly so much harm in this war as he had hoped. Indeed, most of the battles in it were won by the French. One thing very much strengthened Lewis against William—every army that

The Grand
Alliance.

E. H.

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fought for him did what it was bid and at the time it was bid, whereas William could not always get the Spaniards or Germans to come to him just when he needed them. In this way Lewis was able to take fortresses from William before the smaller armies that made up William's big army could be brought together.

3. For the first two years William was so busy in England and Ireland that he had to leave the fighting on the Continent to others. At first things went ill with the English. Men in office and men in command were sometimes careless, and did not do their duty. Even at sea the English were beaten. The day before the battle of the Boyne the English and Dutch fleets under the Earl of Torrington were attacked by the French admiral, Tourville, off Beachy Head, and were forced to flee.

4. Two years later Lewis and James made a plan for landing an army in England, and beating down William in that way. They hoped that James's English friends would rise and join them, and that even the English fleet would not fight against them. They had indeed good cause to hope that this would be so, for some of William's own servants had written to James promising to help him. One of these was the chief admiral of the English fleet, Edward Russell, who had first asked William to come to England. We may be surprised to learn this, but great men in England were then very base. They thought only of themselves, and were ready to join one king or the other according as each seemed likely to prevail.

In May 1692 all was ready; 30,000 fighting men, mostly Irish, were encamped near La Hogue in Normandy, waiting to be carried over to England. Tourville then sailed out with his fleet to meet Russell. The English and Dutch at once

Battle of
Beachy
Head,
June, 1690.

Threatened
invasion of
England,
1692.

Battle of
La Hogue,
May, 1692.

closed with him ; they had more ships than the French, who got beaten and made for the land. Next day the victors gave chase, and falling on the French ships burnt or sank sixteen of the biggest of them. For a time there was no more talk of invading England.

5. By land William was less prosperous. The year before he had lost Mons ; this year he lost Namur, and was defeated by the French general, Luxemburg, in the hard-fought battle of Steinkirk. Battle of Steinkirk, July, 1692. But William was very skilful in contriving that the loss of a battle should do the least possible harm to his army ; a few days after Steinkirk he had as strong a body of troops as before, and Luxemburg dared not try to follow up his victory.

Next year William was again beaten. Luxemburg, with 80,000 men, caught him with only 50,000 near the little stream of Landen, and forced him to give battle. He stubbornly withstood the onsets of the French for a long time, but Battle of Landen, July, 1693. had to yield ground at last. Again William soon filled up the gaps in his army, and the French gained little by their victory.

6. In 1695 the fortune of war changed. Both parties had been much weakened by the struggle, but England less than France. Death, too, had carried William retakes Namur, 1695. off Lewis's great general, Luxemburg. Accordingly when William laid siege to Namur the French were unable to drive him off, and William took the place. This retaking of Namur was the finest thing William ever did in war. It was also the last thing he did. For, though the war lingered a while longer, nothing worthy of mention was afterwards done in it. In September 1697 peace was made at Ryswick.

By the treaty then made Lewis promised to give up helping James II. to get back to the English throne,

and also agreed to look upon William as the lawful King of England. It was not a peace for Englishmen to be proud of ; but at least it stopped a foreign king from trying to thrust back upon them a ruler whom most of them did not want.

Peace of
Ryswick,
1697.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM III. AND HIS PARLIAMENTS.

I. AT no time did Parliament gain so much that it was able to keep lastingly, as in William III.'s reign. One little fact is enough to show what a firm hold upon power Parliament got by the Revolution. During the seven years that went before the meeting of the Convention only one Parliament was called, and that one was not allowed to sit for quite two months ; whilst during the thirteen years that followed six Parliaments were chosen, and not a single year passed without the Houses being brought together, sometimes twice. Many causes worked together to make this change. (1) The Commons took care not to grant so much money to the king personally as had been granted to King James, and to make their grants for a short time only, not for the king's life, as formerly. (2) The king's wars were very costly, and he had to ask at least once a year for a great deal more money to keep up his army and navy. (3) Instead of giving these moneys in a lump, Parliament *appropriated* the supplies—that is, settled the way in which they were to be spent, setting apart so much for one thing, and so much for another. (4) The Mutiny Bill, without which the soldiers and sailors could not be made to obey their commanders, was passed for a short time only, and

Why Par-
liament
became
stronger.

Parliament had to be called together to renew it. (5) William had no right to be king save the right which Parliament had given him, and therefore could not afford to quarrel with it as the kings before him had done.

2. Things did not go on very smoothly between William and his parliaments. Now and then a bad feeling sprang up between them, and led more than once to a serious misunderstanding. Throughout his reign the Commons were bent on making their power felt by the king and his ministers. They looked into all the business of the State, forced the king to do many things which he disliked, made him alter things which he had already done, and weakened his power in many ways.

William did not yield to the Commons without making a stiff fight. It seemed to him hard that he, who had done so much for the people's rights, should have so many of his own rights taken from him. He would not consent to some of the bills which Parliament passed to lessen his authority. Thus he would not consent to a law for making the judges independent of him; or to a law for keeping *place-men* (men who held *places* under the Crown) out of the House of Commons; or to a law for putting an end to every Parliament three years after it had been first called—the Triennial Bill, as its name was. Yet he was made to give way on each of these at some time or other, for there was a line which William dared not pass. He never fully understood the temper of the English, and did not always act wisely. He was never altogether liked by any class of his subjects.

William
tries to
keep his
power.

3. His second Parliament did not cross him so much as his first had done. It gave him a fixed income of about 1,100,000*l.* a year, part of it for life, part for four years. It was also generous in voting taxes to enable him to

put large armies in the field ; but in doing so was careful to see that the money raised was spent as it wished.

William's
second parliament,
1690-95.

The origin
of the
National
Debt, 1693.

Two of the plans it was persuaded to agree to are noteworthy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer of that time, Charles Montague, who became in later days Earl of Halifax, finding the debts of the State growing bigger and bigger from year to year, thought of having a standing debt, and laid the plan before the Commons. They agreed to it ; and in this way the National Debt began. This is unlike other debts in that its interest only need be paid. When William died the National Debt had grown to 16,000,000*l*. The other plan was that a Bank should be founded, which was to have certain powers of dealing in money on condition of lending the Government 1,200,000*l*. This was the beginning of the Bank of England (1694).

4 William did not give his consent to all the laws that this Parliament passed. In 1693, 'The Bill for the frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments,' known as the Triennial Bill, fell through in this way ; but in 1694 it was again passed and laid before the king. This time he agreed to it ; and henceforth until the reign of George I. no king could keep a Parliament longer than three years, no matter how well pleased he was with it.

Triennial
Bill passed,
1694.

A few days after this Bill became law, Mary the queen died of small-pox. She was a wise and amiable woman, much loved by her husband, who was deeply grieved at her death. Indeed she was a great loss to him, for the English people had always a kindlier feeling for her than ever they had for her husband, and their love for her strengthened William's throne.

Queen
Mary dies,
December,
1694.

5. It is to this Parliament also that the English owe

the freedom of their Press. In 1694, the law which had hitherto made it unlawful for writings to be printed unless they had been read and approved of by the king's licenser came to an end. In 1695 the Commons would not let this law be renewed. After this time any Englishman might print or get printed anything he pleased. But the Courts might still punish a man very severely if he printed anything which the judges thought to be a slander upon the Government, for, until 1792, the law of libel was very harsh.

The Press -
becomes
free, 1694.

6. With most of the four Parliaments that came after this one, William had a great deal of trouble. His ministers were not the same as at the beginning of his reign. Nottingham, and Danby were now gone, and their places had been given to Whigs. The worthiest of the Whigs was John Somers, Lord Keeper, who was the best lawyer then in England. But William had to change his ministers very often. The Commons would take a dislike to the highest among them, and would give the king no peace until he sent them away. The truth is that government by party was then just beginning. If most of the Commons were Whigs, they made the king choose his ministers from among the Whigs; if most were Tories, from among the Tories. For the ministers could not get on, unless most of the Commons were ready to vote for what they wanted.

Beginning
of party-
govern-
ment.

7. In 1696 the law 'for regulating trials in cases of treason' was passed. Men charged with treason had hitherto little chance of being found not guilty, so much against them were the rules that the Courts of Law followed in trying them. They could not have skilled lawyers to defend them; those who bore witness in their favour could not strengthen their witness with an oath. The Act of 1696 did away with these unfair rules.

Henceforth men put on their trial for treason might have counsel to plead their cause, and were to have lists of the jurors and of the witnesses against them given to them some days before the day named for their trial. Moreover, two witnesses were henceforth needed to justify a jury in finding the accused guilty.

Treason
Law of
1696.

8. The same year an association was made to protect the life of King William, like the one that was made in 1584 to protect Elizabeth.¹ Some wicked men had bound themselves together to murder the king near Turnham Green as he was riding home from hunting. This plot was found out, and the chief men engaged in it were tried and put to death. Then the Lords and Commons, all but a very few, of their own free will signed a bond in which they pledged themselves to stand by William against James and James's friends, and if harm befell William, to take signal vengeance on his murderers. Their example was followed by the country at large, and hundreds of thousands put their names to the association. It was a grand outburst of loyalty, and made it clear that the vast bulk of the people were not Jacobites.

Assassina-
tion Plot
and
Association,
1696.

9. Yet for the rest of his life William had an uneasy time in England. The Commons *would* have their own way in all things, caring little how much pain their doings gave to the king. (1) William knew that war with France must soon break out again, and wished a good part of the army to be kept up. But the Commons, especially the Tories, had a horror of standing armies, and voted that all the troops but 7,000 should be disbanded. They went further, and said that the king must send back to Holland his Dutch

The Dutch
guards sent
away. 1699.

¹ See Epoch IV., p. 72.

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guards, who came with him to England, and for whom he had a strong liking. William's feelings were deeply hurt, and he made up his mind to leave the kingdom for ever; but from this purpose he was turned aside by the wise words and firm conduct of Lord Somers, who was then Chancellor, and would not put the Great Seal to the paper in which William gave up the Crown. (2) In the same way William was forced by Parliament to take back the lands in Ireland which he had granted to some of his friends. These lands had belonged to Irishmen who had fought against the English and so had lost them at the end of the Irish war. From the first, Parliament thought that these lands should be sold to help to pay the costs of the war; and William had once promised not to do anything with them without first telling Parliament. Yet he afterwards gave them to his generals and ministers. The man who got the largest share was a Dutchman, Bentinck, Earl of Portland, William's closest friend for many years. The Commons were very angry, and in 1700 passed a bill for taking back these lands; and to make sure that the Lords and the king would not refuse the bill, they 'tacked' it to a bill granting the king money, so as to make one law of the two things. The will of the Commons prevailed, such strength did 'the power of the purse' give them.

William is
forced to
revoke
his grants
of lands.

10. William and Mary had no children; and in 1700 the young Duke of Gloucester, the only child of Anne that lived beyond infancy, died. There was now no hope of there being anyone to inherit the crown by the Bill of Rights after the death of William and of Anne. In 1701, therefore, Parliament settled the crown on the Electress Sophia of Hanover, and her heirs. Sophia was one of the children of that Elizabeth, daughter of James I., who in 1613 had

The Act of
Settlement,
1701.

married¹ the Palsgrave Frederick. She was chosen to come after William and Anne because she was the nearest to the Stuart line who was a Protestant. The law that did this is called the Act of Settlement; it gives Queen Victoria her title to the throne. Parliament in passing it tried to make the nation's liberties still safer. It was now made impossible (1) for any foreigner to sit in Parliament or to hold an office under the Crown; (2) for the king to go to war in defence of countries that did not belong to England, unless Parliament gave him leave; or (3) to pardon anyone so that the Commons might not be able to impeach him.

11. One clause of this law brings before our minds a great change that had then taken place in the way of ruling the kingdom. By ancient usage the Privy Council was the body from which the king was bound to seek advice in matters of State; but of later years the king had fallen into the habit of letting his leading ministers only into his secrets, and a body much smaller than the Privy Council, called the Cabal or Cabinet, was gradually formed. But the Commons got uneasy about this new body; it kept its doings carefully hid from everyone, and there was no means of finding out which of its members advised the king to any course which the Commons might think harmful to the country; for the king's ministers had now come to be answerable to Parliament for everything the king did. An attempt was made in this new bill to give back to the Privy Council all its old strength, and so check the growth of the Cabinet. But nothing came of it; this part of the Act of Settlement was done away with in the next reign.

12. The Commons were growing more and more unruly, when suddenly a foolish step taken by King Lewis delivered William from them. In September 1701

¹ See Epoch V. p. 8.

1701-2. *William III. and his Parliaments.* 27

James II. died at St. Germain's; and Lewis took it upon him to publicly hail James's son, James Edward, as King of England. This uncalled-for meddling in their affairs greatly enraged the English; and William seized the chance of getting rid of his troublesome Parliament. He dissolved it, and called another. Most of the members chosen to this one were well-disposed to him, and wished to work heartily with him. There was now a general eagerness for war with France; and William set briskly about getting the nation ready. To tell the story of this great war, one of the greatest in our history, will be the chief task of the next book.

James II.
dies, Sept
1701.

BOOK II.

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR.

I. THE War of the Spanish Succession is so called because it was fought to decide who should succeed Charles II. on the throne of Spain. We might think it mattered little to Englishmen whether the king of Spain was an Austrian or a Frenchman. But the chief desire of William's heart was to see England throwing all her strength into the struggle against the French king's greed. To gratify this desire he bore patiently with the unruly temper and thirst for power of many of his Parliaments, and allowed much of the royal authority to slip away from him. In the main he was successful; owing to his efforts England won a place in the front rank of European Powers which she has never since lost. William made England feel that

War of the
Spanish
Succession,
1702-13.

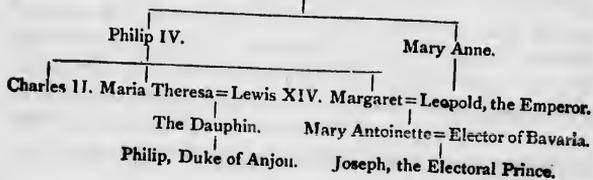
she was concerned in everything which concerned the cause of liberty in Europe.

2. Moreover, England's right of settling her own affairs without foreign meddling was at stake. Lewis XIV., as being an absolute prince and a Roman Catholic, had a natural feeling of enmity towards a free and Protestant State, such as England became after 1688. He hated the Revolution and longed to put it down. If he had been victorious in this war, doubtless the Stuart line would have been restored to the English throne. It must be borne in mind that after the passing of the Act of Settlement it became a necessary part of the new order of things, that the House of Hanover should succeed Anne in the kingship. The friends of the Revolution felt that all would be lost if this arrangement were not carried out ; therefore they pushed forward the war with France with the utmost earnestness. So that in fighting to place an Austrian prince on the Spanish throne the English were in reality fighting for what they most cherished—national freedom.

3. The war came about in this way. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Charles II. of Spain was clearly drawing near his end. He had no children ; and his nearest of kin was the Dauphin of France. Next in order of kinship came Joseph, eldest son of the Elector of Bavaria ; and after him the Emperor Leopold.¹ But the dauphin's

The claimants of the Spanish crown.

¹ Table showing the Spanish descent of the above-named persons :—



mother and Joseph's grandmother had, when leaving Spain, solemnly laid aside, for themselves and those who might spring from them, all claim to the Spanish crown. Nothing of the kind stood in the way of Leopold. It was the belief of some, however, that no one has power, by any words or acts, to bar his or her descendants from anything to which they may come to have a right; and that, therefore, the dauphin's claim to succeed King Charles was still a good one. Yet it was certain that, however good his claim might be, the other European States would not stand still and see the almost boundless Spanish Empire—Spain, Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Indies—go to swell the dominions of the mightiest prince of Europe; for the dauphin or his heir must sooner or later become king of France. On the other hand Lewis would be sure to oppose with all his power the union of the Spanish and Austrian dominions. William and Lewis at first thought it possible to settle the question by a friendly arrangement. In 1698 they made a treaty—the First Partition Treaty, as it is called—with each other. By this Joseph was to get the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Netherlands; while some regions near the Pyrenees, Naples, and Sicily, were to go to the dauphin, and Milan to the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. This treaty might have saved Europe from war; but a few months after it was made Joseph suddenly died, and his death spoiled the plan.

4. The two kings then tried to hit upon a new plan. Early in 1700 the Second Partition Treaty was signed. By this the Archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies; Milan—with power to exchange it for Lorraine—was added to the dauphin's share. But this

The First
Partition
Treaty,
1698.

The Second
Partition
Treaty,
1700.

making of treaties all turned out wasted labour. Before the year was over Charles II. died, leaving by will Spain and all the countries belonging to Spain to the Duke of Anjou, second son of the King of France; and Lewis, in utter disregard of the treaty he had signed, accepted the bequest for his grandson. Anjou at once became King of Spain as Philip V. Shortly afterwards war broke out between Lewis XIV. and the Emperor (1701).

5. At first it seemed as if the King of England would have to look on and see the great game played out without him. Parliament had grown angry about the Partition Treaties; and William dared not even speak of war to it. Most of the Commons thought that, in making those treaties, the King had shown small regard for English interests; and, moreover, it was soon found out that they had been made in a way by which the rules of the Constitution had been broken. Throughout his reign William was his own minister of foreign affairs, and in arranging the terms of the first treaty had told no one of his English ministers anything about them. Somers, the Chancellor, had even put the Great Seal to a paper in which blanks were left for the names of the men who should sign for England. These and other awkward things came out; and the Commons straightway impeached Somers and three other lords. The king was so disheartened by the turn things had taken that he recognised Philip as King of Spain. He was afraid the Commons would make him do this some time or other. The Lords, however, were not of the same mind as the Commons, and cunningly contrived that the impeachment of Somers and his friends should come to nothing. The feeling of Englishmen generally was rather in favour of the course which William desired to

The Commons get angry about the treaties, 1701.

Impeachment of the Whig Lords, 1701.

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1701-2.

The Causes of the War.

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take, and soon the Commons themselves came to see that England must shortly join in the war. Then King James died ; and Lewis took the fatal step of putting forward James's son as King of England. The nation at large felt this to be a gross insult ; Tories and Whigs called loudly for war. The new Parliament passed laws of the utmost severity against the Jacobites, and heartily voted large sums for the army and navy. William went zealously to work to get the nation ready for the great struggle.

6. But William's end was now near ; he did not even live to see war declared. Early in 1702 he was thrown from his horse and broke his collar-bone. He had never been a strong man ; and of late his health had been growing worse. His feeble body had not now enough strength to bear up against the shock. On March 8, 1702, he died at Kensington. He was but fifty-two years old.

Death of William, March, 1702.

William was a little, meagre man, with a thin, worn-looking face. He talked little save to his closest friends, was seldom cheerful save in battle, had a blunt way of speaking, and cared nothing for literature or art. But his heart was strong and tender ; he was borne away fainting from his wife's dying bed, and a lock of her hair was found over his heart after his death. He had some grave faults ; but on the whole his character was noble. He was the last of our great kings.

William's character.

CHAPTER II.

THE WAR ITSELF.

1. THE Bill of Rights had settled who was to take the crown after William's death. Anne, second daughter of

James II., at once became queen. She was thirty-seven years old, and was married to Prince George of Denmark ; but she was childless, though she had borne many children. She was dull-witted, but kind-hearted, was easily led by anyone whom she trusted and loved ; but nothing could move her when her mind was made up.

Anne,
Queen,
March,
1702-
August,
1714.

For many years after her coming to the throne, almost the whole power of the State was in the hands of John Churchill, whom Anne made Duke of Marlborough. Churchill, the son of a Devonshire gentleman, had risen to wealth and honours by the kindness of James II., and had won fame as a soldier in the Low Countries and at Sedgemoor.¹

The great
Duke of
Marl-
borough,
b. 1650 ;
d. 1722.

But in 1688 he deserted James, and did much to make his overthrow sure. He is charged with having been false to William also. William, however, forgave him, took him into favour, and marked him out for high command in the coming war. Marlborough was a general of wonderful skill, firmness, and daring ; he had a temper that nothing could ruffle, and a rare power of working upon the minds of men. But he was over-fond of heaping up riches, and is said to have cared little for anything but his wife and his own greatness. This wife, Sarah Jennings, was in many ways as remarkable as himself. She was a woman of great force of character and overbearing temper, but was deeply loved by her husband. Indeed her husband owed his greatness largely to her ; for Anne had from her early days been very fond of Lady Marlborough, and was always ready to do whatever she wished. That they might talk and write to each other with greater ease Anne called her friend Mrs. Freeman, and was in turn known to Lady Marlborough as Mrs. Morley. The Queen gave herself

¹ See Epoch V., p. 74.

up altogether to her friend's guidance; and in this way Marlborough became, on William's death, the most powerful man in England.

2. Lord Godolphin, a wary and experienced statesman, was made Lord High Treasurer, then the highest Minister of the Crown. Marlborough and Godolphin were Tories, and put none but Tories into the other important posts. But after a time a change came over their views. The Tories were lukewarm in upholding the war; the Whigs warmly pressed it on; and therefore Marlborough and Godolphin, who were all for war, kept drawing farther from the Tories and closer to the Whigs. Thus, as time went on, the Tory members were every now and then dropping off from the Ministry and the Whigs were joining it, until it became altogether Whig. Almost the first act of the new Ministry was to declare war with France. Marlborough was named Captain-General of the land forces.

The
Ministry
of Lord
Godolphin,
1702-1710.

War de-
clared,
May, 1702.

3. England had never yet engaged in a war that spread so far and wide over the earth as this one. It was carried on at the same time in the Low Countries, in Spain, in the Mediterranean Sea, and in the West Indies. Its greatest battle was fought in Germany. But its chief scene of action was the Spanish Netherlands—the country that is now called Belgium—and the parts of France that lay near. The armies there were led by Marlborough. They were made up of men from many lands—English, Dutch, Prussians, and Hanoverians—all of whom cheerfully obeyed the great English general.

The war in
the Low
Countries.

4. No grand deed of arms was done by Marlborough's army for the first two years. The French stood on the defensive; and Marlborough was much hampered by the

Dutch, who would not let him give battle when he wished. He had to rest content with taking several strongholds. But in 1704 the English captain struck a mighty blow at the power of France. Finding in that year that the French and their allies, the Bavarians, were making alarming way against the Austrians in South-western Germany; he marched his army from the Rhine to the Danube, and having joined it to the Austrian force under Prince Eugene of Savoy, came up with the French and Bavarians at Blenheim. There, on the banks of the Danube, was fought the battle which has shed its chief lustre on Marlborough's name. Tallard, the French marshal, had about 60,000, the Englishman about 50,000 men under his command. For a whole day the French held their ground manfully, driving back the Allies at almost every point. At last, in the evening, Marlborough led a general assault along the whole line; the French army was cut in two, and utterly routed. It was a crushing defeat; almost two-thirds of the beaten army were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Tallard himself fell into Marlborough's hands. The pride of Lewis XIV. was humbled at last.

5. Ten days before the battle of Blenheim an English admiral gained a success which, though thought little of at the time, proved to be of vast importance. Early in August, Admiral Sir George Rooke, who had been cruising along the coast of Spain all the summer, and been able to do nothing, landed a few thousand seamen and marines near Gibraltar, and took the place with the utmost ease. This fortress was kept by the English when peace was made; and every attempt to wrest it from them again has utterly failed.

6. Next year Marlborough is again found warring in

Battle of
Blenheim,
August,
1704.

Taking of
Gibraltar,
Aug., 1704.

the Low Countries; and, though he could get no chance of winning a great battle, he managed to push the French hard. But in 1706 he again overthrew their armies, at Ramillies; and nine of the strongest fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands were the fruits of the victory. Another year (1707) of comparative inactivity followed. Then, in 1708, a third grand victory was won, and the most skilfully-managed siege of the whole war brought to a triumphant close. For the French under the Duke of Vendome, having laid siege to Oudenarde, Marlborough fell upon them and drove them from their position. He then drew his army round Lille, perhaps the strongest of the strong places on the French border. The garrison of Lille was commanded by Boufflers, the general who had held Namur against William III. This siege lasted more than three months, and was watched with eager interest throughout Europe. Prince Eugene pushed forward the siege, while Marlborough kept off the French army, which lay in the neighbourhood trying hard to relieve the place. In the end Boufflers had to yield.

Battle of
Ramillies,
May, 1706.

Battle of
Oudenarde,
July, 1708.

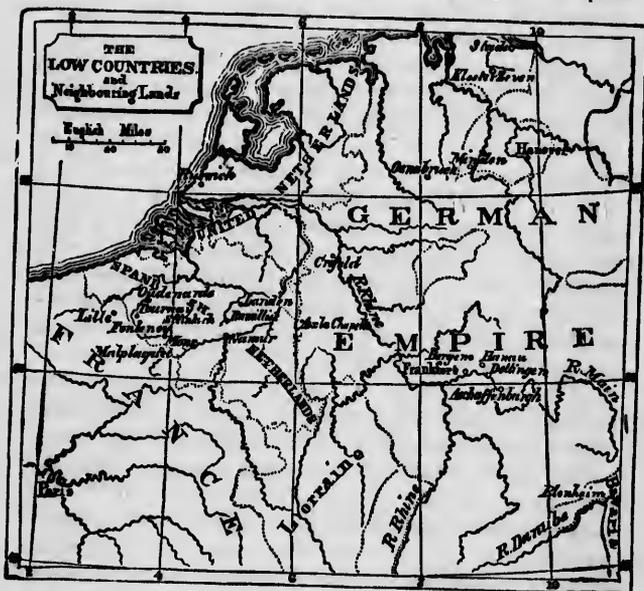
Siege of
Lille, Aug.-
Dec., 1708.

7. In the campaign of 1709 the great Duke won the last and bloodiest of his successes. The French Marshal, Villars, had entrenched his army at Malplaquet; and the allies had to carry by storm strongly fortified heights held by 90,000 stout-hearted men. They carried them, but at a frightful cost—a loss of 20,000 killed and wounded. The next two campaigns were not marked by any very striking event. But many towns were taken, and France itself was invaded. The upshot of Marlborough's fighting was, that the French were swept out of the Netherlands, their renown in war was lost, and their kingdom was drained of well-nigh all its

Battle of
Malplaquet,
Sept., 1709.

strength. Not often has a great nation been brought so low as France was in this war by Marlborough. But in 1712 the great soldier was disgraced; and the Duke of Ormond was sent to take his command. How such a thing as this came to be done will be explained farther on. Ormond did nothing worth mentioning here.

8. During these years the war was going on in Spain



also. There the Allies were not so successful, perhaps because they had not a general like Marlborough to lead them. In Spain an effort was made to carry out directly the chief purpose of the Allies—to dethrone Philip and set up the

The war in Spain, 1702-1712.

1705-10.

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1705-1713.

The War Itself.

Archduke Charles as King. And in 1705 the Archduke, calling himself Charles III., went to the country under the guard of an English fleet. But most of the Spaniards favoured the French prince ; and Charles never had a chance of winning the crown in this way and keeping it. It is true there were some valiant deeds done by the English in Spain. In 1705 the Earl of Peterborough took Barcelona with a very small force, and marched hither and thither through the eastern provinces unchecked. And in 1706 the Allies, under the Earl of Galway, advanced from Portugal and entered Madrid. But Peterborough's strange career soon came to an end ; and not only was Galway forced to leave Madrid, but in 1707 his army was destroyed. Yet this overthrow did not end the war in those parts.

In 1710 the French were beaten in their turn ; and the Allies a second time took possession of Madrid. Again, however, they found it necessary to march away from the place. As they were making for the east coast, the French, led by Vendome, overtook at Brihuega their left wing, which was English, and commanded by General Stanhope. Stanhope's troops were surrounded ; and after some tough fighting had to surrender themselves prisoners. Next day the other Allies were more prosperous at Villa Viciosa. Yet all they gained was freedom to go on to Barcelona. This was the last contest of the war in Spain. Already, in 1708, the English had conquered Minorca, an island which they afterwards held for seventy years. In 1713 peace was made at Utrecht.

Defeat of
Almanza,
1707.

Battles of
Brihuega
and Villa
Viciosa,
Dec., 1710.

Peace of
Utrecht,
1713.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY DURING THE WAR.

1. OF Anne's reign it may be said, as a general truth, that in it the course of things which had been set going under William went on without check. In one way only did public life change after William's death—there was less strife between Parliament and the Crown, and more between Whigs and Tories. Anne was an Englishwoman, a Stuart, and a sound Churchwoman. The Tories therefore trusted her far more than they had ever trusted William, and did not seek to weaken the royal power any further. Moreover the new settlement had seemingly been made safe; Anne quietly accepted the position which the Revolution had given her, and so was allowed to enjoy a peace that had been denied to William. There was, however, great stir and noise in her time. Party spirit ran very high, and Whigs and Tories strove with each other as they had seldom striven before.

2. The Tories were not just of the same mind as they had been in the days of the Exclusion Bill.¹ They did not now struggle to keep the Crown powerful with the same zeal as they had then shown. They not only accepted the arrangement made in 1688-9, but they upheld the authority of Parliament often with greater earnestness than the Whigs themselves. Traces of their old faith, it is true, might still be seen in them; they would rather have Anne than William on the throne, because in her title there was something of hereditary right; and those of them who went farthest in Toryism were apt to become Jacobites. But they mainly showed their Toryism by

¹ See Epoch V., p. 69.

being great friends of the Church, and by disliking Dissenters. They wanted to have all the power in the Commonwealth given to Churchmen alone. The Whigs, on the other hand, wished to see all Protestants made equal under the law. Moreover, in Anne's reign the Whigs were very zealous for the war from first to last; but the Tories both were not over-warm in its support at first and came to dislike it very much at last.

3. The Commons in Anne's first Parliament were mostly Tories, and in their very first session carried a law which would have made it quite impossible for any Dissenter to hold a post under the Crown. But the Lords threw out this bill, for in those days most of the Lords were Whigs. The Lords, as having so much that might be lost by a violent change, are mostly in favour of keeping things as they are, and accordingly were then in favour of the Revolution Settlement, which they thought might in the long run be upset if the Tories always had their way. The aim of this bill was to prevent *occasional conformity*, as the custom of taking the Sacrament according to the Church ritual, just to fit oneself for holding office, was called. Next year the Lords again threw it out. From this time the Tories lost ground.

Occasional
Conformity
Bill, 1702,
1703.

4. The war with France was a Whig war. It was waged to carry out the plans of William, who had become the great Whig hero, and sprang from the Revolution, which had been a triumph of Whig principles. Marlborough's victories, therefore, spread a Whiggish feeling through the country; and, in 1705 a House of Commons was chosen in which Whigs had the mastery. What followed will show clearly how the new way of governing was likely to work. The Whigs were now so strong that the Ministry could not get on without them. To win them to his side Marlborough had to promise to get one of their leading men, Charles

The Whigs
gain the
mastery,
1705.

Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, raised to some high office. But Anne liked the Tories better than the Whigs; she thought she had a right to choose her own Ministers, and for a time would not hear of a place being given to Sunderland, though he was the husband of Marlborough's daughter. Marlborough knew how necessary it was that what the Whigs asked should be done, and eagerly pressed it on. But the queen was most unwilling, and yielded only to Marlborough's earnest prayers. In December 1706 Sunderland was made Secretary of State. In 1708 the same struggle took place again on a larger scale. The general election of 1708 having again given the Whigs a majority in the Commons, the other

The Minis-
try be-
comes
altogether
Whig, 1708.

Whig leaders—the Whig Junto, as they were called, of whom the Lords Somers and Wharton were the chief—demanded to be taken into the Government. Marlborough, knowing the dislike of Anne to the Whigs, held out for a long time against them; but they made things so unpleasant, and there was so much dread that they would use their strength to work mischief to the Queen's friends, that Anne had at last to give offices to Somers and Wharton. Then the Ministry became purely Whig.

5. The most noteworthy change of Anne's reign was the Union of England and Scotland, the blending together of the two kingdoms and two parliaments into the Kingdom and Parliament of Great Britain.

England
and Scot-
land, 1700.

When one looks at what was then going on in the two countries one is rather surprised that such a good thing should have been brought about at that time. For never since Englishmen and Scotsmen had fallen under the sway of the same king had Scottish hearts been so filled with rage against England as in the first few years of the eighteenth century. England, the Scots said, was working them great and lasting wrongs; and they

would never forgive her. There was too much reason for what the Scots said. Many Englishmen were very selfish and greedy, and could not bear that their kinsfolk in Scotland and Ireland should share in the pursuits which brought them wealth. These men, merchants of the great seaport towns of England, had so worked upon Parliament that heavy taxes were laid on all products of Scotland which were carried into England. Scotsmen were not allowed to trade with any country belonging to England, or with England in anything but what was grown or made in Scotland. Their anger at finding their hands tied up by English greed was yearly growing more bitter. In 1699-1700 a plan which they had tried to carry out, for planting a trading settlement at Darien had come to a disastrous end. Its failure brought ruin on a vast number of Scottish families. The Scots cast the blame on the English East India Company and on King William; and their wrath against England rose higher than ever. After William's death the Scottish Parliament passed an Act of Security, by which it was made impossible that the same person who had already been chosen to sit on the English throne after Anne died should be chosen to the Scottish throne also, unless security were given for the 'religion, freedom, and trade' of the Scots. This law made it possible that at Anne's death the two kingdoms should pass to different kings.

6. To the danger arising from this state of things we owe the Act of Union. The wiser men in England now saw clearly that nothing short of a thorough blending of the two peoples into one would put a stop to their quarrelling, and, to gain this, were willing to give the Scots all they wanted. The very last paper that William signed was a message to his English Parliament asking it to consider how such a union could be brought about.

The Darien
Scheme,
1699-1700.

Act of
Security,
1703, 1704.

Parliament did look into the question, and gave the Queen power to name men who might meet other men sent from Scotland, and with them try to find out a way of uniting the two countries. But the trading jealousy of many Englishmen and the blind patriotism of many Scotsmen made the task of arranging the terms very hard; and this attempt failed. The plan, however, was not lost sight of; some Scotsmen longed for freedom of trade; the wisest English statesmen were afraid of Scotland falling again under French influence. In 1706 there was a meeting in London of thirty-one men from each kingdom; and these at last found a way to a settlement of the question. By the Act of Union Scotsmen were to have the same freedom of trade as Englishmen; the Presbyterian Church was secured to Scotland; there was to be but one Parliament for Great Britain, to which Scotland was to send forty-five Commons and sixteen Lords. For a long time many Scotsmen talked of this law as if it were the ruin of their country; but it has undoubtedly done much good to both nations.

Act of
Union
passed.

In Scotland,
Jan. 1707;
in England,
Mar., 1707.

7. In 1710 the Whig Ministry fell from power. It had foolishly made the Commons impeach a noisy High Church clergyman, called Sacheverell, who had preached against Godolphin, and misrepresented the Revolution. The Lords found Sacheverell guilty; but the trial stirred up a mighty outburst of High Church feeling throughout the country. The people too were growing rather weary of the war, and of the heavy taxes which they had to pay to keep it going. Marlborough also had lost the Queen's favour. His wife was a woman of violent temper and overbearing ways, and in her rages did not spare the Queen herself. A coldness had grown up between the two old friends. The Duchess never tried to soothe the Queen's wounded

Fall of
Godolphin's
Ministry,
1710.

feelings ; and the breach between them went on widening until at last Anne had come to hate her friend as much as she had formerly loved her. One Mrs. Masham, once a Bedchamber-woman to the Queen, had already taken the Duchess's place in Anne's affections. The upshot of these changes was, that in the summer of 1710 the Queen sent away her chief Whig Ministers, and gave the guidance of the nation to Robert Harley and Henry St. John.

The Harley-St. John Ministry, 1710-1714

CHAPTER IV.

THE TORY MINISTRY AND THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

1. THIS daring act of Anne's—the turning away of her Ministers—helps us to see plainly the working of the altered Constitution. The Whig leaders had been able to win office in 1708 merely because most of the Commons, thought as they did, and were ready to vote as they wished. The Queen had now a strong hope that the members of the new Parliament would be mostly Tory ; and, relying on that hope, had sent away her Whig Ministers and taken Tories in their places. She was not disappointed ; most of the new members *were* Tories ; and she was able to keep Harley and St. John. But it is certain that, if it had turned out otherwise, she could not have kept these Ministers, and would have been forced to bring back Godolphin, Somers, and Halifax.

2. Harley, who was made in 1711 Earl of Oxford, and St. John, who was made in 1712 Viscount Bolingbroke, ruled England for nearly four years. During this time the war of parties never ceased. The great writers of the day took part with one side or

Party government.

Party strife.

the other, each doing his utmost to make people believe that his party was right and the other wrong. The stoutest champion of the Tories in this way was Jonathan Swift, better known as Dean Swift, because in 1713 he became Dean of St. Patrick's Church in Dublin. Swift had once been a Whig, but in 1710 had gone over to the Tories. He wrote for the Tories with all his might; and being the greatest genius then living, did a great deal by his writings to spread a Tory feeling throughout the country. The ablest writers on the Whig side were Joseph Addison, a most graceful author and amiable man; and Sir Richard Steele, an honest but somewhat hot-headed Irishman. Men had not then the same means of reading speeches made in Parliament as they have now, for it was very difficult to get any account of a Parliamentary debate, and unlawful to print it if it were got. Yet even then it was an important thing for a statesman to be thought well of by the people; and the only way he had of winning a good name was either to write himself, or to get others to write, in favour of his opinions.

3. The clergy and the country gentlemen were zealous for the Tories; the large towns and trading classes heartily upheld the Whigs. The Tories charged the Whigs with trying to destroy the Church; their cry was that the 'Church was in danger.' The Whigs charged the Tories with wishing to undo the Act of Settlement; their cry was that 'the Protestant succession was in danger.' Whilst Anne lived the Tories were the stronger party, for most Englishmen loved the Church and sent Tories to Parliament. There was, it is true, no general desire for a second Restoration; but the country thought there was little fear of this, and the cry of the Whigs did not frighten them.

The Whigs
and the
Tories.

4. But the point that Whigs and Tories fought most about was the making of peace with France. The Whigs wanted the war to go on until Philip should be driven from the throne of Spain and King Lewis should grant all that the Allies asked. The Tories wanted to have the war ended at once, and were willing both to allow Philip to stay on the Spanish throne and to let Lewis off very easily. The Whigs said that if the Kings of France and Spain both belonged to the same family they would always take part with each other in wars, and it would not be easy for the other States to hold their own against them. The Tories said that if Charles became King of Spain the House of Austria would be as dangerous to the quiet of Europe as the House of Bourbon, for in 1711 Charles had been chosen Emperor. The Tories, too, were against the war, because it was a Whig war, and success in it had always given strength to the Whigs. They resolved, therefore, to have peace. But they went about getting it in a very bad way. Some years before Lewis had become so humble from the many beatings his armies had got that he offered not only to cease helping his grandson, but also to supply the Allies with money to wage war against him. These offers had not satisfied the Allies; the war had gone on, and many more losses had befallen Lewis in it. But now Harley and St. John secretly sent a messenger to Lewis to ask if he would agree to a peace. Peace was the thing that Lewis longed for most; but finding that the English Ministers also were so eager for it, he did not now offer to yield what before he had been willing to yield. His grandson, he now said, must be left on the Spanish throne. There was much stealthy going to and fro of messengers between England and France; and at length the rulers of the two nations came to an understanding with each other. But not a

How the
peace of
Utrecht was
made,
1711-13.

word of these doings was told to the Dutch or the Emperor, though as the allies of England they had a right to know everything that was going on. And when at last the English Ministers did tell the Dutch, they showed them a different treaty from the one that had been drawn up by them and Lewis. In 1712 they took away the command of the army from Marlborough, separated the English army from the Allies, and privately settled with Lewis a plan for carrying on the war that year.

5. Next year the Peace they so wished for was signed at Utrecht. Philip was to keep the Spanish throne, but

Terms of the Peace of Utrecht, 1713. was to swear that he gave up all claim ever to become King of France. Lewis XIV. pledged himself to have nothing more to do with

James Edward, now known in England as the Pretender, and to recognise the Protestant succession to the English Crown. England was to have Gibraltar, Minorca, and Newfoundland, and trading rights with the Spanish settlements. The Dutch were given a strong line of fortresses to guard their border; and the House of Austria got the Spanish Netherlands and Naples. This has been called 'the shameful Peace of Utrecht,' partly because of the way in which it was made, and partly because nothing was done in it to save the Catalans from the vengeance of Philip, though these had risen in arms at the bidding of the Allies.

6. Anne lived little more than a year longer. This was a very anxious time for Englishmen. The Queen's

The last year of Anne's reign, 1713-14. health was bad. Oxford and Bolingbroke were thought to be planning to overthrow the Act of Settlement and bring in the Pretender. The Jacobites were believed to be busy laying plots for having James Edward made King when Anne died. The Tories had seemingly the greater number of the people on their side, for in 1713 a new

Parliament was chosen, in which most of the Commons were again Tories. But one thing crippled the strength of their party very much—their chief men, Oxford and Bolingbroke, had come to hate each other, and very often had angry quarrels. In July 1714 Bolingbroke contrived to poison the Queen's mind against his rival, and Oxford was turned out of office. But it was too late for Bolingbroke to gain anything by the change; three days later Anne died. The day before her death she had named the Duke of Shrewsbury, a nobleman who had been active in bringing about the Revolution, Lord High Treasurer. Shrewsbury was a Whig; and his appointment was a kind of pledge that plots to bring back the Pretender, if there were such, would be crushed.

Queen Anne
dies, August
1, 1714.

BOOK III.

ENGLAND UNDER THE RULE OF THE GREAT FAMILIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

I. THE Electress Sophia had died two months before Queen Anne; and the right of succession to the English Crown had then passed to her son, George, Elector of Hanover. Accordingly on August 1, 1714, George became King of England as George I. Much fear had been felt throughout the country that the Jacobites would try to hinder his coming to the

George I.
King,
1714-27.

throne; but it turned out quite otherwise—no one dared even to raise his voice for the Pretender. Indeed, most people showed great joy when they heard the new king proclaimed. In foreign lands also George was looked upon as the true King of England; even Lewis of France kept the promise that he had made in the Treaty of Utrecht.

2. George came to England about seven weeks after Anne's death. As soon as he came the Tory Ministers were sent away, and their places given to Whigs. For George did not try, like William, to allow each party a share in governing; he thought that the Whigs, who had always been in favour of his title, were likely to be more faithful to him than the Tories. Of course, if the Commons had wished very much that the Ministers should be Tories, they would have made the King take Tories. But the new House of Commons, which was chosen a few months afterwards, had many more Whigs than Tories, and the King was able to keep the Ministers he liked. The foremost man in the new Ministry was Charles, Lord Townshend; but General Stanhope and Robert Walpole were also very powerful members of it. Walpole had rare skill in finding out the best way of settling questions about money, and thus made himself very useful to his party.

3. In 1715 the quiet of the land was broken in two ways. First, the new Ministers were so angry at what had been done during the last four years of Anne's reign that they stirred up Parliament to take steps to punish the fallen leaders of the Tories. They tried to make out that Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond had been guilty of treason in yielding up to Lewis in the late war more places than they need have done. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France; but Oxford was not easily frightened, and stayed

Whig
Ministry
formed.
1714

The late
Ministry
attacked.

at home. They were all impeached; and bills of attainder were also passed against Bolingbroke and Ormond. Oxford was sent to the Tower, where he lay for two years. In 1717 he was brought to trial; but in the meantime Walpole had fallen out with the other leading Whigs and lost office; and now, to spite his old friends, he cunningly contrived that the Commons should not come forward to prove the charges they made against Oxford. The Lords, therefore, voted that Oxford was not guilty. Bolingbroke, soon after reaching France, openly joined the Pretender, but in a short time gave up his cause as hopeless; and in 1723 he was allowed to come back to England. But Ormond never came back; he died abroad in 1745.

4. Secondly, there were Jacobite risings both in Scotland and in England. Early in September John Erskine, Earl of Mar—who some years before had been a Whig and helped to bring about the Union—raised the standard of rebellion in Braemar, and in a short time found himself in command of a large Highland army. But Mar was very slow in his movements, and lingered for six weeks in Perth. The Duke of Argyle, famous as both a warrior and a statesman, was sent from London to deal with this danger; and going to Stirling, used the time which Mar was wasting in gathering round him soldiers and loyal Lowlanders.

The Jacobites take up arms, 1715.

While things stood thus in the far north a few hundred Jacobites took up arms in Northumberland under Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater. Joining with some Southern Scots raised by Lord Kenmure, and some Highlanders whom Mar had sent to their aid, they marched to Preston, in Lancashire.

The fate of the two risings was settled on the same day. At Preston the English Jacobites and their Scottish allies had to give themselves up to a small body of

soldiers under General Carpenter. At Sheriffmuir, about eight miles north of Stirling, the Highlanders, whom Mar had put in motion at last, met Argyle's little army in battle, and, though not utterly beaten, were forced to fall back to Perth.

Affair of
Preston,
1715.

There Mar's army soon dwindled to a mere handful of men. Just when things seemed at the worst the Pretender himself landed in Scotland. But he altogether lacked the daring and high spirit needful to the cause at the time; and his presence at Perth did not even delay the end, which was now sure. Late in January 1716 Argyle's troops started from Stirling northwards; and the small Highland force broke up from Perth and went to Montrose. Thence James Edward and Mar slipped away unnoticed, and sailed to France; and the Highlanders scampered off to their several homes. Of the rebels that were taken prisoners about forty were tried and put to death; and many were sent beyond the seas. Derwentwater and Kenmore were beheaded; the other leaders of rank either were forgiven or escaped from prison.

5. These risings were followed by an important change in an important law. The people were in a restless state; and it was feared that trouble might befall the country if a new Parliament were chosen which would be unfavourable to the

Septennial
Act passed,
1716.

Ministry. A bill was therefore passed to enable the King to keep the same Parliament for seven years; and in passing it care was taken that it should apply to the Parliament that then was, which thus might last till 1722. This bill, which is called the Septennial Act, is in force still.

6. The Whigs now became stronger than ever. But shortly afterwards Townshend and Stanhope quarrelled upon a grave question of foreign policy; and a split took

place in the Whig party which weakened it much for a time. Townshend and Walpole not only ceased to be Ministers, but also did their utmost to thwart Stanhope and Sunderland, who now held the first place in the King's counsels.

The Whig Schism, 1717.

The question about which the Whig leaders fell out was the right way of forming the Triple Alliance. This treaty, which England, France, and Holland made with one another in 1716-17, gave England great power abroad, and did much to strengthen the hold of the Hanoverian family on the English Crown. It seems strange to find the rulers of England and France, who had lately been such deadly foes, now linked together in a close friendship. But each had an interest in making a friend of the other. In France Lewis XIV. had died; his great-grandson, a mere child, had become King; and the Duke of Orleans, who was next heir to the crown if the King of Spain should be true to the pledge he had taken by the Treaty of Utrecht, held the Regency. But the Duke feared that the Spanish king would not keep his promise, and thought it would be a good thing to have England on his side, to help him if the boy-king died. In England, Stanhope felt that France was the only foreign state that could give any real aid to the Pretender, and thought it would be a good thing if France could be brought to take part with the Hanoverian family. Thus it came about that an alliance was made between the two countries, by which their rulers agreed to stand by each other in any troubles that might arise. The Dutch also afterwards signed this treaty (January 1717).

The Triple Alliance, 1716-17.

7. This alliance gave England and France a proud position in Europe. It was now the aim of Stanhope and Orleans to make the other nations abide by the terms of the Peace of Utrecht. They would not let the quiet of

Europe be broken by any country. In 1718 the Emperor Charles joined the Alliance, for the King of Spain wanted to take Sicily from him, and sent an army thither for the purpose. Thereupon an English fleet under Sir George Byng attacked the Spanish near Cape Passaro, and beat it thoroughly. Next year (1719), French and English armies began to make war in the North of Spain, and took some strong places. Then King Philip yielded, and consented to a peace in which he gave up everything that he had laid claim to (1720). From these things we see how mighty England had become.

8. For a time all went well at home also. In 1720 Stanhope made up his quarrel with Townshend and Walpole, and the Whigs became a united party once more. For Walpole had shown how dangerous he might be, by causing the Commons to throw out the Peerage Bill, which Stanhope wished to see passed. This was a bill for taking away from the King the power of making any more peers than six over the number that then was. Townshend and Walpole again became Ministers. But soon after their return to office there came a time of great distress for many people. Some years earlier a company had been founded for trading with the South Seas. It grew and prospered; it often had dealings with the Government, and in 1720 its shares had risen to ten times their original value. An eager desire to get rich very fast then spread throughout the country; a great many other companies were set up; and men bought shares in these greedily and thoughtlessly. Soon a change of feeling came; men got frightened about the money they had laid out in this way, and all tried at once to sell their shares, but no one was willing to buy them. Hence

Battle of
Cape
Passaro,
1718

Whig
Schism
ends, 1720.

The Peer-
age Bill,
1719.

The 'South
Sea
Bubble.'

not only did the new companies fail, but the South Sea shares also fell very low. A loud cry of distress was raised by those who had lost their money; and all men were deeply enraged when they heard that some of the Ministers had taken bribes from the South Sea Company. In the midst of this trouble Stanhope suddenly died. It was thought that Walpole was the only man who knew how to help the people in this misfortune; so he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. He carried laws through Parliament which did much to calm men's minds and revive their faith in one another's honesty. The nation then saw that Walpole was the ablest man the King had; and upon the death of Sunderland, in 1722, Walpole became Prime Minister.

Death of
Stanhope,
1721.

CHAPTER II.

THE MINISTRY OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. ROBERT WALPOLE was a Norfolk squire of good family, who had gained sound judgment and rare skill in the conduct of affairs. He was clear-headed and practical, and was just the man that England wanted at this time. A calm had followed the great storms caused by the Revolution, and the country felt a general longing for a little rest. Now, Walpole wished above all things to give the nation rest. He tried with all his might to keep England from going to war, and to help her to make herself rich and prosperous. But he never thought of doing great deeds, of doing away with unjust laws and getting just ones made, of setting right some of

Robert
Walpole;
b. 1676,
d. 1745.

Walpole's
character
and policy.

the many evil things that then were, or of helping men to grow wiser and better. Indeed, he believed that most men neither were, nor could be made, good ; his opinion of men was so low that he thought they would do anything for money. 'Every man has his price,' he said. There was little in him to love or respect. But he had much good sense, and knew well how to work on men's minds. It was not a time for carrying out great plans ; the people were not in a humour for them, and were quite content to be ruled by Walpole. And they were right ; for on the whole things went well with England during the twenty years that Walpole was Prime Minister.

2. Perhaps Walpole would not have been so long at the head of affairs but for the cunning way in which he managed the Commons. We have seen how necessary it was for the King or his chief Minister to get most of the members of the Lower House to give him their votes. Walpole, partly because the state of things favoured him, and partly because he was very clever in managing public assemblies, got members to vote with him better than any minister who had lived before him. For the ways in which men gained seats in Parliament were very different then from what they are now. Many of the towns that had the right of sending representatives were mere villages ; and in many others, though they were larger, there were only very few people who had a vote. It had therefore come to pass that the noblemen or gentlemen who owned the lands on which these towns stood could have whatever members they liked chosen for these places. Besides, the great landowners had often such influence in the counties that the voters in these were willing to please their landlords or noble neighbours by voting for the persons whom they favoured. There was also a class of boroughs, chiefly

The Constitution in the eighteenth century.

'Nomination boroughs.'

seaports, which were quite ready to give their votes to whomsoever the King or his Ministers desired. It is clear, then, that most of the Commons were not representatives of the people, but of the King's Ministers and other great men of the kingdom.

3. In this way it came about that the Revolution, in making the House of Commons the strongest thing in the State, gave the leading part in ruling the nation to a number of great families. These are known in history as the *Revolution families*, or *great Whig houses*, for most of them belonged to the Whig party. For a long time it would have been almost impossible to carry on the Government without the active support of a good number of these houses; and their support could be gained only by giving the chief men among them a large share in governing. It is true that the King had still some power; he could give away posts of great dignity and value in Church and State, pensions, peerages, and other honours that many men were glad to have. But the first two kings of the line of Hanover were strangers; neither of them knew much of English ways or English feeling, and did not care to take any trouble to keep up the king's power. Accordingly the heads of the great houses generally had their own way. We shall see that the third king of the line did make a great effort to win back to the Crown the authority it had lost, and succeeded too.

The Revolution families.

4. For twenty years Sir Robert Walpole was able by wise management to keep on his side both most of the Whig Houses and the king, and thus to get the Commons to vote in the way he wished on every question that came before them. Moreover, he is believed to have paid away great sums of money in bribing Members. He was not the first to use this means of gaining votes; but he is said to have

Walpole's management of the Commons.

used it much more than any other minister ever did. It was begun in Charles II.'s reign, and first became common in William III.'s time, when the good-will of the Lower House was seen to be so needful to the King's Ministers.

5. But we must not think that the King's Ministers need pay no heed to the wishes of the people. Walpole himself was more than once forced to give up his own will and do what the nation bade him, even when Parliament would have cheerfully agreed to the course he wanted to take. Only the people had to speak out very strongly, and show that they were really in earnest, and *would* have the matter settled in the way they thought right. They were seldom, however, very much in earnest then about anything ; for a time they cared very little how things went on in the State.

6. Few very noteworthy things happened while Walpole ruled England. So long as George I. lived this Minister ran little risk of losing his place, and was able to deal in a high-handed way with every question as it arose. In 1722 the Jacobites tried to make themselves troublesome, but failed ; and next year their leader, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was banished for life by Act of Parliament. In 1724 the English settlers in Ireland flew into a great rage because Walpole began to issue among them a new supply of halfpence and farthings, made by William Wood, an English ironmaster. They said that these coins were far below the value of similar coins in England, and that they were issued only to enrich Wood and some worthless people about the English Court. Dean Swift, who owed Walpole a grudge, wrote with great force against this coinage, and so worked upon the minds of his countrymen that they would not receive it on any

The people
still of
some ac-
count.

Wood's
halfpence,
1723-4.

terms. Walpole, powerful as he was, had to allow the coinage to be withdrawn. Then in 1725 Spain, wishing to get back Gibraltar, made an alliance with Austria, and went to war with England. But none of these things shook Walpole's hold on power in the least. So quiet had things become that in the session of 1724 there was but one division in the Commons.

Another war with Spain, 1725-27.

7. In June 1727 the reign of George I. suddenly ended. He had gone to visit his German subjects, and was on his way to Osnabruck, when apoplexy seized him, and he died in his carriage. George I. was an upright man, who sought to deal justly with all men, and was much loved in Hanover. But he was silent, awkward, and cold in his manner, and was little liked in England. His son at once became King as George II. The new king at first thought of sending Walpole away, but in a few days he changed his mind and kept him in office.

Death of George I., June 1727. George II. King, 1727-1760.

8. England and France were still fast friends; for Walpole was bent on keeping the country out of war, and above all out of a war with France. This, he knew, was the only nation that could help the Pretender in a way that would make him really dangerous; without aid from France the Jacobites were harmless, and could do little mischief. For many years, therefore, the Pretender, owing to Walpole's wisdom, was unable to move; and thus the new line of kings had time to strengthen themselves on the throne.

Friendship with France.

9. But Walpole failed in one thing which he had set his heart on getting done. In 1733 he brought a bill into Parliament for levying the duties on certain goods, tobacco being the first, not as *customs*—which are paid at the seaports, when the goods are brought into the country—but as *excise*, which

The Excise scheme, 1733.

is paid when the goods are sent throughout the country. He said that it did not cost so much to raise an excise, that men could not keep back or steal part of it so easily, and that thus more money would come into the treasury, while the people paid just the same. But most English folk then hated the excise ; the very word put them in an ill-humour. A loud outcry against Walpole's plan went up from all parts of the country ; and Walpole, much against his will, gave it up.

10. But this did not weaken Walpole ; both King and Parliament still upheld him, and for a while longer the people also rested contentedly under his rule. Year after year passed, leaving Walpole still at the head of affairs, as strong as ever to work his will. But he had made one great mistake in his doings. He had always been jealous of able men, and had driven away most of those who had been in office with him. There was hardly one man of merit in his Government whom he did not get rid of at some time or other. Even Townshend had to resign his place. This unwise conduct hurt Walpole in two ways : it chased away from his side the men who were best fitted to help him in the hour of need, and it sent them to join the ranks of his foes. Thereupon this band of foes, who called themselves *the Patriots*, went on steadily growing until nearly every able statesman belonged to it. Its leader in the Commons was William Pulteney, a brilliant speaker, who had once been Walpole's trustiest friend. But the man among the Patriots who had the greatest gifts of mind and noblest character was a young man, William Pitt, who first made himself known by his fiery speeches in Parliament against Walpole. Seldom has a Minister had so many great men arrayed against him.

11. Yet for many years Walpole held his ground in

Walpole's
jealousy of
able men.

The
Patriots.

spite of them all. They brought many charges against him. They said that, to please the King, he ^{Walpole} took more pains about Hanover than England; ^{and his foes.} that he was tamely letting Spain trample upon the honour and the interests of England; that he was destroying the manly tone and honesty of the nation by his wicked arts, bribery and corruption. On these points they assailed him again and again, but for a time without success. Single-handed Walpole withstood them, and beat them in every division. Indeed, once (1739) they got so disheartened that they left Parliament altogether. At last a great longing for a war with Spain seized upon the people; and the Patriots turned this into a means of overthrowing their great enemy.

12. At this time fresh life was given in England to the old hatred of the Spaniards by the cruelties which English seamen were said to be suffering at ^{Troubles} Spanish hands in the Southern Seas. Spain did ^{with Spain.} not like that any country but herself should trade with her colonies in America, and very unwillingly allowed a single English ship to carry goods to them once a year. But the English found the traffic profitable, and in one way or another contrived to send to Spanish America far more goods than one ship could carry. For a time the Spaniards took little heed of these things; but in 1733 their King secretly made an alliance, called a Family Compact, with the French King, and after this the American coasts were more closely watched. English ships that sailed or were driven by opposing winds into their seas were boarded and searched by Spanish officials, who often did their duty very roughly. One of them even tore off the ear of Robert Jenkins, the master of a Jamaica trading sloop. Hence the war that these doings led to is sometimes known as 'the Jenkins' Ear War.' ^{'The Jenkins' Ear War.'} The English grew more and more angry as they heard of these things, and at last began to call

loudly for war with Spain. Walpole tried eagerly to prevent an outbreak of war; but his efforts failed. The English were bent on punishing Spain for the many wrongs they thought she had done them. Walpole, much against his will, had to go to war (1739). Yet the English arms did not prosper. Though Vernon took Portobello in 1739, the Spaniards in 1741 beat back from Carthagena with great loss a large force that Walpole had sent to take it. Walpole got the blame of every failure; the Patriots grew ever louder and fiercer in calling him the cause of all the nation's troubles. Still he fought doggedly for his place. But the General Election of 1742 gave the Patriots a small majority in the Commons, and Walpole was forced to resign. He was at the same time made Earl of Orford.

13. The war with Spain went on until 1748; but nothing further that was striking happened in it except Commodore Anson's great voyage round the world. In September 1740 Anson had been sent with a squadron to do all the damage he could to the Spaniards along the western coast of South America. He was away almost four years, during which he met with many wonderful adventures. In a storm he lost, or was separated from, all his ships but two; but with these he seized many ships and took the town of Paita, in Peru. In crossing the Pacific he burned one of his ships. With the other he fought and took a great Manilla galleon near the Philippine Islands. In June 1744 he reached home.

Anson's
voyage,
1740-44.

Fall of Wal-
pole, Feb.
1742.

CHAPTER III.

THE PELHAMS.

1. THE Ministry that followed Walpole's was not altogether made up of new men ; many of those who held the smaller places stayed in office after the fall of their leader. In those days the Ministers did ^{The new} not form a close and united body, as they do now. Each ^{Ministry.} sometimes took a course of his own apart from the rest ; so that a change of Ministry often meant little more than a change of leaders. The man who now took the first place in guiding the counsels of the King was John, Lord Carteret ; but Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and the Pelhams, who stayed with Walpole to the last, were still very powerful. Indeed, only a few of Walpole's foes were taken into the new Cabinet. There was much discontent at this, and the Ministry was not at first very strong in the Commons.

2. Carteret was much liked by George II. He had good parts, was gay and genial in society, but overfond of strong drink. He was the only Minister who knew German and the right way of dealing with German States. He therefore led the nation into a closer connexion with German affairs than pleased either his brother Ministers or the Commons. Without asking their advice he made treaties, and pledged the English people to give away large sums of money. So whilst he rose ever higher in the King's favour he became unpopular. In November 1744 the Pelhams and their friends told the King plainly that they and Carteret—now Earl Granville by his mother's death—could not any longer work together, and that either he or they must give up office. The King would gladly have kept Granville rather than

Carteret in
power,
1742-44.

Fall of
Carteret,
1744.

the Pelhams ; but the Pelhams had many more followers in the Commons than their rival, and the King had to send away the Minister he liked best. For without a majority in the Commons no Minister could now get on.

3. The Pelhams were the Duke of Newcastle and his younger brother, Henry. The Duke was a fussy man, who bustled about in a way that made people laugh. He had much knowledge of business, but little ability. Henry Pelham was in every way superior to his brother, though his powers of mind were not great. He did not shine either as a speaker or as a ruler ; but he was hard-working, sensible, and clear-headed ; and his training under Walpole had given him some skill in managing affairs. For these reasons he was in 1744 placed at the head of the Ministry. This has been called *the broad-bottom Ministry*, from the number of men of various parties who belonged to it. Even Tories held places in it. But its chief strength lay in the support of the great Whig houses, many of whose heads were members of it. On one point only did George II. stand firm: he would not take Pitt into his service, as the Pelhams wished. For Pitt had in his speeches spoken of Hanover in a way that had deeply hurt the King. Yet in little more than a year George had to yield on this point also. In February 1746 the Ministers, knowing that the King was listening in private to Granville's advice, and was therefore not trusting them, suddenly gave up their places in a body. Granville then tried to get together a Ministry of his own, but failed ; and the King had to take back the Pelhams on their own terms. One of these was that Pitt should have a place ; and he was appointed, first to a minor post, afterwards to that of Paymaster of the Forces. The great families could now make the King do what he most disliked.

The Pelhams in power, 1744-54.

Ministerial crisis of June 1746.

Pitt in office.

44-46.

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4. By this time England had been drawn into a war with France. It is usually called the War of the Austrian Succession. England joined in it as the ally of Maria Theresa, whose title to the ancestral dominions of her father, the Emperor Charles VI., was disputed by Bavaria, France, Prussia, and other States. Charles, having no son, had been eager that his daughter should succeed to the rule of the lands that had come to him by inheritance; and, to make her succession sure, had got nearly all the European Powers to sign a paper called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which they bound themselves to uphold her claim. But when he died (1740) the Elector of Bavaria said that by right the Austrian lands ought to come to him, and set about conquering them; whilst Frederick II., the young King of Prussia, laid hold of Silesia; and France, wishing to weaken Germany, sent two armies across the Rhine to aid Bavaria. Only England and Holland loyally stood by their promises.

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48.

In 1743 a united force of British and Hanoverians, 40,000 strong, marched to Aschaffenburg, on the river Main. King George himself came and took the command. Whilst they lay at this place, Noailles, the French general, blocked them up so closely that they could move neither forward nor backward without fighting a battle under great disadvantages. At last their supply of food became scanty, and one morning, late in June, they started back along the right bank of the Main, hoping to force their way to Hanau, where their bread-stores were. As they drew near to Dettingen they found that there was a French force posted right in front of them on the far side of some marshy ground. Whilst they were putting themselves in battle-array the leader of this French force, Grammont, getting impatient, led his men across the marshy ground

Battle of Dettingen, June 1743.

and charged down on the Allies with great swiftness. Their first three lines were broken through ; but the fourth held its ground, and poured such a steady musketry fire into the ranks of the French that they had to fall back in disorder. Then the Allies pushed boldly on, and routed and drove the French from the field. The victors then pursued their march to Hanau. The Allies gained nothing but glory from the fight of Dettingen. Never since has an English king led an army in battle.

5. As yet the two nations were not at war ; England merely fought as the friend of Maria Theresa, France as the friend of the Bavarian Elector, who had been chosen Emperor the year before. But in 1744 the French took up the Stuart cause and tried to land 15,000 men on the English coast. A storm scattered the fleet that carried them ; and a declaration of war followed. This war was waged chiefly in Flanders, where the Allies were led by King George's younger son, the Duke of Cumberland. Its greatest battle was fought at Fontenoy in May 1745. Cumberland had advanced with 50,000 British, Dutch, and Austrians, to drive the French besieging army from before Tournay. Prince Maurice of Saxony, the French leader, had taken his stand near Fontenoy, and there thrown up strong defences. Cumberland, then a hot-headed youth, made his troops attack these ; but they were beaten back at all points. Angry at this repulse, the English general sent a column of British Infantry, 16,000 strong, straight upon the French position. This fearless body of men marched steadily whither they had been sent, and, getting inside the French lines, for a time swept from their path every force that strove to check their course. But they were not backed up as they ought to have been, and they had to march back the way they came, beaten but not disgraced. Then Cumberland led off his army, and

Battle of
Fontenoy,
May, 1745.

Tournay fell. Shortly afterwards the Duke was called back to England to face danger nearer home.

6. The war with France had given fresh life to the dying Jacobite cause. And there had lately come forward as the leader of this cause a high-spirited young prince, of handsome person and winning manners, who believed it was his fate to win back the kingdoms to his house.

Charles
Edward
Stuart
comes to
Scotland,
1745

This was Charles Edward, sometimes named the Young Chevalier, the elder of the two sons of James Edward. Towards the end of July 1745 he came with only seven companions to the west coast of Inverness-shire, and sought to stir up the Highlanders to take up arms in his father's behalf. The Highland chiefs doubted at first, but many of them were won over by Charles's eager words. Gathering at Glenfinnan, the clans swept round by Corryarrick and Blair Athol to Perth. Sir John Cope had gone northwards with a small force to meet them, but on reaching Corryarrick had become afraid, and turned aside to Inverness. The road to the Lowlands then lay open, and Charles promptly took it. In the third week of September the Highlanders entered Edinburgh. Three days later the Prince led them westwards to meet Cope's army, which had sailed to Dunbar. They found it near Preston Pans, and in a single rush almost destroyed it.

Fight of
Preston
Pans, 1745.

Returning to Edinburgh, Charles stayed there for six weeks, and then started for England. He had now about 6,000 men under his command. Taking the Western road, his troops went steadily on until they entered Derby. There they paused; and though Charles was himself full of hope and burned to push on to London, the chiefs resolved to go back to Scotland. Few English

The march
to and from
Derby,
October-
December,
1745.



Hawley, who had been sent with 8,000 men to relieve Stirling. Cumberland himself then took the command of the royal troops; and the Highlanders fell back to Inverness. Next spring the Duke went in search of them, and found them at Culloden Field, near Inverness. At Culloden the royal troops were handled so well that the wildest rushes of the Highlanders could not break their firm array.

Fight of
Culloden,
April, 1746.

The mountaineers, thus baffled, soon scattered before the murderous volleys of musketry, and made for their several homes. Thus ended the last Jacobite rising. The poor Highlanders were most cruelly treated by the victorious soldiers. For five months Charles wandered about through the Highlands and Western isles, suffering many hardships and meeting with very romantic adventures. But in September he got off safe to France. Of his followers the Lords Lovat, Kilmarnock, and Balmerinock were beheaded; nearly a hundred others were also executed. A law was then made doing away with the special authority of the Highland chieftains over their clans.

7. The war with France still went on; but in Flanders the Allies were generally unsuccessful. As a set-off to their failures by land the British gained two victories at sea. At length in 1748 peace was made with France and Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle. None of the nations won anything in this war, except Prussia, which was allowed to keep Silesia.

Peace of
Aix-la-
Chapelle,
1748.

8. Six years of unbroken quiet at home and abroad followed. In 1754 Henry Pelham died, and the strife of statesmen began anew. At the same time things were fast ripening towards the outbreak of one of the most important wars in history — the Seven Years' War, as it afterwards came to be named.

Death of
Henry
Pelham,
1754.

BOOK IV.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

CHAPTER I.

HOW THE WAR WAS BROUGHT ABOUT.

I. AFTER the death of Henry Pelham it was not easy to form a ministry that could both do the work of government and carry what was thought needful through the House of Commons. Newcastle took the first place ; but he wanted a man to lead the Commons. It was not easy to get such a man ; Pitt was too high-minded, and was, moreover, disliked by the King. Henry Fox, a clever man, who knew well how to humour the Lower House, and had few scruples, was willing to take the post ; but Newcastle wanted to keep all the power to himself ; and it was some time before he could make his bargain with Fox.

Newcastle's Ministry, 1754-56. Even after he got Fox troubles came thick upon Newcastle. The nation kept drifting into war with France ; and the Duke, looking about for allies, wanted to draw closer to Austria, which had secretly entered into a friendship with France. Then the French, without declaring war, besieged St. Philip's, in Minorca ; and Admiral Byng, who had been sent with a fleet to bring succour to the place, came away without doing anything. The people grew very angry ; and men began to think more and more of Pitt as the only man who could save the nation. Newcastle offered to have Byng hanged—indeed, next year Byng was tried by court-martial and shot—but the people were still uneasy and fretful. Then Fox left Newcastle, and soon his Ministry broke up.

Newcastle resigns, 1756.

2. By this time war with France had come in earnest, and the voice of the people called loudly for Pitt as the only man fit to have the management of it. Thereupon the King yielded; and a Ministry was formed in which the Duke of Devonshire, a man of spotless honour, was Prime Minister, and Pitt Secretary of State. In a few months, however, the King—in whose mind the hard things that Pitt had once said about Hanover still rankled—took away his office from Pitt, and asked Newcastle to try and get a ministry together once more. But Pitt had now become the darling of the people, and men gave utterance to their feelings in a very marked way. The leading cities and towns sent each its freedom to Pitt in a gold box; 'for some weeks,' it was said, 'it rained gold boxes.' The King and Newcastle found that it was hopeless to try any longer to withstand the will of the people. Pitt was sent for, again made Secretary, and allowed to become the ruling spirit in the new Cabinet. The management of the war and all dealings with foreign States were wholly placed in his hands. Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury, and Anson First Lord of the Admiralty. Thus was brought into being one of the strongest ministries that have ever ruled England. It had all the strength that came from Parliamentary support, for most of the Commons voted as Newcastle wished; and it had all the strength that came from masterly intellect and the hearty love of the people, for Pitt was the largest-minded and most popular statesman that England has known for two hundred years. The King too forgot his old grudge against Pitt, and held loyally by his great minister.

William Pitt, known in his own days as 'the Great Commoner,' was the son of a West Country gentleman. His character was very pure and noble; when Paymaster

Pitt Secretary of State, November, 1756—April, 1757.

Pitt's great Ministry formed, June, 1757.

he would not take anything but his lawful salary, though it was then usual for Paymasters to enrich themselves by putting out at interest the balance of public money in their hands. His ways of speaking and acting were marked by a certain grandeur and stateliness, which filled those who came near him with a feeling of awe. We have had few statesmen equal to him in clearness of thought and greatness of soul.

William
Pitt
b. 1708,
d. 1778.

3. The point that England and France had now resolved to settle by force of arms was—which of the two nations should be master in North America. The English Colonies there had grown very much of late years; the settlement of Georgia in 1733 had raised their number to thirteen, and in 1756 their population had reached 1,300,000. The land they dwelt in stretched from the river Kennebec almost to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the sea-coast to the Alleghany mountains. They had not spread to the west of these mountains, though some men among them were thinking of making a settlement there. Now the French had formed colonies in Canada and Louisiana. There were indeed very few French colonists—hardly 60,000 in all—but many of these were soldiers, whilst the English had no great skill or training in arms. About 1749 the French began to claim all the lands west of the Alleghanies; and the Governor of Canada was ordered to take the needful steps to secure these lands for France. He at once set about raising a line of forts between Canada and Louisiana. This line was to be a border marking off the country which belonged to France from that which belonged to England. By this arrangement the 1,300,000 English would have been shut up in a comparatively narrow strip of land along the sea-coast, while the 60,000 French would have had almost all the rest of North America.

The English
in America.

The French
in America.

4. Just as the French were beginning to carry out this design a company was formed in England to colonise 500,000 acres of land which King George had granted them on the banks of the Ohio. But a small French force had already built a fort there, which they called Fort Duquesne. In 1754 George Washington, then a young man, marched across the Alleghanies with 150 Virginians, to drive the French from the place. The French were too strong for Washington, and he returned home. By this time the English Government had come to see that a great effort must be made to put down the French in America; and General Braddock was sent out with two regiments to aid the colonists. Braddock started from Virginia with 2,000 men, made his way across the Alleghanies, and led his force blindly into the woods. When within 10 miles of Fort Duquesne he was assailed by bodies of French and Indians, who kept themselves carefully under cover. Braddock, after losing 700 of his small army, and getting mortally wounded himself, was forced to retreat. He died on the way. There had also been much wrangling and much fighting about the border between Canada and Nova Scotia, where the English had lately built the town of Halifax (1749). Clearly the two peoples could not live at peace with each other on equal terms. England and France now went to war to find out which was to have the mastery.

Defeat of
General
Braddock,
1755.

5. Prussia was an ally of England in this war. Frederick the Great, then king in Prussia, was George II.'s nephew, but hitherto there had been little friendship between the two princes. Frederick had acted with France in the last war, and until 1756 had been supposed to be still in close alliance with the French king. But in that year it came to light that Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony had

Alliance
with
Prussia,
1757-62.

banded themselves together to crush Prussia utterly; and Frederick gladly made an alliance with his uncle. By this England was to give Frederick 670,000*l.* every year, both kings were to wage a common war against France, and neither was to make peace without the other.

CHAPTER II.

THE EVENTS OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

1. FOR the four years during which Pitt held the chief power he thought of little else than how to bring the war to a happy ending for England. It was his fixed resolve to blot out the rule of the French in North America, and to give the sole mastery there to his own countrymen. The American nation, now one of the mightiest on earth, owes the beginning of its greatness to this war.

2. At the outset England got rather the worse. In 1756 Minorca was wrested from her; and in 1757 a German army in English pay, led by the Duke of Cumberland, fell back before the French Stade, on the sea-coast; and to save it Cumberland agreed, at Kloster-Zeven, to let the French keep Hanover for a time. In America too the French seemed to be the stronger power. In 1758, though they quietly left Fort Duquesne when they heard that an army was coming against the place, yet they beat back a body of 12,000 from Ticonderoga, killing or wounding 2,000 of them.

3. But most of these things either happened or were planned before Pitt became Chief Minister. Shortly after his appointment the war took a favourable turn in both Germany and America. In Germany Pitt got from King Frederick a very good general, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, and set him over

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1759. *Events of the Seven Years' War.* 73

the army which Cumberland had led so badly. Ferdinand at once moved upon the French, drove them back from point to point, and at last swept them clean out of Hanover. He even followed them across the Rhine, and overthrew them at Crefeld. Then Pitt added a British force of 12,000 to Ferdinand's army. Most of our Highland regiments served for the first time in this war. Pitt had lately raised these regiments from the Highland clans, rightly thinking that in this way he would turn rebels into loyal soldiers. In 1758 a fleet and army were sent against Cape Breton also. General Amherst was leader of the army, but his second in command was James Wolfe, a young soldier of great skill and daring, simple-hearted and truthful, whom Pitt had picked out for command from among much older men. The French tried to hinder the English from landing, but failed. Louisburg, the chief town of Cape Breton, was besieged and taken, whereupon the whole island passed into the hands of the English.

Battle of
Crefeld,
June, 1758.

Cape Breton
subdued,
1758.

4. But the great year of the war was 1759; perhaps in no single year has England won so many great successes as in this one. In Germany, in America, in India, off the coasts of Portugal and France mighty deeds of war were done by the English. A writer then living said, 'One is forced to ask every morning what victory there is, for fear of missing one.'

5. (1.) In Germany the campaign began with a defeat. The French having seized the free town of Frankfort, Ferdinand marched swiftly southwards with 30,000 men to try and dislodge them. A little way from Frankfort he came upon 35,000 French drawn up at Bergen, fought stubbornly to clear them from his path, but had at last to go back the way he came, leaving 2,500 of his troops on the field. Yet in the following August he gained a victory at Minden,

The war in
Germany,
1759.

Battle of
Bergen,
April.

which more than wiped away the disgrace at Bergen. He was standing at bay on the left bank of the Weser with two French armies before him. These were strongly posted, and he dared not attack them. But he cunningly tempted the French to come across the river; whereupon six English regiments of foot boldly charged of Minden, and scattered the French horse. The French August. horse rallied and again bore down on the English foot, but were again routed by the swift and steady musketry-fire of their foes. Then the French general gave the word for retreat. Ferdinand sent orders to Lord George Sackville, the commander of the English horse, to charge the retreating army; and it is thought that, if Lord George had done so, the French army would have been utterly crushed. But the Englishman, for reasons that are not exactly known, would not charge; and the beaten French were able to get back across the river. They lost 7,000 in this battle. For this contempt of orders Sackville was put out of the army altogether by King George. The Marquis of Granby took his place in command of the horse. Ferdinand kept the upper hand throughout the rest of the campaign, the French armies moving back towards Frankfort.

(2.) But the war in Germany was important only because it made success in America possible. It was in

The war in
America,
1759.

America that the greatest event of the war, indeed of the century, took place. This was the taking of Quebec, the chief town of Canada, from the French. Late in June a large fleet, having on board 8,000 troops, under the command of General Wolfe, sailed into the St. Lawrence. Quebec stands on the left bank of this river, perched on very high rocks; and the French commander, Montcalm, had posted his army, 10,000 in all, a little lower down on the same side. Wolfe began by

Quebec
besieged,
June.

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bombarding the town from the other side, but did not get a bit nearer winning it, though he did it much harm.



Next he crossed to the left bank and tried to force Montcalm from his position. But his foremost troops were too eager, and rushing upon their foes before the

others could be brought forward, were beaten and driven back in confusion. Wolfe became disheartened, and almost gave up all hope of getting Quebec that year. Through death and disease his army dwindled to hardly more than 4,500, and he himself fell into a fever. He waited on, however, thinking that help might come to him from the South, whence Generals Amherst and Johnson were striving to make their way. But no help came; Johnson took Niagara, Amherst Ticonderoga, yet neither could get near Quebec. At last, one dark night in September, Wolfe's men went aboard boats and drifted silently with an ebbing tide to a point two miles above Quebec, now called Wolfe's Cove. There they landed, climbed the Heights of Abraham, which rose steep from the river, and early next morning stood drawn up in battle array on the level ground behind the town. Montcalm was taken by surprise, but, at once hastened with his army to 'smash' the English, as he said. The French came briskly on; the English stood stock-still until they got their foes within forty yards—then they all at the same moment poured a deadly volley into the French ranks. The French paused and Wolfe at once led his grenadiers to the charge. In a few minutes all was over; the enemy fled from the field. But the noble Wolfe fell; hit by three musket-balls, he had just time to be told that the French ran and to say, 'I shall die happy,' when he breathed his last. Montcalm too was wounded, and died next day. Four days later Quebec surrendered.

(3.) This year the French made a grand plan for invading England. They got together fleets at Toulon, Havre, and Brest, and thought that if these could be combined success was sure. But Pitt took care to prevent the union of these fleets. In July he sent Admiral Rodney against

Quebec
taken, Sep-
tember,
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The war off
the Portu-
guese and
French
coasts,
1759.

1759.

1759-60. *Events of the Seven Years' War.* 77

Havre, who did much damage to the town and the flat-bottomed boats that were to carry the French soldiers across the Channel. In August, Admiral Boscawen caught the Toulon fleet, which had slipped through the Straits of Gibraltar, off Lagos, in Portugal, and at once closed with it. In this fight five of the largest French ships were taken or sunk, and the rest driven ashore or forced to flee. Yet the French still clung to their plan; and the preparations at Brest were pushed briskly forward. To Admiral Hawke had been given the duty of watching that port, and he had watched it all the summer and autumn. But in November the French fleet under Conflans, finding that wild weather had driven Hawke from his station, put out to sea. Hawke heard of this movement, came back with all speed, fell upon Conflans, and beat him utterly. This battle was fought in the midst of a raging storm, among dangerous rocks and shoals, well known to the French, but not to the English. It was an awful scene; three French ships were sunk or burnt; two struck their flags; the rest were chased into the river Vilaine or Charente.

Bombardment of Havre, July.

Battle of Lagos, August.

Battle of Quiberon Bay, November.

6. The war lasted some years longer; but the English always got the better of their enemies. In 1760 three small armies moved at the same time on Montreal, where the French still held out. Montreal surrendered, and the French power in Canada came to an end. Prince Ferdinand too kept his ground in Westphalia against forces much larger than his own, and even gained one or two battles. Never had the name of England been so great.

Canada won by England, 1760.

7. But at this point the King of Spain thought fit to enter into the war on the side of France. He was a Bourbon, and had a kindly feeling for his cousin of

France. English war-ships, he said, had done grievous wrong to Spanish trade during the war ; and Englishmen had cut logwood, in spite of him, on the shore of Campeachy Bay. In 1761 he bound himself by another Family Compact to go to war with England if peace were not made before May 1, 1762. Pitt found out about this Family Compact, and wanted to make war on Spain at once when she was unprepared. But George II. had died the year before (October, 1760) ; his grandson, George III., was not so hearty in upholding Pitt ; war was not declared ; and Pitt went out of office. In 1762, however, the Spaniards, having got themselves ready, began war with England. Again England was victorious at every point. A Spanish army which had invaded Portugal, then an ally of England, was forced to withdraw ; Havanna, the chief town of Cuba, was taken at one end of the earth ; Manilla, the chief town of the Phillipine islands, was taken at the other. Vast sums of money fell into the hands of the victors at both places.

8. In 1763 the war was brought to a close by the Peace of Paris. This treaty has some likeness to the Peace of Utrecht. The Earl of Bute, George III.'s new Minister, was so anxious to end the war that he not only abandoned England's ally, the Prussian king, but let off France and Spain much easier than they had hoped. France made over to England, Canada, Cape Breton, and some West India islands, and gave back Minorca. To Spain, England restored Havanna and Manilla, getting only Florida in their place. Most Englishmen were greatly displeased with this arrangement ; but Bute carried it out nevertheless,

Spain joins
France
against
England,
1762.

Spain
defeated.

Peace of
Paris,
February
1763.

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH POWER IN INDIA.

1. TWO things make the Seven Years' War the most fruitful event of modern times for England. The first is, that it overthrew the French power in America, and thus smoothed the way for the revolt of the English colonies. When the colonists no longer needed the help of the mother-country against foes on their soil they were sure soon to separate themselves from her altogether. The second noticeable thing about this war is, that during it the English began to build up their Empire in India.

Importance
of Seven
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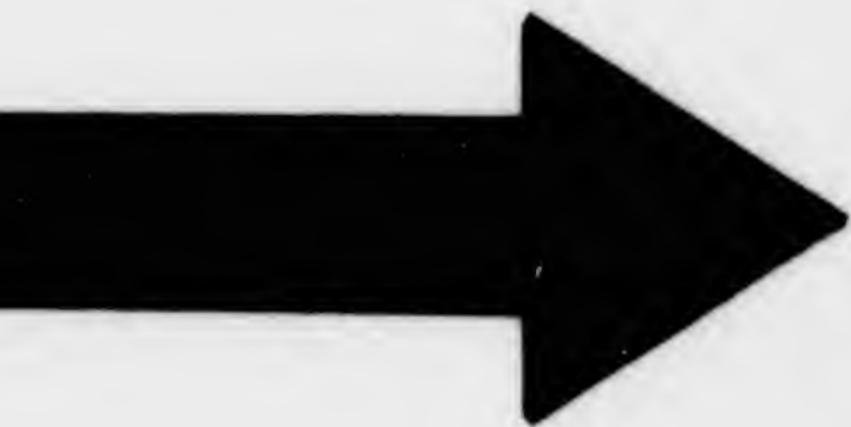
2. England owes her sway over India to a mere body of traders. In 1600 some London merchants got from Queen Elizabeth a charter giving them the sole right of trading with the East Indies for fifteen years. Thus the great East India Company was founded. In 1609 James I. renewed this charter without fixing any term of years, only keeping to himself the power of taking it away at any time he pleased on giving the company three years' notice. This Company lasted until 1859; but in 1813 other people were allowed to trade with India as well.

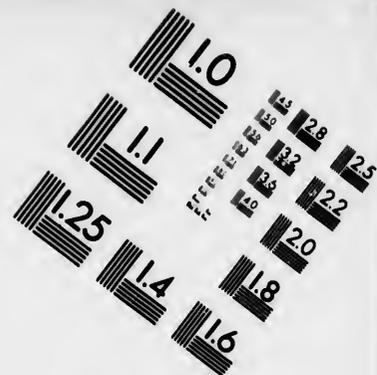
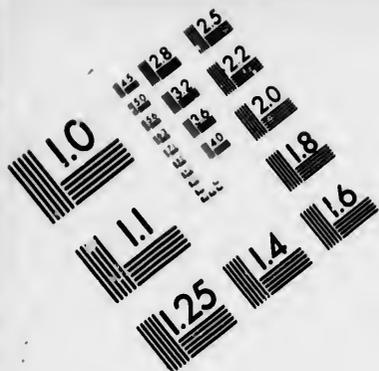
East India
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founded,
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3. For 150 years the Company went on trading with the East with no other thought than that of gaining riches. Their earliest dealings were not with India itself, but with the islands beyond, their first factories being at Acheen, in Sumatra, and Bantam at Java. In 1612, however, they turned their thoughts towards India itself, and built a factory at Surat. And in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe was sent to Agra to seek for his countrymen the good-will of Shah Jehanghir, the *Great Mogul*, as the chief ruler in India was

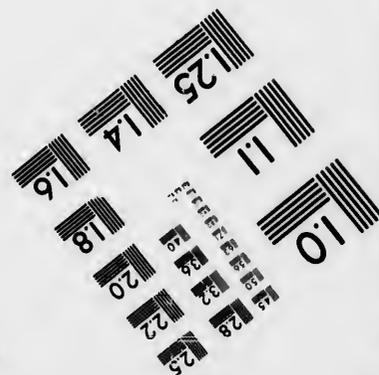
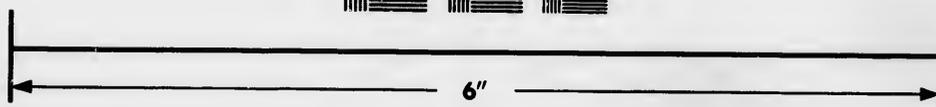
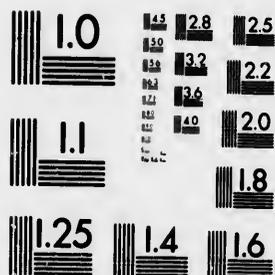
Earliest
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called. But it was not all smooth sailing with the Company at first. The Portuguese and the Dutch, who had got a footing in the Indies before the English came, and did not wish any others to share in their gains, gave the Company much trouble. They had forts and ships of war in those parts, and sought to drive the English away by force. The English met force with force; and for many years a bitter warfare was kept up. In 1612 a Portuguese fleet made a bold attempt to crush the English at Surat, but failed. The Dutch fought longer and more doggedly; and having more men and armed ships in the Indies than the English, got the upper hand for a time. James I. wanted very much to reconcile the Dutch and English Companies, and twice made them agree to a peace. But the hatred between them was long in dying out, and led to more than one lawless deed of bloodshed.

4. Still the English Company not only held its own but found a way into other parts of India. In 1640 it built Fort St. George (Madras) and Fort St. David on lands which it bought from a native prince. Next Charles II. gave it Bombay (1662), which had come to him by his marriage with a princess of Portugal. After the Restoration it became wonderfully prosperous. But in William III.'s time it got into trouble both at home and in India. A new Company was formed which claimed freedom of trade; and having many friends in Parliament, seemed likely to destroy the old. At the same time it did something in India which kindled the wrath of the Great Mogul, Aurengzebe; and it lost the flourishing trading settlements which it had formed at Hooghly. But in a few years both clouds passed away. Aurengzebe was persuaded to take the Company again into favour, and granted it some lands on the Hooghly. There in 1698

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1702-48. *Rise of the English Power in India.* 81

it raised Fort William, round which the present Indian capital, Calcutta, afterwards grew up. And, in 1702, the old and new Companies made up their quarrel by uniting themselves together. Thus quiet came, and fresh prosperity along with it.

5. In 1740 things stood thus. Each station—Fort St. George, Fort William, and Bombay—formed a kind of little state in itself, with a ruling body named by the Company, and a small army, partly Europeans and partly natives. These latter were called Sepoys, from the native word for soldier (*sipahi*). Money-making was still the only thought of the English. The notion of bringing any part of India under their rule seems never to have entered their heads. But in 1751 they were drawn, almost in spite of themselves, into the quarrels of the native princes, and were thus tempted to enter on a wider field of action.

6. At this time there was a French East India Company also, with its chief stations in the island of Mauritius and at Pondicherry, south of Madras. In 1746 the Governor of Mauritius was La Bourdonnais, an able and honourable man ; and the Governor of Pondicherry was Dupleix, also a man of great ability, but ambitious and vain. As war was then going on between England and France, La Bourdonnais sailed with 3,000 men to Madras, which being unable to withstand his greater force, surrendered to him. The Frenchman promised to give back the place to the English when they had paid him a large sum of money. But Dupleix claimed Madras as his conquest ; and when La Bourdonnais sailed away he not only kept the place, but laid siege to Fort St. David. From Fort St. David he was frightened away by the coming of a new force from England. In 1748 the war in Europe ceased, and Madras again became English.

7. But peace with the English brought no rest to Dupleix. The Empire of the Great Mogul was now fast breaking up; each native ruler was as good as independent in the lands under his government; and Dupleix thought that he might, by mixing himself up in their affairs, make himself the greatest man in Southern India. He was very successful for a time. He pulled down one Nabob of Arcot and set up another; he pulled down the Viceroy of the Deccan—the Nizam, as he was called—and set up another in his place. The rule of South-Eastern India from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin was put into Dupleix's hands; his will was law among thirty millions of people.

8. At this state of affairs the English in Madras got afraid of being driven out of the country altogether, and sent a few hundred men to help Mahommed Ali, son of the slain Nabob, who still held out in Trichinopoly. But these men were shamefully beaten, and shut up with their ally in Trichinopoly. It was just at this time that Robert Clive, a young man of noble daring, yet wary and cool-headed, came forward to take the lead among the English. He was the son of a Shropshire gentleman, had been first a clerk in the Company's service, then an officer, and then a clerk again. He was now put at the head of 500 men, of whom but 200 were Europeans, and in August 1751 marched straight upon Arcot, the chief town of the Carnatic. Arcot fell without striking a blow; and Clive at once strengthened the walls and got all things ready for a siege. Ten thousand men soon closed round Arcot; but for fifty days Clive kept them at bay. In November the besiegers tried to storm the place, but were utterly defeated, and gave up the siege. A body of Mahrattas, which had been hired to fight for Mahommed Ali, then coming up, Clive went in search of the retreating

Dupleix's
designs.

The English
interfere.

Robert
Clive,
b. 1725,
d. 1774.

Clive's early
successes.

1748-51.

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1751-56. *Rise of the English Power in India.* 83

army, overtook it at Arnee, and beat it thoroughly. Clive then went on from success to success ; the siege of Trichinopoly was raised, and Mahommed Ali was made Nabob of Arcot. Dupleix worked hard to undo the effect of Clive's daring deeds, but in vain. The upshot of the strife was that Dupleix was recalled to France, and a peace favourable to the English was made in 1754. The year before this, however, Clive had fallen into ill-health, and gone back to England.

9. In 1756 Clive came back to India as governor of Fort St. David. About the same time a dreadful misfortune befell the English in Bengal. The young Nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, was jealous of the prosperity of the strangers who had settled on his soil, and, in 1756, led an army to take and rob Calcutta. The English governor and the chief officer ran away ; and the small garrison had to give up the place. Then an awful deed was done by the Nabob's officers. They thrust their 146 prisoners, one of whom was a woman, into the narrow guard-room of the fort, called the Black Hole, in which hardly a score of people could breathe freely. Stifed for want of air they shrieked to be let out ; but the men on guard were afraid to do this without an order from the Nabob ; and the Nabob was asleep, and no one dared to wake him. They were therefore kept in all night. The scene was horrible ; the prisoners trampled on one another in their agony ; some died at once ; some went mad. Next morning, when the doors were opened, 123 were corpses. Yet the hard heart of the Nabob was untouched ; he put some of the few survivors in chains, and took Calcutta to himself. But in some months Clive was sent from Madras with 2,400 men. He soon won back Calcutta from the Nabob's soldiers ; and when the Nabob came down on the place with a mighty host, Clive struck such fear into

him by a march which he made through his camp that the Nabob was glad to agree to a peace.

10. This peace lasted only a short time. The Nabob soon came to hate and dread the English more than ever; and Clive, thinking there would be no safety for his countrymen so long as Surajah Dowlah was lord of Bengal, made a plot for his overthrow. Meer Jaffier, his chief general, was to be made nabob in his room. In this affair Clive stooped to do a very shameful thing. Omichund, a Hindoo merchant, who had been taken into the plot, threatened to tell Surajah Dowlah of it unless he was promised 300,000*l.* in the treaty made by the persons engaged in the design. To quiet Omichund, Clive caused a false copy of the treaty to be drawn up; and when Admiral Watson would not sign this, Clive had his name put to it by another man. In this, which was shown to Omichund, the promise of 300,000*l.* was made to the Hindoo, but there was not a word about the money in the true treaty. Clive marched at the head of 3,000 men towards Moorshedabad, the chief town of Bengal. At Plassey he met the Nabob's army, 50,000 strong, led by the Nabob himself. Here took place the first great battle fought by the English in India.

The plot
against
Surajah
Dowlah,
1757.

Battle of
Plassey,
June 23,
1757.

The Nabob's army broke almost at once before the onset of Clive's little band, and rushed wildly from the field. Surajah Dowlah fled far away, but was caught, brought before Meer Jaffier, and slain in prison. Clive went on to Moorshedabad, and there set up Meer Jaffier as nabob of Bengal. Then Omichund was told of the trick that had been played upon him. The shock was so great that he became an idiot, and soon afterwards died. The new nabob granted the English the lordship of a wide tract of land as the reward of their services to him.

11. Clive's second stay in India lasted three years longer. He was not idle during this time. He put to flight the army of the Great Mogul's eldest son from before Patna. He destroyed a Dutch fleet and army which were on their way up the Hooghly to Chinsurah, a Dutch station, because he believed they had been sent to work evil to his countrymen. He never faltered, and everything he put his hand to prospered. Early in 1760 he sailed home, and was at once made an Irish peer as Lord Clive, and got a seat among the Commons.

Clive's
further
doings,
1757-60.

12. Whilst Clive was busy in Bengal, the English at Madras were in serious danger. Count Lally Tollendal, a brave and skilful but rather fiery general, had been sent out from France with 1,200 trained soldiers to strengthen the French at Pondicherry. In 1758 he laid siege to Fort St. David, took it and levelled it to the ground. Next he went against Madras itself; but after trying every means he could think of to win the place, he had to give up his design and march away. In 1760 he was overthrown by Eyre Coote, a famous English soldier, at Wandewash. Next year Pondicherry was taken by the English. With the fall of Pondicherry the French power in India came to an end. It was now clear that the English were to be masters of India, if India was to have foreign masters.

Lally
Tollendal in
India, 1758-
1761.

End of
French
power in
India, 1761.

BOOK V.

*THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE KING
AND THE WHIG HOUSES.*

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF GEORGE III.'S REIGN.

1. IN October 1760 George II. suddenly died, and his eldest grandson became king as George III. The new king was twenty-two years old; and his character was in many ways unlike that of the earlier kings of his line. He was thoroughly English in feeling as in birth; he had much good sense; he was fully alive to his duties as a king, and strove to fulfil them faithfully; and he had always a warm desire to do good to his people. He had also high courage and spirit. Perhaps his most marked quality was his unflinching pursuit of any end that he had once set before him.

George III.
King, 1760-
1820.

Character
of George
III

His life was pure, and his tastes were homely. But his powers of mind were not great; his understanding was narrow and untrained; and he had little knowledge. Eleven months after his accession he married Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a lady like-minded with himself. Queen Charlotte became the mother of many children, and lived until 1818.

2. George III.'s coming to the throne wrought great changes, but not at once. The Jacobites and High Tories indeed, who had held aloof in dislike or enmity from the first two Georges, saw in George III. a native king to whom they could be loyal, and crowded to his Court. The Earl of Bute,

Pitt's Min-
istry still
stays in
office.

who had hitherto been his great friend and counsellor, was made one of the Secretaries of State ; and there were some other little signs that a new order of things was at hand. But the Ministry of William Pitt was still kept in power. The whole management of the war and of foreign affairs was still left to him.

3. But in October Pitt withdrew from office, because his advice to make war at once upon Spain was not followed ; and the king straightway struck into a new path. Taking as his guide John Stuart, Earl of Bute, he set to work to make himself king in reality. For almost fifty years the King of England had been helpless in the hands of the great Whig houses. The Constitution still gave him a large measure of power ; but the heads of these houses had come to look upon this power as their own. The king could not withhold from them anything they were firmly bent on having ; for everything now hung on the vote of the Commons, and the Whig leaders had the means of getting this vote whenever they wished. As George II. had once said, 'in England the Ministers were king ;' and these must be taken from the ranks of the great Whig lords and of those whom these lords favoured. But George III. made it the grand purpose of his life to wrest from the Whig lords the foremost place in the State. Thus began a struggle that lasted for many years, in which George had his own way in the end.

The King enters upon a new course, 1761.

4. One or two things make this fight for power unlike other struggles of the same kind in our history. (1.) It was not a strife between the king and the people, but between the king and a few men of vast influence. The Revolution Settlement had left to the king a fair share of power ; he could declare war ; make peace ; call together and send away

Nature of the struggle.

parliaments ; bestow honours, dignities, and every kind of appointment in Church and State at his pleasure ; and do many other things which made people look up to him with reverence, and be glad to win his favour. George III. now raised the question—was all this power to be used by the king himself or by the Whig houses? George strained every nerve to make this power the king's, and his alone. He called himself a Whig of the Revolution, for he wanted things brought back to what they had been in 1690. (2.) The kings of former days had sought to work their will *in spite of* the Commons ; but George sought to work his will *through* the Commons. To gain his ends he used every means he could think of to get members of Parliament to vote as he wished. And it was only by members of Parliament voting as he wished that he was able to gain his ends. This, then, is the meaning of the struggle—George was resolved that his will should be of some account in the ruling of the country, and sought to make the working of the Constitution such as the Revolution had made it.

5. The battle began in earnest in May 1762, when Newcastle was forced to resign his post. Bute, who had for some time held all the power of a Prime Minister, then became so in name also. The raising of such a man to so high an office in itself showed what the king was bent on doing. Bute had been in the service of the king's father, and had won the fast friendship of the king's mother, and had been the tutor of the king himself. He had no better gifts of mind than his fellows, and no training as a statesman ; but he had the good-will of the king, and so was made chief ruler of the nation under the Crown. The first trial of strength between the king and the men whom he was eager to humble was about the making of peace with France in 1762. Henry Fox undertook for a large reward

Bute, Prime
Minister,
May, 1762.

to get a vote in its favour from the Commons. He fulfilled his promise thoroughly. Only 65 of the Commons voted against the Peace, whilst 319 voted for it. George now felt himself to be indeed King of England. But the wrath of the people at these doings showed itself so plainly that Bute got frightened and threw up his office.

Bute re-
signs,
April, 1763.

6. George Grenville, whose sister was Pitt's wife, was then placed at the head of affairs. It was thought that Grenville would not only carry out the king's wishes, but would also be willing to follow Bute's guidance. But Grenville complained so much to George about Bute's influence that George soon became anxious to get rid of him. There were, however, few statesmen willing to be the king's ministers on the king's terms. George made several attempts to win over Pitt to form a new Ministry; but they all fell through. At last in 1765 the King's dislike of Grenville overcame his dislike of the Whig lords; and a Ministry of the old kind, with the Marquis of Rockingham as its leader, came into office.

Grenville,
Prime
Minister,
1763-65.

7. Englishmen will long remember Grenville's Ministry for two causes. (1.) It began and carried on a legal persecution of John Wilkes, a member of Parliament who had written against the Government in a paper called the 'North Briton.' Wilkes was seized along with several others on a 'general warrant,' that is, a warrant in which no persons were named, but which simply empowered the king's officers to arrest those that had done a certain thing supposed to be unlawful. The Court of Common Pleas released Wilkes because no one had a right to arrest a member of Parliament for libel. There was much excitement throughout the country, and Wilkes became very popular. He soon, however, got into

Wilkes and
'general
warrants.'

trouble again, was wounded in a duel, fled to France, and was outlawed. But Chief Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, gave a solemn judgment against the lawfulness of general warrants; and they have never been used since. (2.) Grenville carried through Parliament the law which first stirred up a strong ill-feeling in the American colonies against England.¹ This was an Act for raising a tax from the Americans by means of a duty on stamped paper.

The American Stamp Act.

8. Rockingham's Ministry lasted no longer than a year. The king did not like it, and kept it only until he could get a body of ministers more to his mind. It lived long enough, however, to do away with the American Stamp Act, which had caused a general outburst of angry feeling in America, and indeed could not be enforced.² But the king looked coldly on this Ministry; and the *King's Friends*, as those members in the Commons were called who were always ready to vote as the King bade them, took the side opposed to it. The King, moreover, was at last able to make an arrangement with Pitt. Rockingham was dismissed, and Pitt, who was now created Earl of Chatham, took his place.

Rockingham, Prime Minister, 1765-6.

9. Pitt's second Ministry was as great a failure as his first had been a success. For this there were several reasons. He had lost the love of the people by becoming a peer. He had undertaken to break up parties—a task which he found to be impossible. He had separated himself from his old Whig friends, and found himself with no other followers than the *King's Friends*, who looked more to the King than to him. But there was a sadder cause still. Early

Pitt's second Ministry, 1766-8.

¹ See Epoch VII., p. 6.

² See Epoch VII., p. 7.

in 1767 a strange disease laid hold upon him ; his mind seems to have given way ; and for eighteen months he was utterly helpless, being unable to take the slightest part in the management of affairs. During this time everything went wrong, for the Duke of Grafton, Prime Minister in name, was too weak to hold in check the other ministers. Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, got Parliament to agree to a bill laying duties on tea and other goods imported to America ;¹ and thus the wound which the repeal of the Stamp Act had almost healed was torn open anew. In 1768 Chatham's health of mind came back to him ; but the first use he made of it was to give up his place in the Ministry.

10. Grafton stayed in office for some time longer. During this the King was making good way towards the object he was seeking after, for neither Grafton nor Lord North, whom the death of Charles Townshend had made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767, cared to thwart him. The noisiest question this Ministry had to deal with was one that arose out of the election of Wilkes to Parliament. In 1768 Wilkes had returned from Paris and been chosen one of the members for Middlesex. But he was sent to gaol for two years in punishment of the libels he had written. Whilst in gaol he wrote a letter which the Commons regarded as a libel¹ on the Secretary of State, Lord Weymouth. They therefore expelled Wilkes from their House. Middlesex again elected him. A second time the Commons expelled him. Middlesex elected him a third time. But on his being expelled a third time, another man, one Colonel Luttrell, stood for Middlesex ; and, though three times as many votes were given for Wilkes, the Commons took Luttrell as their member. Many people thought

Grafton's
Ministry,
1768-70.

Wilkes and
the rights
of electors.

¹ See Epoch VII., p. 7.

that the Commons in taking this course did a gross wrong to the electors.

In 1770 Grafton resigned, and Lord North at once became the chief of a new Ministry.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE III. AND LORD NORTH.

1. LORD NORTH was the eldest son of the Earl of Guildford. He was a very good-humoured, even-tempered man : it was almost impossible to make him angry. To most people his Ministry at first seemed very weak and not likely to live long. Yet it lived for twelve years. Many things worked together to give it this unusual length of life. The King's Friends were hearty in upholding it. The King found in Lord North a Minister to his mind, and used his power and influence to the uttermost to keep him in office. He took pains to find out how each member of Parliament voted, and gave or withheld his favours according as he voted for or against Lord North. Then the old Tory party had come together again, and, true to its principles, held to the man whom the king delighted to honour. Lastly, the Whigs had got disunited, some looking to Chatham, others to Rockingham as their leader. And George, who longed to do away with party-government, now and then gave office to a Whig of mark who was willing to break with his party.

2. The king had now fairly got the upper hand ; during these twelve years he was in every way the real ruler of the nation. He and Lord North thought alike

Lord North,
Prime
Minister.
1770-82.

The King's
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about the rights of the people and the rights of the king, for Lord North was a stout Tory. Moreover, George was a man of masterful will, Lord North was of an easy, yielding temper, and did little more than carry out the King's wishes. The bulk of the Commons cheerfully agreed to everything that the ministers laid before them.

3. Yet in 1771 the Commons foolishly thrust themselves into a quarrel which ended in a way that, in the long run, weakened the king's power, and helped forward great changes in Parliament itself. At this time men outside Parliament had not the means which they have now of easily learning what members said in their debates. Neither the Lords nor the Commons would let anyone publish in an open way any account of their debates. In 1771 certain newspapers began to give to the world reports of speeches in Parliament without disguise. The Commons grew angry, and called upon the printers to come before them and answer for what they had done. One or two of the printers thus summoned would not come, and an officer of the House was sent to arrest them. But this officer was himself seized and brought before the Lord Mayor on a charge of having tried to arrest a citizen of London without a lawful warrant.

Parliament-
 ary debates
 first allowed
 to be
 printed,
 1771.

The Lord Mayor ordered him to be sent to prison. In this way the House of Commons and the City of London got into a bitter dispute, in the course of which the Lord Mayor was sent to the Tower. But the men of London showed so dangerous a temper, that the Commons took care never to bring on themselves a similar trouble again. Henceforth newspapers have been allowed to publish as full reports of Parliamentary debates as they can get.

4. Statesmen had now begun to watch the growth of

English power in India with some interest ; and a feeling was spreading that the men who were at the head of English affairs in that land had often been guilty of wrongful deeds. After 1760 the onward course of the English in India had gone on unchecked. In 1763 the Council of Calcutta, who had shortly before set aside Meer Jaffier, and made Meer Cossim nabob of Bengal in his place, took offence at Meer Cossim, and sent an army to overthrow him also. He was overthrown, and Meer Jaffier became nabob once more. But this high-handed way of dealing with an Indian prince was very displeasing to other Indian princes ; and in 1764 the Great Mogul himself, Shah Alum, and his Vizier, the more powerful nabob of Oude, Sujah Dowlah, marched a force of 50,000 men against the meddling strangers. At Buxar this force was met, and shamefully routed by 8,000 Sepoys and 1,200 Europeans, led by Major Hector Munro. Next day Shah Alum, glad to free himself from the control of his Vizier, slipped into Munro's camp, and agreed to a treaty which placed in the hands of the Company the rule of still more Indian lands.

5. But by this time the misconduct of the Company's servants had reached such a height, and the Company's affairs had fallen into such disorder, that in 1765 Lord Clive had to go out a third time to try and set things right. A great fear fell upon the native princes when they heard that Clive was again in India ; Sujah Dowlah at once yielded himself up, and the Great Mogul was ready to do anything the English liked. Clive gave back to Sujah Dowlah the greater part of Oude, whilst he got the Great Mogul to make over to the Company, in return for a yearly rent of 260,000*l.*, the rule of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. In this

Growth of
English
power in
India,
1760-4.

Battle of
Buxar,
1764.

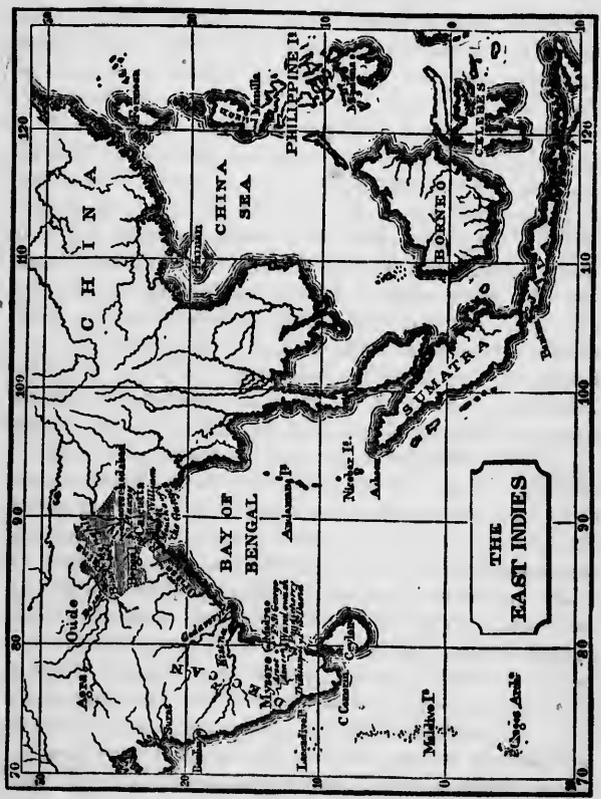
Clive's last
visit to
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1765-6.

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way the English in India became lords of a region larger than England itself. Clive found his own countrymen



much harder to deal with. They were loth to give up trading on their own account and taking gifts from the

natives, by which they were growing very rich. The army, which lay at Monghir, mutinied. But Clive stood fearlessly to his purpose; the mutiny at Monghir was put down with a strong hand, and every man in the pay of the Company had to bow to Clive's will. Late in 1766 ill-health again forced Clive to return to England.

6. Clive's reforms did not at once work all the good expected from them. In 1767 the English at Madras were drawn into a costly war with Hyder Ali, the Rajah of Mysore, the most dangerous foe they had yet encountered; and after two years' fighting they had to make a peace from which they gained nothing; and in 1770 a dreadful famine carried off a third of the people of Bengal. The Company sank deeper and deeper into distress, and Parliament felt bound to take steps to lessen this evil state of things. After certain members of the Commons, who had been named to look into the Company's affairs, had given in their report, Parliament passed the Regulating Act brought in by Lord North. This law set up a new court at Calcutta, called the Supreme Court, made the Governor of Bengal—who then happened to be Warren Hastings—Governor-General of India, and named a council of four to advise this official and check his doings. The Commons also soon after passed a vote of censure on Lord Clive for some of his acts in India, though they allowed he had done great things for his country. Clive, however, took this treatment very much to heart, and towards the end of 1774 killed himself in his London house. He was only forty-nine years old.

7. But it was upon America that men's eyes were chiefly fixed while North was Minister.¹ In the first half

¹ See Epoch VII., pp. 8-19.

Disordered
state of the
Company's
affairs.

The Regu-
lating Act,
1773.

Death of
Clive,
November,
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1774-77. *George III. and Lord North.*

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of his time of office the chief work of Parliament was to agree to those laws—laid before them by the King's trusted Minister—which led to the colonists taking up arms against the mother-country; during the second half, Parliament, Lord North, and the King were vainly striving to undo the mischief they had done. The Commons must share with George III. the blame of having driven the Americans into war, and seen their mistake only when it was too late. Nor should it be forgotten that the country at large was of the same mind as King and Parliament regarding the justice of their cause; the English people, save a few deep-thinking and far-seeing men, approved of the course that the King and his Minister were taking.

Lord North's dealings with America.

Public opinion on the American war.

8. Such, however, was not the opinion of Lord Chatham. He often spoke with great force and earnestness against the laws and doings that were angering the Americans, and in 1775 he brought in a bill for doing away with all causes of quarrel between the two countries. This bill the Lords at once threw out; but Chatham still tried hard to save his country from herself. When the war had broken out, he told his countrymen that they could not 'conquer the Americans,' and again and again spoke warmly in favour of peace. When the news of the disgrace at Saratoga in 1777 came,¹ and France made an alliance with America, there was a general wish that Chatham should be made Prime Minister, and Lord North would gladly have given place to him. But the frank words that Chatham had often uttered regarding the management of American affairs had greatly displeased the king, and he was slow to see the necessity of taking the great statesman into his counsels; and before the king could make up his mind

Lord Chatham tries to prevent war.

¹ See Epoch VII., p. 15.

Chatham was dead. In April 1778 he had, though very ill, gone to the House of Lords to speak against a motion in favour of peace; for now that France had joined America, Chatham would not hear of peace; he had spoken against the motion, and when rising to speak a second time had fallen back in a fit.

Chatham
dies, May
11, 1778.

Five weeks later he died. Lord North, eager as he was to leave his post, was forced to stay. If he had gone, the heads of the Whig houses must have come into power; and the king said, 'I would rather lose the crown I wear than bear the ignominy of possessing it under *their* shackles.'

9. Yet Lord North had no easy task. A group of very able men, small in number, but great in gifts of genius and power of speech, opposed him in the Commons and gave him no rest. Of these the deepest thinker and speaker was Edmund Burke, an Irishman, who had been brought into Parliament by Lord Rockingham, and gained a foremost place in the ranks of the Whigs by sheer force of intellect. Burke wrote as well as spoke powerfully; indeed he is believed to be our greatest political writer. The greatest speaker of the

The Oppo-
sition.

Edmund
Burke,
b. 1728,
d. 1797.

group was Charles James Fox, a younger son of Henry Fox. At first Fox had been a Tory, and been in office for some years under Lord North; but he changed his views as time went on, became a Whig, and ere long took the place of Whig leader in the Commons. By watchful care he made himself the most skilful and telling Parliamentary speaker of the day. Other Whigs of mark were Colonel Barre and Mr. Dunning.

10. Session after session these men withstood Lord North in every way they could think of. They spoke strongly and boldly against everything the Minister did,

Charles
James Fox,
b. 1749,
d. 1806.

warned him of the fatal course he was taking in taxing and then trying to conquer the Americans, and frankly said that they thought the Americans right in resisting the armies of England. They were nearly always beaten by large majorities, but they were not disheartened, and never ceased from their attacks on the Minister. The thing they were most bitter against was the great and growing power of the king. To cut down this power they hit upon a plan for lessening the king's influence, which they named Economic Reform, and strove zealously to get Parliament to approve of it. It was Burke who thought out, and was most eager in pushing forward, this plan. It sought to do away with all useless offices, to bring down the pension list to a fixed sum, 60,000*l.* a year—in fact to make the work of ruling the nation less costly. But its grand aim was to weaken the king's influence; most of the useless offices were in the king's household; many of the men who held them sat among the Commons, and readily voted as their master wished. A brief sentence states the whole evil which Burke wanted to destroy—'The king's turnspit was a member of Parliament.' Efforts were made to carry this plan through Parliament from time to time, but they all failed so long as Lord North was Prime Minister.

11. But in March 1782, owing to the ill-success of the English arms in America,¹ the Commons began to show signs of turning against Lord North; and the king at last consented to let him go. Once more George had to fall back on the Whig houses, and to take Lord Rockingham Minister. Still he was able to keep a high place for at least one of his friends; Lord Thurlow remained Chancellor. Fox was one of the Secretaries of

Economic
Reform
movement,
1779-82.

Lord North
resigns.
Rocking-
ham Prime
Minister,
March,
1782.

¹ See Epoch VII., p. 18.

State, and Burke Paymaster of the Forces. This Ministry lasted but a few months, for Rockingham died in the following July. It had time enough, however, to carry a part of Burke's plan for Economic Reform. This put an end to a good many useless offices, and cut down the pension list; but it was far from doing all that had been hoped for.

12. Rockingham was no sooner dead than the weakness of the Whig party showed itself. The Earl of Shelburne had become the leader of the Chatham Whigs after Chatham's death, and with his friends had taken office under Lord Rockingham. But now the king gave the first place to the Earl of Shelburne; and Fox, Burke, and the other friends of Rockingham resigned in a body, and became the enemies of the new Ministry. They did worse; they took the fatal step of uniting themselves with the party of the man against whom they had fought so long and bitterly, Lord North. This conduct brought down upon them the wrath both of king and people, and led, after a short struggle, to their utter overthrow. Early in 1783 the 'Coalition,' as the combined party of Fox and North

was called, outvoted Shelburne on a question that Fox had himself set in motion—the making of peace.¹ Shelburne had to retire.

They then forced the king to take them as his ministers; and George for nearly a year had to listen to the counsels of men whom he hated. He made no secret of his enmity to them, and thwarted them by every means in his power. Yet the two statesmen had most of the Commons at their command, and the king was helpless in their hands. But in December 1783 he felt that he could bear the yoke no longer; and when an India Bill of Fox's, which the Commons had approved of,

¹ See Epoch VII., p. 22.

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went up to the Lords, the king let it be known that he would look on every lord who voted for it as his enemy. The Lords therefore threw out the bill; and the king not only turned away his hated ministers, but boldly offered the post of Prime Minister to William Pitt, a younger son of Lord Chatham's, then only twenty-four years old. Pitt, with even greater boldness, accepted the king's offer (December 1783).

13. For three months the new Minister had to hold his place against a House of Commons that promptly voted against him on every question. Pitt was beaten over and over again; the 'Coalition' strained every nerve to drive him from office. But Pitt manfully stood his ground.

William
Pitt, Prime
Minister,
December,
1783.

A strong feeling against Fox and North was setting in throughout the country, and Pitt was resolved to wait until this feeling had reached its height. Late in March 1784 he saw that the proper time had come, and asked the king to dissolve Parliament. The king did so; and in the general election which followed, by far the greater number of members chosen were pledged to give their votes to Pitt. The king had won; the election of 1784 gave the

General
election of
1784.

Tories the rule of the country for almost fifty years.

When we look closely at the ninety-five years of English history which we have just passed through, side by side with the times which go before, the thing that we see most clearly is this—the House of Commons has now come to be all-important in the State. But when we look at the history of these same years side by side with the times that come after, the thing that strikes us most is—the House of Commons

Summary.

is not yet a body that has a mind of its own and can act for itself. Owing to the way in which most of its members are chosen, it willingly puts itself into the hands of others, and gives them its power to use as they wish. At one time some powerful men among the nobility manage to bind together their friends among the Commons, and through these to make and unmake the king's Ministries at their pleasure. At another time a resolute king, by bringing into play the means still left in his power, can win over most of the Commons to his side, and carry out his will in every part of the State. It is clear, however, that any great change in the way of choosing men to sit in Parliament might take away from the king and the great folk the power of getting any kind of vote they want from the Commons, and might thus alter very much the manner of ruling the people. Such a change has since come, as will be told in a later work in this series.

But for a hundred years the people were pretty well satisfied with the order of things they lived under, and desired no change. Many men were growing rich; trade was spreading swiftly; there was a rude plenty among the tillers of the soil, and there was little complaining. And there is much in the history of this time for Englishmen to be proud of. It is true, they lost the American colonies of their own planting; but, on the other hand, they twice overcame in war the most warlike European power, wrested from this same power its great American colonies, crushed its strength in India, and began building up in that country a grand empire for themselves.

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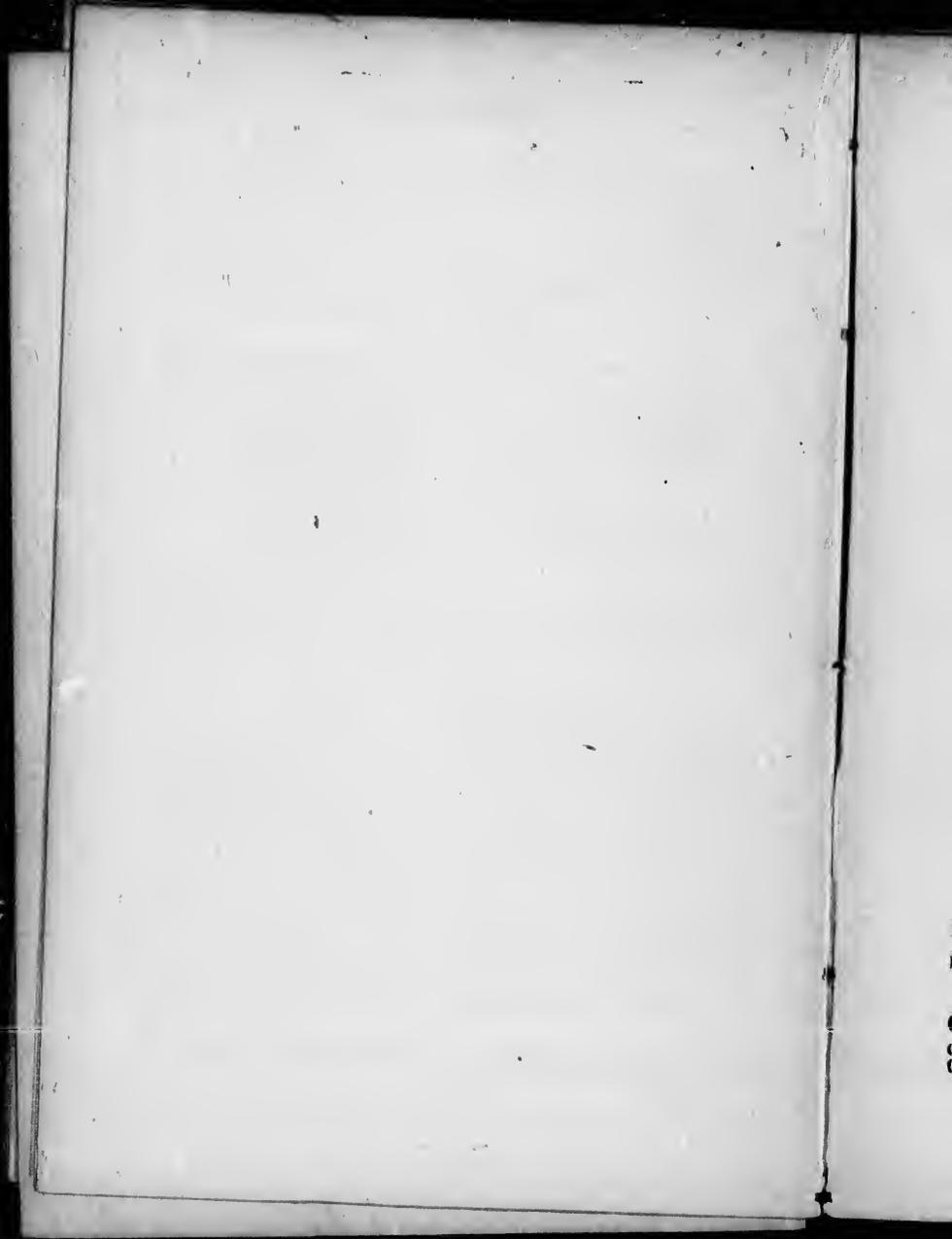
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