Rivingtons' Text-books of English History

THE EXPANSION OF GREAT BRITAIN

1715-1789

BY

ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

EDITOR OF 'PERIODS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY'

AND AUTHOR OF

'A CLASS BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY'

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PREFACE

THIS book is one of a Series of Text-books of English History designed for the use of those classes in Schools in which Special Subjects in English History are being taught. It is hoped that these Text-books will prove suitable for the Upper and Middle Forms of Schools, for Local Examination purposes, and for other Examinations in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The volumes are sufficiently long to avoid the danger of being mere summaries of facts. At the same time they are not so lengthy as to overweight the pupils with more than they have time to assimilate. It is hoped that the arrangement of the matter in each volume will not only appeal to the eye of the pupils, but will also be found to stimulate the memory.

The eighteenth century witnessed events which had a far-reaching influence upon Great Britain's position at home and abroad. At home the Jacobite

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Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the Methodist Revival, the Industrial Revolution; abroad the Conquest of Canada, the loss of the American Colonies, the firm establishment of the British power in India, the beginning of the colonisation of Australia.

As in the case of the other volumes of this Series great care has been taken to embody the results of the latest historical investigations. Such works as Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, the volume of the Cambridge Modern History dealing with *The American Revolution*, *The Social History of England*, Captain Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, Mr. Hunt's *Political History of England*, 1760-1801, and Lord Mahon's *History of England* are naturally those upon which a writer upon British History in the Eighteenth Century must mainly rely. At the same time much additional information on special points and a more intimate knowledge of the chief actors can be obtained from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and from such works as *Fontenoy* by Mr. Skrine, and *A Century of Scottish History* by Sir Henry Craik.

For Canadian History the works of Mr. Parkman are to be recommended, while Sir Alfred Lyall's *British Dominion in India*, together with the works of the late Sir William Hunter, and Captain

Trotter's *Life of Warren Hastings*, supply adequate information with regard to the growth of our Indian Empire.

On the History of the American Colonies and the American War an immense amount of works exist, a list of which is to be found at the end of vol. vii. of the *Cambridge Modern History*. For most readers vol. vii. of that series, entitled *The United States*, will be found to contain ample information with regard to the American Colonies in the eighteenth century.

Special care has been taken to emphasise the important political, social, and religious developments which took place in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

To Mr. W. S. Robinson, the author of *An Illustrated History of England* (Rivingtons, 1907, 3s. 6d.), my thanks are due for many valuable suggestions which I have been glad to adopt. Mr. C. T. Knaus, of Bradford Grammar School, has also been kind enough again to read through the proofs and to give me the benefit of his wide knowledge and critical powers.

A. HASSALL.

October 1907.

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HISTORICAL LANDMARKS

MAINLY IN CONNECTION WITH BRITISH HISTORY.

EARLY BRITAIN, 449-1066.

A.D.	
410	End of the Roman rule in Britain.
449	First English Settlement.
597	Landing of Augustine.
613	Battle of Chester.
664	Synod of Whitby.
796	Death of Offa.
800	Charles the Great is crowned Emperor.
802-839	Reign of Egbert.
850 *circa*	Union of Picts and Scots under Kenneth Macalpine.
878	Treaty of Wedmore.
899	Death of Alfred the Great.
912	Rollo becomes Duke of Normandy.
937	Battle of Brunanburh.
959-975	Reign of Edgar.
962	Otto the Great crowned Emperor.
987	Capetian dynasty established in France.
1014	Battle of Clontarf.
1016	Canute King of England.
1038	Normans settle in Apulia.
1039-1056	Emperor Henry III. Zenith of the Medieval Empire.
1062	Normans land in Sicily.

THE NORMANS AND ANGEVINS, 1066-1307.

1066	Battle of Hastings (Senlac).
1073	Hildebrand becomes Pope as Gregory VII.
1073-4	First Rebellion of the Norman Nobles in England.
1075	Beginning of the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy.
	Conquest of Jerusalem by the Seljukian Turks.
1090	Normans subdue Sicily.
1095	First Crusade organised.
1097	Edgar, son of Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland.
1099	Conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.
1107	Organisation of the Curia Regis by Roger of Salisbury.
1138-1254	Rule of the Hohenstaufen Emperors.
1138-1152	Beginning of the Struggle between the Guelphs and Ghibhelines.
1138	Battle of the Standard.
1139	Beginning of Civil War between Stephen and Matilda.
1146	St. Bernard preaches the Second Crusade.
1153	Treaty of Wallingford.
1154-1189	Henry II.'s reign. The establishment of law and order in England.
1164	Constitutions of Clarendon.
1166	Assize of Clarendon.
1169-1171	English Conquest of Ireland is begun.
1173-4	Henry II. suppresses the last rebellion of the Norman nobles.
1180-1223	Philip Augustus. Beginning of greatness of French monarchy.

1189-1192 Third Crusade.

1193 Hubert Walter becomes Justiciar.

1194-9 Richard I. fights against France.

1198-1216 Innocent III. Zenith of the Medieval Papacy.

1204 Death of Eleanor of Aquitaine.
John loses Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and later Touraine and Poitou.

1204-1261 Latin Empire of Constantinople.

1208 England is placed under an Interdict by the Pope.

1213 John's submission to the Pope.

1214 Battle of Bouvines.

1215 Magna Carta.

1226-1270 Louis IX. (St. Louis) king of France.

1254 Henry III. accepts the Sicilian Crown for his son Edmund.

1254 Death of Conrad IV. End of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

1258 Provisions of Oxford.

1258 Fall of Bagdad. End of the Arabian Caliphate.

1264 Battle of Lewes.

1265 Simon de Montfort's famous Parliament.

1282 The Sicilian Vespers.

1284 Conquest of Wales by Edward I.

1295 The Model Parliament.

1303 States-General called by Philip IV. of France.

1305 Clement V. settles at Avignon. Beginning of the Babylonish Captivity(1305-1377).

THE LATER PLANTAGENETS AND THE FRENCH WAR.

1307-1399.

1311 The Lords Ordainers oppose Edward II.

1314 Battle of Bannockburn.

1315 Battle of Morgarten. Rise of the Swiss Confederation.

1328 Beginning of Valois dynasty in France.

1333 Houses of Lords and Commons are constituted.

1338 Beginning of the Hundred Years' War.

1346 Battles of Crécy and Neville's Cross.

1347 English capture Calais.

1348 Black Death begins in Italy.

1356 Battle of Poitiers.
Etienne Marcel leads a revolutionary movement in Paris. The Golden Bull is issued by the Emperor Charles IV.

1360 Peace of Bretigny.

1362 Timour the Tartar begins his conquests in Asia.

1376 The Good Parliament.

1381 The Peasant revolt.

1384 Death of Wycliffe.

1388 The Lords Appellant oppose Richard II.

1389 Richard II. begins to rule personally.

1399 Richard II. is deposed.

THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1399-1485.

1400 Death of Chaucer.

1403 Battle of Shrewsbury.

1410 Sigismund becomes Emperor.

1414 Council of Constance is opened.

1415 Henry V. renews the French War. Battle of Agincourt. John Huss is burnt.

1419 Anglo-Burgundian Alliance.

1420 Treaty of Troyes.

1431 Death of Joan of Arc.

1435 Peace between the Duke of Burgundy and Charles VII. of France.

1453 Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.
End of the English dominion in France.

1455 Beginning of the Wars of the Roses.

1461 Edward IV. and Louis XI. succeed to the thrones of England and France.

1465 Formation of the League of Public Weal in France.

1471 Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.

1475 Edward IV. invades France, and makes the Treaty of Picquigny with Louis XI.

1476 Caxton sets up his printing-press at Westminster.

1477 Maximilian (afterwards Emperor) marries Mary of Burgundy. The foundation of the greatness of the Hapsburgs is thus laid.

1479 Union of Castile and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella.

1483 Charles VIII. becomes King of France.

1485 Battle of Bosworth.

THE TUDOR DYNASTY, 1485-1603.

1487	Establishment of a Court known later as 'The Star Chamber.'
1492	Discovery of America.
1494	Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII.
1496	Magnus Intercursus.
1513	Battle of Flodden.
1517	Publication of Luther's Theses.
1519	Election of Charles I. of Spain as the Emperor Charles V.
1521	Beginning of the wars between the Hapsburgs and the Valois.
1522	Capture of the island of Rhodes by the Turks.
1529-36	Reformation Parliament.
1535	Henry VIII. Supreme Head of the Church of England.
1536-39	Dissolution of the Monasteries.
1536-43	Complete Union of Wales with England.
1546	Schmalcaldic war.
1555	Religious Peace of Augsburg.
1558	Loss of Calais.
1559	Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
1560	Treaty of Edinburgh. Triumph of the Reformation in Scotland.
1562-1598	Religious Civil Wars in France.
1565	Turks fail to take Malta.
1570	Bull of Pius V.
1571	Turks are defeated at Lepanto.
1587	Death of Mary Stuart.
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1589	Accession of Henry IV. of France. Beginning of Bourbon dynasty in France.
1592	Establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland
1602-3	First complete submission of Ireland to England.

THE GREAT REBELLION, 1603-1660.

1605 Gunpowder Plot.
1609 Peace between Spain and Holland.
1610 Death of Henry IV. of France.
1611 Colonisation of Ulster.
1612 Death of Salisbury.
1616 Suspension of Coke. Death of Shakspere.
1618-1648 Thirty Years' War.
1618 Five Articles of Perth.
1621 Impeachment of Bacon.
1624 Marriage Treaty between Charles and Henrietta Maria.
1625 Failure of the Expedition to Cadiz.
1628 Petition of Right. Murder of Buckingham.
1630 Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany.
1637 Hampden refuses to pay ship-money. The Scots resist the introduction of the Prayer-Book.
1640 Meeting of the Long Parliament.
1641 Execution of Strafford.
1642-1649 Great Rebellion.
1644 Battle of Marston Moor
1645 Battle of Naseby.
1648 Peace of Westphalia.
1649 Death of Charles I.
1651 Battle of Worcester.
1652-1654 First Dutch War.
1653 Cromwell Protector.
1655 Jamaica taken.
1657 Alliance of England and France.
1658 Death of Oliver Cromwell.
1659 Peace of the Pyrenees.

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION, 1660-1714.

1660 The Restoration.
1662 Act of Uniformity.
1662-1664 Clarendon Code.
1665-1667 Second Dutch War.
1667-1668 Louis XIV. makes the War of Devolution.
1668 England, Holland and Sweden form the Triple Allianc
1670 Secret Treaty of Dover.
1672-1678 Louis XIV.'s Dutch War.
1673 Test Act.
1674 Death of Milton.
1678 Peace of Nimeguen.
1679 Habeas Corpus Act passed. Exclusion Bill brougl forward.
1681-1685 Reaction in favour of Charles II.
1681 Louis XIV. seizes Strassburg.
1683 Vienna saved from the Turks by John Sobicski.
1685 Louis XIV. revokes the Edict of Nantes.
1686-1697 War of the League of Augsburg.
1688 The Revolution in England.
Accession of William and Mary.
1689 Accession of Peter the Great.
1690 Battle of the Boyne.
1692 Battle of La Hogue. English naval supremacy established.
1694 Bank of England founded.
1697 Peace of Ryswick.
1698 First Partition Treaty.
1699 Treaty of Carlowitz between Austria and the Turks.

1700 Second Partition Treaty. Death of Charles II. of Spain. Death of Dryden.

1701 Elector of Brandenburg becomes King of Prussia.

170 1713 War of the Spanish Succession.

1704 Capture of Gibraltar. Battle of Blenheim.

1706 Battles of Ramillies and Turin.

1707 Union of England and Scotland.
Battle of Almanza.

1710 Trial of Sacheverell. Fall of Whig Ministry.

1713 Treaty of Utrecht.

1714 Death of Queen Anne.

THE EXPANSION OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1714-1789.

1715 Death of Louis XIV. Jacobite Rebellion.

1716 Septennial Act.

1717 Triple Alliance between England, France and Holland.

1718 Quadruple Alliance between England, France and Holland and the Emperor.

1720 South Sea Bubble.

1721 Ministry of Walpole and Townshend begins.
Treaty of Nystäd and rise of Russia.

1725 Treaty of Vienna between Spain and Austria.
League of Hanover—England, France and Prussia.

1727-1728 Short War between England and Spain.

1730 Retirement of Townshend.

1733-1735 War of the Polish Succession.

1736 Porteous Riots in Edinburgh.

1738 Beginning of the Wesleys' religious revival.

1739 Outbreak of War between England and Spain.

1740-1748 War of the Austrian Succession.

1742 Fall of Walpole.
1743 Battle of Dettingen.
1744 Death of Pope.
1745 Jacobite Rebellion. Battle of Fontenoy.
1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1756-1763 Seven Years' War.
1757 Pitt-Newcastle Ministry is formed. Battle of Plassey.
1759 Capture of Quebec. Battle at Quiberon Bay.
1760 Accession of George III.
1763 Peace of Paris.
1764 Alliance between Russia and Prussia.
1765 Stamp Act.
1768 Middlesex Election.
1770-1782 Ministry of Lord North.
1772 First Partition of Poland.
Gustavus III. effects a Revolution in Sweden.
1773 Regulating Act. Abolition of the Jesuit Order.
1774 The Treaty of Kainardji.
1775-1783 War of American Independence.
1778 France aids the American Colonists.
Death of Chatham (Pitt).
1781 Alliance between Russia and Austria.
1782 Legislative independence granted to Ireland.
1783 Russia reaches the Black Sea by annexation of Crimea.
Peace of Versailles. Fox's India Bill.
1784 Beginning of Pitt's long Ministry.
1787 Impeachment of Warren Hastings. War between Russia and Turkey (1787-1792).
1788 Austria joins Russia in Turkish War (1788-1790).
Triple Alliance between England, Prussia, and Holland.

WAR AND REFORM, 1789-1837.

1789 Outbreak of the French Revolution.
1790 Treaty of the Escurial between England and Spain.
1792 War of France against Austria and Prussia.
Fall of the French Monarchy.
1792 First French Republic.
1793-1802 The War of England with Revolutionary France
Second Partition of Poland.
1795 Treaties of Basel.
Third Partition of Poland.
1795-1799 Government of the Directory in France.
1797 Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown.
Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore.
1797-1798 Irish rebellion.
1798-1799 Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition.
1798 Battle of the Nile.
1799 Bonaparte First Consul.
1800 Union of England and Ireland.
Capture of Malta by England.
1801 End of Pitt's long Ministry.
1802 Peace of Amiens. Treaty of Bassein.
1803-1815 The war of England with Napoleon.
1804 Bonaparte becomes Emperor as Napoleon I.
Pitt again Prime Minister.
1805 Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz.
1806 Death of Pitt (Jan. 23), and of Fox (Sept. 13).
Battle of Jena.
Napoleon issues the Berlin Decrees.
1807 Treaty of Tilsit. The Orders in Council.

1808-1814 English armies fight in Spain (Peninsular War).

1809 Battle of Corunna. Walcheren Expedition.

1811 Prince of Wales takes the Regency.

1812 Outbreak of War between England and America. Battle of Salamanca.
Napoleon's Expedition to Moscow.

1813 Beginning of the War of Liberation in Germany.
Battle of Vittoria.

1814 Overthrow of Napoleon. First Treaty of Paris. Re-establishment of the Bourbons; and of the Jesuit Order.

1814-1815 Congress of Vienna.

1815 The Hundred Days. Battle of Waterloo. Formation of the Holy Alliance.

1819 Issue of the Six Acts.

1820 Death of George III.

1821-1829 Greek War of Independence.

1821-1822 Revolt of Spanish America.

1822 Canning Foreign Secretary.

1823 Monroe Doctrine published. The Catholic Association is formed in Ireland.

1827 Canning Prime Minister (died Aug. 8). Battle of Navarino (Oct. 10).

1828 Clare Election.

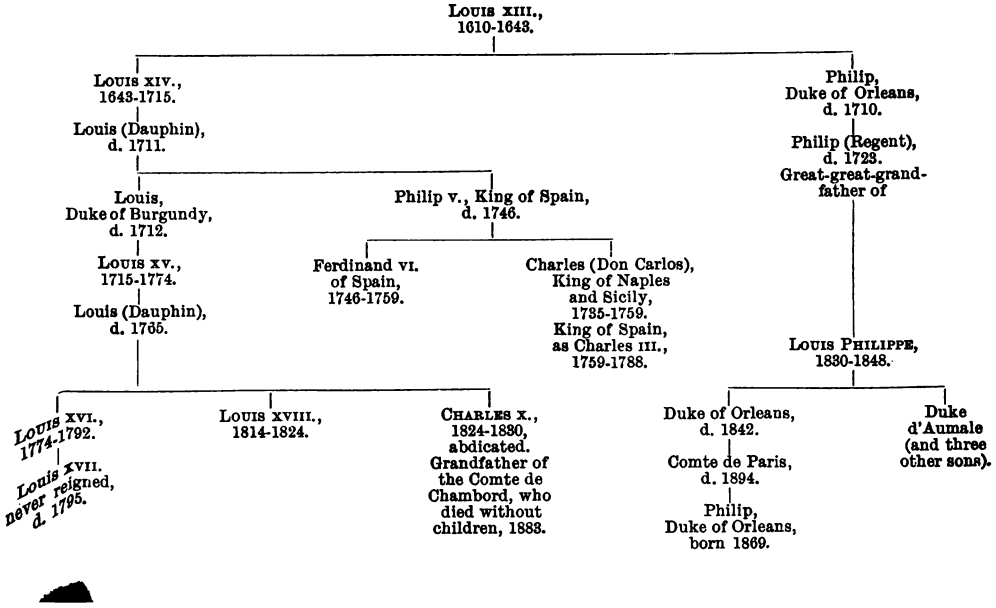
1829 Catholic Emancipation Bill passed.

1830 Death of George IV. Accession of William IV. (June). Second French Revolution (July).

1832 Reform Act.

1837 Accession of Queen Victoria.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE SINCE 1610.



CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I., 1714-1727

Born, 1660; married, 1682, Sophia of Brunswick.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Prussia.*	*Russia.*
Louis XIV., 1643-1715. Louis XV., 1715-1774.	Charles VI., 1711-1740.	Frederick William I. 1713-1740.	Peter the Great, 1687-1725. Catherine I., 1725-1727.
Spain.	*Portugal.*	*Sweden.*	*Denmark.*
Philip V., 1700-1746.	John V., 1706-1750.	Charles XII., 1697-1718. Ulrica Eleanora, 1718-1721. Frederick I., 1721-1751.	Frederick IV., 1699-1730.
Sardinia.	*The Papacy.*	*Turkey.*	
Victor Amadeus I., 1720-1730.	Clement XI., 1700-1721. Innocent XIII., 1721-1724. Benedict XIII., 1724-1730.	Achmet III., 1703-1730.	

Period I.—1714-1721.

From the Accession of George I. to the beginning of Walpole's Ministry.

Contents.

Accession of George I.—The Personal Union between Great Britain and Hanover—The Whigs—Flight of Bolingbroke—The Riot Act—The Tories—The Rebellion of 1715—The Septennial Act—Suspension of Convocation—The Whig Schism, 1717—The Stanhope Ministry—The Peerage Bill—The South Sea Bubble—Fall of the Stanhope Ministry—Foreign Policy, 1714-1721—The Triple Alliance, 1717—Alberoni attacks Austria—The Quadruple Alliance, 1718—Failure of his Schemes—Success of Stanhope's Foreign Policy—The Northern War, 1714-1721—League against Sweden—The Mecklenburg Difficulty—Görtz and Gyllenborg—George I. and Peter the Great—Hostility of Sweden to Great Britain—Charles XII.'s Death—War between Russia and Sweden—The Peace of Nystäd.

CHIEF NAMES, 1714-1721.

Townshend — Stanhope — Walpole — Sunderland — Carteret — Mar — James Edward — Bolingbroke — Argyll — Orleans — Dubois — Alberoni—Görtz—Elizabeth Farnese—Byng—Charles XII.—Peter the Great.

Accession of George I., 1715.—On September 18, 1714, George, Elector of Hanover, landed in England and succeeded quietly to the throne. The rights of the House of Hanover to the British throne had been settled by the Succession Act of 1701. The Dowager Electress Sophia had died a few weeks before Queen Anne, and her son George Lewis, who had in 1698 succeeded his uncle Ernest Augustus as Elector of Hanover, became heir to one of the leading European monarchies.

During the seventeenth century Hanover had won an important position in Germany, and its Court rivalled those of Dresden or Vienna 'in dignified splendour.' George was thus the ruler of important dominions when he became King of Great Britain and Ireland.

George was deeply attached to his electorate and to its system of government. His religion was Lutheran, and he never could speak English. After his accession to the British throne, however, he adapted himself remarkably well to the new conditions among which he found himself. He made no attempt to escape from the constitutional checks upon a king, which abounded in the British governmental system; he never interfered with the Church of England, his ecclesiastical policy being essentially liberal in spirit; he willingly accepted the advice of his ministers, and in consequence of his ignorance of the English language did not attend the meetings of the Cabinet, the importance and independence of which steadily increased from the time of his accession.

The Personal Union of Great Britain and Hanover.—In 1714 George arrived in London accompanied by several Hanoverian councillors, of whom Bernstorff alone exercised any great influence upon the policy adopted by the King. Bothmer, the Hanoverian envoy to the Court of Queen Anne, remained in England till his death in 1732, while Hattorf, who accompanied George to England, acted as minister in attendance. The personal union of Great Britain and Hanover did, indeed, lead to many inconveniences, but it lasted till the accession of Queen Victoria, and during its continuance often affected British foreign policy. The accession of George I. to the British throne, therefore, brought Great Britain and Hanover into close connection; it marked the establishment of a Guelph in place of a Stuart dynasty; it emphasised the development of party government; it formed the definite opening of that 'Age of Reason,' which is the significant title

given to the period of British history between the arrival of George I. and the death of George II.

Influence of the great Whig Families.—With the accession of George I. the influence of the nobility became established. The Revolution of 1688 was aristocratic, and, till the Premiership of the younger Pitt in 1783, the nobles, working through the unreformed House of Commons, exercised a decisive influence on the politics of the country. The relations between the Houses of Lords and Commons were almost uniformly of a friendly character, and though the House of Commons under Walpole became stronger than it had ever been before, and a more important assembly than that of the House of Lords, the Whig nobles remained the most powerful class in the country. The strength of the Whig nobles lay in their support of Protestant principles, in their close alliance with the merchants of London, and in their influence in the country, where they had immense estates. Wealthy, intelligent, and versed in the art of administration, the Whig nobles, by their encouragement of the commercial interests of England, and by their support of the Nonconformists, reigned supreme during the reigns of the first two Georges. Thus, though the House of Commons was ostensibly the leading power in the State, and under Walpole became so in reality, it was in some measure ruled by the Whig nobles, who not only could influence the county elections, but who possessed a large proportion of the borough seats. Till the accession of George III. the Whig nobles ruled the kings just as they ruled society and the nation, and it was not till 1760 that their despotism began to be undermined by a young king, who wished to have some share in the government of the country, and by the people, who began to clamour for a better representation in the House of Commons.

The Cabinet.—One of the most momentous changes caused by the arrival of George I. has reference to the history of the Cabinet. Previous to the accession of the House of

Hanover English kings and queens had taken part in the deliberations of their ministers. The Cabinet of Charles II. was a committee of the Privy Council nominated by the Crown, and it was not till after the Revolution of 1688 that William III., by the advice of Sunderland, resolved, by the formation of a Whig Government, 'to construct a ministry upon a common bond of political agreement.' But the earlier ministries of Queen Anne were formed on a principle of comprehensiveness, and the idea that an administration could be strengthened by a combination of interests continued to be popular with statesmen as late as Lord Aberdeen's Coalition of Whigs and Peelites in 1852-3.

The accession of George I., however, was a distinct step in the recognition of the necessity of harmonious or homogeneous opinion in the Cabinet, and that step was due to the accidental fact that the King could not speak the English language. The absurdity of such a monarch presiding at a meeting of the Cabinet was obvious, and the result of the King's absence from Cabinet meetings was to enhance the power of the leading minister. 'The Act of Settlement had given us a foreign sovereign; the presence of a foreign sovereign gave us a Prime Minister.' During Walpole's long ministry the Cabinet became less and less dependent on the King, and more and more dependent upon Parliament. Though both George I., and especially George II., resented all limitations on their prerogative, it gradually became impossible for the King to resist successfully the wishes of the Prime Minister, when the latter was supported by a majority in the House of Commons.

Until the arrival of George I. from Hanover, Shrewsbury, as Lord Treasurer, assisted by a body of leading Whigs styled Lords Justices, governed the country, and Parliament continued to sit. George confirmed the action of the Whig Lords and at once formed a ministry composed entirely of Whigs. The

chief Whigs were Townshend, Stanhope, Walpole, Pulteney, Sunderland. Of these Lord Townshend, the Chief Secretary of State, was placed at the head of the Government.

Townshend.—Charles, second Viscount Townshend, was in many ways a remarkable man. He had taken a leading part in politics during the reigns of William III. and of Queen Anne. Till 1730, with the exception of one short interval from 1717 to 1721, he was a Secretary of State, and when he retired from political life he carried out valuable agricultural improvements in Norfolk, devoting himself principally to studying the rotation of crops and to the field cultivation of turnips. General Stanhope, the other Secretary of State (after 1717 Lord Stanhope), had fought in the late war, taking Minorca, but being defeated at Brihuega. He was a capable and eloquent statesman.

Walpole.—Robert Walpole, Townshend's brother-in-law, was a business-like English squire, whose home was at Houghton in Norfolk. He was made Paymaster of the Forces in 1714, and First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1715.

Pulteney and other leading Whigs.—William Pulteney, an ambitious Whig who was always prominent, was made Secretary-at-War. Cowper became Lord Chancellor; Wharton, who died in 1715, Privy Seal; Nottingham, President of the Council. Sunderland, a violent and intriguing politician, became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and the Duke of Marlborough, who still intrigued with the Pretender, and who had little influence, was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Master of the Ordnance. Lord Orford (Edward Russell) was First Lord of the Admiralty from October 1714 to April 1717. He died in 1727, and leaving no children, his title became extinct.

Halifax, who had been made First Lord of the Treasury, died early in 1715, and his successor, Lord Carlisle, proving

unequal to the duties of the office, made way in October 1715 for Walpole, whose financial ability was already recognised.

Flight of Bolingbroke.—In the elections to the new Parliament early in 1715, the Whigs secured a large majority. The Houses met on March 17, and Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen Speaker. It became evident that the Government intended to attack the leaders of the Opposition. Of these Bolingbroke, who had played so brilliant a part during the last four years of Anne's reign, and who was largely responsible for the Peace of Utrecht, fled to France on March 28, and for a time remained in the service of the Pretender; and in June Ormonde, who had been Commander-in-Chief since 1712, followed his example after vainly endeavouring to raise a revolt. The Earl of Oxford (Harley) alone remained, was impeached, and was committed to the Tower.

Bolingbroke and Ormonde were proceeded against by bills of attainder; but after a time the impeachment of Oxford was allowed to drop. Oxford had pleaded that he had acted according to the wishes of Queen Anne, and such a plea still had force in days when the direct responsibility of ministers to the nation was only beginning to be recognised.

The Riot Act of 1715.—Meanwhile the Whig Government had to face disorder in England and rebellion in Scotland. The triumph of the Whigs was the triumph of a faction which owed the success of its policy to the divisions among its opponents. On the day of George I.'s accession, riots broke out at Norwich, Birmingham, and Bristol, while the University of Oxford voted an honorary degree to Phipps, the late Jacobite Chancellor of Ireland. Early in 1715 riots in various parts of the country, especially in Staffordshire, renowned for its Tory predilections, so increased that it was necessary to pass a Riot Act which (1) forbade the assembly of more than

twelve persons with the object of disturbing the peace, (2) gave additional powers to the Justices, (3) punished severely the demolition of chapels.

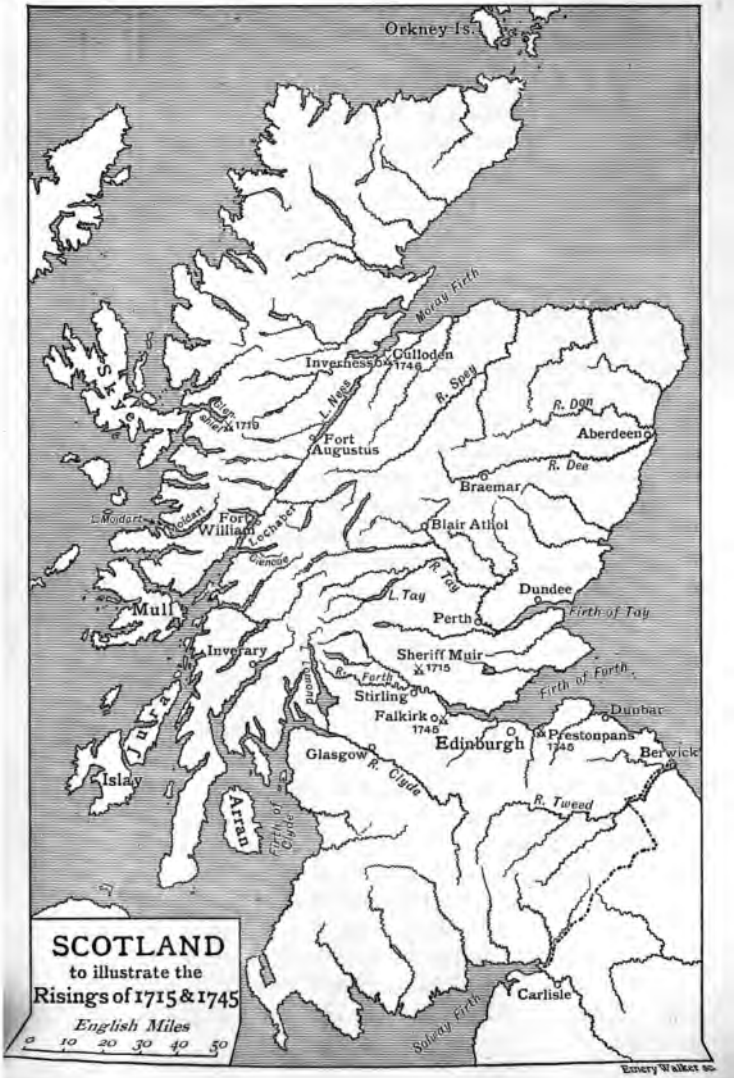
Position of the Tories.—The Tories were in a large majority in the country, but had no leader, and were undecided as to the course they should adopt. Their support of hereditary right was weakened by the conviction that the accession of the Catholic, James Edward, would prove a serious blow to the Church. While the extreme wing of the Tory party had Jacobite opinions, the Tories were as a whole resolved not to sacrifice the English Church. Though the accession of George I. was to them distasteful, and the triumph of the Whigs hateful, they contented themselves with drinking the health of the Pretender, and abusing the Hanoverians. As a political force the Tory party was ruined. Its opponents continued till after the Rebellion of 1745 to identify it with Jacobitism, and both George I. and George II. supported heartily the Whig régime. In Parliament the remains of the Tory party were led by Sir William Wyndham, a capable and honest man, while later the Jacobite section looked to Shippen for guidance.

Character of the Rule of the Whigs, 1715-1760.—For some forty-five years the rule of the Whigs was practically unquestioned. They produced admirable administrators, and they watched carefully over the foreign and colonial interests of Great Britain. During their supremacy Great Britain conquered Canada, and became the paramount European power in India. Though excellent in the work of administration and successful in carrying out many practical reforms, the Whig party roused no enthusiasm among the British people. Their Church policy led to stagnation in religious matters; they did nothing to inspire any literary activity. The period of their supremacy has been compared with that of the Venetian Oligarchy; it has also been termed the Age

of Reason, for not only did the Whigs gradually lose touch with the people and take no steps to remedy the glaring abuses in the representative system, but under their rule the commercial and materialistic instincts of the nation were encouraged at the expense of higher ideals in religion, literature, and politics.

Jacobite Hopes.—The new dynasty had in 1715 to face a serious Jacobite rebellion. There was some ground for the Jacobite hopes of a successful rising. The Union was very unpopular in Scotland. It is not too much to say that it was regarded by all but a very small minority with passionate hatred. In the latter part of Anne's reign attempts at its repeal had been made in both Houses of Parliament. The extension of the Malt Tax to Scotland had led to riots in Scotland, and when Anne died all parties in Scotland were united in hostility to England.

On the accession of George I. the Jacobite leaders relied upon securing French assistance for the furtherance of the cause of James Edward, the old Pretender; they hoped that success in the field would cause the Tory party in England to adopt Jacobitism. They relied, too, upon the Scottish hatred of England and the love of national independence among all dwellers in Scotland; they expected that the feeling of loyalty to the Stuarts would be roused and combined with Scottish pride, and 'the undying tenacity of local custom and local tradition' in the Highlands would carry all before it. To outward appearance there was much to make the Jacobites confident. France was still ruled by Louis XIV., who, though old, might be expected to actively co-operate with any movement hostile to the British Government. The majority of the Scottish nation held Jacobite opinions, and Glasgow and other towns which held to the Union had not then acquired positions of great importance. The British Government was heartily supported by only a minority of the English nation,


Orkney Is.
Moray Firth
Culloden
1746
Inverness
R. Spey
L. Ness
R. Don
Aberdeen
R. Dee
Braemar
Fort Augustus
Killiecrankie
1715
Fort William
L. Moidart
Glencoe
Blair Athol
R. Tay
L. Tay
Dundee
Perth
Firth of Tay
Mull
Inverary
Sheriff Muir
1715
R. Forth
Firth of Forth
Stirling
Dunbar
Falkirk
1745
Edinburgh
Prestonpans
1745
Berwick
Glasgow
R. Clyde
Islay
Arran
Firth of Clyde
R. Tweed
Solway Firth
Carlisle
SCOTLAND
to illustrate the
Risings of 1715 & 1745
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Emery Walker sc.

and the military forces of the Government were not sufficiently numerous or efficient to inspire alarm.

Elements necessary for a successful Jacobite Rising.—It has been said that to ensure success it was necessary that French aid should be forthcoming, that the rising should be under able management, that simultaneous risings should take place in England and Scotland, and that James Edward should be present when his flag was unfurled. It may be added that unless the Highland clans were united under their leaders in a readiness to risk all for the Stuart cause, a rising would have little chance of success. None of these elements of success, however, were present, and the Rebellion of 1715 ended in a disastrous failure.

The Jacobite Rising, 1715.—On August 2, 1715, John Erskine, Earl of Mar, whose nickname of 'Bobbing John' indicates his lack of political principle, secretly left London and sailed to Scotland. Under Queen Anne he had served as Secretary of State in Scotland and had supported the Union. In the latter years of Anne's reign he had schemed for a repeal of the Union, and had intrigued for a Jacobite restoration. On the accession of George I. he endeavoured to secure office under the Whig Government. But George would have nothing to do with the late Queen's ministers or with the Tories, and Mar's office of Secretary of State for Scotland was given to the Duke of Montrose. Mar then resolved to find revenge in a Jacobite insurrection. In Aberdeenshire, where his influence was considerable, he met at a hunting-match on August 27 many supporters of the Pretender, and on September 6 the latter's standard was unfurled at Braemar, and James VIII. of Scotland and III. of England was proclaimed King at various places north of the Forth. The die was now cast and at an unfortunate moment. On August 6 Ormonde, having failed to stir up a rising in the west of England, arrived in Paris, and on September 1

Louis XIV. died. Philip of Orleans, the Regent, had no inclination to become involved in a war with England, and preserved a neutral attitude. Louis had encouraged the Jacobites, and shortly before his death had given them arms and money. His death was a serious blow to their cause. Bolingbroke, who after his flight had joined the Pretender, and had become nominally his chief councillor, advised delay, but his advice came too late. James Edward had put his trust in Mar and had sent him secret instructions; Bolingbroke, who with the Duke of Berwick was alone of the Prince's followers capable of organising an insurrection, was ignored. The rising had already lost all chance of French aid, and was devoid of good management. Mar was incapable, tactless, and without military skill. Many Jacobites were taken by surprise at the sudden outbreak of the insurrection; others were alienated by the arrogance of Mar, who, though at the head of 10,000 men, found himself in a very difficult situation. Many Highland clans remained firm in their support of the Government. As yet they had no suspicion that their own customs would eventually be abolished, or that the Patriarchal system would be swept away. Lord Reay, head of the clan Mackay; Lord Lovat, the crafty chieftain of the Frasers; the Earl of Sutherland and others, consistently resisted Jacobitism in 1715. While Mar with his army lay at Perth, the Duke of Argyll, the Commander of the Forces in Scotland—a man who was 'distinguished alike in the field and in the council-chamber'—endeavoured by concentrating his army at Stirling to confine the rising to the north and the east, and to prevent Mar from advancing south of the Forth. Mar was in a difficult position. If he advanced southwards he would leave behind him many hostile Highland clans. Moreover, the Pretender might land in Scotland during his absence in England. He therefore decided that a detachment under Brigadier Mackin-

tosh, a Highlander who had seen service, should march into England. There he would be joined, so Mar thought, by a large body of Jacobites. Mackintosh succeeded in crossing the Forth with some 1500 men, and though unable to take Edinburgh (the Castle being held by General Preston) he pressed on to Kelso. There he was joined by Mr. Forster, Lord Derwentwater, and Lord Kenmure, who had raised a force of 200 men, and had proclaimed James Edward King at Moffat in Dumfriesshire on October 12. The march then proceeded by way of Carlisle and Lancaster to Preston. But though the sentiment of the English nation was largely in favour of the House of Stuart, 'the judgment of the nation was in favour of the House of Hanover.'

Surrender of Mackintosh's Army at Preston, November 13, 1715.—On arriving at **Preston** the Jacobite force was surrounded by troops under Generals Carpenter and Wills, and on November 13 was forced to surrender. It was quite evident that Mar had completely overrated the strength of his party in England, and that there was no chance of any formidable rising against the Government.

Battle of Sheriffmuir.—On the day that witnessed the defeat of Mackintosh's forces at Preston an indecisive battle was fought between Mar and Argyll at **Sheriffmuir**, situated between Perth and Stirling, and on a spur of the Ochil Hills. While the right wing of Mar's army overthrew the opposing royalist troops, Argyll succeeded in driving the left wing of the Highlanders off the field. The indecisive character of the battle is described in an old song:

'There 's some say that we wan, and some say that they wan,
And some say that nane wan at a', man;
But ane thing I'm sure, that at Sherramuir,
A battle there was that I saw, man.'

The battle left the fruits of victory with Argyll, who retained his position while Mar retreated to Perth. Mean-

while Simon, Lord Lovat, with Duncan Forbes of Culloden, had united their men, and had driven the Jacobites out of Inverness. Mar's position rapidly became hopeless. When James Edward landed on December 22 at Peterhead in Aberdeenshire, the rising was practically over. If James Edward had landed in September, his presence would have checked the jealousies and dissensions which hampered Mar. It would have united his followers in an heroic effort to establish Scottish Independence. As it was, he arrived too late. He had no military qualities; though amiable and well meaning, he could not inspire enthusiasm, and his lack of heroic vigour increased the depression of his army.

End of the Rising.—Though the Highlanders were willing to continue the struggle, the chances of success were hopeless. With a capable leader who understood Highland warfare, the Jacobites, by taking advantage of the unpreparedness of the Government, might have rendered the task of conquering Scotland a difficult one for the Whigs. But the incapacity of Mar had given time for the royalist troops to be strengthened, and after November 13 the Jacobite cause was lost. After remaining in Scotland about six weeks, James Edward, accompanied by Mar, returned to France, and when Argyll reached Aberdeen on February 8, 1716, the Jacobite army had broken up.

Causes of the Failure of the 1715.—The causes of the failure of the ill-timed Jacobite insurrection of 1715 have already been indicated. Lack of aid from France, bad management, due to the hesitation of the Pretender between different counsellors, an incapable commander in Mar, the adhesion of many clans to the Government, the impossibility of relying upon a rising in England, the vigour of the Whig Government, the absence of any attempt to stir up an insurrection in Ireland, the inability of the Pretender to rouse a spirit of personal loyalty among all the Highlanders,

and his late appearance in Scotland, the skill, courage, and moderation of Argyll,—all these facts explain the rapid collapse of a movement which seemed at the outset to have some of the elements of success.

Measures of the Government.—During the rebellion the Government had acted with vigour. A fleet lay outside St. Malo, and prevented Ormonde from landing an expedition in England. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, a reward of £100,000 was offered for the capture of James Edward within the British dominions, and many Tories with suspected Jacobite proclivities, including Sir William Wyndham and Lord Jersey, were arrested. The 8000 troops which were in England were sent to the west, and it was arranged that 6000 more should immediately be summoned from Holland. Fresh troops were collected, and energetic steps were taken both in England and Scotland to combat the rebels. While the military forces in England were being organised and strengthened the Duke of Argyll was holding the insurgents in check. Had the Duke of Berwick (with some regular troops) taken the place of Mar, the Government would have been in a difficult position. The rebellion over, the Government had to determine to what extent and in what manner the captured rebels should be punished. The Whigs were determined that the parliamentary settlement of 1688 should not be undone, and regarded the Jacobites as enemies of the Constitution. The House of Commons therefore impeached the seven Jacobite lords—Kenmure, Derwentwater, Wintoun, Nithsdale, Widdrington, Carnwath, and Nairn—who had been captured. Of these Kenmure and Derwentwater were executed, Wintoun and Nithsdale escaped, the latter through the aid of his wife, and the rest were reprieved. Mackintosh and Forster also escaped, perhaps with the connivance of the Government. The fate of the humbler rebels differed in England and Scotland. At first

a policy of severity was adopted, and wholesale executions of the Highlanders took place in Lancashire. But a more lenient policy was followed later, and the Highland clans in Scotland, through the influence of Argyll, were suffered to disperse to their homes. Though some eighty-nine Scottish prisoners were brought from Scotland to Carlisle for trial in violation of the terms of the Act of Union, they were either released or given slight punishments.

James Edward after 1715.—James Edward, after landing at Boulogne, proceeded to St. Germains. There he dismissed Bolingbroke — his sole capable adviser — and made the incompetent Mar his minister. Owing to the growth of friendly relations between Great Britain and France James had to take refuge in the Papal State of Avignon. After a short sojourn there he yielded to pressure from the Duke of Orleans and repaired to Italy. After a visit to Spain in February 1719, he married at Boulogne on May 28, Clementina Maria, granddaughter of John Sobieski, King of Poland, by whom he had two sons, one of whom, Charles Edward, headed a rebellion in 1745. For a time his principal counsellors were Ormonde and Mar, the latter of whom acted treacherously in 1722 and was dismissed. After many years of weak health James Edward died in Rome in 1766.

The Septennial Act, 1716.—Though the Government had successfully suppressed the Rebellion of 1715, it was apparent that the monarchy of George I. was by no means popular in England. By the Triennial Act passed in 1694 a dissolution of Parliament had to take place before the close of the year 1716. Fearing the excitement which would be provoked by an election, and uncertain as to its results, the Whigs repealed the Triennial Act, and on May 7, 1716, passed the Septennial Act, thus postponing a new election till 1720. The Act, which is still in force, was rendered absolutely necessary by the disturbed state of the country, and was only

meant to be a temporary measure. The Act was opposed by the Tories as being unconstitutional and as a usurpation of the rights of the people. The Whigs defended the Act on the ground that the expenses of frequent elections would be removed, that party animosities would be lessened, and that the security of the Government would be increased. There is no doubt that one result of the measure was to make the House of Commons more independent of the constituencies, for a member once elected made London his headquarters, and did not feel that the imminence of an election necessitated frequent visits to his constituents. It is equally true that it contributed to the stability of the home and foreign policy of the Government, and that it aided in establishing the House of Hanover firmly on the throne. A seat in the House of Commons became of greater value than before, and bribery at elections consequently increased. Until, however, the Reform Bill of 1832 the House of Commons remained to a great extent dependent on the great nobles who had vast territorial influence, while till the close of the American war in 1782 it was also liable to the influence of the Crown.

Suspension of Meetings of Convocation, 1717.—Another effect of the Rebellion was the Suspension of Meetings of Convocation (1717), which did not meet again till 1853. The Whigs wished to check the influence of the Church, and Walpole during his long ministry systematically appointed Whig bishops, and did all in his power to check religious enthusiasm. Thus the Rebellion of 1715 enabled the Whigs in various ways to consolidate their power. Till the accession of George III. Great Britain was **governed by an oligarchy of Whigs**, who supplied a number of able administrators. There was, however, throughout the country a strong though disorganised opposition to the Whigs, and this fact should have forced upon the Whigs the necessity of union.

The Whig Schism of 1717.—Till 1717 the necessity of acting

in union had prevented the various sections of the Whig party from quarrelling. But no sooner was all immediate danger from the Jacobites removed than disputes began. This was all the more extraordinary since the Jacobites abroad never ceased their intrigues, and the Hanoverian King and Government were viewed with dislike by a large portion of the English people. Moreover, the disturbed state of European politics rendered a strong and stable Government necessary. War in the Baltic had never ceased, and Spain was watching for an opportunity for regaining her ascendency in the Mediterranean. Nevertheless the Whigs, having secured peace at home, allowed their differences to become accentuated, and a split took place, Townshend and Walpole leading one section, and Stanhope and Sunderland the other.

The action of George I. precipitated the rupture. Having insisted on the repeal of that clause in the Act of Settlement which restrained the monarch from leaving his dominions, George, accompanied by Stanhope, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department,[1] set out in the summer of 1716 for Hanover, Townshend, the Secretary of State for the Northern Department, being left at home. Owing to the bad relations subsisting between the King and the Prince of Wales, it was with great difficulty that the former was induced to place the Government in the hands of the latter, who was termed not Regent but Guardian of the Realm. Townshend was naturally brought into close contact with the Prince, and was consequently regarded with suspicion by the King, while he was continually opposed by the Hanoverian courtiers, who, in their quest for wealth, resented the restraints placed by the minister's high sense of honour upon their rapacity.

[1] The Secretary of State for the Southern Department attended to the affairs of France and Spain; the Secretary of State for the *Northern* Department, to those of the Empire and the Scandinavian *North*.

Moreover, Townshend and Walpole did not approve of the foreign policy which the King and Stanhope supported. George openly wished that the British fleet should be used to secure Bremen and Verden for Hanover, and to free Mecklenburg from Russian troops whose presence was a source of anxiety to the Hanoverian Government. Further, from the negotiations with France, which led in October 1716 to an alliance between that country and Great Britain, Townshend stood aloof.

These differences were fomented by the intrigues of Lord Sunderland, who was with Stanhope in attendance on the King in Hanover. Sunderland, since his appointment to the post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had never ceased to oppose Townshend. George was easily made the tool of Sunderland, and in December 1716 Townshend was removed from his Secretaryship and appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In April 1717 he was dismissed from that office, and thereupon Walpole and William Pulteney resigned their posts.

Stanhope Ministry, 1717-1721.—The Schism in the Whig party was now complete, and the Government was reconstructed. Stanhope became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sunderland and Addison Secretaries of State. In 1718, owing to Stanhope being raised to the House of Lords, Sunderland became First Lord of the Treasury and Aislabie Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Stanhope himself took the vacant Secretaryship of State.

The home administration of Stanhope and Sunderland from 1717 to 1721 was marked by some wise measures.

The **Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts** were repealed, but it was found impossible, owing to the opposition of the Anglican Church, to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, or to remove the disabilities under which the Roman Catholics suffered.

The Peerage Bill, 1719.—In 1719 Sunderland brought

forward **The Peerage Bill** in order to increase the power of the House of Lords and to make it independent of either the Crown or the House of Commons. By this Bill any sudden creation of peers, such as that made by Harley and Bolingbroke in 1712, would be prevented, and grants of peerages by the Hanoverian kings would be checked. Only six new peerages could be added to the existing one hundred and seventy-eight. The Bill passed the House of Lords, but it was rejected in the House of Commons owing to the determined opposition of Walpole, who realised the importance of securing the predominance of the Lower House. The Bill, if passed, would have perpetuated the Whig power, and would have removed all means of bringing the two Houses into agreement on any disputed question.

The South Sea Bubble.—The same year that witnessed the rejection of Sunderland's Peerage Bill saw the development of the schemes of the South Sea Company. Founded in 1711, that Company had acquired by Act of Parliament the exclusive right of trading in the Pacific Ocean and along the east coast of South America, from Cape Horn to the Orinoco. The Treaty of Utrecht had benefited the Company, for the British Government had secured for it the *assiento* or monopoly of the African slave-trade, and also the right to send an annual ship to trade with the Spanish colonies of South America. In 1717 the Company proposed to give the holders of the National Debt, the increase of which was regarded with general apprehension, shares instead of their stock, and to become the sole creditor of the Government. The prospect of larger dividends was held out to the National Debt investors as a reason for making the exchange. As every one was anxious to have an interest in the South Sea Company, there was a rush to buy the shares, which rapidly rose from £100 to £1000 in August 1720. Many bubble Companies were at once started, and a wave of speculation passed over the

country. France at the same time was experiencing a similar movement in connection with the **Mississippi Scheme** which had been brought forward by **John Law**, a native of Scotland. In both France and Great Britain immense sums were lost and many people were ruined. In England a panic set in, and the price of the South Sea Company's shares fell in November 1720 to £135.

Fall of the Stanhope Ministry, 1721.—Numbers of people were ruined, and an investigation showed that several ministers had received bribes from the Company in order to induce them to support the Bill which had enabled the Company to take over the responsibility for the National Debt.

Sunderland was forced to resign; Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled from the House of Commons. During this crisis Stanhope, who was not seriously implicated, died suddenly in February 1721.

Danger of a European War, 1714-1721.—Stanhope had contributed in great measure to the establishment of peace in the south of Europe; and, owing to the influence of France with Russia, the war in the Baltic had been brought to a close in 1721. His foreign policy, if not always statesmanlike, at any rate aimed at securing definite objects—the maintenance of the terms of the Peace of Utrecht, and the establishment of peace in Europe. At the time of George I.'s accession, and indeed for many subsequent years, it seemed not unlikely that a general European war might break out. No peace had been made at Utrecht between Spain and Austria; a war between Turkey on the one hand and Venice and Austria on the other was about to begin; a war was actually proceeding in the Baltic, where Sweden was being attacked by Hanover, Denmark, Prussia, Poland, and Russia; the establishment in France of the Regency of the Duke of Orleans had aroused the deep hostility of Philip v. of Spain, whose second wife,

Elizabeth Farnese, was equally hostile to the supremacy of Austria in Italy.

The Triple Alliance of 1717.—The year 1715, which saw the outbreak of the Jacobite rebellion, was an anxious one for British ministers. Fortunately that rebellion was easily suppressed, and at the same time the isolation of France and the hostility of Spain forced the Regent Orleans and his astute minister, Dubois, to make advances to the British Government. The position of George I. and that of the Regent was in many ways similar. Though the death of Louis XIV. on September 1, 1715, and the conclusion of a treaty with the Emperor in 1716, tended to strengthen the Hanoverian position, the presence of the Pretender in France and the continuance of Jacobite intrigues was always a source of anxiety. Orleans had similar reasons for uneasiness. His position was very insecure, and Philip V. of Spain never ceased to intrigue against him. In order to secure himself, and to rescue France from her isolation, Orleans sent Dubois to the Hague, where he met Stanhope. In Hanover the negotiations were continued, and **in October 1716 an alliance between Great Britain and France was concluded.** On January 4, 1717, Holland joined the league which became known as **The Triple Alliance.**

Its Importance.—By this alliance a revolution comparable in importance with that of 1756, when France united with her ancient foe Austria, was effected in European politics.

It has been said with truth that **a new system based upon the dynastic interests of the Houses of Hanover and Orleans was entered upon.** But the Triple Alliance was based upon something more important than mere dynastic interests. France, exhausted after the Spanish Succession War, required rest. Until she secured the British alliance she was always in danger from the projects of Philip of Spain. To Great Britain the expulsion of the Pretender, James Edward, from

France, and an assurance that Paris should no longer be the centre of Jacobite plots, was equally important. Moreover, the Triple Alliance removed all danger of a league between France and Russia. It came as a blow to Charles XII.'s ambitious projects against Great Britain, and it was an unpleasant surprise to Philip V. and Alberoni, who had hoped to secure the friendship or neutrality of George I. while they hatched schemes against the Regent Orleans and the Emperor Charles VI. The Triple Alliance was founded not on sentiment, for it was disliked by the peoples of Great Britain and France, but on necessity.

Effect of the Triple Alliance upon Great Britain and France.—Its effects were far-reaching, and eventually more beneficial to Great Britain than to France. For while Great Britain steadily extended her commerce and insisted upon her maritime supremacy, France neglected her fleet and engaged herself deeply in European wars. Great Britain utilised the alliance with France, which lasted till about 1742, while France never realised that, in the inevitable conflict with Great Britain, it was necessary to be fully prepared in India and Canada, and to possess a fleet able to hold its own on the seas.

The Triple Alliance, a Pause in the Conflict between Great Britain and France.—From 1688 to 1697 and from 1702 to 1713 Great Britain and France had been at war. Between 1742 and 1748 and between 1756 and 1763 they were again to contend not only for the supremacy of the sea, but for supremacy in India and Canada. The period from 1717 to 1742 thus marks a period when Great Britain and France laid on one side their differences and entered upon friendly relations. **The French alliance was the corner-stone of Walpole's foreign policy**, and it practically remained unbroken during his long ministry.

Alberoni attacks Austria, 1717.—Stanhope was the English

minister who conducted the negotiations, and the credit for having brought about the Triple Alliance rests mainly with him. His colleague, Townshend, took no part in the matter, and his lack of sympathy with Stanhope's foreign policy was one cause of the Whig Schism and his fall in 1717.

Though bitterly disappointed at the conduct of Great Britain in allying with France, **Alberoni**, the Spanish minister, succeeded for a few months in resisting the desire of Philip v. and his Queen, **Elizabeth Farnese**, to attack the Emperor's Italian possessions. The arrest of a Spanish official in Italy by the Austrians, however, forced Alberoni's hand. In August 1717 **the Spaniards conquered Sardinia**, which belonged to the Emperor, and in July 1718 **attacked Sicily**, which belonged to the House of Savoy. The justification of the attack upon Sicily was to be found in the discovery by Alberoni of secret negotiations between Great Britain, France, and the Emperor for giving the latter Sicily instead of Sardinia. By the Treaty of Utrecht Sicily would devolve upon Spain should the House of Savoy become extinct, and therefore the opposition of Alberoni to such a flagrant breach of the terms of the late settlement was only natural. But Stanhope and George I. were anxious to conciliate and satisfy the Emperor, and being desirous to devote their whole attention to the Northern War, were ready to adopt even forcible measures if only peace in the Mediterranean could be assured.

Spain at War with Austria, France, and Great Britain, 1718.—Finding himself at war with Austria, and exposed to the hostility of Great Britain, France, and the Emperor, Alberoni showed remarkable energy and resource. He took steps to bring about an understanding between Sweden and Russia in the autumn of 1718, his plan being that while **Charles XII.** invaded England or Scotland, **Peter the Great** should operate in Germany in order to hamper the Emperor. He further


GERMANY
Paris
Seine
Rhine
Danube
Vienna
HUNGARY
Loire
FRANCE
SWITZER-LAND
Danube
Belgrade
Passarowitz
Milan
Turin
Venice
Garonne
Rhone
Genoa
Po
Florence
The Tuscan Ports
ITALY
TURKEY
Douro
Ebro
Tiber
Corsica
Rome
Madrid
Naples
PORTUGAL
Tagus
SPAIN
Minorca
Sardinia
Majorca
Guadiana
Ivica
Guadalquivir
Sicily
Syracuse
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Algiers
C. Passaro
MEDITERRANEAN
Malta
SEA
THE SPANISH WAR
1718-1721
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Emery Walker.sc.

hoped to induce Francis **Rakoczy**, a Hungarian, to head a great Hungarian rising, and to unite with the Turks, then at war with the Emperor. Knowing that the position of the Regent in France was insecure, Alberoni hoped to organise risings against the Government, and later in the year the Spanish envoy **Cellamare** became involved in a conspiracy against Orleans.

Alberoni had thus made very skilful efforts to tie the hands of the Austrian, British, and French Governments, and hoped that the successful execution of his schemes would leave Spain free to carry out her projects in Italy and the Mediterranean.

The vigorous policy of Stanhope, however, was aided by a series of accidents which destroyed all chance of the successful realisation of Alberoni's hopes.

The Quadruple Alliance, August 2, 1718.—On July 21, 1718, the Emperor yielded to the advice of Great Britain, and made the **Peace of Passarowitz** with Turkey, and thus was able to pour troops into Italy. On August 2 he joined the Triple Alliance, which thus became **the Quadruple Alliance.** Great Britain, France, Holland, and Austria were now united against Spain. Stanhope had, he thought, devised a scheme to satisfy the Emperor Charles VI. and the Spanish Queen, Elizabeth Farnese. By the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, the Emperor was to receive Sicily instead of Sardinia, and Don Carlos, the eldest son of Elizabeth Farnese and Philip V., was to have the succession to Parma and Tuscany. But Stanhope did not reckon on the obstinacy of the Spanish Queen. 'Seldom,' it has been said, 'has so much labour and so much ability been expended on the elaboration of a peace which implied the certainty of war.'

Failure of Alberoni's Scheme.—Great Britain held Gibraltar and Minorca (with its excellent harbour, Port Mahon), and was resolved to keep the Western Mediterranean in the hands

of friendly powers. Alberoni's disturbing invasion of Sicily threatened to upset the existing balance of power, and, in Stanhope's opinion, had to be resisted. On August 11 Admiral Byng destroyed the Spanish fleet off **Cape Passaro.** This disaster only roused the Spaniards to fury, and Alberoni made energetic efforts to weaken the circle of his foes. But Cellamare's conspiracy was discovered on December 8, 1718, **Charles XII.'s death on December 11, 1718,** destroyed all chance of a Swedish invasion of Great Britain, and the **failure of a Jacobite invasion of the West of Scotland in 1719** left George I.'s position in no degree weakened. Meanwhile a French army under Berwick invaded Spain in April 1719. Alberoni's well-designed efforts had all failed, Spain was forced to yield, and **Alberoni was exiled on December 5, 1719.**

Success of Stanhope's Foreign Policy in the South of Europe.— Stanhope's high-handed policy in the south of Europe had proved successful, and **in 1720 Spain made peace with Great Britain and France.** But through his anxiety to have his hands free in order to deal energetically with the situation in the Baltic, Stanhope had alienated Spain. Henceforward the relations between that country and Great Britain were usually very strained, and over the South American trade the merchants of the two countries were perpetually quarrelling.

Nevertheless there was some justification for Stanhope's anxiety to be able to devote all his attention to the North of Europe. It was of the last importance to Great Britain to prevent the supremacy of Sweden over the Baltic. From 1715 to 1718 George I., as Elector of Hanover, and Charles XII., as the restorer of Sweden's greatness, struggled for control of the Baltic. As long as Charles XII. lived there was the danger of interference by Sweden with Great Britain's naval power, and of an invasion in the interests of the Jacobites from Sweden. It was this latter possibility which rendered Alberoni's schemes so dangerous. Charles XII.'s death in

1718 shattered those schemes, but it was not till the Peace of Nystäd in 1721 that all the Jacobite hopes of aid from Sweden or Russia were finally destroyed.

Till 1721, then, Stanhope and George I. were compelled to watch the course of affairs in the North very carefully.

The Northern War, 1714-1721.—The arrival of George I. in England had been followed by that of Charles XII., King of Sweden, at Stralsund, in November 1714. That warlike monarch had returned from Turkey after a long absence, due to his defeat at **Pultava** by Peter the Great in 1709. On his return he found that a large portion of Sweden's German possessions were in the hands of his enemies, Prussia, Hanover, and Denmark. Prussia held half of Swedish Pomerania, Denmark occupied the Duchy of Bremen, and Hanover the strong places in the Principality of Verden. Of all the German provinces and places allotted to Sweden at the Peace of Westphalia, only Stralsund, Rügen, and Wismar remained.

A League against Sweden, 1715.—Early in 1715 Prussia, Hanover, and Denmark formed a league with the object of taking from Charles XII. his German possessions. It was arranged that Hanover was to have Bremen and Verden; Prussia Stettin and the lands up to the river Peene, together with the islands of Usedom and Wolgast; while to Denmark was assigned Stralsund and Rügen. Wismar was to become a free imperial city.

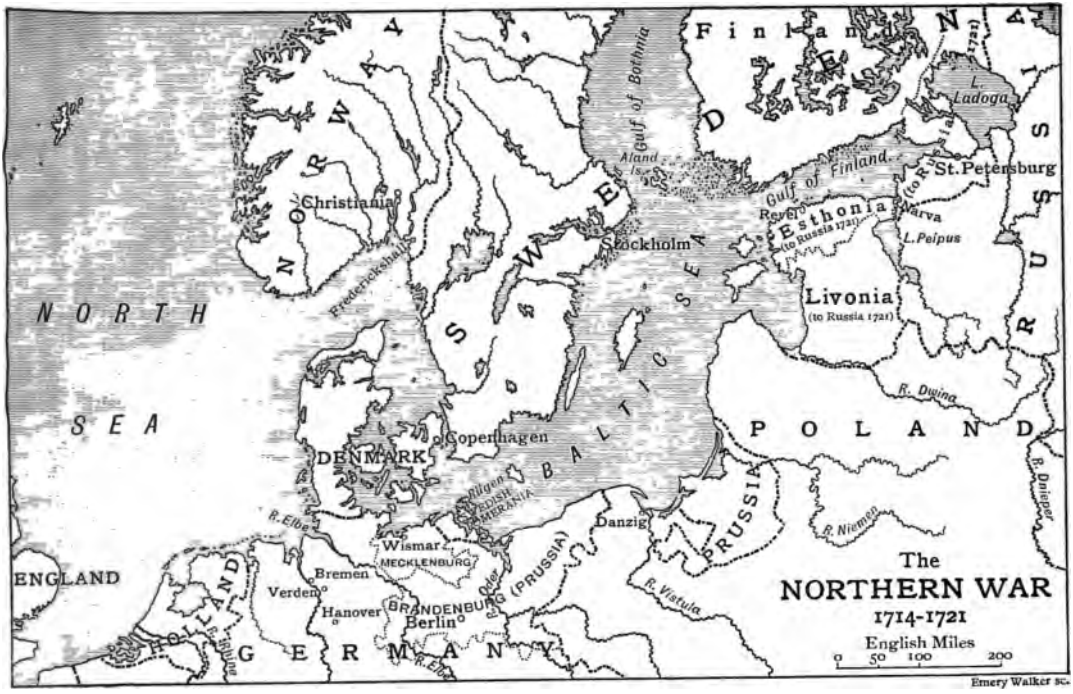
Attitude of Great Britain.—As Great Britain was at peace with Sweden George was unable to use openly the British fleet for the furtherance of his aims and those of his allies. Several of the members of the Government strongly objected to any offensive action against Sweden. However, under the pretence of defending trade interests, the British fleet under Admiral Sir John Norris sailed at the end of May 1715, and being joined by a Dutch fleet safely convoyed into the Baltic several hundred merchantmen. Before the end of December

1715 Charles XII. lost Stralsund and Rügen and returned to Sweden. Though Great Britain was not openly at war with him, her fleet had acted in a provocative manner, had not only aided in the reduction of Stralsund, but had undoubtedly by its presence in the Baltic contributed to the success of the Allies. By the end of 1715 all that Charles possessed outside Sweden was Wismar and parts of Finland.

War in the North of Europe, 1715.—On October 15, 1715, Hanover, having definitely received Bremen and Verden from Denmark, had declared war on Sweden, and the relations of that country with Great Britain became necessarily more complicated than ever. The possession by Hanover of Bremen and Verden, commanding as they did the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, was of great advantage to Great Britain's trade in the Baltic; and, naturally, Charles refused to distinguish between Hanoverian and British interests or policy.

The cause of Charles seemed desperate. Russia in October 1715 joined the Allies, and it was agreed that Peter the Great should receive Ingria, Karelia, Esthonia, and Revel. There was good ground for the belief that a long and bitter struggle in the North of Europe was impending.

The Mecklenburg Difficulty.—The beginning of 1716 found Charles determined to maintain possession of Wismar, the Mecklenburg stronghold. All the Allies were agreed upon the necessity of reducing Wismar, but they differed as to the amount of assistance which each should give in order to secure their object. The King of Prussia having reduced Stralsund, thought that George should take the principal share in the reduction of Wismar. But Great Britain not being at war with Charles XII., it was impossible to use British money against Sweden. Peter the Great, however, showed great readiness in sending troops into Mecklenburg. His niece had in 1716 married the Duke of Mecklenburg, who


NORTH SEA
NORWAY
Christiania
Fredrickshall
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Gulf of Bothnia
Aland Is.
Finland
Gulf of Finland
Revel
Esthonia
(to Russia 1721)
Narva
L. Peipus
St. Petersburg
L. Ladoga
Livonia
(to Russia 1721)
RUSSIA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Rügen
SWEDISH POMERANIA
R. Elbe
Wismar
MECKLENBURG
Bremen
Verden
Hanover
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Oder
(PRUSSIA)
Danzig
R. Vistula
R. Niemen
R. Dwina
POLAND
R. Dnieper
ENGLAND
HOLLAND
R. Rhine
R. Elbe
GERMANY
The
NORTHERN WAR
1714-1721
English Miles
0 50 100 200
Emery Walker sc.

gladly welcomed the presence of Russian troops as a defence against his malcontent nobles. In April Wismar was taken, and the expulsion of the Swedes from Germany was effected. But **the continued presence of the Russian troops in Mecklenburg alarmed Hanover and Denmark**, and led to their eventual alienation from Russia and Prussia.

The plan of the confederates was a Russo-Danish attack on the Swedish mainland in the summer of 1716. But in September Peter the Great postponed all action for a year, and a quarrel ensued between him and the Kings of Denmark and Great Britain which led to the rupture of the Alliance.

Jacobite Plots in Northern Europe.—In England dissatisfaction at the use, in 1715, of the British fleet for supposed Hanoverian projects had been openly expressed. But the conduct of Charles XII. came to the aid of George I. Charles had in 1716 invaded Norway, and was supposed to be harbouring designs for a descent upon Scotland. Townshend and George I. had thus ample justification in believing that the best method of checking any endeavours on the part of Charles to aid the Jacobites, and of defending British trade, was to send the fleet again into the Baltic. The **second expedition** of Sir John Norris witnessed the failure of the Russo-Danish invasion of Sweden, and the rapid weakening of the coalition against Sweden.

Görtz and Gyllenborg.—Simultaneous with these events in the Baltic was the Swedish plot which is associated with the name of the Swedish envoy Gyllenborg. At the instance of Görtz, the able Swedish minister, Gyllenborg endeavoured while in London to secure the good offices of Great Britain on behalf of Sweden. He soon realised, however, that George was resolved to keep Bremen and Verden, and to defend Denmark from a Swedish attack. He then entered into negotiations with the Jacobites, apparently without the knowledge of Charles XII., but early in 1717 his papers were

seized and he himself was arrested in London, Görtz being arrested in Holland.

Strained Relations between George I. and Peter the Great.—Over the continued presence of Russian troops in Mecklenburg during the greater part of the year 1716 the quarrel between George I. and Peter the Great had become serious. The King of Prussia, distrusting the Hanoverian ministers, and disliking the British King, sided with Peter, who refused to remove his troops from Mecklenburg. **By the middle of 1717 the Confederacy had practically broken up**, and in Great Britain it was feared that Russia would become dominant in the Baltic.

Townshend seems to have believed that Peter intended to establish Russian predominance over the whole Baltic coast, and proposed not only a close alliance with Denmark, but also peace with Sweden. Great Britain and Hanover stood arrayed against Russia and Prussia, while Denmark, exhausted by her late efforts, was doubtful whether to join Russia or Great Britain. In April 1717 the Danish King decided to unite with Great Britain and Hanover, and the same month a large British fleet under Admiral Byng entered the Baltic. But as there was no danger of a Swedish invasion of England, Byng found little to do, and the fleet returned to England at the end of the year. In July 1717 **the Mecklenburg difficulty was ended** owing to the influence of Philip of Orleans, the French Regent, who persuaded Peter the Great to remove his troops. But no common action by Russia and Great Britain was now posssible, and during the greater part of the year 1717 both powers showed a readiness to treat with Sweden; Great Britain, however, insisting on Hanover's retention of Bremen and Verden. Charles XII., convinced that the British Parliament was opposed to the expense of sending fleets into the Baltic, was resolved not to make territorial cessions, and was inclined to come to terms with Russia.

George I., however, continued to hope that Charles XII. might be won over. He had every reason for desiring the establishment of friendly relations with the Swedish King, for Russian hostility was now openly declared, and Sweden might become the centre of Jacobite plots.

George I. attempts to come to Terms with Sweden, 1717-1718.—Moreover, it had been apparent since the beginning of 1717 that the estrangement between George I. and Peter the Great was not likely to be removed, and that the League which consisted of Hanover, Russia, Denmark, Prussia and Poland, would in consequence shortly come to an end. Under these circumstances George, fearing that Russia and Prussia would deal separately with Sweden, endeavoured to come to terms with Charles XII. Negotiations continued all through 1717, and early in 1718 the Holstein minister, **Frederick Ernest de Fabrice**, armed with instructions from George I. and Bernstorff, proceeded to Sweden, being shortly afterwards followed by a Hanoverian Privy-Councillor, **Schrader**. The retention of Bremen and Verden was insisted on by George as a preliminary to all negotiations. Charles XII. was opposed to any negotiations on that basis, but Görtz, who already was in communication with Russia, persuaded him to listen to the Hanoverian overtures. Charles, however, never showed any real desire to come to any understanding with George I., and the outlook for Great Britain in the Baltic remained far from being satisfactory.

Schemes of Alberoni and Görtz in the North. A Russo-Swedish Alliance frustrated by Charles XII.'s Death, December 1718.—The year 1718 saw the efforts of Alberoni to occupy Sicily, the overthrow of the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro, and the formation of the Quadruple Alliance. During the months in which these events took place, the relations of Great Britain with Russia and Sweden became more and more strained. Taking advantage of this state of things, Alberoni

and Görtz advocated a close alliance between Russia and Sweden and an attack on Great Britain in the Jacobite cause. Under Spanish mediation negotiations between Peter the Great and Charles XII. were opened in the Åland Islands, which are situated in the Gulf of Finland.[1] **The death of Charles XII. at Frederickshall** in December 1718 shattered for the time the hopes of the Jacobites and brought about a complete change in the relations of Russia and Sweden. **Ulrica Eleanora** became Queen of Sweden, Görtz was executed, and friendship with Great Britain and hostility to Russia became the foreign policy of the Court of Stockholm.

Great Britain supports Sweden against Russia, 1719-1723.—**Lord Carteret** was sent to Sweden, and the British fleet under Norris remained supreme in the Baltic. In 1720 Sweden concluded a treaty with Great Britain against Russia—George I. receiving Bremen and Verden. Through Carteret's influence Sweden also made treaties with Prussia and Denmark. But these treaties and the presence of the British fleet in the Baltic were of little avail in checking the Russian occupation of the Swedish provinces of Livonia, Karelia, Esthonia, and Ingria.

The Peace of Nystäd, 1721.—British mediation was refused by Peter the Great, and it was through French influence that the **Peace of Nystäd** was in August 1721 concluded between Russia and Sweden. Russia received Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and part of Karelia, and became the foremost power in the Baltic. Though Stanhope had not been able to save Sweden from spoliation, it was at any rate a satisfaction to him and to George I. that a peace had been concluded which left Bremen and Verden in the hands of Hanover.

[1] Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover*, p. 97.

IMPORTANT DATES.

The Jacobite Rebellion	**1715**
The Septennial Act	**1716**
The Triple Alliance	**1717**
The Whig Schism	**,,**
The Quadruple Alliance	**1718**
Discontinuance of Convocation	**,,**
Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts	**,,**
Death of Charles XII.	**,,**
The Peerage Bill	**1719**
Failure of Jacobite Attempt in Scotland	**,,**
The South Sea Bubble	**1720**
The Peace of Nystäd,	**1721**

Period II.—1721-1727.

From the Beginning of Walpole's Ministry to the Death of George I.

Contents.

Walpole—Position of the Great European Powers—Atterbury—Return of Bolingbroke—Carteret—Wood's Halfpence—The *Drapier's Letters*—William Pulteney—*The Craftsman*—Foreign Politics—The First Treaty of Vienna—The League of Hanover—War with Spain—Death of George I.

CHIEF NAMES, 1721-1727.

Walpole—Townshend—Pulteney—Atterbury—Charles VI.—Ripperdá—Elizabeth Farnese—Catherine I.—Swift—Pope—Wyndham.

Beginning of Walpole's Ministry, 1721.—In April 1721 Walpole succeeded Sunderland as First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister. Townshend

and Carteret were the Secretaries of State. William Pulteney, who had acted with Stanhope and Walpole, and had retired with Townshend and Walpole in 1717, expected a place in the Cabinet. He refused a peerage with scorn, though he consented to act as Chairman of the Committee appointed to examine into Atterbury's plot. He was then made 'Cofferer' or Treasurer of the King's Household, but refused to act cordially with Walpole. Till his retirement in 1730 Townshend was principally responsible for Great Britain's foreign policy, Walpole devoting himself principally to domestic matters and being satisfied with the continuance of the Anglo-French Alliance.

Great Britain's Relations with European Powers in 1721.—The year of Walpole's accession to office coincided with the restoration of tranquillity at home and with the establishment of peaceful relations between Great Britain and the principal European powers. The collapse of the South Sea Bubble was followed by the steady development of Great Britain's trade and resources: the re-establishment of friendly relations between Great Britain and Spain seemed to prelude a peaceful period in foreign politics. The only power with whom Great Britain was not on friendly terms was Russia, but Russia without allies was unable to inflict any serious injury upon the dominions of George I.

Walpole therefore, at the beginning of his famous ministry, had no foreign complications to fear. So long as things were in that condition, there was no reason to apprehend any fresh movement on the part of the Jacobites.

Walpole's Position.—'Walpole was the first Prime Minister in the modern sense of the word.'[1] Though outside Parliament he was regarded, especially after the retirement of Townshend in 1730, as the nominee of the Crown, his power

[1] Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution*, part ii.; *The Crown*, p. 125.

depended to a great extent on the majority in the House of Commons. Though he was compelled, in order to gain the confidence of George II., to win over Queen Caroline, he was the first Prime Minister who looked to a compact majority in the House of Commons to keep him in office. During the reign of George I. Townshend shared his power, and Walpole owed his prominence merely to the fact that his recognised political ability placed him in the forefront of 'a body of men with whom he was in agreement on the chief questions of the day.'[1] His 'acknowledged political eminence' and his skill in the spheres of finance, administration, and foreign politics gradually enabled him to displace those of his colleagues with whom he disagreed. The retirement of Townshend in 1730 left him undisputed master of the Cabinet. In those days the Cabinet was often a large body of as many as sixteen counsellors. Out of this body the chief ministers, such as the Prime Minister, the two Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor, formed an inner circle or group which discussed and settled important questions of domestic and foreign policy. It was not till the fall of Lord North that the external Cabinet disappeared and Cabinet ministers only included those who held responsible offices.

Jacobite Plots. Exile of Atterbury. Return of Bolingbroke, 1723.—The need for a strong and cautious policy was evident. The collapse of the South Sea Scheme, with the consequent discontent in the country, the ministerial crisis, the death of Stanhope, who was regarded as the chief upholder of the French alliance, together with, in 1720, the birth of the Pretender's son, Charles Edward Lewis Casimir Stuart,—all led to a revival of Jacobite hopes. In England the affairs of the Pretender were managed by a committee of five, which included Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, the Earl of Arran, Lord Orrery, Lord North, and Lord Gower. As usual, how-

[1] Anson, *The Law*, etc., p. 126.

ever, no Jacobite plot could hope to be successful without foreign aid. France was the ally of Great Britain, Spain had just come to terms with both the above powers, and the Emperor was busy with schemes for the commercial development of the Austrian Netherlands, and for the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to the Hapsburg dominions. Moreover, the Jacobite leaders in England were not united, and their projects became known to the British Government through the agency of the Regent Orleans.

The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, Atterbury was arrested, and by means of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, he was deprived of his bishopric and banished, leaving England on June 18, 1723. Walpole followed up this blow to the Jacobites by imposing a tax on Catholic recusants and on non-jurors, a measure which, though apparently high-handed, was probably justified by the circumstances of the time. In July Bolingbroke, who had been pardoned by George I., returned to England, and was restored to his estates. The Act of Attainder was, however, not reversed, and consequently he was never allowed to take his seat in the House of Lords.

Carteret ceases to be Secretary of State, 1724.—In 1724 Walpole quarrelled with Carteret, who ceased to be Secretary of State for the Southern Department, being succeeded by the Duke of Newcastle. Carteret, who was born in 1690, was one of the ablest men of his time, and during the Northern War, which ended in 1721, had shown great skill as a diplomatist. His knowledge of foreign affairs was considerable, and the fact that he could speak German and was deeply interested in German politics secured for him the favourable regard of George I. and later of George II. Like the elder Pitt, in later years he was bent on making a great name for himself and his country. 'What is it to me,' he said, 'who is a judge or who is a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors and to maintain the balance of Europe.' At a time when the

principle was gradually being recognised that the members of the Cabinet should act together, Carteret's somewhat independent attitude and his tendency to subordinate home to foreign politics rendered his position under Walpole impossible. Carteret, too, became engaged in intrigues with the Tories in 1723, and in 1724 he was sent to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, remaining a member of the Cabinet till 1730.

Wood's Halfpence. The 'Drapier's Letters.'—At the time of Carteret's arrival in Dublin in 1724 a dangerous agitation was in progress. A patent had been issued to an English iron-master to supply a deficiency in the coinage of Ireland. A new copper coinage was required, but, as usual, there was a good deal of jobbery connected with the contract, and the amount, £108,000, was largely in excess of what was necessary. Though the issue of the patent was a job, the real cause of the agitation was to be found in the system of government, which did not permit Ireland to be consulted. Swift, the Dean of St. Patrick's, took up the cause of Ireland and published the famous *Drapier's Letters*. He was himself embittered by the neglect with which the Government had treated him, and he seized the opportunity of attacking its coinage scheme. The whole nation was roused by Swift's strong, though inaccurate, rhetoric. As it seemed likely that the Protestants and Catholics, the Jacobites and the Whigs, would unite together, Walpole, in spite of the opposition of Townshend, decided to withdraw the patent. In 1727 the Irish Parliament deprived all Catholics of the franchise, and the Protestant ascendency remained undisturbed till 1793.

William Pulteney's Quarrel with Walpole, 1725.—In 1725 Pulteney opposed a proposal of Walpole for dealing with the Civil List, gave up his post, and, till Walpole's fall, became very active in attacking that minister. William Pulteney was born in 1684, and on George I.'s accession was appointed Secretary-at-War. Owing to Townshend's dismissal, in April

1717, from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland and to Walpole's resignation, he resigned his office. In 1721, when the Townshend-Walpole ministry was formed, he was not included among the list of new ministers, and from that time his opposition to the ministry began. He is described as a brilliant speaker, but as a politician was lazy, showing little feeling of patriotism and a tendency to adopt a factious attitude. Pulteney had some financial ability, but 'though he was always prominent, he was never great.' He worked hard and with pertinacity. His reputation had been greatly enhanced by his intimacy with Bolingbroke and Swift. His cousin, Daniel Pulteney, had brilliant qualities and some literary skill. He died in 1731, the year in which William Pulteney was deprived of his Privy-Councillorship.

In April 1725, soon after his quarrel with Walpole, William Pulteney definitely united with the opposition to the minister. He joined Bolingbroke, and together they planned the publication of *The Craftsman*, a journal directed against the ministry. It first appeared on December 5, 1726, and it did not come to an end till April 17, 1736. Leicester House, the residence of the Prince of Wales, who was on bad terms with his father, became the headquarters of the Opposition, which consistently attacked every act of the ministry. Henceforward, an Opposition became a recognised 'institution inseparable from party government.'

Foreign Affairs, 1721-1727. Objects of Elizabeth Farnese.—The Peace of Nystäd (August 1721) and the Spanish agreements with France and Great Britain in 1720[1] had by no means removed all causes of anxiety with regard to foreign affairs, and from 1721 to 1731, owing to the aims and ambitions of the Emperor and the King of Spain, a European war was constantly on the verge of breaking out. One of the first acts of the Walpole ministry was to conclude the treaty with

[1] See pages 27, 34.

Spain, by which Great Britain undertook to support Spanish interests at the Congress of Cambray. By the Quadruple Alliance of 1718 it had been arranged that a Congress should meet at Cambray to settle all points of difference between the Emperor and Spain, and that Great Britain and France should guarantee the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany (when their owners died) to Don Carlos, son of Elizabeth Farnese, the Spanish Queen. There was, however, no continuity in Spanish policy, and the impatience of Elizabeth Farnese led her, in 1725, to break away from Great Britain and France and join the Emperor. It must also be remembered that the Spaniards had never reconciled themselves to the loss of Gibraltar, and were prepared either by intrigue or force of arms to regain it on the first opportunity.

Objects of Charles VI.'s Foreign Policy.—The aims of the Emperor Charles VI. were equally dangerous to the peace of Europe. He had failed, as the Archduke Charles, to conquer Spain, towards whose King he continued to maintain a hostile attitude. By the Treaty of Utrecht he was given the Austrian Netherlands, but as the Scheldt was closed to commerce, Antwerp could not become a great trading centre. Charles, therefore, in 1722, established the Ostend East India Company, thus embarking upon commercial competition with Great Britain and Holland. The opposition of these two countries to the Ostend Company, on the grounds that its establishment was contrary to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and to other treaties, and that it was an encroachment upon the British and Dutch trading privileges, eventually led Charles to sink his animosities against Spain and to ally with that country in 1725 by the **First Treaty of Vienna.**

Walpole's Policy.—The basis of Walpole's foreign policy was peace, in order to secure the firm establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty on the British throne. In Europe Great Britain possessed Gibraltar and Minorca, and thus

safeguarded her trade to the Mediterranean. In America we had twelve colonies to which Georgia was shortly to be added; in Canada we held Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay territory; in the West Indies, Barbadoes, the Bahamas, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands; in India the East India Company had as commercial centres Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. No great importance was attached to the colonies, and until the Hanoverian dynasty was secured on the throne, and British commercial supremacy established, it was impossible to pursue a policy of territorial aggrandisement.

Under Walpole our commerce developed, our fleet was the best in Europe, the country steered clear of foreign complications, no serious Jacobite movement threatened the Hanoverian dynasty. It was of the first importance to remain on friendly terms with foreign nations, for it was only by foreign aid that the Jacobites could hope for success. Walpole was fully alive to the danger from the Pretender, and consequently of the necessity of maintaining the French alliance and friendship with Spain. The French alliance was maintained till Walpole's fall in 1742, and friendship with Spain (with the exception of the years 1725-29) till 1739. By consistently supporting the claims of Don Carlos to the Italian Duchies Walpole did much to secure our West Indian trade from interference by the Spaniards. Spain had, however, various causes of complaint against Great Britain.

The Question of Gibraltar.—In 1721 George I. had written to Philip V. promising to restore Gibraltar as soon as possible, and Stanhope showed no appreciation of its importance. In 1725 and the following years Philip hoped to seize Gibraltar. But it was ably defended, and the nation, moreover, refused to allow George I.'s promise to be carried out.

The Question of Trade with Spanish South America.—Then there was the question of trade. British merchants and the

South Sea Company did not abide by the terms of the Peace of Utrecht, and the Spanish Guardacostas (custom-house officers) seized British ships with impunity, and hampered the trade of the country. As the trade was extremely lucrative, Walpole did all in his power to satisfy Spanish aspirations in Europe, and it was not till 1739 that war between the two countries broke out.

Elizabeth Farnese's Impatience. The Congress of Cambray, 1724.—A third cause of Spanish irritation with Great Britain was the slow progress made at the Congress of Cambray in settling the Spanish demands. The Congress met on January 26, 1724, and it was found that the Spanish demands included (1) the renunciation by the Emperor of his title to the crown of Spain; (2) restitution to certain Italian princes who had suffered in the War of the Spanish Succession for their adhesion to Spain; (3) the right to garrison Parma and Tuscany with Spanish troops.

The Emperor was opposed to the Spanish claim upon Parma, and in September 1724 Philip v. demanded from Great Britain and France immediate assistance for the execution of his Italian aims, and at the same time demanded the restoration of Gibraltar. Finding that the British and French Governments were not prepared to carry out his wishes in the way proposed, Philip and Elizabeth Farnese determined to execute a sudden change of front, and to obtain their ends by an alliance with their enemy the Emperor Charles vi. Ripperdá, a Dutchman, in the service of Spain, was sent to Vienna, and when in March 1725 it was known that the Spanish Infanta, who had been betrothed to Louis xv., was to be sent back to Spain, Philip and his Queen, furious at the insult, hastened on the negotiations. In April 1725 the famous Treaty of Vienna was signed, and Spain and Austria became allies.

***The First* Treaty of Vienna, April 1725. The League of**

Hanover, September 1725.—To counteract the alliance of Vienna Townshend arranged in September 1725 the **League of Hanover**, which at first only included Great Britain, France, and Prussia.

Walpole, who was by nature averse to a network of alliances, only consented to Townshend's policy as soon as he realised that the aims of Spain and Austria included the overthrow of George I. and the return of the Pretender to Great Britain. Great Britain remained faithful to the French alliance, and Parliament, alive to the intrigues of Philip V. and the Emperor on behalf of the Pretender, sanctioned and supported the foreign policy of the ministry.

The League of Hanover at once led to a still closer alliance between the Emperor and Spain, and in November 1725 **a secret treaty**, signed at Vienna, arranged for marriage alliances between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, for an attack on Gibraltar, for the support of the Ostend Company, and for the partition of France. Though the King of Prussia early in 1726 fell away from the League of Hanover and made a treaty with the Emperor, with whom Russia also allied, Townshend secured the adhesion to his system of alliances of Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and some German princes, and thus succeeded apparently in holding the Emperor in check. In 1727 Europe was divided into two camps. While the allies of the Emperor could muster 387,000, those of Great Britain numbered 315,000. Townshend by his confederation had won a great diplomatic triumph, and his elaborate preparations largely contributed to avert a European struggle.

At this critical time, when Gibraltar was besieged by Spain, **George I. died** in Hanover on June 10, 1727. Gibraltar was successfully defended against Spanish attacks, and Captain Hozier was sent with a fleet to the West Indies with orders to watch over British interests, and, as far as possible, to act on the defensive.

George I.'s reign contains much that is important. It saw the formation of an organised Opposition consisting of (1) the Hanoverian Tories under **Sir William Wyndham**, who would not support the Pretender so long as he remained a Roman Catholic; (2) the **discontented Whigs** under Pulteney; (3) some fifty Jacobites under Shippen, an able and honest politician. Till the fall of Walpole attempts were made by Pulteney in Parliament, and by Bolingbroke by means of *The Craftsman*, to form these sections into a united Opposition.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Beginning of Walpole's Ministry (April)	**1721**
The Peace of Nystäd (August)	,,
Death of Sunderland	**1722**
Opening of Congress of Cambray	,,
Banishment of Atterbury (June)	**1723**
Return of Bolingbroke to England (July)	,,
'Drapier's Letters'	**1724**
The First Treaty of Vienna (May)	**1725**
The Treaty of Hanover (Sept.)	,,
Quarrel between Walpole and Pulteney	,,
Death of Harley (Earl of Oxford)	**1726**
First Issue of 'The Craftsman' (Dec.)	,,
Withdrawal of the Franchise from the Roman Catholics by the Irish Parliament	**1727**

QUESTIONS ON THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

(1) Describe the circumstances attending the accession of George I.

(2) Give genealogies to illustrate the respective claims of George I. and the Pretender.

(3) Explain the causes of the failure of the Jacobite rising of 1715.

(4) What were the causes of the Whig Schism of 1717?

(5) Criticise the policy of Great Britain towards (1) Spain, (2) Russia, in the reign of George I.

(6) Can it be said that George I. subordinated the interests of Great Britain to those of Hanover?

(7) Estimate the importance of the Triple Alliance of 1717.

(8) Explain the causes of the First Treaty of Vienna in 1725.

(9) Describe the position of Great Britain with regard to Foreign Powers at the time of George I.'s death.

(10) Write short explanatory notes upon:—The Septennial Act, the Peerage Bill, the South Sea Bubble, the 'Drapier's Letters,' 'The Craftsman.'

(11) Give short accounts of:—Dubois, Elizabeth Farnese, Görtz, Alberoni, Ripperdá, Charles VI., Swift, Bolingbroke.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE II.—1727-1760

Born, 1683; married, 1705, Caroline of Anspach.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Prussia.*	*Russia.*
Louis XV., 1715-1774.	Charles VI., 1711-1740.	Frederick William I., 1713-1740.	Peter II., 1727-1730.
	Charles VII., 1742-1745.	Frederick the Great, 1740-1786.	Anna Ivanovna, 1730-1740.
	Francis I., 1745-1765.		Ivan VI., 1740-1741.
			Elizabeth, 1741-1762.

Spain.	*Portugal.*	*Denmark.*	*The Papacy.*
Philip V., 1700-1746.	John V., 1706-1750.	Frederick IV., 1699-1730.	Benedict XIII., 1724-1730.
Ferdinand VI., 1746-1759.	Joseph Emmanuel, 1750-1777.	Christian VI., 1730-1746.	Clement XII., 1730-1740.
Charles III. (Don Carlos), 1759-1788.		Frederick V., 1746-1766.	Benedict XIV., 1740-1758.
			Clement VIII., 1758-1769.

Sweden.	*Sardinia.*	*Turkey.*
Frederick I., 1721-1751.	Victor Amadeus I. 1720-1730.	Achmet III., 1703-1730.
Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771.	Charles Emmanuel I. 1730-1773.	Mahmud I., 1730-1754.
		Othman III., 1754-1757.
		Mustapha III., 1757-1775.

Period I.—1727-1742.
From the Accession of George II. to the Fall of Walpole, 1727-1742.

Contents.

Position of Home and Foreign Affairs—The Treaty of Seville—The Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731—The Excise Scheme—The Porteous Riots—The Polish Succession War, 1733-1735—War with Spain, 1739—The Opening of the Austrian Succession War, 1741—Fall of Walpole, 1742—His Character and Work.

CHIEF NAMES, 1727-1742.

Charles VI.—Elizabeth Farnese—Don Carlos—Anna Ivanovna—Queen Caroline—Fleury—Frederick the Great—Maria Theresa.

George II.—George II., like his father, was devoted to Hanover. Like his father too, he was obstinate, was not gifted with much ability, and was incapable of taking a broad-minded view of things. He had, however, great personal courage, and was the last English King to take part in a battle. His habits were methodical. He was himself concise and expected conciseness in others. When once he had placed his confidence in any minister, it was not easily shaken, and as soon as he realised the value of Walpole, he never swerved in his loyalty to him. He owed much to his Queen, 'Caroline the Good,' who was an able woman, devoted to literature and deeply interested in politics. She had a strong and generous mind, and fully appreciated the abilities of Walpole, whom she consistently supported. Her influence during the years in which she was Queen was exercised for the benefit of Great Britain.

At George I.'s death, it was expected that Walpole would fall, and George II.'s first act was to dismiss that minister and

to offer the Premiership to Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons. Compton had little experience in affairs. He was unable to draw up the King's Speech, and Queen Caroline, who was alive to Walpole's merits, soon realised the incompetence of the new Prime Minister. As Walpole let it be known that he was willing to propose a large increase of the Civil List, George II. was easily persuaded by the Queen to re-instate the minister. The Civil List was increased by £130,000 a year. Compton, soon afterwards, as Lord Wilmington, was made President of the Council, and Walpole's position was assured till he fell in 1742.

Home and Foreign Affairs.—Two most pressing questions for Walpole were the position of the Dissenters and foreign affairs. To remedy the former without unduly irritating the Church, Walpole in 1727 began the practice of passing an annual Act of Indemnity for breaches of the Test and Corporation Acts. The Dissenters were, however, not satisfied, and in 1736 and in 1739 pressed for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Fearing to arouse a religious controversy, Walpole steadily refused to carry out their wishes.

Foreign affairs required more serious attention. Europe in 1727 was still divided into two camps. The Spaniards were besieging Gibraltar, the King of Prussia had joined the Emperor, and it seemed possible that a European war would break out. But events showed the Emperor the necessity of maintaining peace.

Catherine I. of Russia had died in May 1727, and had been succeeded by Peter II., who was a mere child. For the time it was impossible for the Emperor to look to Russia for any active support. Moreover, Charles VI. had never liked the idea of a Spanish establishment in Italy. He had realised the impossibility of obtaining money from Spain, and he found

that he could not expect active Spanish support for his Ostend and East India Company. Moreover, 'the establishment of a Spanish kingdom in Italy was fundamentally opposed to the interests of Austria.'[1]

Early in 1727 peaceful counsels began to prevail in Vienna, and the Austro-Spanish Alliance was weakened. Moreover, both Fleury, the French minister, and Walpole were in favour of a genuine pacification. In May 1727 the French, Spanish, Dutch, and imperial ministers had signed preliminaries of peace in Vienna, but the accession of George II. in June 1727 encouraged the Spaniards to look for a change of policy on the part of Great Britain. Finding that British policy remained unchanged, and realising that the Emperor was not likely to give any assistance, Philip v. and Elizabeth Farnese agreed in March 1728 to the **Convention of the Pardo**, which brought the short war between England and Spain to an end, and led to friendly relations between France and Spain. The Convention was a great triumph for Fleury, who aimed at attaching Spain to the alliance, already existing, between Great Britain, France, and Holland.

The Treaty of Seville, 1729.—The crisis in foreign affairs was by no means over. The Spanish Queen was as determined as ever to secure the Italian duchies for Don Carlos. In June 1728 the Congress of Soissons met at the suggestion of Fleury to consider various disputed points. The Emperor, finding that a Spanish alliance was unpopular in Germany, openly deserted Spain. Early in 1729 the Emperor definitely refused to agree to the marriage of Don Carlos with Maria Theresa. Furious at the conduct of Charles VI., Philip v. joined with Great Britain and France in the **Treaty of Seville**, November 9, 1729. By this treaty the succession of Don Carlos to the Italian duchies was guaranteed. The occupation of the

[1] Franck Bright, *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 970.

Tuscan ports[1] was arranged for; the Austro-Spanish Alliance came definitely to an end. **The alliance of France and Spain opened a new chapter in European history.** Till the outbreak of the French Revolution, France and Spain were, as a rule, in alliance. The Treaty of Seville laid the foundation of a political system, of which the chief characteristic was the union of the Latin nations of France and Spain against the advancing Teutonic nations—Great Britain and Prussia.

The Political Situation in 1730.—The Treaty of Seville left Charles VI. isolated, and a dangerous situation had been created. In the ministry Walpole was now supreme. Carteret in 1730 had resigned his Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and Townshend had retired from political life. The latter had desired an immediate attack upon the Emperor, but Walpole had hesitated before taking such an extreme measure. He had no love for an Austrian alliance, but he feared that the outbreak of a European war would be followed by an attack on Hanover and by the French occupation of the Austrian Netherlands. At the same time there was a general feeling in England, represented by Wyndham and Pulteney, that Austria, which since 1688 had been closely connected with Great Britain, was our true ally, and that France and Spain, with their immense colonial possessions, were our real foes. This view was reinforced by the attacks made by the Spanish Guarda-costas on British trade in Spanish America and by the continual disputes about the boundaries of Georgia and the cutting of logwood in Honduras.

The Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731.—Walpole had therefore a difficult task before him. Determined, like Fleury, to preserve peace, he refused to attack Austria, and he endeavoured to secure a redress of British grievances by the Spanish Government. In January 1731 the Duke of Parma

[1] These included certain ports on the Tuscan coast as well as Porto Longone in Elba.

died, and the Emperor, in order to prevent Spanish troops from landing in Italy in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Seville, occupied Parma with an Austrian force. A European war was inevitable if Spanish troops landed in Italy. That war did not take place was due to the skill of Walpole, who offered to guarantee the **Pragmatic Sanction** if the Emperor would remove his troops from Parma. By the Pragmatic Sanction the Austrian States were assured to Maria Theresa, the Emperor's eldest daughter, and the great object of Charles, who had no son, was to gain guarantees from the principal European States that on his death the Pragmatic Sanction should be carried out. Charles VI. readily accepted Walpole's proposal, war was averted, and **in March 1731 the Second Treaty of Vienna** was signed. This treaty really consisted of two treaties. By the First, which was made by Austria with Great Britain and Holland, the Emperor granted George II. a form of Investiture of Bremen and Verden, and undertook to abolish the Ostend East India Company and to allow Spanish troops to occupy the Italian duchies. Great Britain and Holland, on their part, guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, though by a secret article they insisted that Maria Theresa should not marry a Bourbon or a member of the House of Brandenburg. As Elector of Hanover, George II. promised his vote at the next Imperial Election to the husband of Maria Theresa. The Second Treaty was made on July 22 between the Emperor and Spain. By it Charles VI. engaged not to oppose the introduction of 6000 Spanish troops into Parma and Piacenza, and Don Carlos, the eldest son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, 'entered into quiet possession of Parma.' The importance of these treaties, which are known as the **Second Treaty of Vienna**, lies in the fact that Walpole had again averted a European war, that Elizabeth Farnese had by the establishment of the Spaniards in Italy achieved a great triumph, and that the conclusion of the treaty had

put an end to disputes which had disturbed Europe for fifteen years, and apparently assured to Europe some years of tranquillity.

The Retirement of Townshend, 1730.—During these years Walpole had many difficulties to contend with. In May 1730 Townshend resigned. He and Walpole had little in common, and in 1726 the death of Lady Townshend, Walpole's sister, 'had weakened the link that bound the two ministers together.' Townshend was 'irascible, domineering, and jealous,' and the Queen's preference for Walpole enraged him. 'As long,' writes Horace Walpole, 'as the firm was Townshend and Walpole, the utmost harmony prevailed'; but 'it no sooner became Walpole and Townshend than things went wrong and a separation ensued.'

Townshend's retirement left Walpole all-powerful, and he controlled foreign as well as home affairs. His popularity only increased the attacks made on him by the Opposition in *The Craftsman*. The King, however, supported him, and the landed interest were gratified by the reduction in 1733 of the land-tax by a shilling.

Walpole's Financial Measures.—In the same year Walpole proposed by his Excise Scheme to put the finishing touch on a series of financial reforms which had been begun as early as 1723, when he had checked the smuggling of tea and coffee and had increased the revenue at the same time.

Between 1721, the date of his accession to office, and 1733 he had prepared the way to the great Excise Scheme 'by a series of judicious measures.' He had repealed the duties which checked the importation of timber from the colonies, and still further to illustrate his belief in the advantage of possessing *prosperous* colonies, he allowed, in 1730, Georgia and Virginia to ship their rice to Europe in British vessels. Moreover, he reduced the tax on pepper, on cloves, and on other spices; on indigo, drugs, and numerous other articles.

He repealed the salt-tax and redressed the grievance connected with the heavy duties on silk which the French refugees in Spitalfields complained of. Smuggling and adulteration were at once checked when the taxation on the necessaries of life were removed. Walpole's financial policy had been described as 'a policy of relieving the burdens on food and the necessaries of life, removing those on English manufactured goods, and encouraging the import of raw materials used in those manufactures.'[1]

The Excise Scheme, 1733.—The remaining ten years of Walpole's ministry were, however, far from tranquil either at home or abroad. At home, the Opposition, headed by Bolingbroke and Pulteney, became each year more violent, and was strengthened by the addition of a party of young politicians known as the **Boy Patriots**. These included such men as George Chesterfield, George Grenville, and William Pitt, and until his fall the Opposition never lost a chance of attacking the all-powerful minister. Its first great success was won in 1733 when Walpole failed to carry his famous *Excise Scheme*, which represents 'the sum and culmination of his whole fiscal policy.' At this period the Customs, the Excise duties, and the land-tax were the chief sources of the Crown revenue. The Customs duties were levied on articles imported into the country at the seaports. The Excise duties were paid on articles produced and manufactured within the country itself, and were levied chiefly on salt and distilleries, the principal Customs duties being levied mainly on tobacco and wine. Customs duties were, moreover, the most expensive in collection and could easily be evaded. Walpole proposed to transfer wine and tobacco from the Customs to the Excise, and not to levy taxes on goods imported merely for re-exportation. In other words, the full tax on imported tobacco and wine would only be levied when they were removed from the warehouses

[1] *Social History of England*, vol. v. p. 121.

for sale. Such a policy would check smuggling and would have enabled Walpole to repeal the land-tax. Walpole's proposals were sound and statesmanlike, but unfortunately the Excise, which had been first levied by the Parliamentarians during the Civil War, was very unpopular. The Opposition saw their chance, and *The Craftsman* inveighed against the Excise scheme, which it declared would flood England with excisemen, would be extended to clothing and all articles of food, and would destroy the sanctity of the British home. Petitions poured into the House of Commons against the scheme. The City of London declared itself hostile; the popular clamour became so great, and the diminution of Walpole's majority in the House of Commons in April became so serious, that he reluctantly withdrew the Bill. The Opposition had won their first considerable success, and was now strengthened by those members of the Government whom Walpole had dismissed from their posts. George II. had taken much interest in the passing of the measure, and he fully concurred in Walpole's policy of deprivation. The chief sufferers were Lord Chesterfield, the Duke of Montrose, and the Earls of Marchmont and Stair, while the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham were dismissed from their colonelcies in the army.

The Porteous Riots, 1736.—At the General Election of 1735 the majority for ministers was reduced. Walpole's power had been shaken. Partly owing to Lord Stair's influence the allegiance of Scotland to the minister began to weaken. In 1736 a serious outbreak took place in Edinburgh. It showed the necessity of managing Scotland with watchfulness and tact. Since the Union, Scotland had made a considerable advance, partly due to the grant of Free Trade, which had been followed by great expansion in the industries of Scotland. At the same time the system of Highland roads, due to the energy of Marshal Wade, had, between 1726 and 1737, opened up out-of-the-way districts in the Highlands. In spite, how-

ever, of the benefits which Scotland was deriving from its connection with England, the Union was still far from popular. In 1724 considerable opposition was created by Walpole's substitution of an Excise duty of sixpence on each barrel of ale for the malt tax. The riots had forced upon Walpole the necessity of giving more consideration to the affairs of Scotland. He abolished the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, and henceforward took the management of Scottish affairs into his own hands.

In 1736 two smugglers, Wilson and Robertson, were condemned to death in Edinburgh. Shortly before the date fixed for the execution, Robertson escaped by the aid of Wilson, whose courage excited the pity and sympathy of the mob. On the day of Wilson's execution some stone-throwing took place, and Captain Porteous, who commanded the Edinburgh City Guard, lost his temper and fired at the crowd, and some loss of life ensued. Porteous was condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted. Upon this a well-organised mob stormed the Tolbooth (the city prison) and hanged Porteous in the Grassmarket. No evidence against individual rioters was forthcoming and the British Government at once determined to take away the Charter of Edinburgh, to demolish the City Gates, and to dismiss the Guard. The opposition of the Scottish Members of Parliament was so great that Walpole wisely resolved not to stir Scottish national feeling. He fined Edinburgh £2000, which was paid to the widow of Porteous, and he deposed the Lord Provost from his office.

Death of Queen Caroline, 1737.—The second serious blow to Walpole's position was caused by the death of Queen Caroline in 1737. Until that date Walpole had held his own against the Opposition, which was centred round Frederick, Prince of Wales, the father of George III. As long as she lived, Queen Caroline had steadily supported the minister, and with her death Walpole's difficulties increased.

The Polish Succession War, 1733-1735.—These difficulties were now much enhanced by the growth of opposition in France and Spain to Great Britain's maritime supremacy and to Great Britain's colonial expansion. After the Second Treaty of Vienna in 1731 it had seemed that Europe would enjoy some years of tranquillity, but **in 1733 the War of the Polish Succession** broke out, the origin of which was nominally the question of the succession to the Polish throne. The importance of the war, however, lay in the fact (1) that France and Spain, who had already come together at the Treaty of Seville in 1729, signed, in 1733, the **first Family Compact**, and that until the French Revolution these two powers were in constant union against Great Britain; and (2) that Sardinia saw in it an opportunity for extending its possessions in North Italy. For the time, however, Spain and France were content to devote their energies to attacks upon Austria, the Spaniards being eager to recover more territory in Italy, while the French were anxious to extend their eastern boundary in the direction of the Rhine. After two years of war, during which the Russians expelled from Poland Stanislaus Leszczynski, Louis XV.'s father-in-law, and placed Augustus of Saxony on the Polish throne, while the French occupied Lorraine, and the Spaniards and Sardinians won successes over the Austrians in Italy, **the Third Treaty of Vienna** was agreed to. By it the French secured Lorraine for Stanislaus (on his death it was to belong to France), while Don Carlos was given the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the Tuscan ports, and Elba, in exchange for the Duchy of Parma.

Walpole's Peace Policy, 1733-1739.—During the war Great Britain and Holland had remained neutral. The basis of Walpole's foreign policy was **friendship with France**. He was aware of the weakness of the French fleet, and he was right to ignore the Family Compact, the terms of which were well known to him. He was anxious not to endanger Great Britain's

trade privileges with the Spanish colonists, and until 1739 he did all in his power to adjust differences between the Spanish and the British merchants, being fully aware that a war with Spain would check the commercial and colonial development of Great Britain. Moreover, the resolution of the Dutch to remain neutral strengthened Walpole's determination to preserve peace.

Had Great Britain plunged into the **Polish Succession War**, the Jacobites would at once have recommenced their intrigues, the Hanoverian succession would have been in danger, and trade would have suffered. The Emperor had appealed to Great Britain as his ancient ally for assistance, and he was supported by many men in England who thought that a check should be given to the aggrandising policy of the Bourbons. But Walpole was convinced that a policy of non-intervention was Great Britain's true policy. In 1734 he was able to say to Queen Caroline: 'Madam, there are 50,000 slain this year in Europe, and not an Englishman.'

Growing Hostility to Spain.—From the death of Queen Caroline in 1737 Walpole's power gradually weakened. In Queen Caroline he had lost his chief supporter, and, moreover, from 1737 the quarrels between English merchants and the Spaniards became more serious. The story of *Jenkins's ear* was typical of the tales which spread through the whole country early in 1738. According to his own account, Jenkins in 1731 had been taken prisoner on the high seas, and had his ear cut off. Burke always spoke of the affair in later years as the fable of *Jenkins's ear*, but the story was believed at the time, and when Jenkins was brought before the House of Commons and asked what his feelings were when captured by the Spaniards, he replied, 'I committed my soul to God and my cause to my country.' The Opposition, headed by Pulteney, made the most of this incident, and, supported by the warlike feeling in the country, eventually forced Walpole into war.

In the Lords resolutions were passed in May 1738 protesting against the Spanish right of search, and throughout the year anti-Spanish feeling increased in Great Britain. Walpole so far yielded to the warlike spirit in the country as to strengthen his pacific overtures to Spain by preparations for war. Admiral Haddock with ten warships sailed to the Mediterranean; troops and stores were sent to the colony of Georgia, which was threatened by a Spanish attack, and preparations were made to defend our colonies and commerce. These warlike measures had their effect. The Spaniards assumed a more moderate tone, and the negotiations which were opened in London and Madrid resulted in a **Convention** which was signed on January 14, 1739. No mention was made of the right of search or of the Spanish claim to Gibraltar, and many other important questions, then at issue between the two countries, were left unsettled. But while claiming £200,000 for damages to its commerce, the British Government agreed to recognise the Spanish claim of £60,000 as compensation for the ships taken by Admiral Byng in 1718.

When the Convention was discussed in Parliament the Opposition raised a great outcry. They complained that the **right of search** had not been renounced, that the **limits of Georgia** had not been defined, that the **Guardacostas** had not been punished for the severities practised upon British merchants, that the taxing of Byng's victory in 1718 at the rate of £60,000 was disgraceful. The young William Pitt inveighed against the Convention, which he styled 'insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable,' while Sir William Wyndham, after making a fierce attack upon Walpole, left the House with some sixty of the Opposition. This **Secession** was not approved of by many of the Opposition leaders, but it enabled Walpole to end the Session quickly and with 'unusual tranquillity.'

War with Spain, 1739.—The preservation of peace, however,

was impossible in consequence of the rising war fever in Great Britain which in itself tended to rouse a corresponding feeling in Spain.

The Spaniards refused to surrender **the right of search**, and on October 19, 1739, **Great Britain declared war.** On November 22, 1739, Admiral Vernon destroyed Porto Bello in the Isthmus of Panama. Spain at once made vigorous efforts to defend herself and her colonies. Large sums of money were raised, expenses were cut down, Gibraltar, Minorca, and even Ireland were threatened. Englishmen were expelled from Spain, trade with Great Britain was prohibited. Vernon's attacks on Carthagena and Santiago de Cuba proved failures, and Great Britain soon realised the wisdom of Walpole's pacific policy when they found that the reforming and reorganising policy of Patiño, the great Spanish peace minister who died in 1736, had resulted in the creation of a new Spain, full of vigour, and able to defend itself against its foes.

During Patiño's administration important administrative changes had taken place :—the navy had been improved ; the trade with the colonies had been fostered ; the first Family Compact had been signed with France.

After the outbreak of war with Spain Walpole remained in office, hoping to prevent the war from extending to France. He well knew that war with France would be followed by a fresh Jacobite attempt. He had reluctantly agreed to war with Spain, and, when he heard the bells ringing to celebrate the declaration of hostilities, he said, 'They are ringing their bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands.' At first the operations of war were confined to attacks on the Spanish colonies under Admirals Vernon and Anson. The latter was sent in September, 1740, to attack the Spanish territories in the Pacific, and was not heard of for nearly four years. He sailed round the world, but did little damage to the Spaniards.

Owing to the absence of any striking successes the war with Spain soon ceased to be popular.

The Austrian Succession War, 1741-1748.—In 1740 Walpole found himself confronted by fresh difficulties. The deaths of the King of Prussia, of the Emperor Charles VI., and of the Tzarina Anna in 1740 **opened a new epoch in European history.** Frederick the Great at once invaded Silesia, and on April 10, 1741, won the Battle of **Molwitz.** The effect of this battle was important. France at once decided to tear up the Pragmatic Sanction, and to form a league with Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia against Maria Theresa of Austria. The French and Bavarians at once invaded Bohemia and penetrated as far as Prague. Walpole was in a very difficult situation. The country was determined to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction and to support Maria Theresa, though George II., finding Hanover threatened by the French and Prussians, made, on October 28, 1741, **a treaty of neutrality** for his Electorate. The unpopularity of this act was visited by the nation upon Walpole, who had not been consulted by the King. In this difficult position Walpole decided to advocate an accommodation between Austria and Prussia, urging upon Maria Theresa the necessity of yielding Silesia.

Fall of Walpole, 1742. The Merits and Demerits of his Policy.—In February 1742 **Walpole fell.** His fall was not the fall of an ordinary statesman. It implied the break-up of the Anglo-French Alliance which was made in 1717. The French Alliance had been **the basis of Walpole's foreign policy,** and the preservation of the Hanoverian dynasty was the basis of his domestic policy. The great danger to the dynasty lay in French hostility, and Walpole knew that an Austrian alliance would not be an effectual bar to a French invasion of Great Britain, and was, moreover, incapable of preventing a Jacobite descent (backed up by French arms and gold) upon

the British coasts. Throughout his long ministry he had steadily devoted himself to the maintenance of peace with France, and when he fell, the continuance of that policy had become impossible. His fall was in reality caused by the recognition that his foreign policy was no longer suited to the European situation. Of the general charges levied against him by the Opposition, few were of any great importance. He had been accused of parliamentary corruption, but parliamentary corruption was no new thing. Every minister found it useful, and Walpole was neither above nor below the standard of his own age. The Septennial Act had doubled the value of seats in Parliament, and the system of buying the votes of members in the House of Commons became more and more common until it culminated in the systematic bribery of George III. Walpole used parliamentary corruption to maintain the unpopular Hanoverian dynasty on the throne. The charge that he was habitually jealous of able colleagues is not supported by facts. It was impossible for him to retain Carteret as Secretary of State when their views on foreign politics differed on all essential points. The dismissal of Chesterfield was equally justifiable. A further charge against him is that he carried no great legislative measure. It is true no particular measure of the first rank is connected with his name, but the whole object of Walpole's domestic policy was to disturb as little as possible any class in the country. The same defence may be used against the charge that he loved peace at any price. Peace was absolutely essential to Great Britain during the thirty years succeeding the accession of George I., and the collapse of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 justifies Walpole's resolution to allow the country to expand its trade and manufactures, and to avoid foreign complications.

Most of the charges against Walpole are groundless and factious, and the opposition to him organised by the discon-

tented Whigs was purely personal. At the same time there is no doubt that Walpole's **attitude to the Church** and **the colonies** deserves severe criticism. At a time when a notable expansion was taking place in the colonies, and when the great towns in England and Scotland and Wales were growing, Walpole, for political purposes, appointed political bishops, and did nothing to provide the colonies with clergy. He had neither sympathy with the Church nor with the Methodist Revival under the Wesleys. His incapacity to understand the religious needs of his time had a most disastrous effect upon the social and religious life of England and Wales. His treatment of Scotland also showed complete ignorance of the problems which had to be confronted after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.

Personally unattractive, Walpole was wise and sagacious on political matters, and he belongs to that class of statesmen of whom Canning and Palmerston are types, more distinguished by their administrative rather than by their legislative labours.

IMPORTANT DATES, 1727-1742.

The Treaty of Seville	**1729**
Methodist Society Founded	**1730**
Retirement of Townshend	**,,**
The Second Treaty of Vienna	**1731**
The Polish Succession War	**1733-1735**
The Excise Scheme	**1733**
The Third Treaty of Vienna	**1735**
The Porteous Riots	**1736**
Death of Queen Caroline	**1737**
War with Spain	**1739**
The Austrian Succession War	**1741-1748**
Battle of Molwitz	**1741**
Fall of Walpole	**1742**

QUESTIONS ON PERIOD I., 1727-1742.

(1) Account for the development of British prosperity under Walpole.

(2) Distinguish the various elements of which the Opposition to Walpole was composed.

(3) Explain Walpole's foreign policy.

(4) Explain the European importance of the Polish Succession War.

(5) Wherein lies the importance of the Treaty of Seville, Walpole's Excise Scheme, the Pragmatic Sanction, 'The Craftsman'?

(6) What were the causes of Walpole's fall?

Period II.—1742-1748.

From the Fall of Walpole to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1742-1748.

Important Issues at Stake after 1740—The Methodist Movement—The Austrian Succession War—Dettingen—Fall of Carteret—Fontenoy—The '45—Condition of Scotland—March to Derby—Culloden—Results of '45—The War on the Continent—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Canada—India.

The Questions at Issue between Great Britain and the Bourbons.—The fall of Walpole marks the opening of a new period in the history of Great Britain. The struggle between Great Britain and France for supremacy in the New World and in India had begun in 1689. After the Peace of Utrecht a period of peace had ensued lasting until the fall of Walpole, during which Great Britain and France for certain special reasons were in alliance. At the time of the fall of Walpole those reasons had disappeared and the struggle between Great

Britain and the Bourbons was renewed. Was Great Britain or France and Spain to have the command of the sea? Was the Teutonic or the Latin race to be supreme in North America? Was French or British influence to be paramount in India? By 1763 all these questions had been decided in favour of Great Britain.

Walpole's Fall. An Era in British Political and Religious History.—Further, the fall of Walpole marks the beginning of a new spirit in English religious life and in English politics. Hitherto, since the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, the British people had devoted themselves to commerce. There was no religious enthusiasm, there was no political interest, and intellectually Great Britain was in a state of political and religious lethargy, which marked the whole of Walpole's ministry. After his fall a religious and political awakening gradually permeated Great Britain. The Methodist movement marks the religious awakening, and Pitt's accession to office in 1757 marks the political awakening.

The Methodist Revival, 1740.—The year 1740 coincided with the beginning of the Methodist revival under **John** and **Charles Wesley** and **George Whitefield.** The accession of George I. marked the beginning of a period of deadness in the English Church which lasted for many years. The schism of the non-jurors in William III.'s reign had weakened the Church, the loyalty of many Churchmen to the exiled House of Stuart had strengthened the hands of the opponents of the clergy, and the controversies which filled the history of the Church during the reigns of George I. and II. tended to lessen her spiritual influence. Of these controversies those known as the Bangorian and Trinitarian controversies were the most celebrated. Hoadly, who was Bishop of Bangor from 1715 to 1721, and who during that time never once visited his diocese, was a Latitudinarian whose preaching and writing against the received doctrines of the Church raised up a storm

of opposition among the clergy. Convocation having condemned his writings, the King suspended the meetings of that body, which did not resume its sittings till 1852. The Trinitarian controversy arose through the denial of the Divinity of our Lord by a number of men, who founded the sect known as Unitarians. Their views were controverted by Dr. Waterland, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, whose able writings strengthened the position of religion in Great Britain, and did much to check the growth of Latitudinarian ideas within the Church of England. While the Church was attacked by controversies from within, she was attacked from without by a party known as the Deists, who disbelieved in Revelation, who wished to reduce religion to a mere system of morality, and who included among their number Lord Bolingbroke, the famous Tory statesman and writer. Their views were examined and overthrown by Bishop Butler in his *Analogy of Religion*, which was published in 1736, and by Bishops Berkeley and Warburton.

State of the Church.—Unfortunately during the reigns of George I. and II., the bishops, though often learned, were on the whole mere politicians who owed their position to the services which they had rendered to the Whig Government. Hoadly was a typical bishop of those days, and for his political services in 1734 was given the bishopric of Winchester. Lancelot Blackburn, Archbishop of York from 1723 to 1743, had been chaplain in a buccaneer, neglected his diocese, and was notorious for his careless manner of life. Under such leaders religion became cold and unspiritual, and the gulf between the bishops and the clergy widened. Undoubtedly the rule of the Whigs from 1714 to 1760 had disastrous effects upon religion, for Walpole's aim was to keep things quiet in Church as well as in State. The bishops exercised little supervision over their clergy, who often neglected their duties and showed little consciousness of their spiritual

obligations. Many exceptions were no doubt to be found, but, generally speaking, the religious atmosphere under the early Georges was marked by indolence, selfishness, and Erastianism.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where the clergy were educated, did not escape from the lethargy which characterised all religious institutions. From 1715 to 1760 reason and common-sense dominated the religious and educational life of Great Britain.

Intellectual Activity of the Church.—In spite, however, of the lack of activity in the Church, its intellectual interests were not neglected. Oxford, like Cambridge, though it supported the Jacobite cause, was still a seat of learning, the home of independent study. Archbishop Wake defended with skill the position of the English Church when certain French clergy suggested a union between the churches of England and France.

Waterland, Berkeley, Warburton, and Butler all showed conspicuous intellectual strength, and overwhelmed their opponents by their arguments. When Bishop Butler, however, raised his voice against the Deist view of Christianity, he also noted the 'neglect of external religion,' and wrote in favour of a stricter standard of clerical efficiency. The growth of Methodism eventually did help to awake the Church of England from its torpor, but the first results of the Methodist movement was to strengthen the clergy in their dislike of anything like enthusiasm in religion, and in their suspicions of anything like religious earnestness.

The truths of Christianity having been proved, it only required some stimulus to rouse the religious instincts of the nation. The match that kindled the first flame of the religious revival was lit by **John Law**, whose two books, *Christian Perfection*, and *The Serious Call*, awakened the religious feelings of many. While John Law was the precursor,

the chief actors in the revival were John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

John Wesley.—Born at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, in 1703, John Wesley was educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford, and was elected Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1726. In 1728 he was ordained priest by Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and acted for two years in his father's church at Epworth and Wroot. On his return to Oxford he joined a small society formed for religious purposes by his brother, Charles Wesley, who was then a member of Christ Church. Under the leadership of John Wesley this small club, the number of which reached fourteen, studied the Greek Testament and the classics, and laid down and followed certain rules of life. The members, which included George Whitefield, a member of Pembroke College, received the Holy Communion at St. Mary's Church every Sunday, and carried out carefully and methodically the rules of the Church. Hence came the name of Methodists. In 1735 the society broke up, and the two Wesleys accompanied General Oglethorpe to Georgia with the intention of converting the Indians, and of working among the English colonists. There John Wesley came into contact with the Moravian sect, the members of which held peculiar views about conversion. His expedition ended in failure, the colonists not approving of his strict adherence to the rules and discipline of the Church. In 1738 he was again in England making a preaching tour, and from that year the Revival must be dated. In 1739 he followed Whitefield's example and began the practice of field-preaching, though he was at first strongly opposed to religious enthusiasm. The same year he authorised the building of chapels for the Methodist services. To Wesley everything 'was made subservient to his desire of doing practical good,' and he never seems to have harboured the idea of separating from the English Church.

Whitefield.—George Whitefield differed in many respects from John Wesley. Intellectually inferior to Wesley, Whitefield was essentially a preacher who had a striking effect upon the uneducated thousands who listened to him in America, in London, and in various parts of England. 'His fire, his earnestness, his magnificent voice, his dramatic action, his noble person, took the world by storm.' Whether preaching to the colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol, or in his tabernacle in Tottenham fields, or in some drawing-room, he always attracted attention. But he knew little theology, he was hasty and indiscreet, he was 'a guileless, self-denying, but ill-trained and very injudicious enthusiast.' He eventually separated from John Wesley. While John Wesley was the organiser, and Whitefield the orator, Charles Wesley was the hymn-writer of the movement.

Charles Wesley.—Charles Wesley was born in 1708 and died in 1788. Like John Wesley, he was an effective preacher, and like him, he had a strong will. He was a more loyal Churchman than was his brother, whose action in ordaining in 1784 a bishop named Coke to superintend the American missions, he strongly condemned. It is impossible to gauge the effect of the many beautiful hymns of which he was the author

The Evangelical Party.—Owing to the influence of the Wesleys and Whitefield a party grew up within the Church of England which was known as Evangelical. It included Fletcher, Lady Huntingdon, Hannah More, the poet Cowper, and many others from the upper and upper middle classes. Though objecting to many of the irregularities of Methodism, the Evangelicals agreed with the Methodists in desiring the revival of spiritual religion, a more strict observance of Sunday, and generally the spread of religious truth. Both Evangelicals and Methodists were full of philanthropic energy and religious zeal, and to their efforts was due the improvement in the condition of the prisons, and the greater attention

that was paid to the poorer classes. From the religious revival, too, emanated the movement for the abolition of the slave trade.

In 1784 John Wesley, then 82 years of age, finding that the bishops would not ordain his lay-preachers, took upon himself to ordain elders and a bishop who was sent to America to take charge of the Methodists.

This action led to the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England, and at the time of John Wesley's death in 1791 the break between Methodism and the Church had become inevitable, though Wesley himself never left the Church. But in 1791 the Methodists, it has been stated, numbered 71,000 in Great Britain, and 48,000 in America, and had a complete preaching organisation. When once they had begun to administer the Holy Communion the preachers could not remain in the Church of England.

The Revival in Wales.—The religious revival was especially marked in Wales. There the religious needs of the people were under the early Hanoverian kings scandalously neglected. Bishops were appointed for purely political reasons, and consequently the people were alienated from the Church. 'In many churches there was no sermon for months together; in some places nothing but a learned English discourse to an illiterate Welsh congregation.' The parochial clergy were poor, and before John Wesley had inaugurated the Methodist revival, **Griffith Jones** of Llanddowror, a celebrated preacher and clergyman of the English Church, and **Howel Harris**, a layman, had begun a religious movement in Wales. The former sent itinerant schoolmasters into many parishes, and made strenuous efforts to educate the ignorant Welsh peasants; while under the latter, who lived from 1714 to 1773, and for seventeen years was himself an itinerant preacher, the movement stirred by his eloquence a vast number of preachers who carried his teaching all over Wales.

In 1751 Howel Harris quarrelled with **Daniel Rowland**, who in 1752 retired to his home at Trevecca in Brecon, where he continued to work and preach. He was the founder of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism. Daniel Rowland, who lived from 1713 to 1790, was the greatest of the Welsh revivalists. A clergyman of the English Church, he owed his enormous influence to his oratorical powers, and to his religious zeal. Like the religious movement in West Cornwall, the revival in Wales owed nothing in the first instance to the Wesleys, though it speedily became affected by their efforts. In 1763 Rowland was suspended from the exercise of his clerical functions.

The Austrian Succession War, 1740-1748.—In Europe the years between 1740 and 1763 were also of supreme importance. New ideas of reform were loudly proclaimed, while the seizure of Silesia by Frederick the Great and the Prussian victory over Austria at the Battle of Molwitz marked the rise of a new power in Germany, and was followed by the invasion of Austria by France, Bavaria, and Saxony.

Carteret's Policy, 1742-1744.—At the time, however, of Walpole's fall, the importance of the issues before the world was not realised. Walpole was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Wilmington (Sir Spencer Compton). Pulteney, the leader of the Opposition, had refused to take office, and retired to the House of Lords as Lord Bath. Wilmington held the post of First Lord of the Treasury, while Henry Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who was Secretary of State for the Southern Department, kept their places, and Carteret became Secretary of State for the Northern Department, and directed the foreign policy of the Government. Carteret belonged to that section of the Whigs who considered that the Grand Alliance should be revived, and that the Whig policy should be taken up where it was dropped in 1711. He was therefore in favour of active intervention on behalf of Maria Theresa. Sixteen thousand British troops

were at once sent into the Low Countries, the same number of Hanoverians were employed, and the Dutch Government prepared to join Great Britain. It became clear that the Silesian war was about to develop into a great European struggle. In accordance with Carteret's wish, Maria Theresa, on July 28, 1742, made a Treaty with Frederick the Great recognising the loss of Silesia, and in September a Treaty between Saxony and Austria was signed.

The Battle of Dettingen, June 26, 1743.—The year 1743 was important in the history of the war. The Austrians secured Bavaria, and on June 26, 1743, a mixed force of British, Hanoverians, and Hessians united with 20,000 Austrian auxiliaries and won the **Battle of Dettingen.** The French army was commanded by Noailles, who sent a detachment under Grammont across the river Main to block the advance of the allies. Grammont disobeyed his orders and attacked the allies. In this battle George II. was in command of the Pragmatic Army, as it was called, and by his courage and presence of mind averted a panic, and defeated the French army with immense loss. George II.'s bravery—the last battle at which an English King was present—did much to popularise his dynasty in Great Britain. After the battle of Dettingen, the British Government might have withdrawn from the war. The object for which help had been given to Maria Theresa had been effected. She had regained all her dominions except Silesia, she was in no danger of a fresh invasion of her territories by France, and her troops occupied Bavaria. Instead, however, of retiring from the war, Carteret concluded on September 14, 1743, a close alliance with Austria, known as the **Treaty of Worms,** in which Sardinia was included. In reply, France and Spain made the **Treaty of Fontainebleau,** which is also known as the **Second Family Compact.** Although France did not formally declare war upon Great Britain until

1744, the battle of Dettingen and the Treaties of 1743 show that the renewal of the struggle between Great Britain and the Bourbons had in effect taken place. The strength of France was at this time considerable. 'The greatest danger to England,' writes Mr. Lecky, 'lay in the power of France, and that power . . . had been rapidly increasing.' Bolingbroke declared that twenty years of peace had sufficed 'to re-establish France's affairs, and to enrich her again at the expense of all the nations of Europe.' Spain, owing to the reforming policy of Patiño, had also entered upon a new period in her history, and was able to take an active part in the war in Italy. The revival of the power of the two Bourbon States was viewed with great apprehension by British statesmen throughout the war.

Fall of Carteret, November 1744.—Carteret's view was that the whole of Germany should unite and hurl itself against France and so complete the work interrupted by the Peace of Utrecht. His policy, however, was not fully appreciated by his colleagues. **Henry Pelham** had succeeded Wilmington as Prime Minister in July 1743, and was distrustful of the German tendencies of George II. and Carteret. Supported by public opinion, the Cabinet opposed Carteret's plan of maintaining an army in Hanover and of subsidising the Elector of Bavaria. War at sea against the Bourbons was far more popular than land operations in Germany. Though he had a great political reputation and a close knowledge of foreign affairs, Carteret was never a favourite with his colleagues, with Parliament, or the nation. His foreign policy was distrusted. He was known to despise popular institutions, and his close relations with George II. were resented by his colleagues. He was now Lord Granville, and, in November 1744, he was succeeded by Harrington.

New Phase of the War, 1743-1748.—In July 1743 the French had been defeated by the English at Dettingen, and in

September the **Treaty of Worms** had definitely raised against them the united forces of Great Britain, Austria, Sardinia, and Saxony. It became at once the interest of France to support the cause of Charles Edward and so to occupy the British at home. Early in 1744 the French made an attempt to invade England. **Marshal Saxe**, at the head of 15,000 men, waited at Dunkirk for the arrival of the French fleet, under the command of Admiral Roquefeuille. The British fleet, under **Sir John Norris**, contented itself with watching the enemy, and fortunately a violent storm blowing directly upon Dunkirk destroyed many of the transports. The French Government abandoned their project, and Marshal Saxe was sent to command the army in Flanders. In **March 1744 war was formally declared by France**, and during the next fourteen months Great Britain's weakness at home and abroad seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for the renewal of Jacobite plots. **Henry Pelham** had succeeded Wilmington (who died in July 1743) as Prime Minister, but in 1744 and 1745 his position was one of great difficulty. Carteret (Lord Granville, October 1744) had adopted an arrogant and independent attitude towards his colleagues, and in November 1744 was dismissed. The ministry was then reconstructed, some Tories were given office, and Pitt was conciliated. But no sooner had Pelham strengthened his position at home than he was confronted with defeat abroad and rebellion in Scotland.

Battle of Fontenoy, May 11, 1745.—**On May 11, 1745**, the Duke of Cumberland, with an army largely composed of English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, was defeated **at Fontenoy** in the Austrian Netherlands by Marshal Saxe. Cumberland's object was to relieve Tournay, then invested by Saxe. The French were in a strong position: on their right the river Scheldt and the villages of Antoing and Fontenoy; on their left they held the wood of Barré, which was fortified. The Dutch, under Prince Waldeck, were ordered to attack the French right;

General Ingoldsby to assault the wood of Barré. Both these generals failed and withdrew their troops. The main body of the English and Hanoverians, numbering about 10,000, meanwhile advanced through the gap between Fontenoy and the wood of Barré. With dogged heroism the column pushed on, cut the French centre, and withstood the frequent cavalry charges of the enemy. Had they been supported by Waldeck and the Dutch, the British column would have won a great victory. But Waldeck never moved, and the column was eventually forced to retreat owing to the efforts of the Irish Brigade and of the French artillery, which was placed on its front. The retreat was carried out without confusion, and though Cumberland had to retire to Ath, the wonderful advance of the British infantry was long remembered.

The 'Black Watch' at Fontenoy.—At Fontenoy a regiment of Highlanders, known as the 'Black Watch,'[1] distinguished itself by its gallantry. The origin of this regiment is to be found in a force of Highlanders whose chief supported the Hanoverian cause and which was raised in 1729 by General Wade. This force formed the nucleus of a regiment commanded by John, Earl of Crawford, and named the 'Black Watch.' At Fontenoy it was commanded by Sir Robert Munro and behaved with conspicuous gallantry, receiving special praise from the Duke of Cumberland.

The '45.—Meanwhile Charles Edward, after narrowly escaping capture by an English man-of-war, had sailed for the Hebrides, and on July 25, 1745, reached the mainland near Arisaig. On August 19 his flag was unfurled in the Valley of Glen Finnan by the Marquis of Tullibardine, heir to the Dukedom of Athol. The arrival of Charles in the Hebrides had been to his chief supporters unexpected and unwelcome. Foreign assistance was not to be hoped for. English Jacobites showed no signs of rising. It was only the reluctant adhesion

[1] F. H. Skrine, *Fontenoy*, pp. 62, 63, 194.

of Cameron of Lochiel to his cause that had ensured for Charles the support of a large number of Highlanders, and in the case of many feeling prevailed over judgment. The young Chevalier, who now claimed the British throne for his father, was born in 1720, his mother being the Princess Clementina Sobieski, granddaughter of the famous John Sobieski, King of Poland. Charles was dignified in appearance, skilful in athletic exercises, a good horseman, a fluent talker. He had served with distinction in a campaign in Italy, and was courageous by nature. In his dealings with the Highlanders he showed tact, an even temper, and a readiness to share all their hardships. 'An ideal leader of a forlorn hope,' Charles, by his personal charm, roused an enthusiasm and a loyalty which stood him in good stead after the battle of Culloden.

Short-sightedness of the English Government.—Since the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715 the English Government had not taken any effective steps to unite the Highland clans and the Lowland Scots or to secure the loyalty of either. To General Wade had indeed been intrusted the duty of making roads through the Highlands, and of establishing a number of forts of which the chief were Fort William and Fort Augustus, both on Loch Ness, and Fort George near Inverness. He set on foot a Highland police and pursued a wise and moderate policy. But he was ill backed up by the Government. The influence of the chiefs remained a standing menace to order, education was utterly neglected in the Highlands, no real attempt was made to enforce the surrender of arms, and in 1725 the Government authorised the treacherous Lord Lovat to organise and drill a Highland force of 480 men known as the Six Independent Companies. No effort was made to ameliorate the lot of the Highland population, and in 1740 Wade's police force was disbanded.

The folly of the English Government thus left the Highlands at the mercy of lawless chieftains, who carried on a

system of robbery and blackmail without fear. The abandonment of Wade's system, the general short-sightedness of the Government's policy towards Scotland, the British defeat at Fontenoy, the intrigues of the Jacobites, who, headed by John Murray of Broughton, were buoyed up with hopes of French assistance, thus brought on the Rebellion of 1745.

Government and General Condition of Scotland.—At the time of the rebellion the government of Scotland was in the hands of the **Duke of Argyll**, who had been appointed in 1744, in succession to Lord Tweeddale, who was the Scottish Secretary during the later years of Walpole's ministry. Argyll, who had succeeded his brother John in the dukedom in 1744, was endowed with the qualities of a statesman, and was assisted by Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the Lord Justice-Clerk, an energetic, acute, and far-seeing man. Though these men, together with **Lord President Forbes** of Culloden, were unable to prevent the rising of 1745, they did all they could when that rising was suppressed to mitigate the punishments meted out to the rebels and to encourage the growth of commercial enterprise. Owing, however, to the many causes of discontent which existed, the outbreak of 1745 found many of the Highland clans more ready than in 1715 to rise against the Government. In 1715 there seemed no immediate danger of the abolition of their customs and jurisdictions. By 1745 the growth of constitutional principles had warned the Highland chiefs that their powers and jurisdictions were threatened. The Highlanders were devoted to the clan system; they had long chafed under the Union; they were thus easily persuaded by their leaders to rise in defence of their independence. Moreover, the populations of Edinburgh and Glasgow had been alienated by Walpole's ill-advised imposition of a tax on beer which only produced £20,000 a year. The Porteous affair had also confirmed Scottish discontent and had discredited the Government. Thus events since 1715 had played

into the hands of the Jacobites and caused many moderate men to join in the rising of 1745.

Sir John Cope's Failure.—Occupied with the war against France, the British Government at first was disposed to disbelieve the reports of the landing of the Chevalier in Scotland, and it was not till August 6, 1745, that a reward of £30,000 was put on the Prince's head. While Charles's force was rapidly increasing, the Government could only rely on 3000 troops in Scotland under **Sir John Cope**, who, instead of waiting for the arrival of the Highlanders, marched from Stirling towards Inverness, thus leaving the road to Edinburgh undefended. On August 30 Charles reached Blair, and on September 3, Perth. He was now joined by the Duke of Perth and by Lord George Murray, the brother of Tullibardine. Lord George, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief, was a soldier of some experience, endowed with a masterful temper, an overbearing manner, and a practical mind. He soon came into collision with Murray of Broughton, whom Charles had appointed Secretary of State, and whose business-like abilities were ruined by a jealous spirit and a love of intrigue. The news of Charles's march to Edinburgh caused a panic in that city. Two regiments of dragoons, the only defenders of Edinburgh, met some of the advancing Highlanders on September 16 and fled to Dunbar, the skirmish being known as 'the Canter of Coltbrig.'

Charles in Edinburgh.—**On September 17 he entered Edinburgh**, the city having early that morning been surprised by a body of Highlanders under Lochiel. James VIII. was at once proclaimed at the city cross amid the enthusiasm of the crowd to whom the Union with England was still unpopular. Edinburgh Castle, defended by the veterans, Generals **Preston** and **Guest** (both over eighty-six years of age), was secure from capture, and thus while Charles held his Court at Holyrood the Castle dominated the city. Meanwhile Cope, after

reaching Inverness, had embarked his troops at Aberdeen and landed them at Dunbar on September 18.

Battle of Prestonpans, September 21, 1745.—Three days later, on September 21, he was attacked by the Jacobite army at **Prestonpans**, situated not far from Carberry Hill, the scene of the defeat of Mary Queen of Scots. His troops numbered about 3000 while those of Charles numbered about 2500. Lord George Murray organised a night movement; Cope was surprised and his army completely routed, Colonel Gardiner alone endeavouring to check the panic caused by the wild rush of the Highlanders. Charles had himself led the second column. 'Our Prince,' said the Highlanders, 'can eat a dry crust, sleep on horse-straw, eat his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five.'

After Prestonpans.—With the victory of Prestonpans, Charles reached the limit of his triumph. It has been said that 'the victory, triumphant though it was, put an end to his authority.' The continued resistance of the Castle rendered Charles's position in Edinburgh precarious, while the factions in his camp and the absence of any effective assistance from France prevented the adhesion of new supporters, and led to serious discontent among those Highland chiefs who had already joined him.

The success of the rising depended entirely upon French aid, without which Charles's enterprise was doomed to fail. For a short time, however, the victory of Prestonpans had promising results. Many, including Lord Kilmarnock and, later, Simon Lord Lovat, joined the Jacobite cause. Money was levied from Glasgow and other towns, and with new adherents from the Highlands and Lowlands, the cause of Charles Edward seemed likely to flourish.

But the absence of French assistance prevented any real progress being made, and enabled the Government to increase and concentrate its forces. **The Highland Chiefs had**

relied on the arrival of French troops in Scottish ports; until those troops had arrived neither Macdonald of Sleat nor Macleod of Macleod—two powerful chiefs in the Western Isles—would rise. The same cause strengthened the loyalty to the Government of the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Reay, the chief of the Mackays, and Lord Seaforth, all of whom seconded the efforts of Duncan Forbes of Culloden to raise forces in the north. Thus while General Wade was collecting a strong army of British and Dutch troops at Newcastle, a considerable force was being concentrated at Inverness.

The March to Derby, 1745.—Under these circumstances the Prince decided to march into England. The only other alternative was to remain in Scotland. By doing so the Prince would be able to watch the hostile clans in the north, and to prevent the rising of the Lowlands against him; he would also be ready to receive any French reinforcements that might arrive. On the other hand, there was little hope of such reinforcements, and the longer he waited in Scotland the more time was given to the Government for getting together an overwhelming army. Besides, as long as Edinburgh Castle continued to be held by General Preston, the Jacobite position in the capital was very precarious. Probably an advance into England immediately after the battle of Prestonpans would have been the best course, as the Government had at that time made no preparations, and no troops from abroad had arrived. As it was, the delay proved ruinous to the Jacobite cause. Many of Charles's supporters, including Lord George Murray, were opposed to an advance into England, but the Prince carried his point. He was convinced that the throne of George II. would easily be overthrown, that the majority of the English people would declare in his favour, and that French help would be forthcoming. His calculations proved erroneous. The English people showed themselves indeed strangely apathetic during the

march of the Jacobites into England. There was no enthusiasm for the Prince or for George II. Under George I. and George II. the wealth and prosperity of the middle class had greatly increased. That class, bent on its material comfort, had no religious or political enthusiasm. Parliament, in the hands of the great families, was not in touch with the nation, and George II. aroused no feeling of loyalty. But there was also no desire to rise for Charles Edward and to run the risks attendant upon rebellion. So the English nation remained indifferent and quiescent, leaving the Government to take all necessary measures for the suppression of the Jacobite movement.

On October 31, 1745, Charles left Edinburgh with 5500 men. Carlisle surrendered on November 17. The desertion of almost 1000 Highlanders, the quarrel between the Roman Catholic Duke of Perth, the leader of that section of adventurers who surrounded Charles, and Lord George Murray, the leader of the Scottish Jacobites, who represented the true feeling of a considerable portion of the Scottish nation, and the advance of Wade from Newcastle, threatened to check, if not to ruin, the Prince's advance. But the two leaders were reconciled, Wade retired, and Charles pressed on. Though he was received in Lancashire with some show of enthusiasm, Charles only secured about 200 adherents in Manchester, and early in December arrived at Derby, the day of his arrival being called by the English Black Friday. The situation was critical. Wade had 10,000 men at Newcastle; the Duke of Cumberland was at Lichfield at the head of another army, while at Finchley Common lay the guards and trained bands who constituted a considerable force which George II. was prepared to lead. The small Jacobite force of some 4000 men was threatened with destruction by three armies which numbered about 30,000. Charles was still bent on making a rapid march on London. Therein lay his one

chance of success. London was in a panic; the credit of the Bank of England was shaken, the preparations at Finchley Common were still incomplete, 'the whole power of the empire was paralysed.' A victory like Prestonpans, or the occupation of London, might have led to a French invasion and roused some enthusiasm for the Prince among the apathetic English people.

The Retreat to Scotland.—But **as no French aid was forthcoming**, the chances of success seemed small to **Lord George Murray** and the other leaders, who insisted on an immediate retreat to Scotland. As Lord Strathallan had collected some 3000 or 4000 men near Perth for the Jacobite cause, and as some French soldiers under Lord John Drummond, an officer in the French service, had landed at Montrose, Murray was convinced that the Jacobites might hold their own in Scotland for a time, and possibly might dissolve the Union and establish the Prince as King of Scotland.

The decision to retire from Derby proved the death-blow to Jacobite hopes and to Jacobitism as an active force. Charles, who had on the advance been the life of the expedition, showed much ill-humour on the retreat, and evinced little interest in the plans of Lord George Murray, whose strategical skill he never appreciated. Near Penrith Murray beat off the attack of some of Cumberland's troops, and Carlisle was re-entered on December 19.[1] Having left in that city a garrison of some 300 men, Charles entered Scotland to find the Earls of Home and Glencairn had raised a force for the Government in the south-west, that Lord Loudoun commanded another body of the supporters of George II. in the north, and that Edinburgh was no longer in his power. On the other hand came the news that the Duc de Richelieu was preparing to send large reinforcements from France; while in order to strengthen his exchequer, Charles, while

[1] See map, p. 10.

at Glasgow, levied large sums from that town and from Dumfries.

Battle of Falkirk.—On January 10, 1746, Charles besieged Stirling, where he was joined by a large force under Lord Strathallan (accompanied by Lord John Drummond and a small body of French soldiers), who had defeated Loudoun and his Highlanders. The Pretender's army now amounted to 9000 men, and with these he hoped to reduce Stirling, which was defended by General Blakeney. Meanwhile Cumberland had, on December 31, overcome the Jacobite garrison in Carlisle, but owing to the danger of a French invasion was recalled to London. His place as head of the pursuing army was taken by **General Hawley**, who had superseded General Wade. Hawley had seen some service, and, having been present at Sheriffmuir in 1715, had formed a low opinion of the fighting qualities of the Highlanders. A man of brutal disposition, he was lacking in military skill and knowledge. Being at the head of 8000 men, most of whom were veterans, he showed an over-confidence which proved disastrous to the English cause. Advancing from Edinburgh to the relief of Stirling, he arrived on January 14 at Falkirk. Neglecting to take ordinary precautions, Hawley was completely outmanœuvred by Murray, and on January 17 found himself between two advancing armies. While Lord John Drummond moved from Stirling to Falkirk on the main road, Murray made a circuitous march, and occupied a ridge on **Falkirk Moor**. The rush of the Highlanders broke the right and centre of Hawley's army, composed of veteran troops. **Wolfe**, then a young officer, skilfully held his own against the enemy, and with General Haske protected the English retreat, preventing it from becoming a rout. Owing in some measure to a storm of wind and rain which prevailed, the later stages of the battle somewhat resembled the chaotic struggle at Sheriffmuir. As, however, Hawley retired to

Edinburgh, abandoning his camp and his cannon, Charles Edward and his Highlanders could, with some justice, claim to have won a victory.

Retreat of the Jacobites to the North.—The overthrow of disciplined English troops at Falkirk stirred the Government to take vigorous measures, and the Duke of Cumberland was sent from London on January 25, 1746, to supersede Hawley. Imbued with energy and courageous, like all his race, the Duke, whose cruelty was to give him the name of 'The Butcher,' was indignant at the defeat of experienced troops by the Highlanders. On arriving at Edinburgh he found that Charles, instead of following up his success, had continued his fruitless attempts to take Stirling Castle without adequate artillery. The demoralised English troops were now reorganised, and the men taught how to resist the Highland rushes. The confidence of the army was soon restored, and under Cumberland it marched by Stirling to Perth. Meanwhile Lord George Murray and the other leaders had insisted on the raising of the siege of Stirling Castle, and on the retirement of the Jacobite forces to Inverness. Charles, whose army was much reduced by the dispersal of many of the clans with their booty, wished to engage Cumberland in battle at Stirling, but found himself compelled to accept more prudent counsels.

On February 1 the siege of Stirling was raised, and the Jacobite army retired northwards in three columns. The breach between Charles and Murray, which had become apparent at Carlisle and Derby, was widened, and in fact was never healed.

Battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746.—For a time, however, the Prince's cause continued to flourish in the north. Lord Loudoun's force of 2000 men was easily dispersed, Inverness was occupied on February 18, and Fort George on February 20. For some three months, until the battle of Culloden,

the Jacobites were supreme in the north of Scotland. Nevertheless, in the opinion of many military men, the rebellion was at an end, and no dread was felt of any fresh movement in the summer. Cumberland, however, listened to the advice of Andrew Fletcher, the Lord Justice-Clerk, who was convinced that the rebellion would only come to an end after the Highlanders had been defeated in a pitched battle. Reinforced by 6000 Hessians, he therefore advanced steadily northwards, his vanguard reaching Aberdeen on February 25, and his army of 8000 foot, 1000 horse, and artillery, receiving supplies from the sea. From Aberdeen he directed his course to Inverness, and on April 14 reached Nairn. On Drummossie Moor, near Culloden, twelve miles from Nairn and about five miles from Inverness, the Jacobite army of some 5000 men awaited his approach. Many of the Highlanders were absent on expeditions, and many had gone to their homes. A retirement in order to give the army time to be joined by all the clans would have been the wiser course. But Charles was opposed to all idea of retirement.

April 15 was the birthday of the Duke of Cumberland, and on the initiative of Murray a night attack was arranged which it was expected would find the English army unprepared. Unfortunately for Charles's cause, the Highlanders became disorganised during the long night march, and were forced to give up the attempt. The famished and weary troops were in no fit condition to meet the English army which at eight o'clock on the morning of April 16 attacked them in the famous battle of Culloden. The Macdonalds, who claimed to be placed in the right wing, were furious at being ordered to occupy the left, and hesitated for a time before charging. Meanwhile the right, composed of the Stuarts, Camerons, and the Athol men, under Lord George Murray, had broken through the first line, only to find their ranks decimated by artillery and by the steady fire and bayonets of the second

line. The English officers, among whom was Wolfe, were now commanding seasoned troops who had been taught how to meet the Highland charge, and a complete victory rewarded their steadiness. The main body of the Jacobite army fled in confusion, losing, according to the Duke of Cumberland, 2000 men. No quarter was given to the wounded, and for some months after the battle the fugitives were deliberately hunted down like wild beasts and slaughtered. Scotland was treated like a conquered country, and no magnanimity was shown by the ferocious Duke of Cumberland.

Flight of Charles. Suppression of the Rebellion.—Charles himself fled to Gortuleg, and thence to Glengarry and the Western Isles. After many romantic adventures during some five months he escaped to France, from which country he was expelled after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. After the death of his father in 1765 he adopted the title of King of England. He died in 1788. His brother Henry, who was a cardinal, took the title of Henry IX., and died in 1807.

The battle of Culloden marked the close of Jacobite attempts. 'In the deadly defeat upon the waste moor of Culloden, the last hopes of the Jacobites had perished.'[1]

After the suppression of the rebellion many of the prisoners were executed. Colonel Townley of the Manchester Regiment, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and Simon Lord Lovat were all tried and suffered death. The Marquis of Tullibardine died in prison; the Earl of Cromarty was pardoned.

Scotland enters upon a new Era in its History.—Scotland now entered upon a new era. But that entry was accompanied by much suffering. The Scottish Episcopal Church, which the Government regarded as favourable to the Jacobites, endured heavy persecution. The houses in which they met

[1] Craik, *A Century of Scottish History*, vol. i. p. 298.

were destroyed, an Act passed in 1746 imposed rigorous conditions upon their services, and the religious proscription of the Scottish Episcopalians resembled that of the Covenanters at the end of the seventeenth century. More necessary was the disarmament of the Highlands. Previous attempts had not proved effective, but in 1746 a measure was brought forward by the Pelham Government which insisted upon the delivery of arms. To this measure of disarmament was added the forfeiture of the estates of rebels, and the proscription of the Highland dress. Hereditary jurisdictions, and with them the clan system, was abolished. Lord Hardwicke's Acts, two in number, were passed in 1747. One abolished tenure by wardship, the other the hereditary jurisdictions in Scotland.[1] These measures broke down the barriers which separated the English and Scottish races, and by establishing a more enlightened system conferred a lasting benefit upon Scotland.

The enforcement of peace and order in the Highlands brought with it a social and economic revolution. Vast numbers of the Highlanders, in face of the extension of sheep-farming, migrated to Canada and other colonies. Many portions of the Highlands were practically depopulated, while the clansmen who remained sank into the position of crofters.

In December 1747 Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the eminent Scottish statesman and lawyer, died. He had always been a firm supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty, and represented the desire for law and order in Scotland which was not secured till after the suppression of the Rebellion of 1745. He was Lord President of the Court of Session at the time of that rebellion, and urged in vain upon the Duke of Cumberland counsels of mercy and prudence.

[1] By this Act justice was to be administered 'not by local proprietors, but by Sheriff-Substitutes nominated by the Crown,' Craik, *A Century of Scottish History*, vol. i. p. 344. (A work to which I am much indebted.—A. H.)

A new chapter in Scottish history began with the year 1747, and from the Jacobite rebellion 'Scotland emerged a new nation.'[1] The gulf which had divided the Highlanders and the Lowlanders was bridged over, outside influences gradually made themselves felt all over Scotland, and changes in habits and thought came so rapidly that within a few years the Scottish nation was completely transformed.

The territorial aristocracy had suffered an overwhelming blow, and with the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, the uniform administration of the law was for the first time possible. The authority of the Law Courts became gradually recognised, while the Established Church, which had always been loyal to the Government, took a leading part in the intellectual development of Scotland.

Moreover, the Union ceased to be an object of hatred to the Scots, while the raising of Highland regiments by Pitt, and the presence of Scottish members in both Houses of Parliament, tended to unite the two nations together.

The Second Silesian War, 1744-1745.—Meanwhile Frederick the Great had been engaged in his **Second Silesian War** with Austria. He had, with good reason, feared a joint attack upon him by Maria Theresa and George II., and from August 1744 to December 1745 Prussia and Austria were at war. In the autumn of 1745 Frederick was hard pressed by the combined Saxon and Austrian forces. Fortunately for him the Jacobite rebellion fully occupied the attention of England, and George II., anxious for his throne, signed on **August 26, 1745, the Convention of Hanover,** with Frederick the Great, guaranteeing to him the possession of Silesia and confirming the Treaty of Berlin of 1742. Maria Theresa, furious at the desertion of George II., continued the war, but the Austrian defeats by Frederick resulted in the **Treaty of Dresden,** Dec. 25, 1745, which ended the Second Silesian War.

[1] Craik, *A Century of Scottish History*, vol. i. p. 347.

Frederick was secured in his possession of Silesia, and the **Convention of Hanover** was confirmed.

Ministerial Crisis, January 1746.—During the Jacobite rebellion a Ministerial crisis had occurred in England. Under the influence of Lords Granville and Bath, George II. refused Henry Pelham's demand—the admission of William Pitt and Henry Fox, two rising politicians, into the Government—and suddenly found himself without a ministry.

Of these politicians **William Pitt**, the grandson of a Governor of Madras, was born in 1708 and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford. For a time he was a Cornet in the Blues, and in 1735 entered Parliament for the pocket-borough of Old Sarum. He became prominent as a violent opponent of Walpole, who deprived him of his commission in the Blues, and, later, he opposed Carteret's Hanoverian policy. Consequently he was very unpopular with George II. **Henry Fox** was born in 1705, and though able, he was wanting in the best qualities of statesmanship. He was always anxious to advance his interests, he was steeped in political corruption, and he is chiefly celebrated as the father of Charles James Fox.

When George II. refused to admit Pitt and Fox into the ministry, Pelham resigned in January 1746. Granville failed to form a ministry, and George was compelled to yield and reinstate Pelham's. Pitt became Vice-Treasurer for Ireland, which post he exchanged shortly afterwards for that of Paymaster of the Forces, and attracted attention by refusing to make any money out of his office. Henceforward he was recognised as an honourable and honest man. At the same time Fox was given the post of Secretary at War, and a little later Chesterfield became Secretary of State.

Close of the War.—During 1746-1748 the war continued, on the whole to the disadvantage of Great Britain, though Anson and Warren won a battle off Cape Finisterre. The French

captured Madras, and in 1746 and 1747 Marshal Saxe carried all before him in the Netherlands, taking Brussels in January 1746, and winning in October the battle of **Raucoux**, which placed the whole country at his feet. In Holland a revolution had taken place. Frederick William of Orange was made Stadtholder, but when the Duke of Cumberland returned to the Continent, after the battle of Culloden, the combined British and Dutch forces were unable to hold their own against Saxe. In July 1747 the allied army was defeated at **Lauffeld**, near Maestricht, and the French then began the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, which they took in September 1747. The French had lost Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton Island (which the New Englanders had taken in 1745), and had been unable to hold their own at sea. Russia, moreover, had made a Treaty with Great Britain and Holland, engaging to march 30,000 troops against France. Both Great Britain and France were ready for peace, the latter, though successful in the Netherlands, having seen its navy ruined and its commerce destroyed. On April 30, 1748, preliminaries of peace were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the British, French, and Dutch envoys. Austria reluctantly agreed, and in October the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle brought the war to a conclusion.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.—By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle all conquests made by Great Britain and France were restored. France recognised George II. as King of England, restored the Barrier fortresses to Holland, and undertook to expel Charles Edward from France. Maria Theresa was forced, in addition to the loss of Silesia, to cede territory to the King of Sardinia and the Spaniards, Savoy and Nice to the former, Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla to Don Philip, brother of Don Carlos. In India, Madras, which had been captured by the French, was restored to Great Britain, while Louisburg and Cape Breton Island were handed back to France. Spain confirmed to Great Britain the Assiento

Treaty, and the right of sending the annual ship to South America.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle marked the weakening of the Anglo-Austrian Alliance, which had been distrusted by Walpole and vigorously upheld by Carteret. Maria Theresa had reluctantly agreed to make peace, and attributed in large measure to England her losses at the Treaties of Berlin, Worms, and Dresden. More than once she had attempted to make peace with France without the knowledge of England. **The peace, however, was merely a truce,** which afforded a useful breathing space in a long struggle. In Germany Maria Theresa was resolved to recover Silesia at the first opportunity, while the question of British or French supremacy in North America and in India and on the sea had yet to be decided. In North America the French, owing to the British supremacy at sea, had been unable to prevent the New Englanders from taking **Louisburg,** the key to the French possessions in Canada. At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle it was decided that Commissioners should define the limits of the British and French interests in North America. But it was impossible to establish any lasting peace between the French and British in America.

The Struggle between Great Britain and France in India, 1745-1748. Schemes of Dupleix.—Though the British had on the whole been successful in their struggle with the French in North America, in India the reverse had taken place. Between the French and the British, the struggle in India had begun in 1745, and was destined to last eighteen years until the latter were finally successful. The English and French East India Companies had been founded in 1600 and 1662 respectively, for trading purposes. When the French declared war on Great Britain in 1744, the British position in India was weak. At that time the East India Company had established three Presidencies, of which the towns of Bombay,

Madras, and Calcutta were the capitals. Bombay, formerly a Portuguese settlement, was ceded to the British Crown in 1662, and became the possession of the East India Company in 1668; Madras was founded in 1639, and was for some time known as Fort St. George; Calcutta was founded in 1690, and its fort was called Fort William. A factory was also established at Masulipatam. In 1744 the British troops in the Madras Presidency only numbered 600, and were ill-fitted to combat the French, who had planted settlements at Surat, Masulipatam, Chandernagore, Goree, Mahé, and Pondicherry, and also held the Isles of France and Bourbon, known as Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean.

In 1741 **Dupleix** was appointed Governor of Pondicherry, and at once developed the policy of his predecessors, Martin and Dumas, who had increased the prosperity of the East India Company. Dupleix, however, was not content to merely develop the trade of the Corporation, but aimed at expelling the British from India, and founding a great Continental Empire. Aided by Bussy, he plunged into native intrigues and began to drill native troops in European fashion.

The Condition of India.—The death in 1707 of Aurungzebe, the famous Moghul Emperor, marked an epoch in the history of India. The period from his death to the battle of Panipat in 1761 saw India exposed to invasion from without and anarchy from within.

In 1739 Nadir Shah invaded India from Persia, defeated the Emperor, and carried away with him a vast amount of treasure. His departure was followed by the rapid development of the power of the Mahratta Confederacy, which hoped to abolish the Imperial dignity and to reduce the whole of Hindostan under Mahratta rule. Before, however, this policy could be carried out, they had to conquer the Nizam of the Deccan and the Nabob of the Carnatic, who were the nominal servants of the Moghuls.

The years from 1740 to 1763 are of great importance in the history of India. They witnessed the overthrow of the French and the partial triumph of the British power in India. In 1761 the power of the French was broken, and the Empire of the Moghuls was also shattered. But the Emperor still occupied a great position and had the East India Company



as his Vicegerent. The hopes of the Mahrattas seemed destroyed, and none could foretell how they would again reign a Delhi and meet the British in many desperate fields between 1770 and 1805. After 1763, owing to the ability of Warren Hastings, the ascendency of the British was gradually but firmly established.

At the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France, French commerce, owing to the inadequacy of the navy, suffered severely. But **Labourdonnais**, the Governor of Mauritius, whose military skill was superior to that of Dupleix, recognised the vital importance of the possession of a fleet. In 1746 he hastily collected some ships and sailed to the assistance of Dupleix. On September 20, 1746, he captured Madras and behaved with great moderation, refusing to imprison the British merchants. From that time the rivalry between Dupleix and Labourdonnais became serious, and this rivalry was one of the causes of the downfall of the French in India. Shortly after the capture of Madras, Labourdonnais's fleet was partly destroyed by a storm, and Labourdonnais retired to the Mauritius. He then proceeded to Europe, but on his voyage fell into the hands of the British. On being released, he returned to France to justify his conduct. Madras had meanwhile been exchanged for Louisburg. Labourdonnais was imprisoned for three years in the Bastille, and in 1753 he died. Meanwhile Dupleix had raised the prestige of the French arms, and the British fleet had failed in the siege of Pondicherry. The prestige of France remained superior to that of Great Britain in India until **the recall of Dupleix in 1754**. His recall to France in that year put an end to all hope of establishing the French power in the East.

After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Great Britain enjoyed a short period of uneasy rest, which lasted to the opening of the Seven Years' War in 1756. During those eight years a number of useful reforms were carried out by the Whigs, while in India, and especially in North America, the struggles between the French and the English never really ceased.

IMPORTANT DATES, 1742-1748.

Battle of Dettingen	**1743**
The Second Family Compact	**„**
France and Great Britain at War	**1744**
The Fall of Carteret	**„**
Battle of Fontenoy (May 11)	**1745**
Jacobite Rebellion (August 1745—April 1746)	**1745-1746**
Battle of Culloden (April 10)	**1746**
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	**1748**

QUESTIONS ON PERIOD II., 1742-1748.

(1) The first half of the eighteenth century has been called 'The Age of Common Sense.' Discuss this statement.

(2) Criticise, by means of a sketch-map, the strategical movements of the Pretender in 1745 and 1746.

(3) Account for the low state of religion during the early part of the eighteenth century, and describe the Methodist revival.

(4) Trace the political career of John Carteret, Earl Granville.

(5) What were the causes of the failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745?

(6) Give an account of the battle of Fontenoy.

(7) Sum up the results of the War of the Austrian Succession.

PERIOD III.—1748-1760.

The Seven Years' War and the Close of the Reign of George II.

Contents.

The Ministry of Henry Pelham—France and Great Britain in India —Recall of Dupleix—Hostilities between the French and British in North America—Home Politics, 1754-1757—The Diplomatic Revolution, 1756—Outbreak of the Seven Years' War—The Newcastle-Pitt Ministry, 1757—Loss of Minorca—Convention of Klosterseven—British Successes, 1757-1760—The Year 1759—The Struggle in North America—Braddock's Disaster—Attack on Canada, 1758 — Capture of Louisburg — Ticonderoga—Frontenac—Duquesne—Capture of Quebec, Death of Wolfe, 1759—Battle of St. Foy, 1760—Capture of Montreal, 1760—The French Loss of India.

CHIEF NAMES.

Henry Pelham — Clive — Dupleix — Braddock — Pitt — Newcastle—Kaunitz—Frederick the Great—Cumberland—Henry Fox—Brunswick — Hawke — Boscawen — The Tsarina Elizabeth—Washington—Wolfe—Abercromby—Amherst—Forbes—Montcalm—Bussy—D'Aché—Lally.

The Ministry of Henry Pelham, 1744-1754.—Until the beginning of the Seven Years' War, the Whigs were mainly occupied in carrying out a certain number of necessary reforms. Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister, a pupil and follower of Walpole, disliked war, and was not a capable war minister. He had strongly supported peace negotiations which ended in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and took a gloomy view of the future of Great Britain. He had in April 1748 written 'that peace was absolutely necessary for our

very being,' and in 1749 he declared in the House of Commons, 'We are in nowise able singly to withstand the whole House of Bourbon, and that in the present circumstances of Europe it would be impossible for us to form a Continental confederacy which would not be an encumbrance to us rather than an advantage.'

After the close of the War of the Austrian Succession, Henry Pelham devoted himself to domestic legislation. In 1749 he reduced the National Debt, effecting a saving of some £500,000 a year. In 1752, through the influence of Lord Chesterfield, the Calendar was reformed. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII. had corrected an error which had grown up in the Calendar, but the old reckoning still continued to be used in England, though most European powers had adopted the new Gregorian Calendar. In 1751 the English Almanack was eleven days wrong. An act of Parliament now ordered that eleven days should be omitted from the Calendar, and that the Gregorian system should be adopted. Many people imagined that they had been cheated out of eleven days' pay, and mobs went about shouting 'Give us back our eleven days!'

In 1753 Lord Hardwicke's Act for the Prevention of Clandestine Marriages was passed. The Bill was vigorously opposed by Henry Fox. In **1751 Frederick, Prince of Wales, died,** leaving a widow and several children, of whom the eldest, then aged thirteen, became later George III. Bolingbroke died the same year, **and in 1754 Henry Pelham died.**

Desultory Hostilities between Great Britain and France in India, 1748-1754.—Until his death Pelham had feared that events in India might lead to a fresh conflict between France and Great Britain and Europe. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had brought no peace to India, and English and French continued to fight under the banner of the Princes of Hindustan. In **General Stringer Lawrence** the East India


HUDSONS BAY COMPANY
NEWFOUND LAND
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
Cape Breton Id.
Louisbourg
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE HURON
Fort Frontenac
CANADA
NOVA SCOTIA
C. Sable
LAKE ERIE
Albany
NEW YORK
Salem
Boston
Newport
Providence
CONNECTICUT
R. I.
PENSYLVANIA
New York
NEW JERSEY
Philadelphia
Baltimore
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
VIRGINIA
Yorktown
Chesapeake Bay
Ohio R.
Claimed by the FRENCH
Tennessee R.
NORTH CAROLINA
C. Hatteras
SOUTH CAROLINA
C. Fear
Charleston
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
BAHAMAS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLAND & FRANCE IN AMERICA 1756.
English
French
Spanish
New England States
I Massachusetts
II Connecticut
III New Hampshire
IV Rhode Island
Middle States
V New York
VI New Jersey
VII Pennsylvania
Southern States
VIII Delaware
IX Maryland
X Virginia
XI N.Carolina
XII S.Carolina
XIII Georgia

Company found an admirable commander of their troops. He had seen service in Spain and in the Low Countries, and is to be numbered among the founders of the British Empire in India. He took command of the troops in 1748, and in August 1752 inflicted a signal defeat on the French in the battle of Bahoor, and till 1754 he was the chief upholder of the British cause in India. Meanwhile, in 1751, **Robert Clive,** who had been a clerk in the East India Company's service, made a famous **defence of Arcot**, the capital of the Carnatic, against a French and native army, and justified the remark of Pitt that he was the 'heaven-born general.' Hostilities continued, and had Dupleix received support from France, he might have founded a French Empire in India.

Fortunately for Great Britain the French Government cared little for Indian affairs, and was anxious to render war impossible between the two countries. The militant views of Dupleix were not approved of, and in 1754 **Dupleix was recalled** in order to avert an outbreak of war between France and Great Britain. Pelham's fear that the events in India would kindle a conflict in Europe were found to be groundless.

Hostilities between the British and French in North America.—In **North America,** however, it was impossible to check the enmity between the French and the British. In 1750 the Duke of Newcastle wrote that 'American affairs are much the most difficult and most dangerous of any now pending.' As long as the French were masters of Canada and Louisiana, it was impossible for the thirteen English colonies to hope for repose. Spain was already mistress of South America, and France now aimed at becoming mistress of North America. Though the French only numbered 80,000 compared to the British population of a million and a quarter, they had able and adventurous leaders, and were more united than the British colonists. The French were

determined to unite their possessions in Canada and in Louisiana by a **chain of forts stretching from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Estuary of the Mississippi.** Of these forts, **Fort Duquesne,** near the head-waters of the Ohio, now Pittsburg, **Crown Point** on Lake Champlain, and **Niagara** on the St. Lawrence were the most celebrated. In May 1754 a force under George Washington attacked the French in the Valley of the Ohio, and **in 1755 General Braddock,** when marching against Fort Duquesne, was attacked by a force composed of French and Indians, defeated, and was himself killed. The same year the capture of two French ships, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, by the British caused much indignation in France, and rendered the continuation of peace impossible. In **May 1756 Great Britain declared war upon France,** and the outbreak of hostilities between the two countries coincided with **the opening of the Seven Years' War in Europe.**

Home Politics, 1754-1757.—During these years the Duke of Newcastle was Prime Minister, Robinson and Fox were Secretaries of State, and Pitt was Paymaster-General. The Duke owed his position to his family connections and to his great wealth. He had none of the ability or tact of his brother, but he was honest and disinterested, and a great Parliamentary Manager. The appointment of Sir Thomas Robinson as leader of the House of Commons brought his ministry into ridicule. Robinson was a dull man with no Parliamentary experience, and unable to defend himself against the attacks of Pitt and Henry Fox. Before long, Henry Fox succeeded Robinson, and in November 1755 was made Secretary of State, while in December William Pitt was dismissed from his office of Paymaster of the Forces for having opposed the ratification of certain subsidy-treaties made with Russia and Hesse-Cassel for the defence of Hanover. 'I think,' said Pitt, 'regard ought to be had to Hanover, if it should be attacked on our account; but we

cannot find money to defend it by subsidies, and if we could, that is not the way to defend it.'

The Diplomatic Revolution, 1756.—When Pitt retired, Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, also opposed giving a subsidy to Hesse. The necessity for the subsidies, after all, did not exist, as Frederick the Great and George II. made a Treaty called the **Second Treaty of Westminster in January 1756**. This Treaty or Convention of Westminster was the first step in the great **diplomatic revolution of 1756**. Hitherto, Frederick the Great had been connected with France, with which power he had made two Treaties in the Austrian Succession War, while Great Britain and Austria were allied until 1755. In that year Maria Theresa decided that a British alliance was no longer advantageous, and her minister, **Kaunitz**, advised the substitution of a French alliance. At the same time Frederick the Great was considering the value to himself of his connection with France. War between that country and Great Britain over the colonies was inevitable. He was unwilling to guarantee the French colonies, and he distrusted the French ministers. In December 1755 he realised that Great Britain and Russia had made a Treaty for the defence of Hanover. He at once came to a decision, and by the so-called **Second Treaty of Westminster, January 1756**, agreed to defend Hanover if attacked by French troops. By this Treaty Frederick had converted Great Britain into an ally, had rid himself of the danger of the presence of Russian troops in Hanover, and was now recognised as Great Britain's strongest ally on the Continent. **The effect of this Treaty was stupendous.** France and Austria at once drew together, a revolution in French foreign policy was effected, and on **May 1, 1756**, the **First Treaty of Versailles** was made. France wished to attack Great Britain, Austria was allied with Russia and Saxony to attack Prussia. The Continent was now divided between Frederick the Great, allied with Great

Britain, on the one side, and Russia, France, Austria, and Saxony on the other. Until 1759-61 Spain took no part in the Seven Years' War.

The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763. — In June 1756 the maritime war between Great Britain and France opened with the **capture of Minorca** by the French, while on August 29, 1756, Frederick the Great invaded Saxony, and the **Seven Years' War began.** The failure of Admiral Byng to relieve Minorca and the loss of that island caused a popular outcry, and the **Duke of Newcastle resigned in November 1756.** In India the British had suffered a shocking disaster. In June Calcutta was captured by Suraj-ud-dauleh, the Nawab of Bengal, and the British prisoners were confined in a single room, **the Black Hole,** where 123 died during the night. However, in December the British fleet under Admiral Watson retook Calcutta, and on June 23, 1757, Clive won the battle of **Plassey** and conquered Bengal. Before the **famous trial of Admiral Byng** took place the Duke of Newcastle had been succeeded as Prime Minister by the **Duke of Devonshire,** a leading representative of the great revolution families, while **Pitt became Secretary of State** and was supported by his brothers-in-law, Lord Temple and George Grenville. Pitt's influence in the ministry was supreme. He carried a Bill for the organisation of the National Militia. He raised two line regiments from among the Highlanders, and he sent reinforcements to America. He was unable, however, to save Admiral Byng, who was tried by court-martial and shot on March 14, 1757. Popular opinion ran high against Byng, the **loss of Minorca** having roused the greatest indignation. With regard to his execution, Voltaire made the famous remark that 'In England they kill one Admiral to encourage the rest.' The prospect before Great Britain in 1756, and indeed during the greater part of 1757, was gloomy. 'Nothing,' writes Mr. Lecky, 'could be more deplorable than the condition of Eng-

land, and the years 1756 and 1757 were among the most humiliating of her history.'

The Newcastle-Pitt Ministry, 1757-1760.—In spite of the critical situation of affairs, George II. disliked the ministry and resolved to get rid of it. He had a strong aversion to Pitt and to Temple, and in this dislike he was supported by the Duke of Cumberland, who refused to command the Hanoverian army so long as Pitt was in office. In April 1757 George suddenly dismissed Pitt, who found himself the most popular man of the day. It was at once evident that he enjoyed the confidence of the country, and 'for some weeks it rained gold boxes.' For eleven weeks the country remained without a ministry, and on the Duke of Devonshire at the Treasury, Winchelsea at the Admiralty, and Holdernesse as Secretary of State devolved the task of carrying on the duties of government. George attempted every means in his power to secure a Government which did not include Pitt or Newcastle. At length he realised the impossibility of carrying out his wishes, and the famous **Newcastle-Pitt Ministry** was formed on the 29th of June 1757, on the understanding that Newcastle, holding the post of Prime Minister, should manage the patronage, while Pitt, as Secretary of State, directed the war. Fox was made Paymaster of the Forces, and took the opportunity of making a great fortune. Legge was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Anson took the Admiralty, Temple was Privy Seal, Pratt (later Lord Camden) became Attorney-General, and Holdernesse was co-Secretary with Pitt. Three years the ministry remained in office, at the end of which period Great Britain had become supreme on the sea, in India and America.

Disastrous Opening of the War for Great Britain.—The situation required the greatest energy and resolution, Minorca was lost, and in India and America Great Britain was threatened. Pitt himself during the early months of his ministry took a gloomy view of the situation, and even offered

to restore Gibraltar to Spain on certain terms, evidently regarding the condition of British affairs as wellnigh hopeless in the Old as well as in the New World. He had some reason for his gloomy views, for though Frederick the Great had successfully invaded Saxony in 1756, and had defeated the Austrians in the battle of Prague on May 6, 1757, he was defeated by the Austrians on June 18, 1757, in the **battle of Kolin**, and on August 30 by the Russians in East Prussia. On July 26 the Duke of Cumberland, defeated at the battle of Hastenbeck, had been forced to abandon Hanover, and on September 8 he signed the disgraceful **Convention of Klosterseven**, by which the allied army evacuated Hanover. In America Montcalm, who had been successful in 1756 at **Oswego**, captured **Fort William Henry** in August 1757.

British Successes, 1757-1760.—From his attitude of pessimism Pitt soon awoke, his courage and resolution stirred up the national energies, and victory in all parts of the world rewarded his efforts. The Duke of Cumberland was recalled, the Convention was repudiated, the Electoral (Hanoverian) army was taken into British pay, and the capable Duke of Brunswick was on November 9 appointed commander. On November 5, 1757, Frederick the Great won the battle of **Rossbach**, and on December 5 the battle of **Leuthen**, in the first battle defeating the French, the Austrians, and the forces of the Empire, in the second the forces of Austria. Pitt repudiated the Convention of Klosterseven, and in April 1758 **made a Treaty of Alliance with Prussia**, by which a yearly subsidy was given to Frederick II., and both parties agreed only to make peace in concert.

News also arrived about this time of Clive's great victory at **Plassey**, which had been won in June 1757, and which marks the definite beginning of our Indian Empire. Success now attended the British arms on land and on sea. By the end of March 1758 Hanover was freed from French occupation.

In June Brunswick defeated the French at **Crefeld**, driving them from Hanover and the Rhine provinces, and 8000 British troops were sent to reinforce the victorious general. Though Frederick the Great overthrew the Russians on August 25 in the terrible battle of **Zorndorf**, he was at Hochkirch defeated on October 14 by the Austrians, and for some time his position was most critical. Without British support it is difficult to see how Frederick could have held his own in this long struggle against the Austrians and Russians. During the year 1758 expeditions were sent to the Guinea coast, and the French settlements of **Senegal and Goree were captured**, while two attacks were made on the French coast, one upon St. Malo and the other upon Cherbourg. Of these the second was partially successful, as the British succeeded in destroying the shipping and docks of Cherbourg. But as a rule the descents on France cost the British much money and loss of life. In America we were also successful,[1] but in India the French under Lally captured Fort St. David, about twelve miles south of Pondicherry, and on December 12, 1758, besieged Madras.

The Year 1759.—The year 1759 was the great year of victories—a veritable *annus mirabilis*. In India Lally raised the siege of Madras, which had been defended by Major Lawrence, and the British captured Masulipatam on the mouth of the river Kistna. In the West Indies, Guadeloupe was captured on May 1. In July Havre was bombarded. The main interest of the year, however, lies in the overthrow of Choiseul's scheme for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland. In many respects it resembles Napoleon's project for the invasion of England in 1805. The fleets of Toulon, Dunkirk, and Brest were to unite, and the invasion was to take place by means of flat-bottomed boats. On August 18 Boscawen defeated the Toulon fleet under De la

[1] See p. 107.

Clue off **Lagos** on the Portuguese coast, Hawke defeated the Brest fleet under Conflans at **Quiberon Bay** on November 20, and in February 1760 Thurot, with the Dunkirk fleet, was forced to surrender in the north of Ireland. By these victories the naval and commercial supremacy of Great Britain was secured, and the French Government was unable to send any assistance to Canada, where the gallant Montcalm struggled in vain against the British.[1]

India and Canada won by Great Britain, 1760-1761.—The year 1760 was in many ways as important as the year 1759. On January 22 Sir Eyre Coote gained a decisive victory at **Wandewash** over the French, and a year later at **Panipat** the Afghan forces overthrew the Mahratta League. The long rivalry between the British and French in India was now decided in favour of the former, the supremacy of whom was now secured. The British had shown great adaptability during the struggle, and **by the system of training Sepoys India was won.** In January 1761 **Pondicherry**, the capital of French India, surrendered to Sir Eyre Coote, and all hopes of a French Empire in India were dispelled. On September 8, 1760, **Montreal** had capitulated and **Canada was won.**[2]

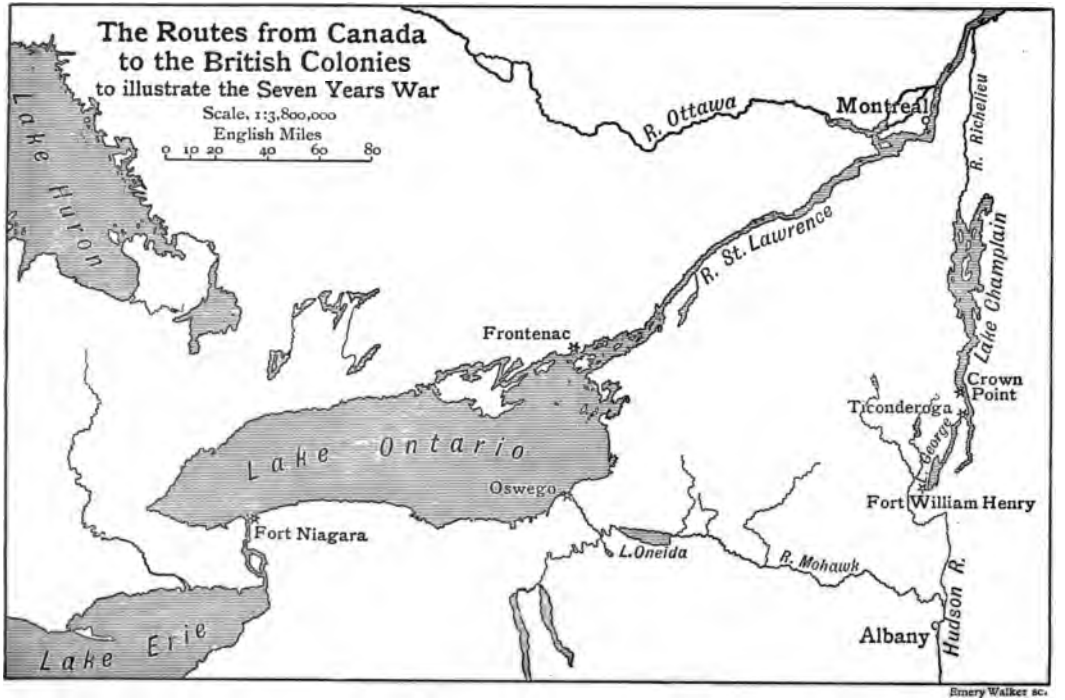
The War in Germany, 1759-1760.—On August 1, 1759, Ferdinand of Prussia inflicted upon the French army, under the Duc de Broglie and the Mareschal de Contades, a severe defeat in the battle of Minden. As in the battle of Waterloo some fifty-six years later, the French cavalry could not break the compact bodies of British and Hanoverian infantry. It was only the refusal of Lord George Sackville (who commanded the English cavalry on the right wing) to charge that saved the French army from annihilation. Meanwhile Frederick the Great was with difficulty holding his own in Germany and had suffered an overwhelming defeat on August 13 at the hands of the Russians and Austrians in the battle of **Kuners-**

[1] See p. 113. [2] See p. 113.

dorf. Had the Russians and Austrians followed up their victory, it is difficult to see how the annihilation of the Prussian monarchy could have been prevented. Fortunately the life of the **Tsarina Elizabeth** was known to be precarious, and the Russian general being aware that her heir, **Peter**, was a great admirer of Frederick the Great, thought it wiser not to advance upon Berlin. Nevertheless the position of Frederick at the end of 1759 was extremely precarious, and the accession of Don Carlos to the Spanish throne as **Charles III.** in August 1759 seemed to render it probable that Spanish aid would be given to France. At the same time Daun, the Austrian general, showed an over-cautiousness, and the Austrians, like the Russians, remained inactive for a time. Frederick was thus saved. The Duke of Brunswick had won a further victory at Warburg, and Frederick himself defeated the Austrians at Liegnitz and **Torgau**, the one in August, the other in November 1760. On October 25, 1760, George II. died and was succeeded by his grandson, George III.

The British and French in North America, 1755-1760.—A little more than a month before the death of George II., on September 9, 1760, Montreal had capitulated and **Canada had been won.** The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 had proved little more than a truce between the British and French in North America, and hostilities definitely began in May 1754, when Washington attacked the French in the Valley of the Ohio.

General Braddock's Disaster, 1755.—In consequence of the continued quarrels between the French and British colonists, the Government sent out in January 1755 troops to Virginia. In May the French Government also sent out a force of 3000 with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the new Governor of Canada. France and Great Britain remained nominally at peace, though the capture, off Nova Scotia, of the *Alcide* and *Lys*, two French ships, in June by Howe (afterwards Lord Howe) tended to


The Routes from Canada
to the British Colonies
to illustrate the Seven Years War
Scale, 1:3,800,000
English Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80
Lake Huron
R. Ottawa
Montreal
R. Richelieu
R. St. Lawrence
Lake Champlain
Frontenac
Crown
Point
Ticonderoga
L. George
Lake Ontario
Oswego
Fort William Henry
Fort Niagara
L. Oneida
R. Mohawk
Hudson R.
Albany
Lake Erie
Emery Walker sc.

bring about the inevitable war between the two countries. In June a mixed force of regulars and colonials, with whom **George Washington** served, moved from Virginia against **Fort Duquesne.** General Braddock, the Commander-in-Chief in North America, was in command, and though ignorant of the conditions of backwoods warfare, showed great courage throughout. On July 8, 1755, his force fell into an ambush prepared by the Indian allies of the French. Braddock himself was mortally wounded; 63 out of 89 officers were killed or wounded, and out of 1300 rank and file, only about 500 were neither killed nor wounded. The effects of this overwhelming disaster were felt for two years. Constant invasions of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania by the Indians took place, expeditions against Forts Niagara and Crown Point failed, though Johnson, a colonial, who led the expedition against Crown Point, defeated the French in a battle near Fort William Henry. It was impossible under these circumstances to preserve even the semblance of peace, and **on May 19, 1756, war was formally declared against France.**

Opening of War, 1756.—While the French Governor was **Vaudreuil**, and the **Marquis de Montcalm** was in command of the troops, on the British side Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and a civilian, had, on Braddock's death, acted as Commander-in-Chief. In 1756 he was succeeded by the Earl of Loudoun, under whom served General Abercromby and Colonel Webb. The war began with a serious disaster to the British. **Fort Oswego**, on Lake Ontario, was an important trading-station and commanded the western route from Canada to Albany, the basis and point of concentration of the British forces operating in America against Canada. The garrison in Oswego was small, and when attacked in August by Montcalm from **Fort Frontenac**, on the opposite side of Lake Ontario, was forced to surrender. Montcalm at once destroyed Oswego so as to prevent it being

used as a basis for an attack on Fort Niagara. A serious blow had been struck at the prestige of the British arms, and **Ontario became a French lake.** Had France not allowed herself to become entangled in the war in Germany, and had her power in Canada rested on firm foundations, the issue of the struggle might have been very different.

Real Weakness of French Rule in Canada.—Under the rule of the Bourbons, however, the Canadians, who had not among them any of the industrious Huguenots, had no inducement to till the soil; they preferred hunting and trading with the Indians. To a great extent they had to rely upon France for corn, and as soon as the **British command of the sea was established,** it was by no means easy to supply Canada with corn, which, owing to the dishonesty of the officials, was sold at a high price. Under Montcalm, however, the Canadians showed themselves to be admirable irregular soldiers, and for three years maintained a brave though ineffectual struggle against the forces of Great Britain.

Attack on Canada, 1758.—In 1757 Pitt became the leading member of the Newcastle ministry, and, on Loudoun's advice, it was at once decided to attack **Louisburg** and then **Quebec.** But before this programme could be carried out, Loudoun's incapacity had not only left New York defenceless, but had enabled Montcalm to capture **Fort William Henry** at the southern end of Lake George. In 1758 he was recalled.

Amherst and Wolfe sent to Canada, 1758.—The winter of 1757-58 marked the lowest point reached by the British fortunes in North America. Early in 1758 **Amherst** was given the command of the British forces in America, and under him served **James Wolfe,** who was of Irish extraction and had fought in the battles of Dettingen, Falkirk, Culloden, and Lauffeld. He had some knowledge of classics and mathematics and was a student of military history. Unostentatiously religious, Wolfe, before the Seven Years' War, had shown

himself to be a successful officer, with a thorough knowledge of the duties of his profession. Wolfe's enthusiasm for his calling led some one to assure George II. that he was mad. 'Mad is he,' was the King's reply, 'then I only hope he'll bite some of my generals.'

Value of Sea Power.—In addition to sending men of ability to America, Pitt took steps, by means of the British fleets, to prevent the French from sending reinforcements to Canada.

Capture of Louisburg, 1758.—While **Abercromby** was to attack Ticonderoga, and **Forbes** Fort Duquesne, **Amherst** was, in conjunction with the fleet, to operate against **Louisburg.** That town had been captured by the colonists in the war of the Austrian Succession, but the Government had restored it to France at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Louisburg was a place of great natural strength and commanded a fine harbour. A large part of Amherst's army was conveyed across the Atlantic by Admiral Boscawen and arrived before Louisburg early in June. On June 27 the French were forced to capitulate, their fleet in the harbour having been destroyed. Its fall caused immense enthusiasm in Great Britain and America, and was the first of that series of successes which were due to Pitt's energy and insight.

Abercromby's Failure at Ticonderoga, July 1758.—Unfortunately on July 8, 1758, **Abercromby** suffered a severe reverse in attempting to take Ticonderoga. Including colonials, Abercromby had an army of over 15,000, among whom was a regiment of Highlanders (the 42nd). Lord Howe, an able soldier, was unfortunately killed in a skirmish the day before the attack was made, and the want of his influence was at once seen. Abercromby decided, by means of a sustained frontal attack, to carry a strong line of log breastworks behind which were some 3000 Frenchmen. Artillery would have rendered the British task fairly easy, but Abercromby neglected to bring up his artillery and insisted on continuous bayonet charges.

The bravery of the British troops was unavailing, and the French won a signal victory.

Capture of Frontenac, 1758. — In the autumn, however, **Bradstreet**, a New Englander, serving under Abercromby, was allowed by the latter to take a force against **Frontenac**, the fort which dominated Lake Ontario. The defenders were few in number, for no attack was expected, and Bradstreet seized the fort without difficulty. Ships, guns, and stores fell into his hands, and the French declared that the loss of Frontenac was more serious than the loss of a battle. Frontenac had been the principal depot from which supplies had been sent to **Fort Duquesne**, the fall of which was hastened by Bradstreet's success.

Capture of Fort Duquesne.—In November Abercromby was recalled and **Amherst** became Commander-in-Chief in America. The same month Brigadier Forbes, after suffering some severe losses, arrived at Fort Duquesne only to find it abandoned. The French plan of establishing **a permanent connection between Canada and Louisiana** by a chain of forts was now destroyed. No obstacle to British development westwards remained; the French alliance with the Indians was shattered. For the complete overthrow of the French power in Canada, however, the capture of Quebec was necessary.

Capture of Quebec. Death of Wolfe, September 1759.—Early in 1759 **Wolfe**, whom Pitt had intrusted with the direction of an expedition against Canada, left England, and in May landed at Halifax. In June Wolfe and his army of 9000 regulars were conveyed by Admiral Saunders and the fleet up the St. Lawrence. With great skill the fleet sailed up the river as far as Quebec. There Montcalm with 16,000 troops, of whom a large proportion were militia, was awaiting the attack of the British, and had decided to fight at Beauport, a village some miles eastward of Quebec. Batteries were established by Wolfe at Montmorency, just beyond Beauport, and on

Point Levis, some high ground directly opposite Quebec, from which it was distant only 1200 yards. For eight weeks Quebec was bombarded. During that period Wolfe failed in an attack on the Beauport position, and he was almost hopeless of success. He determined, however, to attempt a landing above the town. On the night of September 12 Wolfe with 4300 ascended the cliff on which Quebec stood, and found himself on the tableland named the Plains or the Heights of Abraham, between Quebec and Montreal, from which Montcalm drew his provisions. In the battle which followed on the morning of the 13th the British forces, which were about equal in numbers to those of the French, won a signal victory, but Wolfe and Montcalm fell mortally wounded. Wolfe's heroism was, however, rewarded, for on the 18th of September **Quebec capitulated.**

Battle of St. Foy, September 28, 1760.—Meanwhile the French in July had evacuated Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

In 1760 an attempt was made by Lévis, a French general, to retake Quebec, which was defended by Murray (a son of Lord Elibank) with 7000 men. On April 28 **the battle of St. Foy** was fought, and the British were forced to retire into Quebec. The arrival of British ships early in May, however, compelled the French to retreat.

British Capture of Montreal, 1760.—Before the year was over the French experienced a final disaster. Amherst coming from Oswego, Murray from Quebec, and Haviland from Lake Champlain, converged on **Montreal** in August. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada was unable with only 2500 men under the command of Lévis to defend the town, which surrendered on September 8, 1760. The picturesque history of the French dominion in Canada was over, and Canada became a British possession.

The French Loss of India.—During the three years succeeding the battle of Plassey in 1757, India was also lost to

France. The recall of Dupleix and the abandonment of his policy had enabled Clive to establish British in place of French influence in India. For three years, however, after the battle of Plassey, the French continued their efforts to divide the South of India with the British. In 1757 Bussy occupied for France much of the coast between Madras and Calcutta, and early in 1758 the Comte de Lally became Governor of Pondicherry. At the same time a French fleet under D'Aché fought on April 23 a drawn battle with the British fleet, which was unable to prevent Fort St. David, a British station south of Pondicherry, from falling into the hands of the French on June 2, 1758. A second action fought in August between the two fleets had no decisive result, and in spite of Lally's protests, D'Aché and his fleet sailed to the Isle of France for the winter.

During his absence Lally made two ineffective attempts to capture Madras. In September 1759 D'Aché returned to the Coromandel coast and fought another indecisive battle with the British fleet under Admiral Pocock. On November 1 D'Aché returned to the Isle of France, leaving India to be gradually conquered by the British. France was unable to send reinforcements to help Lally, and in January 1761 the **fall of Pondicherry** marked the overthrow of the French power in India. France had thus been deprived of Canada and India, and her failure was due in large measure to maritime exhaustion. From lack of naval strength French merchantmen were captured, French commerce was destroyed, and Canada and India were lost.

Though Panipat had not been fought, and though Pondicherry had not actually fallen when on October 25, 1760, George II. died and George III. ascended the throne, the victory of the British in India was in great measure assured.

Plassey, Panipat, and Pondicherry are names of great

import in the history of the British in India.[1] 'Plassey made us virtual masters of Bengal and Behar; Panipat opened the way to future conquests northwards of Behar; while Pondicherry left us free to dominate the country from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.'[2]

IMPORTANT DATES, 1748-1760.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748
Reform of the Calendar	1751
Siege of Arcot	,,
Death of Henry Pelham	1754
Recall of Dupleix	,,
The Second Treaty of Westminster (January)	1756
The Seven Years' War	1756-1763
The Battle of Plassey	1757
The Battle of Rossbach	,,
Capture of Louisburg	1758
Capture of Forts Frontenac and Duquesne	,,
Capture of Quebec (September 13)	1759
The Battle of Minden (August 1)	,,
The Battles of Lagos and Quiberon Bay	,,
The Battle of Wandewash (January 22)	1760
Capture of Montreal (September 8)	,,
Death of George II. (October 25)	,,

[1] By the battle of Panipat, January 6, 1761, won by the Afghans, the Mahrattas received a blow from which they never recovered.

[2] Captain Trotter, *Warren Hastings*, p. 24.

Some Important Dates (1744-1761) in the history of the establishment of the British in India.

Outbreak of War between England and France	1744
Capture of Madras by Labourdonnais	1746
Failure of the Siege of Pondicherry by the English. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748
Major Lawrence takes Devikota	1749
Defence of Arcot by Clive	1751
Battle of Bahoor	1752
Termination of hostilities between the English and French. Dupleix leaves India	1754
The Black Hole of Calcutta	1756
English victory of Plassey	1757
Lally's unsuccessful attempts to oppose the English	1758-1760
Battle of Wandewash	1760
Capture of Pondicherry by Coote. Destruction of the Mahratta power in the battle of Panipat by Ahmed Shah	1761

Thus by 1761 the power of the French was broken, the Empire of the Moguls was seriously weakened, and the 'Mahratta dream of universal Empire in India' was rudely interfered with. Hence an opportunity was given for the gradual establishment of British supremacy.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. The Foreign Policy of the Reign.

The foreign policy of the reign of George II. is peculiarly difficult, as all through his reign the King's interest in Hanover was all absorbing. Roughly, from 1727 to 1740 forms one distinct period; from 1740 to 1760 another. Through the whole of the reign, however, there is a constant drift towards a *world-wide struggle with France*, an *alliance with Prussia*, and a *rupture with Austria*.

(1) 1727-1740.

Walpole being in power during this period, distrust of Austria and an adherence to the French alliance marks the foreign policy of the Government.

(2) 1740-1760.

The period of the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) is dominated by two lines of policy. In the first place, the war of Great Britain against France and Spain in the colonies and on the seas was inevitable. But England's intervention on the Continent was marked by a reversal of Walpole's anti-Austrian policy and by endeavours to carry out the policy supported by Carteret, a policy which implied a close alliance with Austria, and was in consonance with George II.'s own views. The end of the war left the struggle with France undecided, and Prussian friendship within the range of practical politics, while signs were not wanting of the breakdown of the Austrian alliance. The supremacy of Pitt during the Seven Years' War saw the downfall of George II.'s system of foreign policy. While the Anglo-French rivalry in the colonies and India was being fought out, George was compelled to accept a Prussian alliance, and the ancient connection between England and Austria came to an end.

Though the personal jealousy felt by George I. and II. for Frederick William I. and Frederick the Great had postponed the Prussian alliance for some years, the connection between England and Hanover during the reigns of George I. and II. had not to any material degree affected disastrously the interests of Great Britain. The Austrian alliance in the years following 1740 had been 'dictated primarily by Hanoverian traditions and sympathies, and vigorously upheld by Carteret alone among English

politicians of high mark in obedience to impulses not dictated by true statesmanship.' Had George II. had his way, he would in 1755, in agreement with Austria and Saxony, have maintained with British money an army to defend Hanover, Saxony, and the German dominions of Austria. As it was, his so-called Herrenhausen project fell to the ground, and the Prussian alliance popular in England and useful for the defence of Hanover took its place.

2. The Ministries in the Reigns of George I. and II.

(1) Townshend's ministry . . .	1714-1717
(2) Stanhope's ministry . . .	1717-1721
(3) Walpole's ministry . . .	1721-1742
(4) Wilmington's ministry . . .	1742-1743
(5) Pelham's ministry	1743-1754
(6) Newcastle's ministry . . .	1754-1756
(7) The Devonshire ministry . .	1756-1757
(8) The Pitt-Newcastle ministry . .	1757-1761.

3. Results of the Seven Years' War.

(1) Great Britain supreme in India.
(2) Great Britain supreme in North America and able to expand westwards.
(3) Prussia's position as owner of Silesia and as Austria's equal established.

4. The English Church.

The Church suffered in the reigns of George I. and II. from (1) the rule of kings who were foreign Protestants, with no interest in the English people; (2) the schism of the non-jurors, who remained aloof from any active share in the politics of the time; (3) internal controversies, of which the *Bangorian* and the *Trinitarian* were the most serious. Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, by denying the necessity for any Church government, caused the former, while the latter became acute when writers arose who denied the Divinity of our Lord. Then the *Deist* school arose, which tried to destroy all belief in revelation. This controversy produced a celebrated defence of the Christian tenets by Butler, Bishop of Bristol, and later of Durham. In his *Analogy of Religion* (1736) he attacked the views of the Deists. But in spite of his efforts, and those of Berkeley and

Warburton, two other eminent bishops, the prevailing religious tone remained at a low level. Public worship was neglected, all religious enthusiasm had died out, the universities ceased to inculcate sound Christian teaching. Religion in England had become 'cold, selfish, and unspiritual,' and without the Wesleyan revival would have continued in a state of decay. The work of John Wesley and George Whitefield effected a marvellous change in the religious history of England. 'Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episode in the reign of George II., they must yield in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England owing to the preaching of the Wesleys and of Whitefield. The creation of a powerful and active sect extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history.'

5. The North American Colonies.

At the time of the Seven Years' War the English colonies in North America numbered thirteen. First there were the New England colonies, situated in the north, and founded in the seventeenth century by the Puritans. These were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. South came New York, conquered from the Dutch in the reign of Charles II. Then came Delaware and New Jersey, taken by England in 1664-67, while Maryland was colonised as early as 1632. Pennsylvania, a Quaker colony, was founded in 1681; while Virginia, founded in 1606, preserved an aristocratic character, being ruled by a planter race descended from good English families. South of Virginia lay North and South Carolina, founded in 1663; while Georgia, which was carved out of Carolina as late as 1732, separated South Carolina from Florida, a Spanish colony.

6. English and French in India.

In the struggle between the French and English East India Companies, which began in 1744, the French had the start. (1) Possessing Mauritius, France had the key of the road to India; (2) she was ably served by Dupleix and Labourdonnais. The

former, however, aimed not only at the establishment of a French principality in southern India, but at expelling the English and founding a French empire in India. In addition to a quarrel between Dupleix and Labourdonnais, the French cause was ruined by the lack of support given to Dupleix by the Government of Louis XV. and by failure to keep the command of the sea. The naval superiority of England finally decided the question of English ascendency in India. The work of Clive was (1) to expel the French from the Carnatic; (2) to defend the English in Bengal from the Nawab. After the French failure India had to be won from the native rulers, and so Plassey was 'the beginning of our Indian Empire.'

7. The Marriages of George II.'s Children.

George II. = Caroline of Anspach.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, d. 1751 = Augusta of Saxe-Gotha.	Anne = William V. of Orange, Stadtholder.	William, Duke of Cumberland.	Mary = Frederick I. of Hesse-Cassel.	Louisa = Frederick V. of Denmark.
George III.				

QUESTIONS ON PERIOD III., 1748-1760.

(1) 'The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only a truce.' Explain.

(2) Sketch the course of the struggle between the British and French in India to 1760.

(3) Draw a sketch-map to show the relative positions of the British and French in North America in 1756.

(4) Describe and illustrate with a map the campaign of Quebec.

(5) Trace the influence of the connection with Hanover upon British policy under George I. and II.

(6) Give reasons for the British conquest of Canada.

CHAPTER III

GEORGE III.—1760-1820

Born, 1738; married, 1761, Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES, 1760-1789.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Prussia.*	*Russia.*
Louis XV., 1715-1774. Louis XVI., 1774-1792.	Francis I., 1744-1765. Joseph II., 1765-1790.	Frederick the Great, 1740-1786. Frederick William II., 1786-1797.	Elizabeth, 1741-1761. Peter III., 1762. Catherine II., 1762-1796.
Spain.	*Portugal.*	*Sweden.*	*Denmark.*
Charles III., 1759-1788. Charles IV., 1788-1808.	Joseph Emmanuel, 1750-1777. Pedro III. and Maria I., 1777-1786. Maria I. (alone), 1786-1799.	Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771. Gustavus III., 1771-1792.	Frederick V., 1746-1766. Christian VII., 1766-1808.
Sardinia.	*The Two Sicilies.*	*The Papacy.*	*Turkey.*
Charles Emmanuel I., 1730-1773. Victor Amadeus II., 1773-1796.	Ferdinand IV., 1759-1825.	Clement XIII., 1758-1769. Clement XIV., 1769-1774. Pius VI., 1775-1799. Pius VII., 1775-1800.	Mustapha III., 1757-1775. Abdul Hamid I. 1775-1789.

Period I.—1760-1763.

From the Accession of George III. to the Peace of Paris.

Contents.

Accession of George III.—The Whig Supremacy—George III. and Cabinet Government—British Successes in 1761—Development of George III.'s Domestic Policy—The Family Compact of 1761—Retirement of Pitt—War with Spain—Triumph of George III.—The Merits of the long Rule of the Whigs—Bute's Ministry, 1762-1763—The King's Friends—Alienation of Frederick the Great—British Naval Successes, 1762—Defence of the Peace Policy of George III. and Bute—The Peace of Paris—Establishment of the British Empire.

CHIEF NAMES.

Pitt—Newcastle—Bute—Grenville—Bedford—Henry Fox—Choiseul—Charles III.—Grimaldi—Frederick the Great—The Tsarina Elizabeth—Peter III.—Admiral Pocock.

Accession of George III., October 25, 1760.—On October 25, 1760, George III. became King, and he reigned till January 29, 1820. He was in his twenty-third year when he succeeded his grandfather, George II., and his accession was popular with the nation. Both George I. and George II. were more German than British in their tastes and sympathies, but George III. was essentially an Englishman, with all the characteristics of the English race. During his long reign he showed himself possessed of the domestic virtues of an ordinary Englishman; he was stubborn, courageous, shrewd, patriotic, and hard-working. The simplicity of his character, the kindness of his heart, the attachment which he showed to the Church of England, his conscientiousness, and his moral

life, all tended, as his reign proceeded, to endear him to his subjects. Like the ordinary Englishman he was apt to be short-sighted, prejudiced, and insular in his opinions, and though he always meant well, and acted, as he thought, for the best, the narrowness of his views and the tendency to intrigue often led him to support a policy that proved contrary to the interests of Great Britain.

Owing to the death of his father Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1751, George had been brought up under the care of his mother, the Princess Augusta, who, with the aid of John Stuart, Earl of Bute, inculcated the views laid down in Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*. In that short but interesting work Bolingbroke had supported the view that a king should choose his own ministers, that he should not govern by means of a party, and that he should rule as well as reign. As his mother did not allow him to mix with men of the world or even with boys of his own age, George had no opportunity of gaining experience or of correcting the narrowness of his own opinions. The time of his accession seemed suitable for attempting to carry out the political system described by Bolingbroke, and which, if carried out, would have reduced the ministers to the position of mere agents of the Crown.

The Whig Supremacy.—Since 1688 the country, with the exception of a few short periods of Tory rule, had been governed by the Whigs. They had upheld the Revolution Settlement of 1688; they had brought in and supported the Hanoverian line of kings; in 1760 they were nearing the close of a war which was to give Great Britain Canada and supremacy in India. Though they had proved successful administrators, the rule of the Whigs had become unpopular. Parliament, which was controlled by the great Whig Houses, did not represent the nation; the Tories, who formed a large body, were practically excluded from all share in the government of the country, and the Whigs themselves were only

united on the question of remaining in office and of allowing the King to reign but not to rule.

George III. and Cabinet Government.—Owing, however, to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756 the divisions among the Whigs had ceased, and it was recognised that the coalition of Pitt and Newcastle was necessary for the success of the Whig foreign policy. Until the war ended George could have no opportunity of carrying out his views, and of becoming in fact, as well as in theory, the head of the Government. Therefore George III. at once declared himself in favour of an early peace, and in November made Bute a member of the Cabinet. Under Walpole the Cabinet system had developed, but in 1760 the Cabinet was still very different from the Cabinet of to-day. The Prime Minister had no assured position, and all important matters were, as a rule, first discussed by a small committee which reported to the Cabinet.[1] Till the close of the War of American Independence in 1782 George distinctly aimed at lowering the position of the Prime Minister into a *primus inter pares*, and of practically holding that position himself. He checked the tendency of the Cabinet to grow into an homogeneous body responsible to Parliament and acting under the Prime Minister, and substituted the idea, which had not died out on his accession, of a number of ministers, each the head of a department, acting independently of each other and of the Prime Minister, and looking directly to himself for orders. This **Departmental System**, to a great extent, was established during Lord North's ministry (1770-1782), when George found in North a minister after his own heart. The failure of the ministry in its American policy brought discredit on the system and enabled Lord Rockingham in 1782 and the younger Pitt in 1784 to give to the Cabinet system something like its present powers and position. The solidarity

[1] Hunt, *The Political History of England* (1760-1801), pp. 7-10.

and homogeneity which characterises the modern Cabinet was thus far from being established on the accession of George III. For the successful carrying out of his views with regard to the royal prerogative and to the establishment of his personal ascendency, George relied on the appointment of Bute as Prime Minister and the termination of the war.

British Successes, 1761.—That war continued to be waged with great success. Pondicherry fell on January 15, 1761, and the **British supremacy in India was assured**, while on June 7 Belleisle, an island on the west coast of France, was captured by General Hodgson. In Germany British arms were equally successful. Though Frederick the Great was holding his own with difficulty against the Russians, Ferdinand of Brunswick, under whom served the gallant Marquis of Granby, defeated the French on July 15, 1761, at Vellinghausen, and prevented an invasion of Hanover.

Development of the Policy of George III. — Meanwhile George, in co-operation with Bute, was actively working to carry out his policy at home. Himself a Tory, he showed special favour to the Tories, and began to take into his own hands the immense patronage which the Crown possessed, but which since 1715 had been exercised for Whig purposes by successive Whig ministers, and the distribution of which Newcastle regarded as his special right. The general election of 1761 sounded the downfall of the Whigs, and marked the first stage of the King's triumph. In March 1761 Lord Holdernesse, one of the Secretaries of State, and Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were dismissed from office. **Bute took the place of Holdernesse**, and Lord Barrington, the Secretary-at-War (who was succeeded by the brilliant but reckless Charles Townshend), became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Legge had during the war shown considerable financial skill, and owing to his independence of character was disliked by the King and Bute. The first of these

changes was made without the knowledge of Pitt, whose position was shaken by the intrigues of Newcastle, Devonshire, and Hardwicke against him. At the same time the power of Bute, backed as he was by weight of royal influence, rapidly grew. The King, who married on September 8 **Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz**, was, owing to the unpopularity of his mother and Bute, by no means popular with the nation. But George and Bute had secured a subservient House of Commons; they had undermined Pitt's influence in the Cabinet; and they were prepared to advocate and carry out a peace policy, and to drive Pitt from office.

The Family Compact of 1761.—After the death of his wife in September 1760, Charles III. of Spain became more and more inclined to adopt the cause of France, and to enter into hostilities with Great Britain. Moreover, the victories of Great Britain were rousing widespread alarm, and it was only natural that Charles should view the disasters to France with alarm, and should deem it necessary to assist a Bourbon power in its distress. After the failure of peace conferences between France and Austria at Augsburg early in 1761, the efforts of Grimaldi, the Spanish envoy, and of Choiseul were successful.

On August 15, 1761, a **Family Compact**, sometimes called the Third Family Compact, the First and Second having been concluded in 1733 and 1743, was secretly signed between France and Spain. While Choiseul continued to negotiate with the British Government the Spaniards hastened their warlike preparations. Their treasure-fleet from South America had not, however, arrived, and its arrival was awaited with anxiety. Over the question of peace or war with Spain the British cabinet were divided. The hostile purport of the Family Compact, though suspected, was not known; George III. was convinced that Choiseul's negotiations were the prelude of a peace with France, and together with Bute

and other members of the Cabinet believed that France would break off its connection with Spain.

Pitt's Retirement from Office, October 5, 1761.—Pitt, supported by his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, held very different and more correct views with regard to the situation. He had already declined with indignation the offer of Spanish mediation, and he saw that Choiseul was merely trying to gain time till Spain was fully prepared and the treasure-fleet had arrived. He realised that Spain and France had concluded **a Family Compact** in order to make a united attack on Great Britain. He therefore urged that war should be declared upon Spain, that our ambassador at Madrid should be withdrawn, and that the Spanish treasure-fleet should be attacked and captured. But Pitt's Whig colleagues in the Cabinet were jealous of him, and Bute and the King refused to believe that peace with France was at that time impossible. The Whigs, Bute, and the King were agreed in hoping that Pitt would remain in office till peace was made, after which his presence in the Cabinet would be no longer necessary. At the meeting of the Cabinet on October 2, 1761, a memorandum of Pitt to the King urging the immediate declaration of war was considered. Pitt alone of the members present was in favour of war with Spain. He declared that even at that time we were 'actually at war with the whole House of Bourbon,' and that he would no longer continue in office unless his policy was adopted. **On October 5 he retired,** leaving the Government to find that had his advice been taken the Family Compact would have been robbed of most of its terrors. As it was, the treasure-fleet reached Spain safely, Choiseul's negotiations were broken off, war upon Spain was declared by the British Government in January 1762, and till 1763 the Bourbon powers struggled, though ineffectually, against Great Britain.

Triumph of George III.—Pitt's resignation, however, marked

a fresh step in the triumph of the King and Bute. Lord Egremont, a man of no ability, succeeded Pitt as Secretary of State; George Grenville, who had entered the Cabinet at the beginning of the year, became leader of the House of Commons; and the Duke of Bedford succeeded Lord Temple as Privy Seal.

It only remained for George to substitute, for the weak and disunited Whig ministry, a Tory ministry headed by Bute, and to conclude peace with France and Spain. **On May 25, 1762, Newcastle was forced to resign,** and **the famous ministry of Pitt and Newcastle came to an end.** Moreover, the **resignation of Newcastle marked the close of the Whig monopoly of office,** a monopoly which had been seized in 1715.

Merits of the Rule of the Whigs.—Since the accession of George I. the Whig oligarchy had ruled the country, and had established a system based on corruption and known as 'government by connection.' The Whigs, however, though out of touch with the body of the nation, had proved admirable administrators, and by allying with Pitt had carried on the Seven Years' War with success. They had given to the country such men as Stanhope, Walpole, and Henry Pelham, and could point to a large number of salutary measures which they had passed. But under their long tenure of office the Whigs had made the party system hateful in the eyes of men like Pitt. Henceforward, Pitt energetically opposed the exclusiveness of the Whigs, their ideas of party, their methods of corruption. During the remainder of his life he advocated the abolition of corruption, and the formation of a strong Government including the ablest men of all parties, acting under a Prime Minister, and supported by the King and nation.

The Bute Ministry, 1762-63.—The formation of the Bute ministry in May 1762 signified the overthrow of the Whig system of government. But it did not imply either the

end of corruption or the beginning of strong Governments under a Prime Minister. On the contrary, it marked the triumph of the view held by George III., **that the King and not the Prime Minister** should direct the policy of the Cabinet, and that the ministers should be nominees of the Crown.

The King's Friends.—From this time George was aided by the formation of a body known as 'the King's friends.' The nucleus of such a party was found in the West India merchants and 'nabobs,' who had made fortunes in the East. It derived strength too from the adhesion of many Tories, and from the steady support of placemen and pensioners. These 'mercenaries' included 'high-born self-seekers and needy adventurers,' and voted according to the orders received from the King. Grenville at one time declared that 'he would not hold power at the will of a set of Janissaries who might at any time be ordered to put the bowstring round his neck,'[1] and Rockingham and North both complained of the influence of the King's friends 'acting together like a corps.'

Bute alienates Frederick the Great.—Having overthrown the Whigs and established himself in office, **Bute's next task was to bring the war to a conclusion.** Elizabeth, Tsarina of Russia, had died on January 5, 1762, and her successor, **Peter III.**, was an admirer of Frederick the Great. The danger which had hung over Frederick since the outbreak of war, of being overwhelmed by Russia, was now removed, and Bute decided that **the Annual Subsidy** which was paid to the King of Prussia **should cease.** Since that subsidy (£670,000) had been first granted by Pitt Spain had been added to Great Britain's enemies. These two facts—**the death of Elizabeth,** and the **entry of Spain into the war**—justified Bute's policy. Unfortunately Bute became entangled in

[1] Trevelyan, *The Early History of Charles James Fox*, p. 126.

an altercation with Frederick on the matter. Mutual recriminations followed, Frederick was left under the impression that he had been unfairly treated, and his conviction of British bad faith coloured his foreign policy till his death.

In July 1762 the Tsar Peter was deposed, and his wife, **Catherine II.**, succeeded to the Russian throne. Though she ceased to support Frederick she did not attack him. Frederick was able to defeat the Austrians at **Burkersdorf** on July 21, while Brunswick with Lord Granby defeated the French in the west of Germany.

British Naval Successes, 1762.—Meanwhile the British arms had proved successful against the French and Spaniards. Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent were taken from the French,[1] and a British force led by Count Lippe-Bückeburg, under whom served General Burgoyne, successfully repelled a Spanish invasion of Portugal. An expedition under Admiral Pocock had sailed to **Havana**, the capital of Cuba, early in 1762, and on August 1 that city was captured. In October, **Manila**, the capital of the Philippines, was stormed, and the inhabitants were permitted to ransom their property for a large sum of money, amounting to half a million sterling, which the Spanish Government undertook to pay. This 'Manila Ransom,' as it was called, proved the source of endless quarrels between the British and Spanish Governments, and was never paid. Beyond the capture of Sarmiento, a Portuguese province on the river Plate, no success attended the entry of Spain into the war.

These remarkable successes were due to the strength of the British sea power, and to the British command of the sea. The French and Spanish navies proved utterly unable to cope with such admirals as Rodney, Pocock, and Cornish, who respectively carried the troops which conquered the Windward Islands, Havana, and Manila, or with the

[1] See map, p. 206.

numerous adventurous sailors who captured French and Spanish war- and treasure-ships and merchantmen. Never before had the value of the British supremacy at sea been so unmistakably shown, and the successes of the fleet made the continuance of the war desired by the nation.

Arguments for the Peace Policy of George III. and Bute.—Though the peace policy was denounced at the time by a nation carried away by its marvellous successes all over the world, and though culpable carelessness and ignorance was shown in the drawing up of the terms of peace, few will now dispute the necessity of bringing the war to an end. Great Britain was, like France in 1700, an object of jealousy and dread to Europe, and there was much truth in the words of Cardinal Bernis, the predecessor of Choiseul, that 'England will become the despot of the universe.' The Duke of Bedford declared that the continuance of our aggressive policy would unite all the naval powers of Europe against us. As it was, the hatred felt by France and Spain towards Great Britain showed itself during the American War of Independence, when those powers, in promoting the success of the Americans, took ample revenge for their losses during the Seven Years' War.

At the same time George III. and Bute had special reasons for desiring peace. The conclusion of hostilities would, they thought, bring about the final overthrow of the Whigs, and would ensure the triumph of the royal over the oligarchical cause.

The Peace of Paris, 1763.—On November 3, 1762, the **preliminaries of peace were signed,** and though Pitt denounced the terms of the treaties, as well as Bute's conduct to Frederick the Great, a large majority (won by corruption) in Parliament declared by 319 to 65 in favour of Bute's policy.

To ensure a majority Henry Fox had been empowered to bribe lavishly, the lowest price given for a vote being £200.

The Whig Lords were at the same time attacked by the King. The Duke of Devonshire was removed from the list of the Privy Council, and Whigs, whether Peers or Commoners, were dismissed from their offices.

On **February 10, 1763, the Peace of Paris was signed.** Great Britain restored to France Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Mariegalante, Belleisle, Pondicherry and Goree, and gave her back the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, with the right of fishing on the Newfoundland coast and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. To Spain was restored Havana and Manila. The gains of Great Britain were immense. She obtained from France Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, Minorca, Senegal, Tobago, Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, and Dominica. From Spain she gained Florida, the abandonment of Spanish claims to the Newfoundland fisheries, and the recognition of the British claim to cut logwood on the Bay of Honduras. Spain received from France Louisiana as a make-weight for her loss of Florida. France retired from German territory, and engaged to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and not to garrison her Indian factories, or St. Pierre and Miquelon. On February 15, 1763, Prussia and Austria made peace at **Hubertsburg**, and the Seven Years' War came to an end.

Great Britain and the Peace.—Glorious as the peace was for Great Britain the terms which she accepted by the Treaty of Paris came short of what the nation anticipated. She had every reason to expect the retention of Manila with the Philippines, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Goree. She ought, moreover, to have brought about the abandonment by France of her right to the Newfoundland fisheries. Though France agreed to use St. Pierre and Miquelon merely as fishing shelters, her sailors made steady encroachments on the coast of Newfoundland, and till the end of the nineteenth century difficulties continually arose.

The restoration of Pondicherry and the factories which France had possessed in India in 1749 was also a blunder. Of all the members of the Cabinet Grenville alone attempted to check the foolish policy of Bute, who was ignorant of the immense value of Havana and of the Philippines. Like the Peace of Utrecht, the Peace of Paris had been hurried on owing to party exigencies, and to the political necessities of a minister. In the treaties which constituted the Peace of Paris 'there was hardly a clause which was not below what she (Great Britain) might reasonably have expected,' and the recklessness and carelessness with which Bute treated the question of the terms of peace may be gauged from the fact that it was debated whether Great Britain should not retain Guadaloupe and give up Canada. In spite, however, of Bute's ignorance of the value of the British conquests, and of his haste in signing the preliminaries, Great Britain had added Canada and several West Indian Islands to her empire, and had become supreme in India.

Establishment of the British Empire, 1763.—The Peace of Paris marks the definite victory of Great Britain in a struggle with the Bourbon power of France, which had begun in 1689, and with the combined Bourbon powers of France and Spain since 1702. The Spanish Succession War (1702-1713), the wars with Spain from 1718 to 1721, and in 1727, the Austrian Succession War (1741-1748), and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) were all parts of the same struggle. While Spain aimed at reconquering Gibraltar, at closing the South American trade to Great Britain's merchants, and in conjunction with France, at weakening our power in the West Indies, France aimed at making her influence supreme in India, and by the erection of a chain of forts from Canada to Louisiana, of confining the British settlers in America to the east coast.

Pitt's Share in the Establishment of the British Empire.—

Great Britain's success in defeating the aims of the Bourbon powers, and in firmly establishing her empire, was in great measure due to Pitt. 'It is almost certain,' writes Professor Egerton, 'that but for the new spirit which entered upon the scene with Pitt, France would have been, at least for the time, successful in the struggle with England for the dominion of America.'[1] Like John Wesley, who had aroused a new spirit in religious matters, Pitt breathed into political life something of his own disinterestedness and honesty. Political corruption died hard, but Pitt's integrity and incorruptibility stood in striking contrast to the sordid immorality of the Walpolean era which Henry Fox clung to in the later years of George II.'s reign, and in the early years of George III.'s reign. Pitt, it has been said, 'brought an inspiration into politics,' and there is little doubt that his influence on Parliament tended gradually to raise the tone of that Assembly. His conduct of the war had united all parties in Parliament, and had roused the enthusiasm of the nation. Highland regiments were formed, the militia was embodied, the army and navy were rapidly increased. Pitt's determination to carry on the war with the utmost vigour decided the issue of the great contest. His choice of Hawke, of Ferdinand of Brunswick, of Wolfe, of Amherst, of Lord Howe, and of many others testified to his knowledge of men; his support of Frederick the Great was statesmanlike. His patriotism was universally recognised, and, till his acceptance of a peerage, he continued to be the object of that popular enthusiasm which had carried him to office.

Though Pitt often acted in a dictatorial manner, and though some mistakes in the military and naval operations were due to his miscalculations, he was the one man who realised the importance of the maritime struggle with France, involving as it did the ascendency in North America and

[1] H. Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy*, p. 165.

India. He saw that the struggle had to be fought out in the colonies and on the sea. Further, he recognised the importance of keeping France occupied on the Continent, and of using the Continental war as a diversion, while employing Great Britain's resources mainly for the foundation of a maritime empire. Pitt's example stirred up all that was best in the British nation, whose energies were for the first time since Anne's death really called forth. In spite of his fall and of the folly of Bute the war ended with the British Empire securely founded, and its maritime supremacy unquestioned.

Mr. Frederick Harrison, in his *Life of Chatham*, is no less emphatic :—

'If Frederick,' he says, 'had been crushed in the Seven Years' War, Central Europe would have become the prey of Russia, Austria, and France. And Frederick well knew what he owed to Pitt. As the King of Prussia wrote, *C'était la meilleure tête de l'Angleterre.* Had Dupleix been able to extend and consolidate the empire he was so near founding in Madras, France, and not England, might have become the suzerain of Hindustan. If Montcalm had succeeded in establishing the French control of the St. Lawrence, the Lakes, and the Mississippi Valley, France, not Britain, would have been the mother country of America. How different would the aspect of the world be to-day! In 1755 all these three possible results were far from improbable. In 1761 they had become utterly impossible.'[1]

The Effects of Pitt's Fall.—Pitt's resignation, however, had for some years disastrous effects upon the foreign and domestic policy of Great Britain. Prussia was permanently alienated, and Great Britain was left isolated in Europe, while at home George III., triumphant over the Whigs, could look forward to the realisation of his aims and to the establishment of 'a system of personal rule under which all the threads of the administrators should centre in the royal closet.'

It was not, however, till seven years later that George III. was able to place at the head of the Government **Lord North**,

[1] Chatham, by Frederick Harrison, *Twelve English Statesmen*, p. 83.

a man who was willing to carry out the royal policy. During the intervening years between 1763 and 1770 George was engaged in a series of struggles with the various divisions of the Whig party.

IMPORTANT DATES, 1760-1763.

Accession of George III. (October 25)	1760
Frederick the Great wins the Battle of Torgau (November)	,,
The British are now in Possession of Canada	,,
Sir Eyre Coote takes Pondicherry	1761
The British are now without European rivals in India	,,
The Family Compact between France and Spain (August)	,,
Resignation of Pitt (October); Bute becomes Prime Minister	,,
Frederick the Great in desperate Straits	,,
Declaration of War upon Spain by Great Britain (January)	1762
Conquest by Great Britain of Martinique, Hanover, and Manila	,,
Death of the Tsarina Elizabeth; Accession of Peter III. (January) saves Frederick the Great	,,
Bute ceases to send Subsidies to Frederick the Great (April)	,,
Peace is made between Frederick the Great and Peter III. (May)	,,
Elizabeth succeeds Peter III., who is deposed (July)	,,
Great Britain signs Preliminaries of Peace (November)	,,
Peace of Paris is concluded by Great Britain with France and Spain (February 10)	1763
The Peace of Hubertsburg is concluded by Prussia with Austria (February 10)	,,

Period II.—1763-1770.

George III. and the Whigs.

Contents.

Bute's Administration — Grenville's Administration — Wilkes and General Warrants—Bedford joins the Ministry—Great Britain's Colonial Policy—Effect of the Peace of Paris—The Stamp Act—Regency Bill, 1765—Fall of the Grenville Ministry—The First Rockingham Ministry—The Declaratory Act—The Pitt-Grafton Ministry—Chatham's Foreign Policy—Its Failure—Chatham's Indian and Irish Policy—Chatham's Retirement—Grafton Prime Minister—The Bedford Party join the Government—The Middlesex Election—Policy of the Grafton Ministry towards the Colonists in America—Annexation of Corsica by France—Review of the Work of the Grafton Administration.

CHIEF NAMES.

Pitt—Bute—Grenville—Rockingham—Townshend—Burke—Grafton Shelburne—Bedford—Wilkes—Choiseul—Frederick the Great—Catherine II.—Paoli.

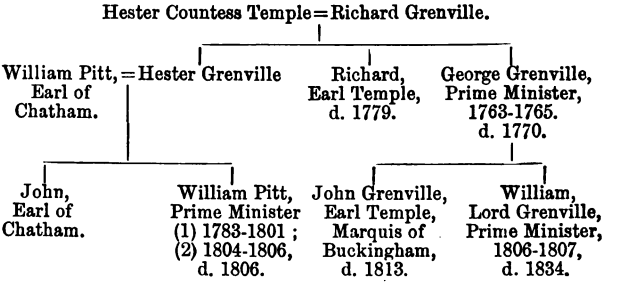
Bute's Administration, 1762-1763. — Though the Queen Dowager, on hearing of the defeat in Parliament of the opponents of the terms of the Peace of Paris, had exclaimed, 'Now my son is King of England!' the royal triumph was subject to several qualifications. In the first place, George III. did not attempt (after the first Cabinet Council of his reign) to be present at the deliberations of the Cabinet, and so indirectly recognised the independence of the ministers. In the second place, George had in 1761 placed his interest in the hereditary revenues of the Crown at the disposal of Parliament, receiving in return a fixed revenue of £800,000 a year.[1] In the third place, Bute's administration rapidly

[1] Hunt, *The Political History of England*, 1760-1789, p. 13.

became unpopular, and the Prime Minister was attacked by the mob when going to Parliament on November 25, 1762. Bute was hated for having overthrown Pitt, for being a native of Scotland, the hostile feeling against that country not having yet abated, and for having made an unpopular peace. Moreover, a cider tax proposed by Dashwood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, roused widespread indignation in London and the cider counties. Riots broke out, and the tax was attacked by Pitt and by John Wilkes, the editor of the *North Briton*. Though the tax became law, Bute, together with Dashwood, resigned on April 7, 1763. His unpopularity both in and out of Parliament was unmistakable, his retention of office would have made the King unpopular, and his health was far from good. He will always be famous in history for having concluded the Peace of Paris and for having broken up the Whig oligarchy which had governed Great Britain continuously since 1715. He had laid the foundation of the party known as **The King's Friends**, for the office-seekers had now learned that pensions and places were only to be obtained by royal favour.

The Grenville Administration, 1763-1765.—Though he retired from office, Bute proposed, with the approval of the King, to direct the policy of his successor, **George Grenville**, who it was expected would prove subservient and docile. In the new ministry Grenville was First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Grenville succeeded Bedford as President of the Council. Otherwise no important changes were made, Egremont and Halifax remaining the Secretaries of State. Shelburne kept the office of President of the Board of Trade, and Bute wished Shelburne to succeed Halifax, but on this point Grenville refused to yield. **Fox**, who was created Lord Holland, kept the office of Paymaster till 1765, and died in 1774, leaving two sons, one of whom, Charles James Fox, acquired great political fame.

PITT AND THE GRENVILLES.



The new ministry, headed by George Grenville and formed by Bute, had an ill-starred career. Grenville himself belonged to an able family which, owing to the vanity and exclusiveness of its members, had little that was attractive about it. He was thoroughly conversant with parliamentary business, and was hard-working and public-spirited. He loved routine, and was pedantic and formal in manner. His ministry is famous on account of two events—**the attack upon Wilkes**, and **the passing of the Stamp Act.**

John Wilkes and General Warrants.—John Wilkes, the member for Aylesbury, a clever but unscrupulous and dissipated man, had in 1762 edited a paper, supported by Temple, and called the **North Briton**, in which Bute and the Government were attacked. On April 23, 1763, appeared **No. 45** of the **North Briton**, in which the King's speech praising the Peace of Paris was severely criticised. George was furious, and insisted on the prosecution of Wilkes. Halifax thereupon issued a **General Warrant** ordering the arrest of all concerned, viz. the authors, printers, and publishers. Under the general warrant (which specified no name) fifty persons were arrested on April 30, including Wilkes, the publisher, printer, and his workmen. Wilkes was placed in

the Tower, and all his papers were seized. A member of Parliament could only be arrested for treason, felony, or for a breach of the peace, and on May 6 Chief-Justice Pratt at the Court of Common Pleas set Wilkes at liberty, and declared shortly afterwards that **general warrants were illegal**, as well as warrants to search for, seize, and carry away papers on a charge of libel. Wilkes then sued Egremont (who died on August 20), Halifax (this suit did not come on for six years), and Wood, the Under-Secretary for State, from whom he obtained £1000 damages. Others among those arrested brought actions and were awarded damages. Wilkes had won a signal triumph and **had vindicated the cause of personal liberty.** He became a popular hero; in London a hostile feeling towards the Government showed itself: in several parts of the country riots took place. George III. at once endeavoured to remedy the weakness of the ministry. Wilkes was turned out of the militia, and Temple, who had supported Wilkes and who had quarrelled with his brother, George Grenville, over the Wilkes affair, was removed by the order of the King from the Lord-lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire.

Bedford joins the Ministry, 1763.—On August 20, 1763, Egremont, one of the Secretaries of State, died suddenly. His death gave George III. an opportunity for strengthening the ministry or for forming a new one. On August 27 he had an interview with Pitt, who was ready, under certain conditions, to form a strong ministry which should ensure us the command of the sea and safeguard our colonies. But Pitt's determination not to take office without 'the great families who have supported the Revolution Government, and other great persons of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience,' alarmed the King and Bute, neither of whom desired to see another Whig ministry in office, and the negotiations broke down. The King then turned to **Bedford**, who with his followers joined the ministry, which, so

strengthened, held on till 1765. Bedford, who was now regarded as the head of the administration, became President of the Council. The Earl of Sandwich took the post of Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and Lord Hillsborough succeeded Lord Shelburne as President of the Board of Trade. The latter and the Duke of Grafton had attached themselves to Pitt, and were convinced that no efficient ministry could be formed unless Pitt was at its head. Both Bedford and Grenville showed great hostility to Bute, whose influence with the King now came to an end.

Though the Grenville ministry had received considerable accession of strength through its absorption of the Bedford section (the Bloomsbury Gang, as it was sometimes called), it was not able to avoid adopting an unfortunate course with regard to Wilkes, the only result of which was to emphasise the fact that the House of Commons, largely composed of Court or noble nominees, did not represent the nation.

Attack on Wilkes in Parliament. — Parliament met on November 15, 1763, and the Government attacked Wilkes in both Houses. In the Upper House Lord Sandwich, a former boon companion of Wilkes, and Bishop Warburton concurred in attacking a parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*, of which Wilkes was the reputed author. The Peers voted the parody to be a breach of privilege, and a seditious libel. In the House of Commons No. 45 was voted a false and seditious libel, and both Houses united in declaring that privilege of Parliament does not extend to seditious libels. Meanwhile Wilkes was dangerously wounded in a duel with Martin, who had been Secretary to the Treasury. These events led to popular demonstrations on December 3, 1763 (the day fixed by the House of Commons for the burning of No. 45), in favour of Wilkes and against Bute and the Dowager Princess of Wales, who were still supposed to influence the King. To avoid further attacks Wilkes went to Paris,

and being unable or unwilling to attend at the bar of the House of Commons to which he had been summoned, he was **expelled from the House on January 19, 1764.** He was further convicted (in his absence) in the Court of King's Bench of reprinting and publishing No. 45, and **was outlawed.**

Unrepresentative Character of Parliament.—By these proceedings the Grenville ministry, though apparently successful, had acted very unwisely, and had brought Parliament and the people into collision. General Conway, whose name was a proverb for romantic daring, and Colonel Barré, who had still a French bullet in his face, the one a Whig, the other a Tory, had opposed the Government in the debates on the Wilkes affair, and were deprived of their commands by the King. George III., with the concurrence of Grenville, had thus violated the parliamentary privilege of freedom of speech, but Parliament was at the time so thoroughly under the influence of the Crown and of the great nobles that no protest was raised against the conduct of the King in noticing what had passed in Parliament.

The American Colonies and Stamp Act, 1764. — Having brought the Government and the people into collision, Grenville next brought the country and its American colonies to the verge of war. These colonies were **thirteen** in number, and they occupied a long stretch of land bordering on the Atlantic. On the north lay the New England colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, colonies in which the people were fairly well off, well educated, disputatious, and democratic; in the middle were New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, in which the colonists cared more for money-making than politics; while in the south, where slavery existed, and where great wealth and some poverty were to be found, were Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. **These colonies** differed in origin in the form of their

government, in religion, politics, and in their occupations. The spirit of puritanism affected the inhabitants of the northern colonies, while in Virginia and the southern colonies, where the Church of England flourished, aristocratic or cavalier traditions were to be found, though even in Virginia a part of the population was of a very different stamp, and was represented by Patrick Henry, a 'shiftless adventurer.' (See map on p. 98.)

The Colonial Policy of Great Britain. — In spite of the accepted view that colonies only existed for the benefit of the mother-country, and in spite of the adoption of the 'mercantile theory' which aimed at securing a monopoly of trade with the colonies, the colonial policy of Great Britain had been marked by a spirit of compromise if not of liberality. It is true that numerous restrictions had been placed on the colonial trade in accordance with the **Navigation Laws** (passed by Cromwell primarily against the Dutch), and with other Acts (sometimes called **Enumeration Laws** and **Laws concerning Manufactures**) passed at intervals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of these the most important was the **prohibition to export Tobacco** and the **Molasses Act of 1733**, which imposed duties on the importation of sugar, rum, and molasses from foreign plantations. As the New England or **northern colonies** had a large and flourishing trade with the French West Indies, from which they imported molasses which were converted into rum, the enforcement of the Act would have been disastrous. But the Act was not enforced, and by means of smuggling connived at by the Custom-House officers the trade went on as usual, and while tobacco was freely exported, molasses were as freely imported.[1] The above is a good illustration of the commercial relations of Great Britain and the colonies before the accession of George III. Though 'the purpose of the Government was not primarily

[1] Ashley, *Surveys Historic and Economic*, pp. 330-331.

the welfare of the colonies,' its legislation did the colonies no harm, and any severe regulations were evaded by smuggling. 'It is impossible to say,' writes Professor Channing, in the *Student's History of the United States*, 'that the system was to the disadvantage of the colonists.'[1] In other words, the policy of Great Britain proved not only not economically disadvantageous, but positively beneficial to the colonists, who on the whole found that it suited them to get European commodities from England.[2] There is no proof that the commercial restrictions made it the interest of the American colonists to take the first opportunity to shake off the supremacy of Great Britain. 'Probably a vast majority of those who stood for the commercial interests and for the capital of the country were opposed to war with Great Britain.'[3] The legislation imposed by the British Government for the control of trade does not appear to have called forth any serious hostile criticism or action.

On the other hand, it is held by competent writers that during the reigns of George I. and II. the hardships caused by the restraints placed by Great Britain on the commerce and industry of the colonies 'were enough to create friction and to cause a grievance,' and that 'the commercial restrictions begat a sense of oppression and a habit of evasion.'[4] At any rate, both in Massachusetts and in Virginia the right of the colonists to tax themselves had been asserted before the accession of George III., and indications had not been wanting that the question of taxation would lead to strife between the American colonies and the mother-country.

The Seven Years' War.—Military and political reasons, too, combined with the absence of any serious irritation at Great Britain's commercial legislation to keep the colonists loyal to

[1] Ashley, *Surveys Historic and Economic*, p. 335.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 311-338. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 334.
[4] Cambridge, *Modern History*, vol. vii. p. 66.

the mother-country during the reigns of the early Hanoverian kings. The **Seven Years' War**, however, marked an epoch in the history of Great Britain's relations to her American colonies. That war had shown the need for a Federal Union, for in spite of Benjamin Franklin's efforts at Albany in 1754 the colonies not only refused to federate, but many of them gave very inadequate assistance to the British forces operating against the French and the Indians. The New England colonies, however, had taken an active part in the military operations, and men like **Washington** had become prominent. Though no federal union had taken place, the colonies had been drawn together during the war, and when once the fear of the French and the Indians had been removed by **the conquest of Canada**, and the defeat of **Pontiac**, the Indian chief, in 1763, they began to realise the possibility of securing a greater amount of independence.

Circumstances leading to Separation.—On Great Britain the war had entailed heavy expenditure, and the loss of many men. Moreover, though the war was waged in colonial interests, 'the shipowners of New England and New York had continued their trade with the French West Indian Settlements, and had supplied the French and Spaniards with naval stores—timber, spars, tar, and such like'[1]—in return for sugar, molasses, and rum. This unpatriotic conduct had lengthened the war, and had enabled the French and Spaniards to fit out cruisers and privateers to the detriment of British commerce. Though the conquest of Canada and the possession by Great Britain of Florida freed the colonists from all immediate danger from the French and Spaniards, it was by no means certain that the former would not take an early opportunity to regain some of her lost colonies, and the Indians still constituted a serious menace to the outlying settlements. Had it not been for British

[1] Sir J. K. Laughton in *The National Review*, March 1904, p. 67.

troops the confederation of Indian tribes, headed by Pontiac, would have overrun Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Owing to the evasions of the **Acts of Trade**, and the defenceless condition of the colonies, it appeared to Grenville that the natural policy for the Government to adopt was to check smuggling, to enforce the Acts of Trade, and to tax the colonies for the support of British troops in America. It seemed only reasonable that the colonies should contribute something towards the expenses incurred defending them.

In deciding to adopt this policy Grenville ignored the fact that the **conquest of Canada** was likely to loosen the tie which bound the colonies to Great Britain. Nor did he realise the many circumstances which tended to cause ill-feeling. In 1761 **James Otis**, a lawyer, had unsuccessfully resisted Pitt's issue of 'writs of assistance' to enable the revenue officers to check smuggling by the inhabitants of Massachusetts. Nor did Grenville appreciate the strength of the opposition to the rumour that the Government intended to establish Episcopalianism among the people of the New England colonies. Though there was no widespread wish for separation, there was no strong feeling in favour of the connection with the mother-country. Men like **Samuel Adams** and his relative, **John Adams**, and a certain number of persons in Boston were prepared, if not to support a revolutionary movement, at any rate to assert the determination of the colonies to manage their own affairs. The geographical position of the colonies, and their distance from Great Britain, was bound to lead to a drifting apart. That tendency was increased by Grenville's policy, which also had the effect of drawing together colonies hitherto so disunited owing to the differences of character, manners, religion, and interests, that it was said that 'Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the colonies in North America.' The measures, however, of Grenville, of Charles Townshend, and of Lord North united the colonies

in opposition to Great Britain, and verified the famous prediction of Vergennes (the French minister) made in 1763: 'England will soon repent (her conquest of Canada); the colonies stand no longer in need of her protection. She will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by shaking off all dependence.'

The Stamp Act, 1764.—The idea of taxing the colonies was no new one. Walpole, it is said, had refused to consider a scheme for colonial taxation, and it was left to Grenville in 1764, when he was already taking active steps to check American smuggling, to give notice that in order to provide a permanent force to defend the colonies from foreign and Indian foes, he intended the following year to impose a **Stamp Duty** on the American colonies. On March 22, 1765, the famous **Stamp Act**, which required that a stamp should be affixed to all documents to give them legal validity, and which in February had passed both Houses of Parliament, received the royal assent, and came into force on November 1. The passing of the Stamp Act was instantly followed by riots in America. The Virginian Assembly, at the instigation of one of its members, Patrick Henry, an active agitator, denied the right of the mother-country to tax a colony; nine colonies, at the instigation of Massachusetts, sent delegates in November to a Congress at New York to protest against the Stamp Act, and the people generally refused to use the stamped paper. The tax was 'reasonable in intention, equitable in incidence, and in itself tolerable.' At the same time the policy which led to the Stamp Act was unstatesmanlike, and Grenville in bringing it forward took no account of the opinions of the colonists nor of the circumstances of the time.

Grenville's want of political prescience and his insistence on legal right had disastrous results for Great Britain. He could not see the difference between colonial smuggling and

smuggling in Great Britain, and by his measures of repression dealt a serious blow at American trade. He failed to realise the strength of the opposition to internal taxation, *i.e.* to the imposition of taxes within the colonies, and thus stirred up a quarrel which ended in the War of American Independence.

Defence of Grenville's Policy.—Short-sighted as Grenville's policy was, there was much to be urged at the time in favour of taxing the colonies. 'It ought not to be forgotten,' wrote Mr. Lecky, 'that it was expressly provided that every farthing of this taxation was to be expended in America, and devoted to colonial defence. All that Grenville desired was, that the American colonies should provide a portion of the cost of their own defence, as our colonies are doing at the present time, and he only resorted to Imperial taxation because he despaired of achieving it by any other means.'

The Regency Bill, 1765. Fall of the Grenville Ministry, 1765.—Before, however, the Stamp Act came into force the Grenville ministry had fallen. George had grown weary of Grenville, who not only showed that he intended to act in an independent manner, but who took every opportunity of lecturing him at inordinate length. The immediate cause of the fall of the ministry was, however, its conduct with regard to the **Regency Bill of 1765.** At the time of his accession George was deeply attached to Lady Sarah Lennox, the daughter of the late Duke of Richmond. The Queen Dowager and Lord Bute, however, succeeded in arranging a marriage between George and **Princess Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz**, and the marriage took place on September 8, 1761. Early in 1765 the King became seriously ill, and showed signs of insanity. On his recovery he desired that a Regency Bill giving him the power to nominate a Regent should be passed. The ministers, however, persuaded him to allow the choice of a Regent to be restricted to the Queen and other members of the Royal

Family resident in England. Fearing that a Bute ministry would be the result of the Regency falling into the hands of the Queen Dowager, Halifax and Sandwich, with, no doubt, the knowledge of Bedford, persuaded George to authorise the special exclusion, from the Bill in the Lords, of the name of his mother. The Upper House, therefore, accepted the exclusion of the name of the Queen Dowager, but George found that Halifax and Sandwich had deceived him with regard to the feeling in the House of Commons on the matter. Grenville, however, refused to insert the name of the Queen Dowager, and it was left to the Commons to insist on the inclusion of the name by 167 votes to 37. The Lords accepted the amendment, and the Regency Bill became law. Indignant at the conduct of the ministers, George called upon his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, to assist him in forming a new ministry. Cumberland was a Whig with a great admiration for Pitt, who was living in retirement at Hayes, and to whom in 1765 Sir William Pynsent bequeathed his estate of Burton Pynsent in Somerset, which was worth £3000 a year. Two applications in May and June 1765 were made to Pitt, who, however, would not take office unless Temple joined him; Temple, who 'had formed visions of a ministry in which the Grenville family should be supreme,'[1] refused to take office, and Pitt had reluctantly to give up all hopes of forming a strong ministry, which should **undo** the unconstitutional measures of the Grenville administration, **repeal** the cider-tax, **adopt** a different policy with regard to American taxation, and **form** a counter-league to that of the Bourbons.

In despair the Duke and the King had recourse to the main body of the Whigs under Lord Rockingham, who took office on July 10, 1765.

Review of the Grenville Administration.—The Grenville ministry has few claims to respect. Beyond the purchase by

[1] Anson, *Memoirs of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton*, p. xxii.

the Crown of the rights of the Atholl family over the Isle of Man in 1765, the Grenville administration, in spite of its pretensions to an economical policy, could not point to the adoption of any wise measures. **The navy was shamefully neglected**, and that at a time when Choiseul, the French minister, was sparing no efforts to give France a navy, which should avenge the losses incurred in the Seven Years' War, and when Spain, closely allied with France, was also preparing for a future war with Great Britain. In their attack on Wilkes the Government had acted illegally and unwisely, and had incurred well-deserved unpopularity. Though the blame of the Stamp Act must be shared by Parliament and by statesmen of all parties, Grenville's narrow legal mind and lack of political prescience entailed upon Great Britain the loss of her American colonies.

The First Rockingham Ministry, 1765-1766.—The new ministry was headed by Lord Rockingham, who had succeeded Newcastle as the leader of the old Whig party, which advocated the supremacy of the House of Commons. The Rockingham Whigs were incorrupt, and had resisted the systematic corruption practised by Henry Fox at the beginning of George III.'s reign. Rockingham himself was no statesman, but he was honest and had a high sense of duty. With Newcastle and Devonshire he had lost his Lord-lieutenancy, when George adopted towards the Whigs a policy of proscription. His chief colleagues, the two Secretaries of State, were General Conway, who led the House of Commons, and the Duke of Grafton. Dowdeswell was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Northington, Lord Chancellor; Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal; Barrington, Secretary-at-War; and Egmont was at the Admiralty. Charles Townshend succeeded the notorious Lord Holland as Paymaster.

Edmund Burke.—The Government was never strong, but has derived fame from the fact that **Burke**, whose patron was

Rockingham, first appeared in Parliament in 1765, and by his eloquence shed glory round a ministry mainly composed of mediocrities. All through his parliamentary life Burke worshipped the old Whig party, he was suspicious of Pitt's popular tendencies, he disliked the idea of parliamentary reform. He had a deep-rooted belief in party government, and he opposed and dreaded all revolutionary movements. He was the most distinguished advocate of Whig principles, and exercised a considerable influence upon Rockingham, and, on his death in 1782, upon Charles James Fox, who henceforward led the old Whig party. How far Burke's advice on critical occasions was beneficial to the Whigs is a moot point. **The Declaratory Act** of 1766 tended still further to alienate Pitt from the Whigs; **the coalition of Fox and North** in 1783 was a colossal blunder; the **split in the Whig party in 1794**, when most of the leading Whigs joined the Tories, finally relegated the Whigs into the cold shade of Opposition till the Reform Bill of 1832. Each of these momentous decisions had the approval of Burke. In 1765 he first began to exercise his eloquence upon the House of Commons, and speedily acquired a reputation and an influence which he never lost.

The Work of the Rockingham Administration.—The administration was far from being strong or united; Rockingham and Conway were not good leaders, and both were distrusted by the King. Grafton cared more for fox-hunting than for politics, and was convinced that without Pitt no ministry could long exist. Northington and Barrington were avowed followers of the King, and Charles Townshend considered that the ministry was 'a lutestring fit only for summer wear.' For a year the Rockingham ministry held office and did good work in reversing the unfortunate acts of the Grenville administration. The **cider-tax** was repealed, **general warrants were declared illegal**, Chief-Justice Pratt was created Lord Camden, a commercial treaty was concluded with Russia,

the prohibition of foreign manufactured silks, which had been removed during Grenville's ministry, was renewed, and the complaints of the Spitalfields weavers were silenced. In carrying out these healing measures, the ministry acted in full agreement with the views of Pitt. The **repeal of the Stamp Act** was a more difficult matter, and was vigorously opposed by Grenville and as vigorously advocated by Pitt.

The Declaratory Act, 1766.—Parliament had met on January 14, 1766, and after the debate the ministry repealed the Stamp Act and passed a **Declaratory Act** affirming Parliament's right to tax America. Owing to the rebellious conduct of the colonists, to the strength of the Grenvilles and Bedfords in Parliament, and to the somewhat dubious attitude of the King, the ministry had no alternative but to pass the Declaratory Act. The ministers could not have carried the repeal of the Stamp Act without the Declaratory Act to save the dignity of Parliament. The Stamp Act was a mistake, and the Rockingham ministry in repealing it deserved the gratitude of the country. The Declaratory Act was opposed by Pitt, Shelburne, and Camden, and, no doubt, it left the door open for future attempts to tax the American colonists. For the moment, however, America was pacified by the liberal policy of the Rockingham ministry.

Weakness of the Ministry.—In spite, however, of the wisdom of its measures, the weakness of the administration increased. Without the adhesion of Pitt it was obvious from the first that the administration would be short-lived. The Duke of Cumberland, who supported it, had died, on October 31, 1765, and Pitt steadily refused all offers to join the ministry.

Pitt's Position.—Pitt had definitely broken with Newcastle, and he was convinced that Newcastle's influence was still paramount in the Cabinet. He disliked the Whig 'connection,' and desired a ministry containing all able men—no

matter from what party—representing the various political connections. He was, moreover, still under the baneful influence of Temple, who did much to prevent the formation of a ministry strong enough to nullify the influence of the King and of that of 'the King's friends.' Moreover, while Rockingham wanted Pitt as an ally, Pitt wished to lead and was supported by Grafton. Though united on questions of public policy, Pitt and Rockingham were thus unfortunately unable to come to an agreement, and to **prevent the partial dissolution of the Empire which Pitt had done so much to found.** Pitt's last refusal to join the administration was in February 1766, and Rockingham, thinking the ministry sufficiently strong without Pitt, then decided not to call upon him again for assistance.

Fall of the Rockingham Ministry, 1766.—In April Grafton, on assuring himself that Rockingham was resolved not to call Pitt into the Cabinet, resigned, and was succeeded by the Duke of Richmond. In July, Northington, the Lord Chancellor and one of 'the King's friends,' quarrelled with his colleagues and told George that, the ministry being too weak to govern the country, he must resign his office. On July 9 the King informed Rockingham that his services were not longer required, and the **old Whig** administration came to an end.

The Pitt-Grafton Ministry, 1766-1770.—Pitt was at once summoned by George to form a ministry which consisted partly of the followers of Pitt and Rockingham, partly of the King's friends. Temple, who had supported the Stamp Act, refused to join, and Rockingham himself declined to see Pitt. In the new ministry, Shelburne and Conway were the Secretaries of State, Camden, Lord Chancellor, Grafton, First Lord of the Treasury, Northington, President of the Council, and (unfortunately) Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The ministry

was rendered weak from the outset by Pitt's determination to retire to the Upper House as **Lord Chatham**, and by the jealousy between Conway and Townshend. Pitt's loss of popularity, in consequence of his acceptance of a title, was a serious matter for a Cabinet which had no capable leader in the House of Commons, and which was not viewed with favour by the leading members of the Rockingham party.

Chatham's Foreign Policy, August 1766—December 1767.—Though Chatham was only Prime Minister **from August 1766 to December 1767**, and as early as March 1767 was incapacitated by illness, he was able to show that he fully realised the necessity for dealing with **three** subjects, all of paramount importance. These were **foreign politics, India, and Ireland.** The Peace of Paris had left Great Britain **isolated in Europe.** France and Spain were, by the Family Compact, closely allied, and Choiseul, the French minister, was busy preparing for a future war. Frederick the Great was still alienated, and Austria was allied with France. With Russia, indeed, Great Britain was on terms of friendship, but Catherine II. was busy with schemes for securing Russian supremacy over Poland and Sweden, and for advancing the Russian frontier in the direction of Constantinople. **In 1764 an alliance between Russia and Prussia** had been made which foreboded no good to either Poland or Sweden. The **Bourbon League** was recognised by Chatham as dangerous to the interests of Great Britain, and no sooner was he Prime Minister than he advocated **a Triple Alliance** between **Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia**, to be joined later by Denmark and Sweden, the States-General, and some of the smaller German powers. Thus would be formed a 'northern system' which would counterbalance the Family Compact. This project was statesmanlike. The menace of a Bourbon League was real, and no one with any knowledge of foreign affairs could ignore the dangerous position in which Great Britain

stood. Involved in disputes with the American colonists, and exposed to the hostility of the Bourbon Courts, Great Britain was in need of such alliances as Pitt was endeavouring to gain. Already Pitt's accession to office had alarmed Choiseul, though that statesman fully realised the magnitude of the blunder involved in Pitt's acceptance of an earldom. Choiseul indeed feared that having left the Lower Chamber, Chatham might endeavour to regain his lost popularity by extensive schemes of conquest.

Failure of Chatham's Project for a Northern League.—Catherine II. would only make an alliance on the condition that Great Britain aided her against Turkey, while Frederick the Great definitely refused to entertain Chatham's proposal for an alliance. Frederick had never forgiven the British desertion of him in 1762; he considered that the frequent changes of ministries rendered our foreign policy 'disconnected and uncertain,' he had no intention of involving himself in disputes between Great Britain and the Western and Southern powers. It may be that he was already forming schemes for the partition of Poland, a matter which he knew would not be regarded with favour by the British Government. Chatham's project, the wisdom of which was not at the time recognised, thus completely failed.

Chatham's Indian Policy.—Before his illness, in March 1767, forced him to retire for two years from political life, Chatham had also considered schemes for the better government of India and Ireland.

The East India Company, owing to Clive's victories over the French in India, had become a great territorial power. Clive had returned to England in 1760, having left at the head of the Government, Mr. Vansittart, a well-meaning man with little force of character, and whose weak and inefficient rule soon involved the Company in difficulties. Lord Macaulay has declared that the period between Clive's departure in

1760 and his return in 1765 'has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government.' Both Vansittart and Warren Hastings, who was a member of the Council, were overruled, and outvoted by the other members, who only aimed at furthering their own interests. That war eventually broke out was due to Ellis, the head of the Patna Factory. Meer Jaffier, the Nawab of Bengal, was deposed in 1761, and his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, was made Nawab by the Council. But the conduct of the Company's officials, and especially of Ellis, was disgraceful, and Meer Cossim 'saw his people starving, his officers ill-treated, and his treasury robbed.' Hostilities began on June 1763. On October 5, 1763, Meer Cossim caused the Europeans at Patna to be massacred. In November Patna was stormed by a small force under Major Adams, and Bengal was subdued. Though Meer Cossim found an ally in the Nawab of Oude, he was unable to regain his former position, Meer Jaffier having been reinstated by the Company as Nawab of Bengal.

On October 23, 1764, Major Munro, at the head of the Company's forces, attacked and defeated the Nawab of Oude's army of 50,000 in the **battle of Buxar**. This victory was 'an important supplement to the victory of Plassey,' as it 'demolished the only independent power in the north of India,' and left the Company supreme in the valley of the Ganges. In 1765 Meer Jaffier died, and his son was appointed by the Council to succeed him.

These continual wars and revolutions, combined with the rapacious conduct of the English officials, necessitated sweeping reforms, and in 1765 Clive returned to India in order to reorganise the Government, to reduce the amount of its debts, and generally to place it on a stable footing. He made satisfactory arrangements with the Emperor, and the Nawabs of Oude and Bengal, obtained for the Company the revenues of

Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, suppressed a mutiny of the European officers, and in 1767 returned to England in consequence of a severe attack of illness. His departure was followed by five years of administrative anarchy in Bengal and Madras. The rapacity of the Company's servants was unchecked, and the Company became more heavily involved in debt than ever. No sooner was Chatham in office than he determined to examine into the affairs of the Company, hoping to secure a portion of its revenues for national purposes. The matter was considered in Parliament in 1767, and in June a bill was passed by which the Company, 'in return for the confirmation of its territorial revenues, bound itself to pay the Government £400,000 a year for two years.'[1] This arrangement proved to be merely a temporary one, for the Company during the years 1767-8-9 found itself involved in a costly war with Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore. In 1766 the Madras Government had entered into a foolish engagement to aid the Nizam of the Deccan, whose capital was Hyderabad, against all his foes. The Nizam went to war with Hyder, and though he quickly made peace, the British and Hyder continued the war, in which Colonel Smith distinguished himself by his ability and courage. In April 1769 Hyder forced the Government of Madras to sign a humiliating treaty.

Thus, while the Company's revenues were decreasing and its debts increasing, its foreign policy was reckless, and calculated to lower the prestige of the British in India. It had become necessary for the Home Government to interfere if the British hold upon India was to be maintained.[2]

Ireland.—During Chatham's ministry an attempt was made to secure better government in Ireland, and in 1767 the Marquis Townshend, brother of the brilliant Charles Towns-

[1] Hunt, *The Political History of England* (1760-1801), p. 80.

[2] See page 174.

hend, was sent to Dublin as viceroy. In Ireland a very unsatisfactory state of things existed. The Irish House of Commons was composed of Protestants, and since the passing of Poyning's Law in Henry VII.'s reign, was entirely subordinate to the English Privy Council. The government of Ireland was managed by a few of the leading residents called 'Undertakers'; and on the whole they governed the country fairly well. Owing to the long absences of the Lords-Lieutenant of Ireland the 'Undertakers' had, like the leading Whigs in the reigns of George I. and II., acquired much power, and on his accession George III. desired to destroy their influence. This could only be done by means of a Lord-Lieutenant who was continually resident, and Lord Townshend in 1767 was expressly forbidden to leave Ireland during his term of office. The 'Undertakers,' like the Whigs in England, resisted the attempt to lessen their power, but by means of bribery Townshend secured a subservient House of Commons, and the power of the Undertakers was overthrown. His victory was an ephemeral one. He had not the qualities of a successful ruler, and was recalled in 1772; during the American War Ireland became virtually independent of Great Britain.[1]

Change in the Character of the Ministry, 1767-1770.—Chatham's illness and **practical retirement from politics in March 1767** changed the whole character and policy of the ministry. From being a ministry bent on carrying out a **vigorous foreign policy** and **useful changes in the government of India and Ireland**, it became a **reactionary ministry**, out of touch with public opinion at home, and by its measures in part answerable for the war with America and the loss of the American colonies. Finding that Chatham was unable to act as Prime Minister, George endeavoured in July 1767 to secure Rockingham as the head of a Cabinet formed on non-party lines. The refusal of the Whig peer to agree to these terms

[1] See page 203.

forced George to recognise **Grafton** as the head of Chatham's Cabinet. In Grafton George found a minister who, with the best possible intentions, was willing to carry out his wishes. On **Townshend's death, in September 1767, Lord North,** a popular peer with political views approved by the King, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Before the year closed the reactionary Bedford section, of which the principal members were Lord Gower (who succeeded Northington as President of the Council), Lord Weymouth (who became Secretary of State for the Northern Department), Lord Hillsborough, who received the new office of third Secretary of State for the Colonies, joined the ministry. By this addition of the Bedford party, or the 'Bloomsbury Gang,' as it was called, to its ranks the ministry at once became reactionary, and showed its true character in its attitude towards (1) the Middlesex Election and (2) the American colonies.

The Middlesex Election, 1768.—At the general election of 1768 John Wilkes was returned for Middlesex, and some rioting took place. Instead of pardoning Wilkes, who was technically an outlaw, the ministry, in the person of Lord Weymouth, who acted in agreement with the wishes of the King, proceeded against Wilkes. A riot took place, and the troops fired on the mob, killing five and wounding several. In June 1768 Wilkes was condemned to twenty-two months imprisonment and to a fine of £1000. On February 3, 1768, Wilkes, for having published with comments Weymouth's letter of April 17 (the day on which Wilkes surrendered), in which the magistrates were ordered, if necessary, to use the military, was expelled from the House of Commons. This attack on the rights of electors was a blunder, and on February 10, March 16, and April 13, 1768, Wilkes was re-elected, his election in each case being declared to be null and void by the House of Commons. On April 15 the Commons put themselves still further in the wrong by declaring Colonel Luttrell

(who only secured 296 votes as compared with the 1143 votes obtained by Wilkes) the member for Middlesex. George had won a victory, but the constitution had been violated, his popularity had disappeared, a great impetus was given to the development of radicalism, and the Grafton ministry was rendered very unpopular.

The Letters of Junius.—The Middlesex election roused the attention of the country to the unrepresentative character of Parliament. Public opinion was stirred, and the letters of Junius, which first assumed importance in 1769, gave expression to the discontent caused by the proceedings against Wilkes. In January 1769 Junius, who is supposed to have been Sir Philip Francis, bitterly attacked the political condition of the country, and till January 21, 1772, he continued to publish letters bearing on the conduct of public affairs. His views were not valuable or profound, but they were expressed in admirable literary style and illustrated the general discontent. The appearance of these letters mark an important epoch in the history of journalism. In 1770 the *Morning Chronicle*, in 1772 the *Morning Post*, in 1780 the *Morning Herald* were established, and their appearance also illustrates the growing power of the Press. It has been thought that Grafton's resignation in 1770 was in part due to the bitter attacks made upon him by Junius.

The Policy of Grafton's Ministry to America, 1767-1770.—The reactionary policy of the ministers was still further illustrated by their policy towards the American colonies. There is little doubt that, before his illness, Chatham had hoped that by obtaining money from the East India Company he would divert attention from any plan for taxing the American colonies. In this he showed prescience, for already in January 1767, two months before his illness, Townshend had declared that money could be obtained from the American colonists for the payment of the troops stationed in America.

Townshend's Measures. Opposition of Massachusetts, 1768.—In March Chatham was taken ill, and in June 1767 Townshend carried triumphantly a bill imposing duties, for purposes of revenue, on the importation into America of glass, paper, paint, and tea. The legislative power of the Assembly of New York was also suspended. Though the amount at issue was small, the American colonies, each of which had its own assembly, objected to being taxed by an external authority, such as they held the British Parliament to be. In the opposition to the new taxation Massachusetts led the way, and Samuel Adams spared no pains to stir up a hostile feeling to the mother-country. On February 11, 1768, at his instigation the Massachusetts Assembly issued a circular letter urging upon the other colonies united opposition to the claims of Great Britain. The effect of the supremacy of the Bedford section in Grafton's Cabinet was at once seen. Hillsborough, the third Secretary of State, finding that the Massachusetts Assembly would not withdraw the circular letter, ordered the **dissolution of the assembly.** Riots followed, and British trade with America suffered heavily.

Retirement of Chatham and Shelburne from the Ministry, October 1768.—The ministry, however, persevered with its irritating policy and played into the hands of such agitators as Samuel Adams. **In October 1768 Chatham resigned the Privy Seal,** and the same month saw the retirement from the ministry of **Shelburne,** who advocated a policy of conciliation towards the American colonies. Weymouth succeeded him as Secretary for the Southern Department, and Lord Rochford took the post of Secretary for the Northern Department.

In 1769 the ministry, now headed by Grafton and under the influence of 'the Bedfords,' determined in a half-hearted manner to adopt a conciliatory policy to the colonies, and in May all the obnoxious duties were removed **except the one on**

tea, which was kept mainly owing to the King's influence. The tea duty itself was no hardship, but it gave Samuel Adams and his supporters an opportunity of denouncing the right of Parliament to tax America. Bernard, the unpopular Governor of Massachusetts, was superseded by Hutchinson, and a portion of the troops which were in the colony were removed. It would have been far more dignified if the British Government had removed the tea duty in 1769, and confessed that the policy of alternate threats and concessions was a blunder.

The importance of the illness and resignation of Chatham was now apparent. In his autobiography the Duke of Grafton writes as follows :—

'I shall ever consider Lord Chatham's long illness together with his resignation as the most unhappy event that could have befallen our political state. . . . I must think that the separation from America might have been avoided, for in the following spring Lord Chatham was sufficiently recovered to have given his effectual support in the Cabinet to Lords Camden and Granby, and General Conway with myself, who were overruled in our best endeavours to include the article of teas with other duties intended to be repealed.'[1]

Foreign Policy, 1767-1769.—Chatham's illness and the reconstruction of the ministry had also a most disastrous effect upon Great Britain's foreign policy, and upon her reputation abroad. Aware of the hostile feelings of French and Spanish statesmen towards Great Britain, Shelburne, Chatham's Secretary of State for the Southern Department, had endeavoured to check the aggressive designs of the Bourbon Courts, which received encouragement from Chatham's illness early in 1767, the constant changes in the ministry, and the occupation of ministers with the affairs of India and Ireland, with the question of American

[1] *Memoirs of the Third Duke of Grafton*, p. 225. Edited by *Anson*.

taxation, and with the Middlesex election. Fierce debates in Parliament over the issue of an Order in Council laying an embargo on corn had not prevented the session ending in December 1766 'triumphantly for the great Earl.' Though the Spaniards had not yet paid the **Manila Ransom**, and continued to claim the **Falkland Islands**, Shelburne hoped to settle these questions in a conciliatory spirit.

But 'the internal divisions of the English Cabinet on the affairs of India and America, now coinciding with the failure of the plan of a Northern Alliance, rendered vigorous action impossible.' Choiseul and Grimaldi, who eagerly watched for signs of weakness in the English Cabinet, were thus encouraged by Chatham's illness early in 1767 to pursue with regard to the questions of the **Manila Ransom** and the **Falkland Islands** a policy of procrastination and delay.

Choiseul's avowed object was to prevent matters coming to a head till his plans were completed. 'In 1770,' he wrote, 'we shall certainly have a splendid army, a respectable navy, and money in the treasury.'

The Annexation of Corsica by France, 1768.—The illness of Chatham had immediate and disastrous results upon the ministry. Cabinet dissensions increased, Townshend's fatal influence grew, and the effect was seen in the weakness of the policy of the Government. The Duke of Grafton was now the real head of the ministry, and proved singularly incapable to guide the whirlwind which a cruel fate ordained that he should be called upon to control. It was just when the ministry was deeply involved in difficulties at home that the **annexation of Corsica** by France took place. The Corsicans and their rulers, the Genoese, had quarrelled, and in 1764 **Paoli**, the famous Corsican leader, had appealed to Louis XV. for protection. Anxious in some way to restore its prestige, the French Government readily sent troops, who under Marbœuf, their commander, attacked Paoli and the Corsicans

in 1768. After a short struggle in which Paoli and his compatriots proved no match for the well-equipped French troops, Corsica was annexed to France. Paoli and some of his followers fled to England, and in 1769 Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio—a French subject. The French power in the Mediterranean was strengthened, and Choiseul's belief in the weakness of English foreign policy was justified.

Attitude of Grafton.—Grafton during the progress of the Corsican 'affair' had shown a conspicuous inability to deal with a situation bristling, no doubt, with difficulties. His foreign policy lacked clearness and decision. He procrastinated and wavered; instead of declaring boldly against the French policy of annexation, or of asserting a policy of neutrality, he refused, like James I., to look facts in the face, and to take up a decided position. He seems to have understood the depth of the patriotism of the Corsican when too late, and he authorised arms to be sent to them secretly. Such surreptitious aid was useless, and France gained a signal triumph—a slight compensation for the loss of Canada. Paoli's appeal to Louis XV. in 1764 may doubtless be pleaded as an excuse for the tardy appreciation by Grafton of the seriousness of the struggle in Corsica, and of its real meaning. Shelburne, however, advocated resistance to the French aggression, and probably, if Shelburne's advice had been taken, Corsica would not have fallen into the hands of France. Choiseul, on receiving Shelburne's protest against the annexation of Corsica, made conciliatory utterances, and in June 1768 Rochford, our minister in Paris, thought that the display of vigour on the part of Shelburne would have its effect. In July it was the general opinion in France that the English fleet would prevent the passage of more French troops to Corsica; but the temerity of Choiseul was justified by the party divisions in England. Lord Weymouth, one of the Bedford party, never ceased assuring

the ambassadors of the great Powers that England would never go to war for Corsica. Choiseul, reassured by this and other such statements, sent Chauvelin as Commander-in-Chief to Corsica on July 25, with a number of troops. A vigorous policy undertaken earlier by the British Cabinet would have been effective, and Grafton could only lament on the 'unfortunate ignorance he had been in as to the disposition of the Corsicans,' as, if he had known, a more decided course of action would have been followed. Shelburne had thus been unable to check the aggressive policy of the Bourbon Courts; **Corsica** had been seized by France; Spain still refused to pay the Manila ransom. Grafton, it is said, having failed to expel the French from Corsica, now undertook the easier task of expelling Shelburne from the Cabinet. On **October 19, 1768, Shelburne resigned.** The immediate results were disastrous. The Bedfords, now masters of the field, inaugurated a policy of repression in America, and determined upon the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons. (See pp. 159, 160.)

Summary of Policy of the Grafton Ministry. — Thus in home, colonial, and foreign affairs, the Grafton ministry blundered. Its **policy towards Wilkes** had raised a storm of indignation in England, and led to the formation of political associations which aimed at the reform of Parliament. Its **colonial policy** alienated public opinion in America, and prepared the way for the War of American Independence, and for the loss of the American colonies. Its **foreign policy** was marked by ignorance, weakness, and vacillation, and over the Corsican affair 'British policy was brought into derision.'

On January 28, 1770, the Duke of Grafton, who, it must be remembered, had never willingly accepted the post of Prime Minister, and only remained in office to please George III., resigned, and George was enabled to place his own nominee, Lord North, at the head of the Government.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Fall of Bute; formation of the Grenville Ministry	1763
Publication of No. 45 of 'North Briton'	,,
Expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons (January 19)	1764
The Stamp Act (March 22)	,,
The Regency Bill	1765
Formation of the Rockingham Ministry (July 10)	,,
General Warrants declared Illegal	,,
Clive again in India	1765-1767
Repeal of the Stamp Act (January 14)	1766
The Declaratory Act passed	,,
The Pitt-Grafton Ministry in Office (August)	,,
Illness of Chatham begins (March)	1767
Lord Townshend becomes Viceroy of Ireland	,,
Death of Charles Townshend (September)	,,
Grafton becomes Head of the Ministry (October)	,,
War with Hyder Ali	1767-1769
The Middlesex Election	1768
Occupation of Corsica by France	,,
Retirement of Shelburne from the Ministry (Oct. 19)	,,
Policy of Conciliation towards America: all Duties removed except the one on Tea	1769
Letters of Junius	1769-1772
Resignation of Grafton (January 28)	1770

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I. Ministries, 1760-1770.

Pitt and Newcastle	1757-61
Bute	1762-63
Grenville	1763-65
Rockingham	1765-66
Chatham 1766-68 / Grafton 1768-70	1766-70

II. The State of Parties, 1760-1770.

1. **The Tories.**—Bute and North.
   Principles.—King to **rule** as well as **reign.** American taxation.

Whigs.

2. **The Old Aristocratic Whigs.** — Rockingham, Devonshire, Burke.
   Principles. — King to **reign** but not to **rule.** No taxation of America. No Parliamentary Reform.
3. **The Whig Followers of Pitt.**—Shelburne, Grafton.
   Principles.—Imperialist. Spirited foreign policy. No taxation of America. No party government. Parliamentary Reform.
4. **The Whig Followers of Grenville and Bedford.**
   Principles.—Whigs to have monopoly of power. Taxation of America.

Period III.—1770-1782.

The Ministry of Lord North and the War of American Independence.

Contents.

Triumph of George III.—The Departmental System—Character of Lord North—Charles James Fox—The Political Situation, 1771—Election Petitions—The 'Boston Massacre'—The Falkland Islands—Publication of Debates—Wilkes Triumphant—Chatham and Reform—The Royal Marriage Act—The Regulating Act—American Affairs—Benjamin Franklin—John Adams—Samuel Adams—The Boston Tea Ships—The Quebec Act—The First Continental Congress—Opening of the War of American Independence—Lexington—Bunker Hill—American Invasion of Canada—Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776—Saratoga, 1777—Entry of France into the War, 1778—Spain joins France, 1779—The Armed Neutrality, 1780—The Struggle for the Southern Colonies—The Situation in 1780—The Campaign of Cornwallis, 1781—Yorktown, 1781—Causes of the Success of the Americans—The Effect of Yorktown—English Politics—The Gordon Riots—Resignation of Lord North, 1782.

CHIEF NAMES.

North — Charles James Fox — Shelburne — Chatham — Dunning—Wilkes—Franklin—John Adams—Samuel Adams—Washington—Carleton—General Howe—Burgoyne—Cornwallis—Clinton—Floridablanca — Rodney — Elliott — D'Estaing — Vergennes — Lafayette — Savile — Charles III. — Catherine II. — Frederick the Great.

Triumph of the King and the American War, 1770-1782. Lord North's Ministry.—On January 28, 1770, the Duke of Grafton resigned office, and the King found in **Lord North**, whom he appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, a minister after his own heart. North, who had been at Trinity College, Oxford, was an able debater,

was well educated and far superior to George III. in intellect. But he was lazy and good tempered, and often allowed his attachment to the King to get the better of his judgment. During his term of office, which lasted from 1770 to 1782, he showed no objection to the King's constant interference in politics.

The Departmental System.—The development of the Cabinet system received a severe check, and the 'departmental system,' in accordance with which **the King ruled as well as reigned**, enjoyed a short period of triumph. According to the 'departmental system' the members of the Cabinet were only loosely united under a Prime Minister, and often had direct intercourse with the King. Lord North's good temper prevented him from objecting to being merely a *primus inter pares*, while his excellent relations with the King offered no obstacle to the latter assuming the position of and acting as his own Prime Minister. Till 1782 George ruled the country through Lord North.

The Ministers.—The new ministry included some new names. Thurlow became Solicitor-General, Hawke succeeded Egmont at the Admiralty, Gower was appointed Lord President of the Council, and Charles James Fox, a young and rising politician, became a Lord of the Admiralty.

Charles James Fox.—Charles James Fox was born in 1749 and died in 1806. He was the second son of Henry Fox (Lord Holland), whose love of money and skill in the arts of corruption was so clearly emphasised at the beginning of George III.'s reign. Charles James Fox had early been introduced into fast society, and grew up a dissipated gambler. But he loved literature, and all through his life read Greek, Latin, and English poetry; Homer, Euripides and Virgil being his favourite authors. He disliked mathematics, and refused to read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and spent most of his life in

Parliament, where he shone as an orator. His views were in consonance with those held by the old Whigs under Rockingham, and till the French Revolution he acted with Burke. 'Though the most charming of men, . . . to companions the kindest of friends,' Charles James Fox was not a man of high principles nor of statesmanlike qualities. This was the man who now began to force his way into prominence, and who roused the hostility of the King by the independent attitude which he took up.

The Political Situation in 1770.—The new ministry took office at a critical moment. The difficulties with the American colonists were increasing, war with Spain and France seemed a not improbable event; the Middlesex election had shown the existence of widespread discontent, and had led to the rise of the Radical party. The publication by Burke in 1770 of his *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* proved that even the Whig party, though not desirous of changes in the constitution, was anxious to check the King's influence in Parliament. Places and pensions ought, in Burke's opinion, to be sensibly reduced, the proceedings of Parliament should be published, the whole question of the legality of elections should be carefully examined. He was opposed to Chatham's desire for radical reforms, for he held that the constitution as it existed worked admirably, and both now and later he opposed the doctrine that a member of Parliament should be a delegate.

Election Petitions.—During the year 1770 three important events took place. In the first place, at the instance of Grenville and in opposition to North, it was decided that election petitions should be determined, not by a vote of the whole House of Commons, but by a committee of fifteen.

The 'Boston Massacre,' 1770.—In America an important event occurred which increased the anti-British feeling in Massachusetts and elsewhere, which Samuel Adams was doing

all in his power to increase. In April 1770 the ministry had withdrawn all the duties except that upon tea. The repeal had, however, been preceded on March 5 by an event to which the undeserved title of the **Boston Massacre** has been given, the result of the growing friction between the populace of Boston and the troops. A sentry was set upon by a brutal and truculent mob; the soldiers came to his aid, and in spite of the efforts of Captain Preston, the officer in command, the men fired in self-defence. Five or six civilians were killed or wounded, and Captain Preston and two men were tried for murder. Preston was acquitted, the men were convicted of manslaughter. 'The riot had no political significance, and was caused by no invasion upon the rights of the Americans.'[1] To allay the inflamed feelings of the people, the troops were withdrawn to an island in the harbour. The 'Boston Massacre' came at an unfortunate moment, and for a time feeling against Great Britain ran high.

The Falkland Islands, 1770-1771.—The third important event in 1770 was the seizure by the Spaniards of the western island of the Falkland Islands. That island had been occupied by the British since 1765, but the Spanish Government, relying on the Family Compact of 1761 with France, expected help from Choiseul, the French minister. Louis XV., however, was resolved not to engage in war. Choiseul was dismissed at the end of 1770, and in January 1771 Spain yielded to Great Britain's demands and restored the island. During this crisis North had shown admirable energy. The fleet was made ready for sea, and the number of sailors was increased.

Changes in the Ministry, 1770-1771.—Various changes, owing to deaths and retirements, took place in the ministry in the winter of 1770-1771. Lord Suffolk was made Privy Seal in December 1770 (Lord Grenville having died in October), and in June 1771, on the death of Halifax, Secretary

[1] Hart, *Formation of the Union*, p. 56.

of State for the Southern Department, Rochford became Secretary of State for the Northern Department; Sandwich succeeded Hawke at the Admiralty; Thurlow became Attorney-General; Wedderburn, who hitherto had advocated the popular cause, Solicitor-General; Bathurst, Lord-Chancellor; and when Suffolk took the Secretaryship of State, Grafton was given the Privy Seal.

Publication of Debates.—During 1771 the Commons unsuccessfully endeavoured to prevent the publication of their debates. In the previous year Lord Mansfield had decided that, in a case of libel, it was the duty of the jury to decide not whether the publication was libellous, but simply whether the libel had been published. The newspaper press, which was then rapidly rising to a position of importance, was very indignant. The *Morning Post* and the *Public Advertiser* had begun the practice of reporting the more important speeches in Parliament, and in March 1771 Colonel George Onslow complained in the House of Commons that his speeches had been misrepresented and he himself described as 'little Cocking George.' The House at once ordered that Wheble and Thompson, the two printers, should be arrested. The printers could not be found, and as several newspapers continued to publish the speeches in Parliament, Onslow again attempted to stop the practice of parliamentary reporting. On March 13 the Commons decided to proceed against six printers. Of these Woodfall was already in custody by the order of the House of Lords, and of the remainder, four appeared at the bar of the House of Commons and were reprimanded, while Miller, the sixth printer implicated, followed the example of Wheble and Thompson and refused to appear. Wheble and Thompson were collusively arrested, taken before two aldermen, and released. Miller, on being arrested by a House of Commons messenger, gave the latter in charge, and both were taken to

the Mansion House. Crosby, the Lord Mayor, sitting with two aldermen, John Wilkes and Oliver, discharged Miller and committed the messenger to prison, accepting, however, bail. A struggle ensued between the House of Commons and the three magistrates, during which Crosby and Miller were committed to the Tower, where they remained till the prorogation, while Wilkes scoffed at the authority of the House of Commons, and London became the scene of riots. Eventually the printers were allowed to remain at liberty, and 'the reports of the proceedings of the House of Commons were tacitly permitted.'[1] The result was that 'the press made another gigantic stride in political importance.'[2]

Chatham attempts to secure Reform of Parliament, 1770-1771.—This contest with the printers, and the victory for parliamentary reporting, convinced Chatham of the necessity for the reform of Parliament. In May 1771 he urged the dissolution of the existing Parliament and some measure of reform. In 1770 he had attacked the growing corruption of Parliament, due in great measure to the presence in England of wealthy **Indian nabobs**. 'Without connections,' he declared in a speech in the House of Lords, 'without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold (the nabobs) have forced their way into Parliament by such a torrent of private corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist. For this great evil some immediate remedy must be provided.' An increase of county members (an additional member for each county) would, he thought, contribute to the purity of Parliament. After the victory of the printers in 1771 he boldly advocated triennial Parliaments as the only way to check the influence of the Crown, which, he declared, 'had become so enormous that some stronger bulwark must be erected for the defence of the constitution.'

[1] Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 262. [2] *Ibid.*

The Royal Marriage Act, 1772.—In 1772 the Court won a victory in the passing of the **Royal Marriage Act**, the object of which was to prevent the members of the Royal Family from marrying without the consent of the reigning Sovereign. **Charles James Fox**, son of Lord Holland (Henry Fox), and already recognised as an able debater, violently opposed the measure, and resigned his office of Lord of the Admiralty. Soon afterwards, however, he again joined the Government, but in 1774 was again dismissed. He then joined the Whigs under Lord Rockingham, and bitterly opposed Lord North throughout the American War of Independence.

The Regulating Act, 1773.—With regard to India Lord North's Government made an important departure. Clive finally left India in 1767, having laid the foundation of a great empire. After his departure the Company's financial condition grew very serious owing to the rapacity of the officials, and the Madras Government became involved in war with Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore. If the jobbery and corruption of the Indian Government was to be checked, and if India was to remain a possession of the British Crown, drastic reforms were necessary. Parliament determined to reform the Government of India. By the **Regulating Act** in 1773, which was the first real attempt made by Parliament to set up a form of government suitable for the administration of a great kingdom, the Governor of Bengal was transformed into the Governor-General, with a Council of four members. The Governments of Bombay and Madras were placed under the Governor-General, and a Supreme Court of Judicature was set up in Calcutta. Warren Hastings, who, in April 1772, had been made Governor of Bengal, was appointed the Governor-General, and the four councillors were Philip Francis, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Richard Barwell. Parliament had now assumed the control of the political management of the affairs of the East India

Company, and it curtailed the powers and patronage of that Company. But it required some years before the machinery designed in 1773 for the better government of India worked smoothly, and the relations between Hastings and his Council became at once strained. Only Barwell supported Hastings in a long series of quarrels without any break till Monson's death in 1776. Fortunately Hastings was still Governor-General when war with France broke out in 1778. During those critical years from 1778 to 1784 Hastings was engaged in a war with the Mahrattas, a war with Hyder Ali, Sultan of Mysore, and till 1783 in the war with France. Owing to his resourcefulness and strength of will the British hold upon India, which was seriously threatened by the attacks of the Mahrattas and the ruler of Mysore, was maintained and strengthened.[1]

The Affairs of America.—On assuming office the ministry of Lord North found that the affairs in America required careful handling, and it was resolved to adopt a policy of conciliation and compromise. Unfortunately this policy failed, and in 1775 the War of American Independence broke out. There are certain facts which it is necessary to emphasise before entering upon a description of the war between Great Britain and the American colonies.

1. Though the Stamp Act was short-sighted and impolitic owing to the new conditions that prevailed in America and to the new situation which had been created since the Peace of Paris, it was not illegal, or unjust, or tyrannical.

2. Smuggling was illegal and dangerous. During the Seven Years' War France and Spain had been aided by the New England shipowners. Grenville was fully justified in suppressing it.

3. For many years previous to the outbreak of war there existed in the colonies 'a party, widespread, semi-organised,

[1] For a full account of the administration of Hastings, see pp. 210-216.

and powerful, though yet a minority, which was determined on separation.'[1] In 1775 John Adams wrote that for the previous twelve years he had been convinced that the controversy (with Great Britain) would never be settled.

4. That it was only the presence of the French in Canada and the Spaniards in Florida that had hitherto prevented the New England colonies from agitating for self-government.

5. It was not till 1764 that the revolt against taxation of any sort by Great Britain first began.

6. A widespread feeling of loyalty to the British Crown did not exist in America, even during the Seven Years' War.

7. The conditions of society in America resembled in many points those of Great Britain. While the condition of the lower orders was in many ways deplorable, the upper and middle classes indulged in the usual pursuits of the day—duelling, gambling, horseracing and the like.

8. The first two Congresses of the revolted colonies were in no better condition than was the British Parliament. Corruption was rife and political intrigues were common. Before the war the local assemblies, the proceedings of which were usually marked by a selfish greed and a narrowness of view, had usurped to a great extent the powers of the governors.

9. The governors of the colonies, as a rule, had been men of high character, and, till 1765, popular with the colonists.

Benjamin Franklin.—The leading Americans, during the ten years preceding the outbreak of war, were Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Samuel Adams. Franklin was till 1774 a supporter of the union between Great Britain and the American colonies. 'A New Englander by birth, not a Puritan either in religion or morals, a wise politician, shrewd, public-spirited, inventive, and full of schemes of practical usefulness,'[2]

[1] *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, p. 227.

[2] Hunt, *Political History of England* 1760-1801), p. 59.

Franklin, as agent for Pennsylvania, had endeavoured in 1764 to dissuade Grenville from imposing the Stamp Act on the colonies. He was regarded with jealousy by **John Adams.**

John Adams.—The latter developed statesmanlike qualities, and was elected President of the United States in 1796. He had an ungovernable temper, and was vain and jealous by nature. He took an active part in the opposition to Great Britain, and was the most active member of the Board of War which was set up in 1775.

Samuel Adams.—**Samuel Adams** was a man of very different character. He was a vehement opponent of Great Britain, and might almost be called the author of the Revolution. He was early an advocate of Independence, and seems to have been regardless of the means employed to bring about a rupture between the colonies and Great Britain. Partial in his views and unscrupulous in his methods, Samuel Adams was a born agitator and intriguer. 'He could employ,' says his biographer, 'upon occasions a certain fox-like shrewdness which did not always scrutinise the means over-narrowly while he pushed on for the great end.'[1] Another American writer remarks that his strength lay in 'his vehemence, his total inability to see more than one side of any question, and still more in his subtle influence upon the Boston town-meetings, upon committees, and in private conclaves.'[2]

The Affairs of the 'Gaspee,' 1772.—The years 1772-3-4 were marked by the increasing intrigues of Samuel Adams against the British rule. Committees of Correspondence were appointed, and by their means close communications were established between Massachusetts and the other colonies. 'These Committees of Correspondence made the Revolution possible,' and prepared the organisation which was a necessary preliminary to the war in 1775. During the intervening

[1] Hosmer, *Life of Samuel Adams*, p. 121.
[2] Hart, *Formation of the Union*, p. 57.

years between the Boston massacre and the outbreak of hostilities, three events occurred which showed the growth of a hostile spirit in the colonies. On June 9, 1772, the *Gaspee*, a British man-of-war, while pursuing a smuggling vessel, ran aground off Rhode Island. During the following night armed men burned the *Gaspee* and set the crew and the commander on shore after having wounded the latter. The colonial authorities took no steps to discover the perpetrators of this outrage, and they remained unpunished.

The Hutchinson Letters.—Shortly afterwards a number of letters, written in 1767 by Hutchinson, the Governor, and his brother-in-law, Oliver, the Chief-Justice, of Massachusetts, to a friend in England (Whateley, the private secretary of Grenville), were published in America and roused great excitement. These letters had been stolen through the instrumentality of Franklin, who was in England as the agent for Massachusetts, and by him sent to Boston, where Samuel Adams read them before the Assembly. The letters were simply those of a representative of the Crown who upheld the supremacy of Parliament, and who was in favour of the continuance of the connection between the mother-country and the colonies. Samuel Adams, however, insisted on regarding them as proofs of bad faith, and used them as a means of stirring up the minds of the inhabitants of Massachusetts against the Government, while the Assembly drew up a petition for the removal of Hutchinson. The petition was laid before the Privy Council in January 1774, Dunning, a member of the Opposition in Parliament, representing the petitioners, and Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, speaking for Hutchinson. Franklin was present and was fiercely denounced by Wedderburn as a thief. The petition was declared vexatious, and Franklin was dismissed from his office of Deputy-Postmaster for the American colonies. Henceforth he was violently hostile to Great Britain.

The Boston Tea Ships, 1773.—Before the hostile feeling to the Government had time to subside, the **Boston Tea** incident occurred. In order to relieve the East India Company from its financial difficulties, the Parliament authorised the Company to export to America a quantity of tea. Of the ships which contained the tea, three arrived in Boston harbour. On **December 16, 1773**, the ships were boarded by a number of men disguised as Indians, and the tea (of the value of £18,000) was thrown into the sea.

At Charleston the tea was landed, but it remained in the cellars of the custom-house. That this course was not adopted at Boston was probably due to **Samuel Adams** and the extreme section of the population who desired to bring about an open rupture with Great Britain as the surest way to independence. Moreover, a smuggling trade in tea between Boston and St. Eustatius existed, and as the East India Company's tea could have been sold at a lower price than the smuggled tea, it was obviously the interest of many of the inhabitants of Boston to prevent the tea from being landed. In the morning after the 'Boston Tea Party' the 'shoes of at least one reputable citizen of Massachusetts were found by his family unaccountably full of tea.'[1]

The appearance of the tea ships in Boston harbour thus gave Samuel Adams and those who wished to push matters to an extreme issue an opportunity of which they availed themselves. For in England the open defiance of governmental authority, and the lawless violation of the rights of private property, caused deep irritation. The whole British nation was ignorant of the state of feeling in America, the distance between the two countries rendered misunderstandings unavoidable, and the result of the carefully concocted plans of unscrupulous agitators **brought to an end all idea of a conciliatory policy.**

[1] Hart, *Formation of the Union*, p. 58.

Strained Relations between Great Britain and the Colonies, 1773-1775. — After the outrage on the tea ships in 1773 British opinion expressed itself as opposed to all further concessions. 'The claims and the language of the colonial agitators excited profound and not unnatural indignation, and every mail from America brought news that New England at least was in a condition of virtual rebellion; that Acts of Parliament were defied and disobeyed with the most perfect impunity; that the representatives of the British Government were habitually exposed to the grossest insult, and reduced to the most humiliating impotence.'[1] The ministers were probably acting in consonance with popular opinion when they decided to reduce Massachusetts to obedience. The time for temporising had now passed, 'the colonies had put themselves in the wrong by their repeated acts of violence,'[2] and in March 1774 the Government imposed a number of severe measures upon the rebellious colonies. The port of Boston was closed; trade was diverted to Salem, and by the **Massachusetts Government Act** the charter of Massachusetts was annulled and it was made a Crown colony, that is, Government officials and judges from England ruled in place of the representative assembly. Moreover, limitations were placed upon trial by jury; public meetings, unless sanctioned by the Governor, were forbidden; trials for important political offences were to be held in England. The last of the Coercive Statutes provided for the quartering of soldiers upon the inhabitants of Boston. Both Burke and Chatham opposed one or more of these measures, but their arguments carried little weight. In place of Hutchinson, Gage was appointed Governor of Massachusetts and Commander-in-Chief.

The First Continental Congress, 1774. — These measures only tended to unite the colonies in defence of Boston and

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, cap. xi.

[2] Hart, *Formation of the Union*, p. 59.

Massachusetts, and in September 1774 representatives of all the colonies, except Georgia, met in a Congress (called the First Continental Congress) at Philadelphia.

The Quebec Act, 1774.—The Congress demanded not only the revocation of the Penal Acts against Massachusetts, but also that of the **Quebec Act** which Parliament had also passed in March 1774. This was a measure devised to define the boundaries of Canada and to conciliate the French Canadians, who formed a large majority of the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. **General** (afterwards **Sir Guy**) **Carleton**, the Governor of Canada, an able minister, advocated the measure which the Government showed great wisdom in introducing. It gave the Catholics in Canada freedom of worship, and many privileges, was carried in spite of the opposition of Burke, Barré, Chatham, and the City of London, and became law in June 1774. The American Assembly had good reason to be irritated, for the Quebec Act, **one of the most statesmanlike measures of George III.'s reign**, satisfied the French Canadians, enlisted the sympathies of the priests on the side of the Government during the war, and **saved Canada for the British Crown.** Had the French Canadians sided with the Americans their religion would not have been tolerated. To these men the exercise of their religion was of vital importance, and throughout the war the Canadians aided the British against the Americans.

Attitude of the First Continental Congress.—The Congress, in which the influence of Samuel Adams made itself felt, issued a Declaration of Rights, resolved that all trade with Great Britain and other British colonies should cease, and determined that unless these grievances were removed a second Congress should meet in May 1775, and that Canada should be invited to join it.

Attempts at Conciliation, 1775.—The die was now cast, and unless the British Parliament yielded on all points, war was

inevitable. Before hostilities actually began efforts at conciliation were made in February 1775 by Chatham, who brought in a bill giving the colonies self-government; by Burke, who on March 25 delivered one of his famous speeches on **Conciliation with America**; and by North, whose proposal, while asserting the supremacy of Parliament, included the grant to the colonists of self-taxation. His proposal, which was carried with difficulty, owing to the opposition of the Whigs and the half-hearted support of the Tories, was that 'any colony which would make a contribution for the purposes of common defence and civil government as should satisfy Parliament should be exempt from taxation.'[1] But this attempt at conciliation came too late, and meanwhile Gage was busy endeavouring to strengthen his position at Boston. On April 19, 1775, a force which he had sent to Concord to destroy some military stores was attacked and suffered heavy loss in a skirmish at **Lexington**.

Opening of the War of American Independence, 1775.—The revolution had now broken out and **the War of American Independence** had begun. At first there was no unanimous feeling in favour of breaking off the connection with Great Britain, and in every colony a large minority in favour of non-resistance existed. The loyalists, though numerous, were not organised, and consequently were powerless before the well-organised body of patriots led by energetic politicians who had long been preparing for the struggle. These men had taken advantage of the general dislike of the British plan of taxation, and found the cry of 'Taxation without representation' very useful in their anti-British agitation. The despatch of British garrisons was a blunder and increased the unpopularity of the Government, while the commercial system had no supporters in America. Successive British ministries had misunderstood the state of feeling in America,

1 Cambridge, *Modern History*, vol. vii. p. 162.

and were ignorant of the intrigues which were incessantly carried on by such men as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry. The Coercive Acts of 1774 were passed under the impression that the colonists would not fight.

The Importance of the War underrated in England.—Lord Sandwich was of opinion that the Americans were undisciplined and would not resist regular troops. Though Gage declared that 20,000 troops would be needed to conquer New England, the ministers were convinced that no serious resistance would be made. The navy was reduced, the army was not strengthened. There was no general appreciation in Great Britain of the natural growth of a determination on the part of the expanding and prosperous colonies to secure freedom of trade, and to resist any exercise of arbitrary power by George III. and the Parliament.

While in England the confidence in the ability of Gage to crush the rebellion was very general, many of the Whigs, such as Burke and Richmond, feared that even if the colonies were not lost the war would be a lengthy one.

The Effect of Lexington, 1775.—The news of the disaster at Lexington was received with great astonishment, and reinforcements under Sir William Howe, the brother of Lord Howe, the admiral, were at once sent out. Sir William, who was to supersede Gage, found, on landing, a force of 10,000 men. To the Americans the news of Lexington tended to unite the colonies, and to encourage them to fresh efforts. On May 10, 1775, a force under Allen and Benedict Arnold took Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and soon afterwards Arnold captured St. John, which, however, he was only able to hold for a short time. The **Second Continental Congress** met on May 5, 1775, and continued its sessions till May 1, 1781. North's concessions were rejected, and an uncompromising and provocative reply was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, a Virginian, who was imbued with

ideas about the rights of man. At first the action of the Congress was purely advisory, but the situation in Massachusetts rendered action necessary. On May 25 the British reinforcements had landed at Boston, which was besieged by the colonists.

The Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.—On June 17 the British made a sortie which led to what is known as the battle of **Bunker Hill**, the name of a ridge of hills on the north-west of Boston, situated on the Charleston Peninsula, which was separated from Boston by the Charles River. Anticipating an attack the Americans occupied a lower part of the ridge called Breed's Hill, and repelled two frontal attacks of the British. General Clinton then brought up reinforcements, and the Americans retired in good order, Howe deciding not to pursue them. The victory lay with the British, who, however, lost 226 men killed and 828 wounded, and whose position in Boston was by no means improved.

George Washington.—Meanwhile the Congress, which had assumed the title of the United Colonies, had on June 15 appointed **George Washington** Commander-in-Chief. No better choice could have been made. He had fought for the British against the French in the Seven Years' War, and had taken part in Braddock's expedition, showing very considerable intelligence, bravery, and military skill. During the war which was beginning in 1775 he fully justified the high hopes which had been formed of him, and developed qualities which surprised even those who knew him best. Energetic, patient, disinterested, Washington converted undisciplined mobs into seasoned soldiers, and inspired them with his own unselfishness and public spirit. The choice of Washington, who was a Virginian, in 1775 did much to ensure the adhesion of the Southern States to the cause for which the New England colonies were fighting, and thus

contributed to unite all the colonies in their resistance to Great Britain.

American Invasion of Canada, 1776.—The Battle of Bunker Hill, so far from checking American activity, only stimulated the colonists to fresh efforts. In September two forces, one under Montgomery, and the other under Arnold, invaded Canada and besieged Quebec. To the energy of General (afterwards Sir Guy) Carleton, the Governor of Canada, was in great measure due the complete failure of the invasion, and when in June 1776 a British fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence the Americans were compelled to retire.

American Successes, 1776.—Howe, at Boston, had not been able to emulate Carleton's success at Quebec. After Bunker Hill the British troops had remained in Boston, where they suffered severe privations, and when in March 1776 Washington occupied the heights commanding the town, Howe was forced to embark his troops and remove them to Halifax. Equally unsuccessful in 1776 were the attempts of the loyalists in North Carolina, and of Clinton in South Carolina, to establish the supremacy of the British cause, and on July 4, 1776, the Congress at Philadelphia issued the **Declaration of Independence.**

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.—In considering this momentous decision the influence of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* must not be overlooked. In it he attacked constitutional law and government, and declaimed against Great Britain, the rule of kings, and hereditary succession. George III. was described as a tyrant, and the Government of Great Britain as a tyranny. In the spring of 1776, when *Common Sense* was published, the Americans were smarting under the attempts of the British Government to coerce Massachusetts. Tom Paine's rhetoric had a great effect in giving definiteness to the hitherto undefined and vague desire for complete freedom from the control of Great Britain.

The War enters upon a New Phase, 1776.—With the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America, the war entered upon a new phase. In August Sir William Howe occupied Long Island, opposite New York, and collected a force of 40,000 men, including some Hessians. He then won the **battle of Brooklyn** and occupied New York. Howe was a poor general. His movements were slow, he did not follow up his victory promptly, and very few important results came from it. According to the plan of operations, Howe was to advance against Philadelphia, and Clinton was to join hands at New York with Carleton, who was to advance along the Hudson, taking Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and invading the province of New York from the north. Howe carried out his part of the campaign with success. He won the battle of **Brandywine** on September 11, outmanœuvring Washington, and defeating him with some loss. While Cornwallis took possession of Philadelphia on September 27, Howe defeated Washington at **Germantown**, five miles to the north of Philadelphia. Washington then retreated to Valley Forge, about twenty-five miles from Philadelphia. Fortunately for him Howe, disgusted at the failure of the British Government to send him reinforcements, resigned his command and did not follow up his success. Washington's army was in a miserable condition, and it was only his influence that prevented 'a general mutiny and dispersion.'[1]

The Disaster of Saratoga, October 17, 1777.—Meanwhile **Carleton had been succeeded by General Burgoyne**, who in June 1777 had left Canada, and on July 6 occupied Ticonderoga. From that moment his difficulties increased. His Indian allies deserted him, the insurgent forces increased rapidly, and provisions in the British army became wellnigh exhausted. Clinton failed to meet Burgoyne, who found himself obliged to fall back on Saratoga, where, with less

[1] Hunt, *The Political History of England* (1761-1801), p. 175.

than 5000 men, he was surrounded by General Gates with 15,000, collected mainly from the local militias,[1] and compelled to surrender on October 17, 1777. By the Convention the British troops were to be allowed to return to England on condition of not again serving in the war. Congress, however, tore up the Convention, which they refused to carry out. Howe was certainly to blame for not realising the number of foes that Burgoyne might have to encounter. A junction between the armies of Clinton and Burgoyne in the capture of Philadelphia was the main object of the campaign, but Howe, as Commander-in-Chief, made a series of fatal miscalculations.[2] The seriousness of the situation was at once realised.

France enters the War, March 1778.—The surrender of Saratoga marks the turning-point in the war. It convinced Vergennes and the other French ministers that Great Britain's prosperity was over, and it decided them to join the colonists. Chatham, who from 1775 to 1777 withdrew from politics, showed great foresight when in July 1776 he declared that the policy of France would probably be first to abet America indirectly and then to declare war upon Great Britain. On **December 6, 1778, Treaties,** in which the Americans agreed to make no peace with Great Britain unless their independence was recognised, **were signed in Paris.** Ever since the Peace of Paris in 1763 French ministers had prepared to seize the first opportunity of avenging the losses they had sustained during the Seven Years' War. The disaster of Saratoga aroused the greatest enthusiasm in Paris, and Vergennes determined at once to lay the colonists under a debt of gratitude to France and at the same time to seek revenge from Great Britain for 'the evils which since the beginning of the

[1] Hunt, *The Political History of England* (1761-1801), p. 175.

[2] On distant expeditions the great difficulty experienced by the British army lay in the local militias who swarmed round them.

century she has inflicted upon her neighbours and rivals.'
In March 1778 Great Britain and France were at war.

On July 27, 1778, Admiral Keppel engaged a French fleet not far from Ushant. The indecisive character of this the first naval battle in the war showed that owing to Choiseul's naval reforms the French navy was very different from what it had been in the Seven Years' War.

Spain joins France, 1779.—Since the failure of France to unite with Spain against Great Britain in the matter of the Falkland Islands in 1770, the two Bourbon Courts had become somewhat estranged. In spite of the demand of Vergennes that Spain should join in the war, Charles III. hesitated for a year. Spanish America was disaffected, and the creation of a republic in America might still further strain the relations between Spain and her colonies. But the great aim of the Spanish Court was to recover Gibraltar and Minorca, and in June 1779, in spite of the pacific views of the minister, Floridablanca, and in spite of the dislike of Charles for republican institutions, Spain made a treaty with France in April, and **declared war** on Great Britain in June. The combined French and Spanish fleets soon afterwards entered the English Channel, but disagreement between the admirals rendered any successful operations impossible.

At different times in 1780 Rodney and Darby relieved Gibraltar, now besieged by the Spaniards. A combined French and Spanish force, however, landed in Minorca, and besieged Fort Philip, which fell in 1782, and the island, eighty years after its conquest, ceased to be a British possession.

The Armed Neutrality, 1780.—In 1780 **the Armed Neutrality of the North** was formed to resist Great Britain's claim to search neutral vessels for contraband of war, and in the same year Holland also declared war. It is impossible to overrate the importance of French assistance to the colonists: arms, money, troops and officers were sent over, and the French

fleet under D'Estaing threatened Great Britain's West Indian colonies, and hindered communications between Great Britain and America. The Marquis of Lafayette and others ably assisted Washington in drilling the colonial troops and giving him the benefit of their military experience.

Death of Chatham, May 11, 1778.—In Great Britain the surrender of Burgoyne's army strengthened the Opposition, but while the Duke of Richmond advocated the recognition of American Independence on the receipt of the news of Saratoga, Lord North urged George III. to place Chatham at the head of the Government. The King, no doubt realising that if Chatham was Prime Minister his system of personal government would be ended, refused. Mr. Lecky styles George's decision as criminal, for his refusal to accept Chatham rendered impossible any chance of success in the war. Chatham advocated, on April 7, 1778, the grant of all concessions demanded by the colonists except Independence. His policy was to concentrate all efforts upon the defeat of France and to retain the colonies by means of a wise conciliatory policy. As he declaimed in Parliament against the dismemberment 'of this ancient and most noble Monarchy,' he fell back in a fit and died shortly afterwards on May 11, 1778. In spite of his faults, of his occasional lack of judgment, of his vanity, haughtiness, lack of moderation and simplicity, his genius was magnificent, his political purity undoubted, and his eloquence sublime. It was truly said of him that he raised the glory of the nation to a higher pitch than had been known at any former period.

The Struggle for the Southern Provinces, 1779.—Another effect of the disaster of Saratoga was seen in the desire of Lord North to retire from office. In 1775 certain changes had been made in the ministry. The Duke of Grafton had resigned the Privy Seal and had gone into opposition, his place being taken by Dartmouth, who was himself succeeded as Secretary of

State for the Colonies by Lord George Germain, formerly known as Lord George Sackville. Weymouth had also succeeded Rochford as Secretary of the Foreign Department. In June 1778 Thurlow became Chancellor and Wedderburn Attorney-General. North found himself compelled to remain in office, and the system of conducting the war from London continued. The British cause had little chance of success after the declaration of war with France. France had an excellent navy, and in many respects the combined fleets of France and Spain were superior to that of Great Britain, which had suffered from the administration of Sandwich. It was more essential than ever to secure the command of the sea, and the British should have concentrated their efforts upon the defeat of the French and Spanish fleets. In the command of the sea lay obviously the key of the situation, but the odds against them prevented the British from gaining any decisive success. At the same time the British Government continued under difficult conditions, and with little chance of ultimate success, to press forward the land operations. A change in the policy hitherto followed was indeed made. No longer was the project of the isolation of the northern provinces regarded as necessary. All efforts were directed to **the recovery of the southern colonies.** In place of Sir William Howe, who was recalled at his request, **Clinton** was appointed Commander-in-Chief. The rest of the year 1778 was marked by Clinton's concentration at New York, and by Lord Howe's resignation of his command of the fleet. **In 1779 the struggle for the southern provinces definitely began.** During the early part of that year a British force occupied Georgia, and began the conquest of South Carolina, while the New England coast was guarded by a naval force under Sir George Collier, who did much damage to American shipping. An attempt of D'Estaing, the admiral of the French fleet in the West Indies, to expel the British

from Georgia ended in failure, and General Cornwallis occupied South Carolina. But for any permanent success in the Southern States the command of the sea was absolutely necessary. Owing to the inefficient condition of her navy, and to the entry of Spain into the war in April 1779, Great Britain for a time lost the command of the sea, and consequently many of her West Indian possessions, such as St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, were taken by France. What was even more dangerous was the presence during August of a French and Spanish naval force in the Channel. This serious state of things was, as has been before said, due to Lord Sandwich and the Government, who had not realised the immense importance of preserving the efficiency of the navy. The declaration of war by Spain on April 12, 1779, had been at once followed by the blockade of Gibraltar, the capture of which was the main object of the Spanish Government. Gibraltar was defended by General Eliott, and the siege continued for some three years. **Hyder Ali** had begun a war with Great Britain in India, and, in 1782, a French fleet under **Suffren** interfered considerably with the British supremacy in the Indian seas.[1] **Paul Jones**, the famous privateer, in the service of America and France, infested the coasts of Ireland and Scotland and attacked British shipping at every opportunity.

The Position of Great Britain in the Year 1780.—'The aspect of affairs at the close of 1780,' writes Mr. Lecky, 'might indeed well have appalled a British statesman. Perfectly isolated in the world, Great Britain was confronted by the united armies of France, Spain, Holland, and America; while the Northern League threatened her, if not with another war, at least with the annihilation of her most powerful weapon of defence. At the same time, in Hindustan, Hyder Ali was desolating the Carnatic and menacing Madras; and in Ireland

1 See page 215.

the connection was strained to its utmost limit.'[1] The year 1780, in spite of some successes on the part of Cornwallis, Commander-in-Chief, thus ended disastrously for Great Britain. Her isolation was complete, for on December 20, 1780, she found herself at war with Holland. Though Gibraltar held out, and Warren Hastings upheld the British cause in India, it seemed unlikely that Great Britain could continue the contest much longer.[2]

Campaign of Cornwallis, 1781.—The year 1781, however, began propitiously but ended disastrously for Great Britain. In February Rodney captured the island of St. Eustatius, which belonged to the Dutch, and took much spoil. A French fleet, however, under Grasse, took Tobago and maintained a position of supremacy in the West Indies till the battle of the Saintes in April 1782. At this critical moment, when all depended upon the command of the sea, Rodney made a serious mistake. Grasse receiving a request from Washington to help him in an attack on New York, sailed with his whole fleet. Rodney thinking that he had only taken a portion of his fleet, sent Hood, the second in command, after him with fourteen ships. Owing to ill-health Rodney then returned to England. Grasse arriving in Chesapeake Bay with twenty-eight ships, found Cornwallis at Yorktown, and stayed to blockade him. Hood arriving at New York, found that Grasse was not there. He then with Graves and four more ships sailed to the Chesapeake. The eighteen British ships were no match for Grasse's twenty-four ships, and after five days' desultory fighting Graves and Hood returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis to his fate. In consequence of the loss of the superiority at sea the British under Cornwallis sustained an overwhelming disaster. He had in 1780 formed a great scheme 'of conquest from south to north,'

[1] Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 163.

[2] See p. 188.

and a victory over Gates on August 10, 1780, raised the British hopes of ultimate success. But various circumstances checked his ambitious policy. A proclamation, in which Clinton refused to recognise a neutral attitude, drove many loyalists in the south into the ranks of the enemy. The defeat and death of Major Ferguson in a battle at **King's Mountain**, on October 7, 1780, was a serious blow to Cornwallis, while the appointment of the capable General Greene in place of the incapable Gates inspired the Americans with fresh hopes. Early in 1781 Cornwallis attempted to march through North Carolina, but was checked by the defeat of Tarleton, one of his subordinates, at the **Battle of the Cowpens**, near King's Mountain, on January 17. On March 15, 1781, Cornwallis won a brilliant victory over Greene in a battle at **Guilford** Court-House, but suffered so heavily that he decided to join a force which Clinton had sent into Virginia under Arnold, and after conquering that province, to effect the conquest of North Carolina. Though the junction was carried out, the British force was not strong enough to hold North Carolina, and it was evident that the success of Cornwallis in the south depended entirely upon Clinton's ability to send him reinforcements, and upon the ability of the fleet to prevent a French fleet from landing troops to aid the Americans.

Capitulation at Yorktown, 1781.—'At this critical junction England lost the superiority at sea,'[1] while a French fleet under Grasse acted in conjunction with Washington. Cornwallis was ordered by Clinton, who himself expected to be attacked in New York, to take up in August a defensive position on the Yorktown peninsula. There he was watched by Lafayette with an army of 10,000, while a French fleet blocked his escape by sea. Even after the naval battle of the Chesapeake (September 5-10), which destroyed his chance of escape by sea, Cornwallis might have attacked Lafayette

[1] **Hunt**, *The Political History of England* (1700-1801), p. 223.

and made his way to Carolina. But Washington having deceived Clinton by a threatened attack on New York, marched with most of his army south and appeared before Yorktown in the latter days of September. Cornwallis's position was now hopeless, and he surrendered on October 19, 1781.

Value of French Help to the Colonists.—For the first time during the war the French Alliance had proved of supreme value. Clinton had found himself threatened in New York by the French fleet, and attempts by the British fleet to bring provisions to Cornwallis's army, and to take off the troops, had been defeated by the French at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. The French fleet was, therefore, able to control Chesapeake Bay and to cut off the communications of the British army. The position of Cornwallis under these circumstances became untenable, and capitulation was absolutely necessary. **The disaster of Yorktown in great measure contributed to bring the war to a conclusion.** Not only had Great Britain suffered a serious loss in men and material, but the moral effect of the disaster was immense. It showed conclusively the hopelessness of the attempts to overcome the resistance of the Americans. Peace would probably have been made if America had not engaged to remain at war until her allies were ready to come to terms.

Causes of the Success of the Americans.—The causes of the success of the Americans are thus not hard to sum up. They were partly naval, partly military, and partly political.

The conclusion of the war was undoubtedly hastened by the British **loss of the command of the sea.** At one time the enemy s fleet was in command of the Channel; the disaster of Yorktown was due to the inability of the British fleet to co-operate with Cornwallis, and the presence of a French fleet in the West Indies distracted British operations at sea. The **political** causes of the success of the Americans are also

important. The French Alliance brought with it war between Spain and Great Britain, and the Spanish attack on Gibraltar occupied the attention for some years of a British naval force. The **accession of Holland to the list of her enemies** in 1780 rendered it impossible for Great Britain to face the active hostility of a great part of Europe, and to overcome the American resistance. As the war proceeded the **British nation showed an increasing dislike of the hostilities with America**, though it showed its readiness to supply men for the war with France and Spain. It must also be remembered that the colonies, when once all fear of the French in Canada was removed, were ripe for independence, and that the distance rendered the administration of America from Great Britain impossible, especially as the colonists had developed political ideas different from those held in the mother-country. Nor must the causes of the British failure from a purely **military point of view** be overlooked. The chief of these were the want of more troops, the attempt to direct operations in America from London, the activity of the American militia, which prevented the British from undertaking distant operations, and the lack of a first-rate general. The incapacity of many of the English generals was obvious. There was no British general who could compare with Clive or even with Wolfe. Moreover, the tactics of the British troops at the beginning of the war, though perhaps suitable to European warfare, were entirely unsuited to a country like America, where the population were all marksmen and were not, like the British troops, encumbered with elaborate uniforms and unsuitable equipment. As the war proceeded, however, the 'tactics' of the British army improved. One of the few British officers who realised the necessity of adapting his tactics to the special conditions of America was **Major Patrick Ferguson**, but he was killed in the **King's Mountain battle** on October 7, 1780, and his death was no doubt

one of the leading causes of the disaster which befell Cornwallis.

In estimating the causes of the American success the influence of **Washington** must also be taken into account. Though not a great general, his moral influence was immense. To it was due the keeping together of the army in Valley Forge during the critical winter of 1777-78.

The Growth of Opposition to Lord North's Ministry.—The disaster of Yorktown had an immediate effect upon the stability of the ministry. During the later years of Lord North's ministry, the spirit of opposition had developed and had strengthened the cause of parliamentary and economic reform. The Chatham Whigs in 1778, led by **Lord Shelburne**, advocated the abolition of the rotten boroughs and the increase of the representation of populous towns and counties, while the official Whigs under **Rockingham**, by the advice of Burke, wished to check the royal influence by diminishing the royal patronage in sinecure offices. In 1780 both sections of reformers received support in the form of petitions—the Westminster Petition demanding the reform of Parliament, and the Petition from the Yorkshire Freeholders asking for the abolition of sinecure offices. Bills for economical and parliamentary reform were consequently introduced in 1780. Burke brought forward two measures—one for **Economical Reform**, the other **to prevent the Government from giving contracts to Members of Parliament**, but both failed to pass. Dunning thereupon brought forward his celebrated motion that 'The power of the Crown is increasing and ought to be diminished.' Though Burke advocated economical reform to check the power of the Crown, he never appreciated the fact that the House of Commons was equally in need of reform. It is difficult to say whether the nation had more to fear from *the tyranny* of the Crown than from the tyranny of Parliament. *Dunning's motion* was carried by 233 to 215, but the majority

in the House of Commons did not really desire reform, and contented themselves with general resolutions.

The Gordon Riots, 1780.—Two months later, in June 1780, the Duke of Richmond, a Rockingham Whig, proposed a sweeping measure for Parliamentary Reform, of which the chief points were annual elections, manhood suffrage, and equal electoral districts. It had no chance of passing, and was brought forward on the night of the outbreak of the Gordon Riots. These riots were partly due to the Savile Act—an Act brought forward in 1778 by Sir George Savile, which enabled Catholics 'who abjured the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope to purchase and inherit land, and which freed the priests from liability to imprisonment.' This repealed an Act which was passed in the year 1700, for the purpose of expelling Catholic landed proprietors from their estates. So strong was the Protestant agitation in Scotland that the Government found it impossible to extend Savile's measure to that country. In England the Protestant fanatics, headed by Lord George Gordon, a Member of Parliament, on June 2, 1780, brought a petition to Westminster. The result of this action was the outbreak of riots during the following week in all parts of London, and an immense amount of damage was done. The city was in danger of being set on fire, and it was only through George III.'s personal intervention that the military were ordered to act and the riots were suppressed. The firmness and courage of George III. temporarily discredited the Whigs and strengthened the Government.

Resignation of Lord North, 1782.—On September 1, 1780, George III. dissolved the Parliament which had been elected in 1774, and in the new Parliament the King's influence was strong. Burke's Bill for the Reform of the Civil List was rejected, and till the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1781 the Government successfully held its own. On November 25, 1781, tidings of the disaster reached London, and from that

time the ministry steadily lost ground. Lord North was anxious to recognise the independence of America at once, and sent envoys to Paris to consult with Franklin. In this policy he was opposed by Germain, who at the beginning of 1782 was succeeded as Secretary of State by Welbore Ellis. On March 20, 1782, Lord North resigned.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Dispute over the Falkland Islands	1770-1771
Parliamentary Reporting allowed	1771
The Royal Marriage Act	1772
The Partition of Poland	,,
Attack on the Boston Tea Ships	1773
The Regulating Act	,,
Fox dismissed from the Government	1774
The Massachusetts Acts	,,
Beginning of War with American Colonists	1775
Battle of Bunker Hill	,,
Declaration of American Independence (July 4)	1776
Howe wins Battle of Brooklyn (Aug.)	,,
The Surrender at Saratoga (Oct.)	1777
French Alliance with the American Colonists (Feb.)	1778
Death of Chatham (May)	,,
Savile's Measure for Relief of Roman Catholics	,,
Spain at War with Great Britain	1779
Holland at War with Great Britain	1780
Burke's Measure for Economical Reform fails to pass	,,
Gordon Riots	,,
Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown	1781
Loss of Minorca (March)	1782
Fall of North's Ministry (March)	,,
Rodney's Victory (April)	,,

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Prophecies of the Loss of the American Colonies by Great Britain.

The presence of the French in Canada had been the main cause for the continued adhesion of the American colonies to Great Britain. From 1730 onwards far-sighted observers had prophesied that as soon as 'the pressure of external danger was relaxed' the British empire in America would collapse.

(1) Montcalm wrote shortly before the French loss of Quebec:—'I console myself that the loss of Canada, this defeat, will one day be of more service to my country than a victory, and that the conqueror in aggrandising himself will find a tomb there' (quoted by H. E. Egerton, in his *Short History of Colonial Policy*, pp. 177-178, from Dartmouth Correspondence, Historical MSS. Commission).

(2) Montesquieu, the French writer, in 1730, and Turgot, the French statesman, in 1750, prophesied the loss of America by Great Britain. The latter declared that 'Colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen. . . . As soon as America can take care of herself she will do what Carthage did' (see Peel, *The Friends of England*, pp. 106-109).

Period IV.—1782-1783.

The Second Rockingham, the Shelburne and the Coalition Ministries.

Contents.

The Political Situation in 1782—The Rockingham Ministry—Burke and Sheridan — Reforms—Irish Policy — Survey of Events in Ireland—Legislative Independence for Ireland—The Battle of the Saintes—Shelburne's Ministry—C. J. Fox—The Peace of Versailles — Retrospect of the Administration of Warren Hastings in India — The Regulating Act — Nuncomar — War with the Mahrattas, 1778-1782—Battle of Porto Novo—Suffren's Success—The Treaty of Mangalore—Hastings saves India for Great Britain.

CHIEF NAMES.

Rockingham—Fox—Shelburne—North—Burke—Thurlow—Sheridan—Pitt—Grattan—Rodney—General Eliott—Temple—Dundas—Vergennes—Warren Hastings.

The Political Situation at the Opening of 1782.—The period from the fall of North's ministry in March 1782 to the overthrow of the Coalition ministry in December 1783 was full of surprises. The retirement of North implied the final disappearance of the system of departmental and personal government. It marked the triumph of constitutional rule and the supremacy of the Cabinet. It seemed, too, that the retirement of North had placed the King for an indefinite time in the hands of the Whigs, and that George III. would have to forgo his most cherished hopes and convictions, and stand on one side while the hated Whig oligarchy again ruled. The failure of the war with the colonies had left him unpopular; Great Britain was wellnigh bankrupt; she was isolated, and regarded with hatred or contempt by the nations of Europe; Ireland seemed to be on the verge of gaining independence.

The Rockingham Ministry, March 1782.—Lord North resigned on March 20, 1782, and on March 24 Lord Rockingham formed a Cabinet, composed partly of the members of the old aristocratic Whig party, whose leaders had been in the past Walpole, Henry Pelham, and Newcastle; partly of the Chathamites who had early in the reign separated from the followers of Rockingham, and who since Chatham's death had been led by Shelburne. In Rockingham's second ministry Fox was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Shelburne, Secretary of State for Home, Irish, and Colonial Affairs; and the other offices were similarly divided among the two Whig sections. Burke was made Paymaster of the Forces, Sheridan,

Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Thurlow, on the recommendation of the King, continued to act as Chancellor. Burke and Sheridan were the most celebrated of the followers of Fox.

Burke.—Edmund Burke had been a Member of Parliament since 1765. He was an Irish Protestant by birth, and had settled in England. He attached himself to the Rockingham section of the Whig party, and was in favour of the Declaratory Act. In 1770 he published his *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*, in which he attacked the Government. During the War of American Independence he delivered speeches on the **Taxation of America** and on **Conciliation with America**, and continually criticised the policy of North. While advocating peace with the colonists, he demanded economical reform at home, and in 1780 brought forward his famous Resolutions. Under Rockingham's second Government he held the office of Paymaster of the Forces. He consistently attached himself to that section of the Whigs led by Rockingham, and on his death by Fox. With the latter, and with Sheridan, he retired in July 1782, but acquiesced in the coalition of Fox and North, and again became Paymaster of the Forces.

Sheridan.—Sheridan had made his mark as the author of *The Rivals*, which appeared in 1775, and of *The School for Scandal* and *The Critic*, which appeared respectively in 1777 and 1779.

He entered Parliament in 1780, being elected member for Stafford, identified himself with that portion of the Whig family which was led by Fox, and agreed with him in condemning both the American and Continental War. In Lord Rockingham's administration he became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but was only in office from May to July 1782. In April 1783 he became Secretary to the Treasury under the Coalition Government which fell in December 1783.

Sheridan, who was a shrewd politician and who gauged public opinion with accuracy, objected to the policy which led to the coalition of Fox and North, and to Fox's India Bill. A few years later he objected to the intemperate language used by Fox in favour of the French Revolution. His Begum speech, delivered in the House of Commons on February 7, 1787, and which was highly praised by both Pitt and Fox, established his reputation as an orator. Till 1806 he remained in opposition, and during the intervening year acquired great fame as an orator.

The Establishment of the Rockingham Ministry marks an Epoch.—The establishment of the Whig ministry under Rockingham signified the end of the system of 'Departmental Government,' and marks **an epoch in the history of the Cabinet.** George III. was never able again to carry out his system of unconstitutional government, and though he acted unconstitutionally when he dismissed **the coalition, was** compelled, even during the ministry of the younger Pitt, to act constitutionally. Rockingham only lived till July 1782, but during his short term of office his ministry is famous on account of its **financial and political reforms,** its **policy to Ireland,** its **foreign policy,** and the **successes of the British in India.**

Financial and Political Reforms.—It was obviously necessary to purify Parliament, and to reduce the royal patronage, and the royal influence. A number of salutary reforms were at once carried. Government contractors were excluded from Parliament, and all revenue officers were debarred from voting at elections. By these measures about 50,000 officials, whose votes would be cast on the side of the Crown, were disfranchised, and an important step was taken in the direction of freedom of election. Burke's **Economical Reform Bill,** which had been thrown out in 1781, was passed, and many retrenchments were effected. Useless offices were abolished, and £72,000 a

year was saved. Secret pensions were done away with, and the pension list was reduced. Though a motion by William Pitt for reform of Parliament was lost by 161 to 141 votes, the Commons, by expunging from the Journals of the House the resolutions in connection with the election of Wilkes to Middlesex, took a step in the direction of recognising **freedom of elections**. By these measures the corrupt influence of the Crown was checked, and the way was prepared for Great Britain's economic recovery from her exhaustion after the War of American Independence.

Rockingham's Policy to Ireland.—The Government also adopted a memorable policy towards Ireland. For some years discontent had been on the increase in Ireland. The Irish Parliament (which only represented the Protestants) desired independence, and under the lead of Grattan, who recognised the necessity of conciliating the Roman Catholics, had repealed in 1778 the most severe of the Penal Laws.[1] The restrictions imposed on Irish commerce to please the English manufacturers were also a serious cause of irritation, and the Irish Protestants demanded free trade between England and Ireland. The war between Great Britain, on the one hand, and the American colonies, aided by France and Spain, on the other, was an opportunity which the Irish people seized.[2] Ireland being denuded of British troops, the Irish Protestants raised some 80,000 **Volunteers** who, in 1781, were ready to defend Ireland against a threatened attack by the fleets of France and Spain. The ground was thus prepared for action on the part of those who desired to secure for Ireland legislative independence.

[1] These Penal Laws excluded Catholics from the Irish Parliament, enforced the division of lands of a Catholic landowner among all his sons, and generally made life intolerable to the Catholic clergy and laymen, who numbered three-fourths of the population.

[2] See p. 158.

Ireland secures Legislative Independence, 1782. — Grattan had already won certain concessions from Lord North's ministry, for in December 1779, by the advice of the Viceroy, Lord Buckingham, the British Parliament had approved of three Bills. 'The first conceding to Ireland the free exportation of wool and woollen manufactures, the second the free exportation of her glass manufactures, and the third free trade with the colonies.' The removal of these commercial restrictions was an immense benefit to Ireland, and encouraged Grattan to persevere in the other four great objects of his life —the acquisition of legislative independence, parliamentary reform, commutation of tithes, and Catholic emancipation. Of these four he only obtained the first, his success being due to the Volunteers, to Great Britain's failure in the war with the American colonies, and to the accession of the second Rockingham ministry to office. That ministry was anxious for more time and consideration, but Grattan declared that any delay would be dangerous in the condition into which Ireland now found itself. Events in that island had indeed moved quickly. On February 15, 1782, a celebrated meeting of the Volunteers was held at **Dungannon**, and the legislative independence for Ireland was demanded. This meant the repeal of the Act 6 George I., by which the right of the King and Parliament of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland was laid down. In face of the attitude of the Volunteers, and in view of the attitude of the British ministry, the oligarchic Irish Parliament was compelled to adopt a popular policy, and on April 16, 1782, it voted for independence. On April 9, 1782, Charles James Fox had declared in the House of Commons that the King would consider the final adjustment of Irish grievances, and on May 17, Resolutions were carried in both Houses repealing the Declaratory Act of 6 George I., and the clauses in Poynings' Law, 1494, which gave the English Privy Council control

over the Irish Parliament, and thus restoring to Ireland the appellant jurisdiction. Legislative independence was therefore gained by Ireland, which for some eighteen years remained an almost independent state. The Irish Parliament, however, only represented the Protestant minority (for the Roman Catholics had no votes), and it had no control over the executive Government, which in Ireland was represented by the Lord-Lieutenant. Its legislation was also subject to a ministerial veto.

The grant of legislative independence to Ireland by the British Parliament was thus due, partly to the American War of Independence, partly to the efforts of such men as Flood and Grattan, the latter of whom had become so prominent that the Irish Parliament from 1782 to 1801 was known as 'Grattan's Parliament.'

The 'Battle of the Saintes,' April 12, 1782.—In the West Indies and in the Mediterranean, however, Great Britain towards the close of the war could point to several brilliant successes. Ever since the French had joined the Americans in 1778 the character of the war and the temper of the British nation had undergone a complete change. Though at first barely able to hold their own against the fleets of France and Spain, the British nation had risen to the crisis. The fleet was rapidly increased and improved; there was no difficulty in adding to the number of sailors, who looked upon Frenchmen as their natural foes.

In the West Indies Rodney formed a junction with Hood, and after some indecisive movements engaged the French fleet, under Grasse, between Dominica and the Isles des Saintes on April 12, 1782. In this battle known as 'The Battle of the Saintes,' the famous manœuvre known as **breaking the line** was adopted with great success. As the French fleet were as usual (like the British fleet) sailing in one long line, Rodney and two of his captains broke through

the line at different points. Thus the French line of battle was cut into three divisions, and Rodney was enabled to throw the enemy's ships into confusion. In a few hours the



French fleet was scattered, and at 6 P.M. Grasse was forced to surrender.

The French and Spanish fleets had planned the conquest of Jamaica, which with Antigua and Barbadoes was all that

remained of the British possessions in the West Indies. Jamaica and the other islands were, however, now secure, the reputation of the British navy was fully re-established, and the Bourbon sea power had sustained a serious blow.

The Final Attack on Gibraltar Repulsed, 1782.—Equally successful was Eliott at Gibraltar. A united French and Spanish fleet had made at Algeciras elaborate preparations for assaulting, in conjunction with a land force, the hitherto impregnable fortress. On September 13 the attack was made, but Eliott's use of red-hot shot enabled all attacks to be repelled, and on October 11 Lord Howe with a fleet arrived in the Straits. On February 6, 1783, the siege was raised.

Shelburne's Ministry, 1782-1783.—Negotiations for peace still continued, but were interrupted on July 1, 1782, by the **death of Lord Rockingham.** His death was a great disaster to the Whigs, who now separated into two sections, the one headed by Shelburne, the other by Fox, though the nominal leader of that section was the Duke of Portland. The King was delighted to find himself once more free from the official Whigs and appointed Shelburne Prime Minister. Fox and Burke resigned, Fox's Secretaryship of the Foreign Department being given to Grantham, and Shelburne's Secretaryship to Thomas Townshend. Shelburne himself took the Treasury, William Pitt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Barré was made Paymaster of the Forces, Thurlow remained Chancellor, and Lord Temple became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. **Shelburne** was one of the most distinguished men of the day, was a follower of Lord Chatham, and was an exponent of Free Trade. Unfortunately, he never succeeded in inspiring confidence among his colleagues; he was constantly accused of duplicity; George III. called him 'the Jesuit,' and when William Pitt formed his celebrated ministry in 1783, he did not include Shelburne in it. Shelburne's ministry was never strong, but the work which it was

called upon to do was of immense importance. On November 30, 1782, **Great Britain acknowledged the Independence of the United States.** The boundary-line between America and Canada was settled, but the Government was unable to secure any guarantee of good treatment for the Loyalists. South Carolina was the only colony which treated them with moderation. As a result many thousands migrated to Canada, and their descendants remain bitter opponents of any proposal for the union of Canada with the United States. On January 20, 1783, Preliminaries of Peace were signed with France and Spain, but the definitive **Peace of Versailles** was not concluded until September 3. **Shelburne had fallen in the previous February,** owing to a coalition between Fox and North on the question of the Preliminaries of Peace. The weakness of his ministry had become very apparent. Richmond, Keppel, and Carlisle had resigned in January owing to their dislike of Shelburne, and they were followed by Grafton. On February 21 a vote of censure on the terms of Peace was carried and Shelburne resigned.

The Coalition Ministry, 1783.—The King was now forced to accept Fox and North as his ministers. The Duke of Portland became First Lord of the Treasury and nominal Prime Minister. Fox and North were Secretaries of State, Carlisle became Privy Seal, Lord John Cavendish Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Keppel First Lord of the Admiralty. Burke, without a seat in the Cabinet, was Paymaster of the Forces.

Charles James Fox.—The most prominent figure among the ministers was that of Charles James Fox. He has been described by Lord Rosebery, in his *Life of Pitt*, as 'the greatest of all debaters, the most genial of all associates, the most honourable of all friends. He was, moreover, after Burke, the most lettered man in politics among a generation that affected literature.' Born in 1749 and educated at Eton and Oxford, Fox had entered Parliament while still young.

From 1770 to 1774 he was a member of Lord North's ministry, and from 1774 to 1782 had been an active member of the opposition to the Government. During Rockingham's second ministry he had opposed Shelburne, with whom he had nothing in common. His coalition with North in 1783 was defended on various grounds, but it shocked public opinion, and was a grave political blunder. Fox had been one of North's bitterest opponents in Parliament, and their union against Shelburne was considered to be unprincipled.

The Peace of Versailles, September 3, 1783.—The ministry was apparently one of great strength, but its only measure of importance was the definitive **Peace of Versailles**, which was concluded on September 3, 1783. From France Great Britain obtained reasonable terms, partly because France was in great financial difficulties, and partly because Vergennes was anxious with regard to the east of Europe, and hoped to unite with the English ministry in checking the designs of Russia and Austria. From France Great Britain recovered Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, Grenada, the Grenadines, Nevis, and Montserrat, all in the West Indies, while in Africa she recovered Gambia and Fort St. James.

On the other hand, she handed over to France St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies, and in Africa, Senegal and Goree. With regard to the Newfoundland Fishery Great Britain ceded to France the islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre, and recognised her right to share in the Fishery. From Spain Great Britain recovered Providence and the Bahama Islands, and the right to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras. On the other hand, Great Britain ceded to Spain East Florida, and agreed to her retention of Minorca and West Florida. On May 24, 1784, a Treaty was made with Holland, Great Britain keeping Negapatam.

The Peace marks an Epoch in the History of India.—The year 1783, which marks the loss of our American colonies,

also marks the close of an important epoch in the history of the British in India. During the war in which the British contended with the Mahrattas and with Hyder Ali on land, and with Suffren at sea, our position in India was seriously endangered. That the British dominion emerged in 1783

'uninjured, though not unshaken, is due to the political intrepidity of Warren Hastings. . . . He carried the Government of India safely through one of the sharpest crises of our national history, when our transmarine possessions were in great peril all over the world, because all the naval powers of Europe were banded against us. . . . Neither the implacable hostility of Mysore, nor the exhausting Mahratta invasions, succeeded in arresting an acre of British territory from the grasp of Warren Hastings.'[1]

Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal, 1772.—In April 1772 Hastings took up his duties as Governor of Bengal. He found the Treasury depleted, 'a burdensome debt and a Government out of gear.'[2] He at once placed in the hands of the Company the management of the revenues of Bengal and Behar, which hitherto had been looked after by the deputy governors, and during the next few years carried out important financial and judicial reforms. He repressed the Dacoits, 'robbers by profession and even by birth,' and stimulated the trade of the country by good administration, and by the removal of many local imposts. Within two years he had carried out many economies, he had set up a bank in Calcutta, he had endeavoured by means of a British mission to Thibet in 1774 to open up a new and profitable trade between that country and India, and he had 'laid the foundations of civilised rule over the provinces won by the sword and diplomacy of Clive.'[3]

The Rohilla War, 1773-1774.—The chief danger to the peace

[1] Sir A. Lyall, *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*, pp. 176, 177.

[2] Trotter, *Warren Hastings*, p. 56.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

of India came from the Mahrattas, who, nominally under the rule of the descendants of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta greatness, were in reality subject to the Peshwa, the hereditary Prime Minister at Poona. But the latter's authority was disputed at times by such powerful chiefs as Scindia and Holkar in Malwar, Bhonsla of Berar, and the Gaekwar of Baroda. When not distracted by internal struggles, the Mahratta chiefs, however, could oppose the united strength of a great confederacy to any common enemy. In 1772, and for many years after, the military strength of this confederacy was the greatest danger which the British Government had to meet in its own interests, and in the interests of the peace and welfare of a large part of India. The Mahrattas were rapidly recovering from their overthrow at the battle of Panipat. In 1771 they posed as protectors of the Emperor Shah Alum; in 1772 they ravaged Rohilcund, and the same year they forced the Emperor to give them Kora and Allahabad, which connected Behar with Oude, and which he had received from Clive by the Treaty of 1765. It was impossible to allow those districts to remain in the hands of the Mahrattas, and as the Emperor refused the terms offered him, Hastings made the **Treaty of Benares** in September 1773 with the Vizir of Oude, transferring to him Kora and Allahabad for fifty lacs, *i.e.* about half a million of English money. A British force was also placed at the disposal of the rapacious Vizir, who used it in a war against the Rohillas, a brave but troublesome tribe who lived in Rohilcund, which commanded the Upper Ganges.

Hastings considered that the Vizir was the 'only useful ally of the Company,' that the Rohillas, who might unite with the Mahrattas, were dangerous, and that the conquest of Rohilcund by the Vizir would not only give him wealth and security, but would 'render him more dependent on us, and cement the union more firmly between us.' The **Conquest of**

Rohilcund was therefore accomplished in 1773 and 1774, the Vizir's rapacity was satisfied, and Hastings gained for the Treasury in Calcutta a large sum of money.

The Regulating Act, 1773.—During the year 1773 an important change was effected in the government of India by Lord North's ministry. By the Regulating Act Warren Hastings was made Governor-General of Bengal, and given control over the governments of Bengal and Madras. He was to be assisted by a Council of four members in addition to himself, and, if outvoted, he was obliged to carry out the decision of the majority. A Supreme Court was set up, but no adequate regulations were made for defining its powers. Moreover, though the Governor-General was given authority over Bombay and Madras, he was unable to dictate to their governors the policy which they should pursue. Thus was introduced into India a form of government quite unsuited to the people or to the circumstances of the time. Of the members of the Council Richard Barwell consistently supported Hastings, but the other three, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis, the reputed author of the *Letters of Junius*, at once took up a position of opposition to the Governor-General, and hampered him on every possible occasion.

The Death of Nuncomar.—Finding that the enemies of Hastings were supreme in the Council, a Hindoo named Nuncomar brought forward a number of lying accusations against the Governor-General. The evidence on which Nuncomar relied was forged, but the opponents of Hastings in the Council were too eager to overthrow their enemy to examine into the authenticity of the documents produced. Suddenly Nuncomar was charged with forgery by a native merchant in Calcutta. The forgery was proved, and Nuncomar was found guilty and in 1775 hanged. Hastings had nothing whatever to do with the forgery suit, and he certainly did not suggest the charge against Nuncomar. Nevertheless he gained great

advantage from this affair, for his opponents ceased to bring forward forged accusations against him. From this time the position of Hastings became more secure. In 1776 Monson, one of his opponents, died, and Hastings, by means of his casting-vote, was supreme in the Council. In 1777 General Clavering, another of his opponents in the Council, died, and in 1780 Philip Francis returned to England.

The Crisis in India and Great Britain in 1778.—Meanwhile stirring events were taking place in India, and during the period from 1778 to 1784 Hastings saved India for the British Crown. During those years the British hold upon India was threatened first by the Mahrattas, secondly by the French, and thirdly by Hyder Ali. As early as 1774 the Bombay Government had most unwisely entered upon a war with the Mahrattas, and Hastings found it necessary to interfere. Before a satisfactory settlement could be arrived at, there came the news of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France in 1778 and of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Already a French emissary of the name of St. Lubin had arrived (1777) in Poona, where he intrigued against the British. Hastings at once rose to the occasion. On hearing of Saratoga he said: 'If it be really true that the British arms and influence have suffered so severe a check in the western world, it is more incumbent on those who are charged with the interest of Great Britain in the East to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss.' As the event proved, it was entirely owing to his energy and courage that India was preserved to Great Britain while in the West the American colonies were being lost.

War with the Mahrattas, 1778-1782.—From 1778 to 1782 Hastings was at open war with the Mahratta Confederacy. This war was rendered famous by the march of General Goddard with a force numbering from 4000 to 5000 men from the Jumna to Bombay, and by the storming of Gwalior

by Major Popham. In 1782 the **Treaty of Salbye** brought about peace with the Mahrattas, which lasted for twenty years.

War with Hyder Ali, 1781.—What rendered this war especially serious was that in July 1780 Hyder, at the head of a large army, had burst into the Carnatic and practically annihilated a force under Colonel Baillie. Hyder's attack on Madras was part of **a scheme for driving the British out of India.** This project was to take effect in 1780, the chief members of **the Grand Confederacy** being the Peshwa, Scindia, and Holkar, who were to attack Bombay; Bhonsla, the Rajah of Nagpore, who was to assail Calcutta; and Hyder, who was to capture Madras.

On July 1, 1781, Sir Eyre Coote defeated Hyder in the battle of **Porto Novo**, and before the year was over the British won two more victories over the forces of the Sultan. The capture of Negapatam and Trincomalee in Ceylon completed the list of successes in 1781. As Hyder found in 1782 that the Great Confederacy was breaking up and that his armies were powerless against the British, his hopefulness gave way to despondency. The arrival, however, of a French fleet under Suffren, the great French admiral, was followed by the landing of a force, and thus Hyder was enabled in 1782 to again adopt a menacing attitude.

The Affair of (1) Cheyt Singh and (2) the Begums.—Hyder's death, however, in November 1782, did not lead immediately to peace, and the Madras Government made urgent appeals for help. In order to meet the financial requirements of the war Hastings insisted that **Cheyt Singh**, Rajah of Benares, should contribute a large sum towards the expenses of the war. On his refusal Hastings fined him £500,000 and deposed him. He also aided the Nawab of Oude to force the **Begums** of Oude (his mother and grandmother) to hand over to him his father's treasure. For this service the Nawab

discharged a large debt which he owed to the East India Company.

Tippoo aided by Suffren. The Treaty of Mangalore.—The money was all the more necessary as Tippoo Sultan, Hyder's son and successor, continued the war and was aided by the arrival of Bussy in 1783, in command of the French contingent, and by the skill and successes of Suffren. Four indecisive engagements were fought by him with Admiral Hughes in 1782, while in 1783, after a battle in which the British were worsted, the French were enabled in June to land a force to aid Bussy in the defence of **Cuddalore** against Colonel Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote. The news of the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and France closed the struggle between the two countries in India. Tippoo, however, continued the war, and, after a long siege rendered memorable for the bravery of Colonel Campbell and his small force of 2700, captured Mangalore. In 1784 the **Treaty of Mangalore** concluded the war with Tippoo, and in 1785 Hastings returned to England.

The Work of Hastings.—During the fourteen years in which he had guided affairs in India a great change had been effected in the fortunes of the East India Company, and at the close of the administration of Hastings the Company held 'a commanding place among the chief political powers in India.'

At the same time the war had brought out clearly the weakness of the East India Company as a ruling power, while the loss of our possessions in America made it all the more necessary to govern our Indian possessions wisely.

Fox's India Bill.—The attempt to pass an India Bill on the part of Fox brought about the fall of the Coalition. The East India Company had become the practical ruler of an immense territory, and its political power was viewed with jealousy by Parliament. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate for Scotland, had already produced an India Bill, and now Fox, supported

by Burke, determined to change the constitution of the Company. A Bill known as **Fox's India Bill** was prepared, making admirable administrative reforms, but also completely transferring the political power of the Company to the Crown. Seven Commissioners were to exercise the political power, and they were to be nominated in the first instance by Parliament for four years, and then by the Crown. Popular feeling was roused against this portion of the bill, for it was said that the whole patronage of India would be wielded by seven men, who would be the friends of Fox and North.

Though the Bill passed in the House of Commons, George III. exercised his personal influence in the Upper House, and the Lords rejected it on December 17, 1783.

The ministry was at once dismissed and the young William Pitt became Prime Minister. Though the fact was not fully realised at the time, the dismissal of the Coalition marked the second triumph of George III. It was a victory more lasting in its results than the one gained in 1770, but the accession of Pitt to office did not imply a return to the system of 'Government by Departments.' None the less the King's victory was soon seen to be overwhelmingly disastrous to the Whig party.

IMPORTANT DATES IN INDIAN HISTORY.

Charter granted to the East India Company	**1603**
The French East India Company founded	**1662**
Death of Aurungzebe	**1707**
Dupleix Governor of Pondicherry	**1741**
Clive's Defence of Arcot	**1751**
Recall of Dupleix	**1754**
Battle of Plassey	**1757**
Battle of Wandewash	**1759**

Capture of Pondicherry	1761
Defeat of the Mahrattas at Panipat	,,
Battle of Buxar. Defeat of the Nabob Vizier of Oude, 'The Supplement to the Battle of Plassey'	1764
Clive's Last Visit to India	1765-1767
The Madras Council at War with Hyder and the Nizam	1767-1769
The Regulating Act. Warren Hastings appointed Governor of Bengal	1773
Hastings appointed Governor-General	1774
At War with the Mahrattas	1778-1782
Hyder Ali joins in the War against the British	1779
Eyre Coote defeats Hyder Ali at Porto Novo	1781
Tipoo succeeds Hyder (Dec.) and continues Hostilities	1782
Treaty of Mangalore	1784
Pitt's India Bill	,,

IMPORTANT DATES IN BRITISH HISTORY.

Rockingham's Second Ministry (March-July)	1782
Ireland secures Legislative Independence	,,
Capture of Minorca by the Spaniards (Feb.)	,,
Battle of the Saintes (April)	,,
Shelburne Prime Minister (July)	,,
Great Attack on Gibraltar (Sept.)	,,
Independence of the United States acknowledged by Great Britain (Nov.)	,,
Preliminaries of Peace signed (Jan.)	1783
Fall of Shelburne's Ministry (Feb.)	,,
The Coalition in Power (Feb.)	,,
The Peace of Versailles (Sept.)	,,
Fall of the Coalition (Dec.)	,,
Pitt becomes Prime Minister	,,

Period V.—1783-1789.

The Ministry of William Pitt to 1789.

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CHIEF NAMES.

Pitt—Fox—North—Burke—Grattan—Wilberforce—Frederick William II.—Joseph II.—Vergennes—Catherine II.—Gustavus III.—Sir James Harris—Thurlow—Carmarthen—Warren Hastings—Adam Smith—William Eden—Lord Carmarthen—Hargreaves—Arkwright—Brindley—Wedgwood.

Pitt in Office, Dec. 1783.—Pitt, who was then in his twenty-fifth year, had apparently a hard task before him. Born in 1759, he had entered Parliament in 1781, and became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1782, under Lord Shelburne. In February 1783, with Shelburne, he resigned office, and the Coalition of Fox and North took over the government of the country. He was now opposed by Fox at the head of a majority of the Commons. In experience of public affairs he was a mere tyro. But he was supported by the House of

Lords, by all the royal influence, by the City of London, and by the nation. Moreover, the mistakes of Fox and his own sagacity rendered his position more and more assured during the early months of 1784. Parliament met on January 12, 1784, and Fox, instead of urging an immediate dissolution, bent all his efforts to forcing the ministers to retire, or failing that, to hamper all their efforts at legislation. The conduct of the Opposition, together with an attack upon his carriage in St. James's, on February 27, increased Pitt's popularity, and on March 25 Parliament was dissolved.

The General Election, 1784. Triumph of Pitt.—The ensuing elections were disastrous to the Whigs. George III.'s unconstitutional action with regard to Fox's India Bill was forgotten in the hostility which the coalition between Fox and North had roused, and in the admiration which the courageous conduct of the young minister had called forth. One hundred and sixty of 'Fox's Martyrs,' as the Whigs were now called, lost their seats; Wilberforce, Pitt's friend, and the advocate for the abolition of the slave trade, was returned for Yorkshire; and Fox himself narrowly escaped defeat at Westminster.

Pitt was now firmly established in office, and supported by a large majority, while the Whig party did not succeed in regaining its supremacy till the days of the Reform Bill. The composition of the ministry was little altered. Lord Gower became Privy Seal, the Duke of Rutland having been appointed Viceroy of Ireland, and Lord Camden took the vacant post of President of the Council.

The Meaning of Pitt's Victory.—Ostensibly the victory of 1784 was the victory of the King. But **the victory of 1784 was very different from that of 1770.** Lord North's tenure of office from 1770 to 1782 marked a period when royal influence was at its height. During those years George III. was practically his own Prime Minister, and for the Cabinet

system was substituted the system of 'Departmental Government.' The personal rule of George III. had been given a trial, and had ended with the loss of the American colonies, the fall of Lord North, and the triumph of the Whigs.

George III. becomes Popular.—A series of unexpected events, however, again came to the aid of the monarchy, and the triumph of the Whigs was short-lived. The death of Lord Rockingham, the quarrel between Fox and Shelburne, and the coalition between Fox and North revolutionised the political situation, and in 1784 George had not only again defeated the Whigs, but had secured a hold on the affections of his people that he never lost. Before 1783 he was never really popular; from 1784 onwards he can be regarded as one of the most popular of Great Britain's kings.

Triumph of the Cabinet System.—There was, however, during the years following the accession of William Pitt to office, no attempt to return to the 'departmental system of government.' Pitt, unlike North, had no intention of allowing undue interference on the part of the King. For the first time Great Britain possessed a Prime Minister who ruled his Cabinet, and whom the ministers regarded as their sole chief. In 1791 Lord Thurlow, indeed, did attempt to shake off the control of the Prime Minister over his colleagues, but after a short struggle the King supported Pitt, and the **modern Cabinet system triumphed.** George had no personal affection for Pitt, but he recognised that his young minister, strong in the support of the nation, stood between him and the Whigs. Accordingly, till Pitt's resignation in 1801, George loyally supported the man who in 1784 had aided him to effect the discomfiture of the Whigs.

The Influence of the American War on Political Life in England.—In many other respects the position of affairs in 1784 differed widely from 1770. The War of American Independence, and the consequent loss of the American colonies,

constituted a revolution in British politics. Corruption in Parliament came to an end, a greater sense of responsibility actuated politicians, whether Whig or Tory, and debates were conducted with more decorum. Great Britain, in the estimation of Europe, occupied in 1784 a third-rate position; her internal affairs required complete reorganisation, the condition of India called for close attention, and the political and commercial relations with Ireland demanded careful consideration. In order to recover for Great Britain its position on the Continent, and to deal with the many financial, commercial, political, and social problems which demanded solution, Pitt required a period of peace, and the continuous support not only of the country, but also of the King and Parliament.

Character of William Pitt.—During the period between the close of the War of American Independence and the outbreak of the war between Great Britain and revolutionary France in 1793, Pitt fully justified the confidence which the nation placed in him. His oratorical powers were considerable, his financial skill was undoubted, his integrity was unquestioned, his political insight was often tested and rarely failed. At every crisis he displayed a courage which was to be expected from a son of the great Lord Chatham. For a country anxious, after a period of war, for the introduction of internal reforms, Pitt was admirably suited. Though haughty in manner, and prone to adopt a dictatorial attitude towards his colleagues, Pitt was a master of the art of managing Parliament. He showed considerable tact in his dealings both with the King and the House of Commons. He was a born leader of men, and impressed all who knew him with his patriotism, his industry, and hopefulness. He combined a high sense of duty and a hatred of corruption with a love of power which, till 1793, was fully justified by the success of his policy both at home and abroad. Disdainful of money and titles, he

remained a poor man all his life. Accustomed as it was to a crowd of selfish politicians whose principal objects were wealth and honours, the British people naturally supported with enthusiasm a minister who was single-hearted in his aims, who hated corruption, and whose devotion to the interest of his country was amply illustrated with every year of his tenure of office. Fortunately for the country Pitt was hard-working, business-like, and a skilful financier. He accepted the views of free trade as laid down by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*, he appreciated the importance of colonies, he adopted a generous attitude towards Ireland, and he favoured Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and the Abolition of Slavery.

The Industrial Revolution.—Pitt's period of office from 1784 to 1801 coincided with those immense changes which transformed England into a manufacturing country. The **Industrial Revolution** of the eighteenth century was as important for Great Britain as was the French Revolution for France. The former movement can be traced throughout the eighteenth century, at the close of which, England, from an agricultural, had become a manufacturing country. 'The phrase, "The Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century," sufficiently defines an extremely complex event; one which had its origin in economical, social, and political facts, as it had economical, social, and political results.'[1] The accession of George I. closed the religious and political struggles which had characterised the seventeenth century and the reign of Queen Anne, and enabled the English people to turn its energy into industrial channels.

In the early part of the eighteenth century manufactures were carried on in the country villages, and spinning was performed by women and children in their cottages. By the

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 419, p. 126.

end of the century individual handicraftsmen were done away with, and 'the domestic worker was transformed into the factory hand.' This change represents one phase of the Industrial Revolution. During the century the introduction of machinery revolutionised England's **four chief industries**—the iron, the pottery, the woollen, and silk trades.

Great Britain an Agricultural Country till 1760.—Before the reign of George III. Great Britain had been an **agricultural** and trading country. She exported large quantities of corn, and she had a considerable woollen trade, which flourished principally in Norwich, and in the eastern counties. An iron trade existed in Surrey and Sussex, where in past times plenty of wood was easily obtained to feed the furnaces. In the reign of Charles II. she had wrested the carrying trade from the Dutch, and while the Methuen Treaty with Portugal opened the Portuguese markets to English woollen goods, the Treaty of Utrecht had enabled the Bristol merchants to engage in the lucrative slave trade. As the eighteenth century proceeded, the naval supremacy of Great Britain aided her in establishing her ascendency in India, and in conquering Canada. Till the accession of George III., however, both wool-spinning and cotton-weaving remained purely domestic industries carried on by women and children in the farmhouses and cottages.

Great Britain becomes a Manufacturing Country.—Signs of changes and of developments in industry and agriculture had already appeared before 1760. The **cotton trade** had steadily grown since the beginning of the century, and in Lancashire the population had doubled itself between 1700 and 1750. Lord Townshend and others had during the first half of the century turned their attention to improving **agriculture** generally, and in particular to the cultivation of turnips. But till the accession of George III., though signs of coming changes were everywhere apparent, England was to a great extent a

nation of farmers and merchants, and the yeoman and small farmer could still gain a livelihood.

During, however, the next forty years, a period which saw the Industrial Revolution practically completed, the wealth of Great Britain so increased that she was able to take the leading part in bringing about the downfall of Napoleon.

The Recovery of Great Britain after the War of American Independence.—The exhaustion of Great Britain in 1784 was very pronounced, and continental statesmen looked for her decadence as a result of the American War. These gloomy anticipations were, however, unfulfilled, and Great Britain during the ten years following her disastrous war recovered from her exhaustion in a most remarkable manner. Wealth poured in from her Indian possessions, and a rapid expansion of trade took place. The Industrial Revolution was proceeding with great rapidity, and manufacturers, merchants, and landowners were greatly benefited. This Industrial Revolution, moreover, implied enormous changes in the system of agriculture; it meant **the transformation of Great Britain from an agricultural into a manufacturing country**; it saw the adoption of machinery in place of hand labour; it led to an immense increase in the population; it made the north of England the centre of great manufacturing industries; it caused the growth of the canal system. Many of these changes had been in progress before the accession of Pitt to office, but it was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that their full import was appreciated.

The wealth of Great Britain rested on her naval supremacy, and this had been nowise weakened by the war with the American colonies. During the war the Dutch, French, Spanish, and American shipping and trade suffered severely, and on the conclusion of hostilities **Great Britain held the commercial supremacy of the world.** Her commerce, so far from being ruined in consequence of her war with the

colonists, was in 1784 established on firm foundations; she had by far the largest share of the European carrying trade, and in 1800 the value of her exports and imports was twice as great as it was in 1783.

Inventions. Canals.—Thus Great Britain's **foreign trade** flourished during the period of the Industrial Revolution, and its prosperity was in great measure due to 'improved processes of manufacture and increased facilities of transport, and in a far higher degree to the substitution of machinery moved by the power of water or steam for manual labour.'[1]

The discovery that iron could be smelted by coal and coke cheaper than by charcoal had first been discovered by Abraham Darby in 1735 and led to the **transference of a large population from the south to the north of England.** Iron, which existed in immense quantities in England, became cheap and ceased to be imported, and smelting was facilitated by the improvements effected by Watt between 1765 and 1782 in the steam-engine.

In 1738 Kay's flying-shuttle, or fly-shuttle, had enabled weavers to produce calico more quickly than before, and a great demand arose for cotton thread. This demand was met in 1765 by Hargreaves' invention of the **spinning-jenny**; by High's invention in 1768 of the **water-frame**, which was an improved spinning-machine; and in 1775 by Crompton's invention of the **mule-jenny**, which was a combination of the spinning-jenny and the water-frame. **Richard Arkwright** was not an inventor, but he utilised many inventions. An energetic, shrewd man of business, of immense perseverance, power of organisation and courage, he represents admirably the new industrial movement which was rapidly transforming England into a manufacturing country. **John Wilkinson**, who built in 1754 the first coke furnace, and who continued all his life to establish fresh foundries, was, like Arkwright, not an

[1] Hunt, *The Political History of England* 1760-1800, p. 170.

inventor, but a man of indomitable energy and business capacity. The improved processes of manufacture, together with the rapid growth of population, led to an increase in the demand for coal, to an improvement in the roads, to the adoption of improvements in agriculture, and to the extension of the **Canal System**. In 1761 the **Bridgewater Canal**, connecting Worsley, where the Duke of Bridgewater owned a coal-mine, with Manchester, was opened. It was constructed by **James Brindley**, a millwright, and the success of the undertaking caused numerous other canals to be made. Before 1759 no canals existed in England. By 1777 **eleven canals** had been constructed. The demand for food was met by the adoption of new and scientific methods of farming, and by improvements in the breeding of cattle and sheep.

During **the second half of the century** many developments other than those belonging to machinery took place, and indicate the 'unexampled industrial progress of the period, the opening of a new chapter in the development of the English people.' [1]

In 1769 **Wedgwood** founded a manufactory near **Burslem**, which marks an epoch in the history of English **artistic pottery**. He used his money and energy in pushing forward the project of the Bridgewater Canal, and he stands out among the men of his day as an enlightened capitalist and organiser. At the same time **Boulton** was establishing a large warehouse at Birmingham for ironware, and was opening a trade with Germany.

Changes in Agriculture.—Simultaneously with the industrial changes, agriculture and cattle-breeding in Great Britain also underwent a revolution, waste lands were enclosed, and made suitable for culture, and the produce of the land was greatly increased. While this revolution was in progress **the disappearance of the small yeoman farmer** was hastened. The

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 419, p. 129.

changes necessitated by the new system of agriculture called for the outlay of capital which only rich landowners and large farmers possessed. Just as the invention of machinery caused at first much misery among those classes who hitherto had lived by spinning, so the improvements in agriculture ruined the small farmer, who had to sell his holding to the large landowner, and increased the number of the necessitous labourers. Consequently it became necessary to revise the Poor Law, and in 1783 **Gilbert's Act** was passed to enable parishes to form unions and to regulate the distribution of outdoor relief.

Advance in Commerce.—During the years which saw the progress of the Industrial Revolution, **the commerce** of Great Britain advanced by leaps and bounds. **Liverpool**, which in the seventeenth century was of little importance, became, before the eighteenth century had ended, **the second port of the kingdom**. While the internal trade of Great Britain was transformed, the external trade was enlarged.[1] Ironware and pottery were exported, and the general commerce of the country rapidly expanded, all these developments being carried out by individual Englishmen without any assistance from the State. Invention and energy were the forces which were rapidly transforming Great Britain and bringing about a social as well as an industrial revolution.

Summary of the Main Characteristics of the Industrial Revolution.—The Industrial Revolution was thus characterised by the development of the coal and iron industries in the north of England, by the extension of the canal system, by the substitution of machinery worked by water or steam for hand labour, by the establishment of factories, and by vast changes in agriculture.

From being an agricultural and corn-exporting country, England soon became **a manufacturing country** with an

[1] *Edinburgh Review, ibid.*, 136.

immense population whose needs necessitated the importation of corn. The growth of the factory system, in place of the old domestic system of manufacture, brought about a complete revolution in country districts, caused the rapid expansion of towns, and led for a time to widespread distress. 'In 1803 one-seventh of the people were in receipt of outdoor relief.'[1] Pitt never seems to have understood the enormous importance of the factory system, but he was sensible of the distress of the poorer classes, he was a disciple of Adam Smith, and his skill in financial matters proved invaluable, first, from 1783 to 1793, when Great Britain's resources had to be carefully nursed and developed, and secondly, during the war with the French Revolution, when financial and commercial crises had to be dealt with and immense sums raised for supporting our allies.[2]

Pitt's Home Policy, 1783-1793.—Till the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, and indeed till 1793, Pitt was able, in spite of a crisis in Holland (see p. 240) and the outbreak of war between Turkey and the allied powers of Russia and Austria (see p. 241), to devote his attention to Indian, Irish, political, financial, and social reforms.

The India Bill.—The question of the future government of India demanded immediate attention. The defeat of **Fox's India Bill** had brought Pitt into power, and in **January 1784** he had himself introduced a **Bill** which was thrown out only by eight votes. In **August** the same year he brought in a **Bill** which became law, and **under which India was governed till the Mutiny.**

By this Bill a Board of Control, composed of members of the Cabinet and of the Privy Council, managed the political affairs of the Company, while the Commander-in-Chief in India and the higher officials were to be appointed by and to

[1] Tout, *History of England from* 1689, p. 93.

[2] Hassall, *War and Reform*, pp. 49-51.

hold their offices for the Crown. With these exceptions the patronage was left in the hands of the Company, whose directors continued ostensibly to hold the position which they had previously occupied. Thus, while the political management of the Company passed into the hands of the Board of Control, which was a ministerial department and changed with the ministry, the chartered rights of the Company were not interfered with. The Opposition, led by Fox, Sheridan, and Burke, condemned this system of double government which was set up, but their efforts were in vain. The Bill was carried by large majorities before the end of 1784, and the system of double government continued till 1858.

Trial of Warren Hastings.—In February 1785 **Warren Hastings**, who had resigned his office, left India, and on his arrival in England was cordially received by the King and by the directors. His services were fully appreciated; his patriotism was unquestioned; he had preserved India for the British Empire. Pitt, however, evinced no enthusiasm for the great Governor-General, and was inclined to criticise his conduct. He openly declared that 'he was neither a determined friend nor foe of Mr. Hastings, and was resolved to support the principles of justice and equity.' This impartial attitude came as a blow to the Opposition, which at the instigation of Burke had decided to attack Warren Hastings, and had hoped to find the Prime Minister defending the former's acts. In February 1786 Burke declared his intention of impeaching Warren Hastings in the House of Lords, and the Commons, having first heard the defence of the late Governor-General, voted upon the charges which Burke brought forward. The chief charges were three in number. The **first** related to Hastings' action in lending troops to the Nawab of Oude, with which to reduce the predatory Rohillas; the **second** related to a heavy fine which he had imposed on the Raja of Benares as a punishment for failure

to supply troops and money for the late war with Hyder Ali; the **third** referred to the plundering of the **Begums of** Oude by the Nawab, who had obtained leave to do so from Hastings. The Begums were the mother and grandmother of the Nawab, from whom the Indian Government demanded money for the Mysore War. While the first charge was rejected by the House of Commons, the second and third charges were accepted.

Burke therefore impeached Warren Hastings in the Lords in 1787, and the famous trial began in February 1788. In spite of Burke's magnificent opening oration public opinion showed itself in favour of the great Indian administrator. The trial dragged on, little interest was taken in it, and on April 23, 1795, **Warren Hastings was acquitted. Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis** had been chosen, in 1786, to be the new Governor-General of India, and in February 1788 Pitt carried a **Declaratory Act** declaring that the Bill of 1784 compelled the East India Company to pay the expenses of any troops which the Board of Control chose to send out for the defence of British possessions in India.

Ireland.—With regard to Ireland Pitt was not so successful. Legislative independence had been granted to Ireland in 1782, and Pitt now wished to give the island free trade with England. In Ireland great discontent prevailed, which showed itself in an agitation for parliamentary reform. The Irish Parliament was hopelessly unrepresentative. Out of three hundred members all save eighty-two were controlled by the governments or by proprietors of one hundred and sixteen seats. A Volunteer Convention had met and drawn up a democratic Reform Bill, which, however, did not touch the question of Catholic Emancipation. Flood's attempt to carry this Reform Bill, which was on 'a strictly Protestant basis,' was defeated amid great uproar, and the country remained in an anarchic condition. To allay the discontent,

to benefit the British Empire generally, and eventually to reform the Irish Parliament, Pitt, with rare foresight, urged the adoption of **free trade** between England and Ireland. Though in 1785 certain resolutions in the direction of free trade were carried, the Opposition in the British Parliament, headed by Fox, Burke, North, and Sheridan, who represented the narrow views of the manufacturing districts, and that of the Irish Parliament led by Grattan, was so strong, that Pitt was compelled reluctantly to abandon his scheme for benefiting Irish trade, and for uniting 'the two countries by a community of interest.' The prophecy in 1784 of the Viceroy, the Duke of Rutland, that 'without an union Ireland would not be connected with Great Britain in twenty years longer,' was verified in 1801.

Reform of Parliament.—Pitt was equally unsuccessful in carrying any measure of parliamentary reform. Since the Middlesex election in 1768, Chatham, Wilkes, and Richmond had advocated reform, and Pitt himself had brought forward motions on the subject in 1782 and 1783. In April 1785 he introduced a Bill for parliamentary reform, proposing 'to purchase from the present proprietors of thirty-six decayed boroughs, the right of returning their members, and to give the seventy-two seats thus at his disposal to the more popular counties, and to London and Westminster.' The country was not at the time interested in the matter, being satisfied with their present Government and Prime Minister. Fox and North opposed the scheme, and leave to bring in the Bill was refused by a majority of seventy-four.

Pitt had as yet by no means secured a certain and organised majority in the House of Commons, and his position was by no means unassailable. The King, indeed, gave him loyal support, and **the revolution** which he gradually effected **in the House of Lords** immensely strengthened his position. On Pitt's accession to office the House of Lords was to a large

extent dominated by the Whig families. Pitt, however, steadily rewarded his followers, chosen to a large extent from successful lawyers and merchants, with peerages; and by 1801 he had created or promoted to the number of one hundred and forty. Composed thus largely of wealthy men, the House of Lords ceased to be amenable to corrupt influences, and from being 'the stronghold of the Whig oligarchy,' and 'an assembly of territorial magnates,' it became an assembly based upon wealth and Toryism.

Financial Measures.—In 1786 Pitt strengthened his hold on the nation by his successful financial measures, and by his **Commercial Treaty** with France. His plan for reducing the National Debt by a sinking fund was received with general approbation, and by 1793 the Debt had been lessened by £10,000,000. By this plan £1,000,000 raised by extra taxes was set aside to accumulate at compound interest for the payment of the National Debt. This system was virtually abandoned in 1807. To increase the revenue he abolished abuses connected with raising public loans; he checked the practice of allowing M.P.'s the right of franking letters; he took measures for checking smuggling, passing the Hovering Act, and adopting (what was Walpole's Excise Scheme) plans for consolidating the Customs and Excise, and for levying certain customs inland. The duty on tea and spirits had been reduced in 1784; the unfunded debt was funded, the Custom House was reformed, and the merchants were thus greatly benefited. He also in 1786 reconstructed the Board of Trade and made it an important office. One of Pitt's greatest financial measures, however, was the Commercial Treaty with France, which was signed on September 26, 1786.

Commercial Treaty with France, 1786.—By one of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles (1783) it was laid down that arrangements of commerce between Great Britain and France should be drawn up, and that 'these arrangements

were to be completed within the space of two years, dating from January 1, 1784.'[1] Two events forced the hands of the British ministry. In July 1785 edicts were issued by the French Government checking the importation of British manufactures, and in November 1785 France and Holland made an alliance. Pitt then recognised that it was necessary to act, and in March 1786 he sent William Eden to Paris to negotiate with Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. In William Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), a member of the new Board of Trade which he had set up in 1785, Pitt found a skilful negotiator on commercial matters, and in Vergennes a French minister who was anxious to benefit the trade of his country. Both France and Great Britain gained by this **Commercial Treaty**, most of the protective duties between the two countries being abolished. Neither George III. nor his ministers would agree to a policy of free trade, and Pitt had to be content with reciprocity.

The Methuen Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal was not abrogated, but the duty on French wines was lowered to that paid by the wines of Portugal.[2] French silks were, in deference to the outcry of the Spitalfields weavers entirely excluded, but hardware, cutlery, cottons, woollens, linens, and cambrics were admitted to either country on easy terms. A great impulse was given to the trade between the two kingdoms, though probably the English manufacturers, being superior to their French rivals in organisation, enterprise, and machinery, gained an advantage. The Treaty was violently opposed by the Whigs led by Fox and Sheridan, the former declaring that France was 'the natural foe of Great Britain.'

[1] Cambridge, *Modern History*, vol. viii. p. 284.

[2] The Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal was concluded in 1703. Portugal admitted English woollens, and Portuguese wines were admitted into England, receiving a preference of one-third as against French wines.

Pitt, however, took a statesmanlike view of the matter. He ridiculed the notion that France was our hereditary foe, and he recognised the advantage to Great Britain of the adoption of an enlightened commercial policy. The Commercial Treaty of 1786 with France redounds to his fame as a statesman, financier, and administrator.

Relief of Dissenters.—In the matter connected with the relief of Dissenters and the evils of the Slave Trade Pitt acted with caution and at the same time with courage. In 1787 Beaufoy proposed a motion for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts which had been passed in the reign of Charles II. during a period of religious excitement. Since Walpole's ministry annual Acts of indemnity had been passed, so the Acts did not in reality press very hardly on the Dissenters. Pitt was in a difficult position, as his party in the House of Commons was still small and he had to depend for support on the 'Crown Party' and the 'Independent' members. Finding that the Opposition was divided and that the Church was, on the whole, against the Bill, he declared himself opposed to it, and it was lost by 176 to 98.

The Slave Trade.—With regard to the Slave Trade, the cruelties connected with which being now notorious owing to the efforts of Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, and Clarkson, Pitt took up a decided attitude. In 1772 it had been laid down by Lord Mansfield that a slave on setting foot in Great Britain was free. This decision, however, in no way lessened the slave traffic to the West Indies, and it was not till 1788 that Clarkson, who was shocked by the atrocities incident to the slave trade, found support in his anti-slavery campaign from the Quakers and from Wilberforce, a friend of Pitt, and the member for Yorkshire. In spite of the opposition of the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, he encouraged a full inquiry into the methods and evils of the slave trade, and in 1788 supported a Bill brought forward by Sir William

Dolben for the better regulation of slave ships. The Bill passed the Commons, but was so amended in the House of Lords as to be rendered useless. The influence of those interested in the slave trade was immense, and in 1791 Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave trade, though supported by Pitt and Fox, was defeated by 163 to 88. After 1792 the war with France occupied the general attention, and the question was shelved for several years.

The Regency Question.—Throughout the years 1787 and 1788 the affairs of the Royal Family and foreign complications occupied Pitt's attention. The popularity of the King which had made itself apparent at the time of the overthrow of the coalition of Fox and North was increased by the failure of an attack made on him in 1786 by a mad woman, and by his recovery in 1789 from a fit of insanity. For some time George III. had been much troubled by the conduct of his son, the Prince of Wales. The latter was deeply in debt, and in 1785 had, in contravention of the Act of Settlement, and of the Royal Marriage Act of 1772, married the charming and beautiful Mrs. Fitzherbert, who was a Roman Catholic. When in 1787 the House of Commons decided to pay the Prince's debts, Fox, who had received an assurance from the Prince, declared that the marriage (which by the civil law of England was illegal) had never taken place. A year later, in November 1788, the King became insane and the question of giving the Prince the Regency came forward. The Opposition now regarded Pitt's fall as certain, for the Prince was closely allied with Sheridan and with Fox, who had now forgiven the duplicity practised on him in the matter of the marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and looked forward to becoming Prime Minister. Thurlow, anticipating the triumph of Fox, at once intrigued with the Opposition. At this crisis in his fortunes, when his career seemed likely to be ruined, Pitt showed 'a singleness of purpose and a lofty disregard for his own

interests. . . . He took precisely the course that was most just to the King and most salutary to the country.'[1] On December 10 Pitt moved for a committee to examine precedents, and was opposed by Fox, who called the authority of Parliament in question, while declaring that the Prince had a clear right to the Regency. Fox had overreached himself, and Pitt was enabled to pose as 'the champion of the King and nation against the pretensions of a Whig faction.' He indeed brought in a Regency Bill nominating the Prince as Regent, but under strict limitations with regard to the creation of peerages, the granting of offices or pensions, the disposal of the King's property, and the charge of the person and household of George III. Meanwhile Pitt had placed the King under the care of Dr. Willis, a clergyman who was skilful in cases of insanity. His kind treatment was in striking contrast to that ordered by the physicians under whom George was first placed, and before the Regency Bill had finally passed through the House of Lords, the King's recovery was announced on February 19, 1789. By his management of the question of a Regency, and by his disinterestedness throughout the crisis, Pitt had immensely strengthened his position both with the King and the country. On the other hand, the Whigs had discredited themselves. Fox's declaration that the Prince of Wales had 'an inherent right to the Regency,' had been disposed of by Pitt and by the Duke of York, who, in the House of Lords, had acknowledged the **elective character of the British monarchy.**

A public thanksgiving in 1789 at St. Paul's followed the recovery of the King, whose popularity had immensely increased. His recovery synchronised with the triumph of Pitt's foreign policy.

The Position of Great Britain in Europe, 1783.—When on December 19, 1783, William Pitt became Prime Minister,

[1] Essays by Robert, Marquess of Salisbury, *Biographical*, p. 98.

Great Britain was isolated. During the War of American Independence she had been attacked by France, Spain, and Holland, while the Armed Neutrality directed against her maritime supremacy had been headed by Russia and joined by Prussia and Austria. Frederick the Great had never forgiven the conduct of Bute, and till his death distrusted the British Government. In 1783 Great Britain had definitely lost the American colonies; she had been forced to give Ireland legislative independence; she had not a friend in Europe; she appeared to be wellnigh bankrupt. The Continental Powers naturally considered that Great Britain's decadence had set in. They omitted, however, from their calculations the fact that Great Britain's naval supremacy was assured, and that she had far the largest share of the carrying trade of Europe; they had no means of gauging the immense effect which the Industrial Revolution was to have upon her manufactures and trade; the financial ability of Pitt was as yet unknown.

That Great Britain recovered so rapidly after the American War was in no small degree due to Pitt's wise and courageous foreign policy. On his accession to office France and Spain were united by the Family Compact of 1761; Austria was allied to France by the Treaties of 1756 and 1757; Russia and Austria had come to an understanding in 1781.

Dangers to European Peace, 1783-1793.—The chief danger to the peace of Europe in 1783 and the following years came from the ambitious schemes of the Emperor Joseph II. in the West, and from the aggressive policy of Catherine II. of Russia in the East. Joseph wished to secure Bavaria by giving the Elector the Austrian Netherlands in exchange for his hereditary possessions; he also desired to tear up the **Barrier Treaty** of 1715, and, in contravention of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, to open the river Scheldt to navigation. In face of the Bourbon League and of the aims of

Joseph II. it was necessary for the British Government to act cautiously. Sir James Harris, our envoy at the Hague, advocated in May 1785 a close union with Prussia, a power, like Great Britain, without allies. Lord Carmarthen, the Foreign Secretary, favoured an alliance with Russia and Austria. Carmarthen, like Lord Chatham and Charles Fox, was in constant dread of the Bourbon League, and regarded Russia as Great Britain's natural ally. The views of Harris and not those of Carmarthen were by a curious turn of events destined to be adopted by Pitt, who at the same time impressed upon Great Britain's foreign policy his own individuality.

In July 1785 Joseph II.'s scheme for the **exchange of Bavaria** was opposed by the Fürstenbund, or League of Princes, formed by Frederick the Great and joined by George III. as Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg. Coincidently with the failure of this scheme came the failure of the plan of opening the Scheldt to navigation. The Dutch offered armed resistance to the Emperor, who prepared an army. War seemed inevitable. Vergennes, the French minister, however, arranged the **Treaty of Fontainebleau** between Joseph and the Dutch on November 8, 1785, and the Scheldt remained closed. One result of the action of Vergennes was that French influence became predominant in Holland, an alliance between the French and the Dutch was arranged, and William v. of Orange, the Stadtholder, who favoured a British alliance, was compelled to leave the Hague.

Isolation of Great Britain, 1785.—The Barrier Treaty of 1715, which had been made with the view of defending the Austrian Netherlands and Holland from French aggression, was now at an end, and one of the traditions of British foreign policy, viz. of never allowing France to become predominant in the Netherlands, was swept away. The late Mr. Lecky has a striking passage upon the situation: 'One of her

(Great Britain's) oldest and closest allies, one of the chief maritime powers of the world, had thus detached herself from the English connection, thrown her influence into the scale of France, and virtually become a party of the Bourbon Family Compact.'[1]

The Franco-Dutch alliance was a serious menace to Great Britain, though Vergennes, the French minister, seemed at the time principally anxious to conclude a commercial treaty with Pitt. At any rate, the Franco-Dutch alliance was shortly followed by the famous Commercial Treaty of 1786, which enabled Pitt to repudiate the notion, so dear to English politicians since 1740, that France was our hereditary foe.

Beginning of the Colonisation of Australia, 1788.—The year 1788 is noteworthy in the history of Great Britain no less than in that of Europe. In January of that year Captain Phillip, R.N., who was in charge of a number of convicts, landed at Botany Bay, and shortly afterwards established his settlement at Sydney, so called after Lord Sydney, the Secretary of State. Between 1768 and 1779 Captain Cook had made several voyages in the South Pacific, discovering New Zealand and Australia, and in 1770 he had claimed for Great Britain the eastern half of New South Wales. But the American War tended to damp any enthusiasm in Great Britain for colonial expansion, and the definite colonisation of Australia dates from the landing at Botany Bay of Captain Phillip. Unwittingly Great Britain was beginning to find some compensation for the loss of America in the eastern hemisphere.

The Triple Alliance of 1788.—In 1788, however, events in Europe seemed to Pitt of greater importance than the founding of colonies. On August 17, 1786, Frederick the Great, and on February 13, 1787, Vergennes died, and their

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 78.

deaths had a very marked influence upon European affairs and upon British foreign policy. As long as he lived, Frederick the Great refused to interfere in Dutch politics or to come to a friendly understanding with Great Britain. His successor, Frederick William II., whose sister had married the Stadtholder, was attached to Great Britain and deeply interested in the affairs of Holland. When the Orange and Republican (French) parties were almost at war, in June 1787, the Princess of Orange was arrested by some Republican troops, and, in consequence, her brother, the King of Prussia, invaded the Dutch provinces in September. During the year Pitt had decided to aid the Stadtholder should the necessity arise, though action on his part might lead to an invasion of Holland by French troops and consequently to a European war. France had by the Treaty of 1785 pledged herself to aid the Dutch in case of attack: had Vergennes been alive the Treaty would undoubtedly have been carried out.

But Montmorin, the successor of Vergennes, was timid and irresolute, and France, rapidly drifting towards revolution, could not, in view of events in the East, hope for any help from Austria or Russia. Moreover, the invasion of the Prussians had had decisive results. The Prince of Orange had been restored, and the French party overthrown. During this crisis Pitt, while preparing for any eventualities, sent William Grenville to aid Harris in bringing about a pacific termination of the incident. Their efforts were successful, and on October 27, 1787, Montmorin recognised the changes which had been effected at the Hague, and declared that the French Government had no intention of interfering in the affairs of Holland.

Thus Pitt regained for Great Britain her position in Europe, and the efforts of Sir James Harris were rewarded by the grant of a peerage. As Lord Malmesbury, he was again prominent during the war (1793-1801) between Great Britain

and France. In 1788 the **Triple Alliance** between Great Britain, Prussia, and the United Provinces was formed, the object of which was the maintenance of peace and mutual defence. Pitt had won a brilliant success, and his country, no longer isolated, held an important position in the eyes of Europe. On the Continent Frederick William had gained for Prussia a signal triumph, while French foreign policy had suffered a serious rebuff.

The Influence of the Triple Alliance: (1) In the North of Europe.—The political condition of Europe afforded the Triple Alliance many opportunities of exercising its pacific policy. In the east Russia and Austria were engaged in a war against Turkey, while Gustavus III. of Sweden was attempting to regain from Russia the Provinces of Finland and Carelia. He had been at once attacked by Denmark, and the overthrow and ruin of Sweden seemed imminent, and with it a complete change in the balance of power in the Baltic. The Triple Alliance at once intervened, the diplomacy of Hugh Eliot, our envoy at Copenhagen, was successful, and before the threat of a naval demonstration by the British fleet, Denmark withdrew from the war.

(2) In the East of Europe.—More difficult was Pitt's task in preventing the King of Prussia from attacking Austria. The failure of the Austrian campaign in the East in 1788 was followed by some military successes in 1789, but these were counterbalanced by a revolution in the Austrian Netherlands against Joseph II.'s ill-considered and hasty reforms, and by grave discontent in Hungary. The Prussian King considered the weakness of Austria to offer an admirable opportunity for attacking the ancient rival of his kingdom. But while Frederick William desired to take an active part against Austria, Pitt wished to withdraw Austria from the war, and to prevent the spread of hostilities. He was the first British minister who realised that Great Britain had

nothing to gain from friendship with Russia, whose aims in the East and in the Baltic ran counter to those of the British nation. By making a **Commercial Treaty** with France, and by indirectly opposing Russia between 1784 and 1793 whenever an opportunity occurred, Pitt had reversed the foreign policy of the early period of George III.'s reign, and in thus doing had shown commendable foresight.

The Convention of Reichenbach, 1790.—Till the end of 1792 the Triple Alliance under Pitt's guidance continued its pacific efforts. The death of Joseph II. on February 20, 1790, was followed by the accession of Leopold II. to the Imperial throne. His wisdom and firmness with regard to the bellicose schemes of the Prussian King were appreciated by Pitt. The Austrian Netherlands and Hungary were pacified, the **Convention of Reichenbach**, in July 1790, brought about friendly relations between Austria and Prussia, and the war between Austria and Turkey came to an end. Pitt's efforts had been rewarded, and Russia and Turkey remained the only European powers at war till January 1792, when they made the **Treaty of Jassy**.

The Affairs of Nootka Sound, and of Ochakov.—In 1790 a difficulty which had arisen between Great Britain and Spain over the aggressions of the latter upon **Nootka Sound**, a harbour occupied by the British on Vancouver Island, was removed by Pitt's firmness and diplomacy, but in 1791 Pitt received a rebuff from Russia. He had insisted upon the evacuation of **Ochakov**, a fortress of little importance on the Black Sea. Catherine II. refused to surrender it, and Pitt, finding himself without support in Parliament or in the country, was forced to withdraw from the position which he had taken up. The Duke of Leeds (Carmarthen) resigned the seals of the Foreign Office, and his place was taken by Grenville.[1]

[1] For a full account of Pitt's foreign policy after 1788, see Hassall, *War and Reform* (1789-1837), pp. 5 and 6.

The French Revolution, 1789.—The outbreak of the **French Revolution** in 1789 did not at first alter the friendly relations between the Governments of Great Britain and France, and it was not till the deposition of Louis XVI. on August 10, 1792, that Pitt began to be alarmed, and war became imminent.

The Position of Great Britain, 1792.—A great change had been effected in the position of Great Britain since 1784. The country was then discredited, nearly bankrupt, and of little account in Europe. Her defeat in the American War, followed by her isolation, seemed to justify the expectations of her coming decadence. In eight years all was changed. The Industrial Revolution was bringing to Great Britain wealth, and her population was rapidly increasing. Attention was being paid to the **British dominion in India**, and Spain was not permitted to check the **expansion of Canada.** The **Triple Alliance of 1788** testified to the new position which Great Britain had won on the Continent, and at the same time the **Commercial Treaty of 1786** bound together the British and French nations. In no small degree Pitt had influenced the conclusion of peace between Prussia and Austria at Reichenbach in 1790, between Russia and Sweden at Verelá, and between Austria and Turkey at Sistova in 1791. At the beginning of 1792 Europe was at peace, and the position of Great Britain incontestably strong.

Review of Pitt's Ministry from 1783 to 1793.—Pitt was in large measure the cause of this prosperous condition of things. Taking office when the effects of the war with the American colonies were having a sobering influence on men's minds, he had continued the work of economic reform begun by the Rockingham ministry. Incorruptible himself, he used all his influence to bring to an end the system of Parliamentary corruption. During his tenure of office 'the traditions of the old system of corruption were,' says Mr. Lecky, 'finally cut.'

Like Shelburne, Pitt was an advocate of Free Trade, though the opposition of the commercial classes, who, as a rule, supported his measures, prevented him from carrying out all his economic views. During the years from 1784 to the outbreak of the French Revolution, he, however, succeeded in re-establishing British finance, in making a valuable commercial treaty with France, and in raising British credit. Though he failed in his Irish policy and in carrying Parliamentary Reform, he passed a valuable India Bill, he advocated the emancipation of the slaves, he favoured Catholic emancipation. Till the outbreak of the war with France in 1793 his whole influence was thrown on the side of wise and liberal measures.

IMPORTANT DATES.

General Election. Pitt Prime Minister	1784
Pitt's India Bill	„
Isolation of Great Britain in Europe	1785
Commercial Treaty with France	1786
Beginning of the Trial of Warren Hastings	1787
The Regency Question	1788-1789
Beginning of the Colonisation of Australia	1788
Formation of the Triple Alliance	„
The French Revolution	1789
The Convention of Reichenbach	1790
The Nootka Sound Difficulty	„
The Affair of Ochakov	1791
Deposition of the French King	1792
The French overrun the Austrian Netherlands	„
Outbreak of War between Great Britain and France	1793

Pitt's Ministry, 1783-1789.

First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Pitt.

Chancellor, Lord Thurlow (1783-1792).

President of the Council, Lord Gower (1783-1784); Lord Camden (1784-1794).

Secretary of State for the Home Department, Lord Sydney (1783-1789); William Grenville (1789-1791); Dundas (1791-1794).

Secretary of State for the Foreign Department—(1) Lord Carmarthen (Leeds), (1783-1791); (2) W. Grenville (1791-1794).

Privy Seal, The Duke of Rutland (1783-1784); Lord Gower (1784-1794).

First Lord of the Admiralty—(1) Lord Hood (1784-1788); (2) Lord Chatham (1788-1794).

Master of the Ordinance, The Earl of Richmond (at first without a seat in the Cabinet), (1789-1795).

Treasurer of the Navy, Henry Dundas (1783-1791).

President of the Board of Trade (constituted in 1785); Henry Jenkinson (later Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Liverpool).

CHAPTER IV

SKETCH OF THE LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

Contents.

English Literature in the Eighteenth Century—The Influence of Pope—*Robinson Crusoe*—Literature from 1739 to 1763—Popular Tendencies—The Novel—*The Patriot King*—Revolt from the Pope School—The Early Years of George III.'s Reign—The Romantic School.

CHIEF NAMES, 1714-1789.

Addison—Steele — Defoe — Bentley—Pope — Swift — Bolingbroke—Fielding—Sterne—Gray—Smollett—Goldsmith—Hume—Johnson—Adam Smith — Robertson — Gibbon — Burns — Cowper—Crabbe—Porson—Richardson—Sheridan—Burke.

Period I.—1714-1742.

English Literature in the Eighteenth Century.—Between the accession of George I. and the French Revolution the history of English literature falls into three periods: (1) 1714-1742; (2) 1742-1763; (3) 1763-1789. The characteristics of the Age of Walpole are very different from those of the early years of George III.'s reign. Literature under George I. and to some extent under George II. has an 'Augustan' character, and shows the influence of **Classicism.** Literary form was carefully cultivated, and perfection in style at the expense of higher qualities was chiefly aimed at. The writers, for the

most part, are conventional, and exhibit a narrowness of view. At the same time, the literary form of their productions was admirable. Many of the writers who lived in the reign of George I. and the early years of George II. had begun their literary career in Anne's reign, when literature was mainly political, and was honoured for the sake of party.

Writers in the Reign of George I. and Early Years of George II.'s Reign.—Addison and his followers had for the most part disappeared before George II. had been long on the throne. Parnell, a minor poet, died in 1718, Addison in 1719, Prior in 1721, Congreve and Steele in 1729. Of these Addison was justly the most celebrated, on account of his essays, which showed that he was endowed with unusual literary power. None of these writers, however, can compare with Pope, who had first acquired fame in Queen Anne's reign by his *Essay on Criticism* (1711) and by the *Rape of the Lock* (1712), a brilliant play. In George I.'s reign he formed the Scriblerus Club, to which belonged Arbuthnot, Gay, Parnell, and Prior, and between 1715 and 1725 wrote his *Translation of the Iliad and Odyssey.* By this *Translation* he was at once recognised as the most famous literary man in Great Britain, and the 'greatest living poet.' In spite of its many faults, the translation was widely read, being written in the heroic metre, which was then 'the fashionable poetical measure of the day,' and with great literary art. Pope hated the petty scribblers of his day, and denounced them in the *Dunciad*, which appeared first in 1728 and in an enlarged form in 1741. Till his death in 1744 Pope maintained his literary pre-eminence. The appearance of and the fierceness which characterised the *Dunciad* was, it is said, due to the influence of Swift. After its publication in 1728, Pope entered upon the third period of his career. He became intimately acquainted with Bolingbroke, and partly under his influence produced the *Essay on Man* (1732-34), and the *Imitation of*

Horace. These writings, together with the *Essay on Criticism*, the *Essay on Man*, the *Satires and Epistles*, are mainly didactic, and are written with exquisite skill.

The Influence of Pope.—Thus while Walpole represents the political movement during the reign of George I. and the first fifteen years of the reign of George II., Pope may be said to represent the literary movement of the same period, which in itself represents the aristocratic movement, so characteristic of the reigns of the first two Georges. Pope himself moved in high circles. He was intimate with Frederick, Prince of Wales, Bolingbroke was his 'guide, philosopher and friend.' Among his other friends he numbered Argyll, Pulteney, Wyndham, Chesterfield, and Cobham. He thus was closely connected with the opponents of Walpole, but none of his writings are so severe upon the existing political system as were the **Drapier's Letters**, in which Swift bitterly attacks the corruption which characterised party warfare.

Growing Popular Tendencies. 'Robinson Crusoe.'—Pope represented the artificiality and the aristocratic character of literature. His *Dunciad* attacks the growing popular influences which were appearing, and of which Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was a type. Pope had a profound contempt for the middle and lower classes. *Robinson Crusoe*, however, was not the work of a cultured wit, but was written in 1719-20, in 'the plain, downright, English vernacular which is thoroughly intelligible to everybody who is capable of reading.'[1] A new class of readers was appearing who were not satisfied with the artificial style of Pope and his followers, and who made their influence more and more felt after the fall of Walpole.

During George I.'s reign we can trace the beginnings of a new School of English Poetry. Allan Ramsay wrote the *Gentle Shepherd*, and James Thomson, a native of Scotland,

[1] Leslie Stephen, *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 136.

wrote the *Seasons* (1726-30), and became the real founder of the poetic School of Natural Description. The influence of Thomson was great, and can be seen in the works of Akenside, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson.

Period II.—1742-1763.

General Character of the Literature of this Period.—During this period 'the literary work was being more and more distinctly addressed to the middle class,'[1] and was often marked by **Sentimentalism.** This was no doubt due, in great measure, to the religious and political awakening which characterised these years. The period begins with the Wesley movement; it ends in an outburst of patriotic sentiment which is connected with the name and career of William Pitt. At the outset of the period, the aristocracy is securely in power; the later years of the Seven Years' War sees the position of that aristocracy seriously weakened.

The moral indifference of the upper classes as represented by such men as Walpole, Chesterfield, and Bolingbroke, was attacked, and the movement generally illustrated the awakening of the middle and lower classes.

Popular Tendencies. — Literature was now becoming a regular profession, and 'literary work was being more and more distinctly addressed to the middle class.'[2] Young's *Night Thoughts*, the first part of which appeared in 1742, and Blair's *Grave*, which was published at the same time, appeal to the religious sentiment of the nation, and refused, like Pope, to regard religion as mere abstract philosophy. These poems were in full agreement with the new religious feeling, and were approved of by John Wesley.

The Beginning of the Modern Novel.—Among the prose-

[1] Leslie Stephen, *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 147.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

writers, Samuel Johnson and Richardson wrote equally on behalf of morality and virtue; Johnson, in the *Rambler* and *Tatler*, a series of essays bearing on literary and occasionally on religious subjects; while Richardson in *Pamela* (1740), *Clarissa Harlowe* (1748), and *Sir Charles Grandison*, expounded the prevalent feeling in favour of religious 'sentimentalism' and morality. Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett were the founders of the modern novel. Fielding published *Joseph Andrews* in 1742, *Tom Jones* in 1749, and Smollett published *Roderick Random* in 1748, and *Humphrey Clinker* in 1771. Fielding represented the revolt against the exaggerated sentimentalism and narrowness of Richardson's books, and in fact created the modern novel, which was not a moral tract, but which 'portrayed human nature.' Belonging to this new class of novelists may be placed Laurence Sterne, who in 1759 produced *Tristram Shandy*, followed by *The Sentimental Journey*.

Bolingbroke's 'Patriot King.'—During the same period Bolingbroke was attacking the Whig régime as represented by Walpole. With Pulteney he wrote slashing articles in *The Craftsman* during the early years of George II.'s reign against the all-powerful minister, and later wrote the *Patriot King*, in which he laid down principles which were inculcated into the mind of George III.

Revolt from the Pope School.—The influence of the Methodist revival, and of the renewed interest in the poor, was seen in Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, and Shenstone's *Schoolmistress*. The same interest in man and in the poor is shown in the poems of Allan Ramsay, the contemporary and friend of Gay and Pope.

Towards the end of George II.'s reign signs of a revolt against 'the fashion of moralising in verse' began to appear, and were clearly seen in Warton's *Essay on Pope* (1757). His views were approved of by Gray and Collins, who repre-

sented the growing historical sense and the desire to break loose from the strict canons of the Pope school, which tended to make poetry 'rhymed prose.' With the accession of George III. 'the Age of Common-Sense' may be said to have come to an end.

Period III.—1763-1789.

The Early Years of George III.'s Reign.—During the years from the close of the Seven Years' War to the outbreak of the French Revolution, the tendencies observable at the close of the previous period were developed and intensified. Public opinion was becoming more influential, and the newspaper press was acquiring more weight. Reform of Parliament was demanded, and the exclusive rule of the Whig aristocracy was resented. The *Letters of Junius* represent the growing dissatisfaction with the oligarchic government and a desire for changes in the representative system. During this period British rhetoric flourished. The speeches of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke are masterpieces of their kind. Those of Burke represent an aversion to any reform of the House of Commons, or indeed to any considerable political changes. Burke had reason for alarm, for the years 1763-1789 saw the opening and development of the 'industrial revolution.' The growth of the factory system and of commerce, the rapid spread of canals, the development of great cities in England and Scotland, with the consequent establishment of pauperism, gradually revolutionised Great Britain. At the same time the party struggles of the period, the American War of Independence and the impeachment of Warren Hastings, emphasised party issues and tended to render the early years of George III.'s reign from a literary point of view 'a period of stagnation.'

As the reign advanced old and new tendencies struggled

for the mastery; Sheridan's brilliant plays, the *Rivals* and the *School for Scandal*, written respectively in 1775 and 1777, belonged, like Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, to a style of drama which, like the heroic couplet, was rapidly disappearing. In poetry there was a decided tendency to a return to nature, and this tendency was visible in the works of such poets as Cowper, Burns, and many others who were influenced by the political and social changes of the times or by a study of the past. Johnson was essentially a Tory, and Goldsmith, who wrote *The Traveller* in 1765, the *Deserted Village* in 1770, and the *Vicar of Wakefield* in 1766, while sympathising with those who desire a return to nature, and sound philanthropic changes, is in no sense an advocate of any revolutionary movement.

The Romantic School.—In 1781 Crabbe, and in 1782 Cowper wrote regretting the luxurious state of society and the selfishness of the world's rulers. Crabbe was essentially a representative of the realistic school, and his writings often tend to become prosaic. Though both these poets were conventional in their treatment, they occasionally wrote poetry which may be classed with that of the Romantic School. For against the realism so characteristic of the utilitarian spirit of the first half of the eighteenth century, a revolt was raised some years before the outbreak of the French Revolution. The Age of Common-Sense was in great measure over in the early years of George III.'s reign. Sentimentalism was no longer popular, and side by side with the 'return to nature' appeared an historical movement. Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, published in 1725, and Thomson's *Seasons*, published in 1730, had already indicated the rise of a new school of poets. The appearance of Macpherson's *Ossian* in 1762, of Percy's *Reliques* in 1765, of the poems of Chatterton, who died in 1774, and of those of Blake, who began to write in 1783, may be said to represent that new impulse in favour of antiquarian and historical

research which is known as the Romantic Movement. This Romantic movement also implied an interest in the history of the past, and is well exemplified in the early years of George III.'s reign by Hume's *History of England*, which was finished in 1761, by Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, and by Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, completed in 1788. From this time the interest in the history of Great Britain and of other countries increased and resulted in numerous histories of Rome and Greece, while that of England received increased attention in the nineteenth century from the hands of such men as Hallam and Stubbs. The publication of Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, together with Adam Smith's *Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, constitute an epoch in the history of English law and political economy.

Very different in character are Chesterfield's and Horace Walpole's *Letters*, and Burke's *Speeches*. The letters are remarkable for the light which they cast on the social topics of the day, while the works of Burke exhibit the rhetoric of the period at its best. Thus in almost every department of literature a visible change began to be apparent from about the middle of the eighteenth century. Love of nature and love of the past introduced a fresh element into English literature, and the new spirit which was inculcated by Rousseau was felt in all departments of English thought, and culminated in the works of Wordsworth and Coleridge.

Principal Writers of the Period.

Addison,	died 1719.
Steele,	,, 1729.
Defoe,	,, 1731.
Bentley,	,, 1742.
Pope,	,, 1744.
Swift,	,, 1745.
Bolingbroke,	,, 1751.
Fielding,	,, 1754.
Sterne,	,, 1768.
Gray,	,, 1771.
Smollett,	,, 1771.
Goldsmith,	,, 1774.
Hume,	,, 1776.
Johnson,	,, 1784.
Adam Smith,	,, 1790.
Robertson,	,, 1793.
Gibbon,	,, 1794.
Burns,	,, 1796.
Cowper,	,, 1800.
Porson,	,, 1808.
Richardson,	,, 1814.
Blake,	,, 1827.
Crabbe,	,, 1832.