UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01356838 1

LONGMANS' TEXT BOOKS
OF
ENGLISH HISTORY

HASSALL

THE RESTORATION
AND
THE REVOLUTION
1660-1715

RIVINGTONS' SINGLE TERM LATIN READERS

WITH NOTES, EXERCISES, AND VOCABULARIES.

Suited for a full Term's work, allowing time for revision and examination.

First Term.—**Three Books**—8*d. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Separate Sentences.

Second Term.—**Three Books**—1*s. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Continuous Stories.

Third Term.—**Three Books**—1*s. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Easy Livy.

Fourth Term.—**Three Books**—1*s. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Easy Latin Pieces.

Fifth Term.—**Three Books**—1*s.* 4*d. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Easy Latin Pieces.

Sixth Term.—**Three Books**—9*d. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively. Easy Ovid, *increasing in difficulty.*

RIVINGTONS' SINGLE TERM GREEK READERS

WITH NOTES AND VOCABULARIES.

Suited for a full Term's work, allowing time for revision and examination.

First Term.—**Three Books**—9*d. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Sentences and Short Stories constructed with a view to illustrate the easy Accidence.

Second Term.—**Three Books**—9*d. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Easy Stories.

Third Term.—**Three Books**—9*d. each*—**Book I., Book II.**, and **Book III.** respectively (of equal difficulty). Easy Selections from Xenophon, simplified.

RIVINGTONS' JUNIOR CLASSICS

First Latin Translation Book. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Loculi. A Second Latin Reading Book. *By* F. D. MORICE. 2*s. net.*

Initia Latina. A Latin Book for Beginners. *By* E. D. MANSFIELD. 2*s.*

Exercises in Latin Prose. *By* E. D. MANSFIELD. 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

Caesar, The Gallic War. Books I. to VI. 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

Selections from Cicero. In Two Parts. 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

Selections from Livy. 2*s.*

Selections from Ovid. 2*s.*

Xenophon's Anabasis. Book I. 2*s.*

The Gospels in Greek, according to St. Matthew and St. Mark, 2*s.* each; and St. Luke, 1*s.*

First Latin Lessons. For the use of Preparatory and all types of Secondary Schools. *By* C. M. DIX. *2s.*

Second Latin Lessons. *By the same Author. 2s. 6d.*

First Latin Book. Being the First Year of a Two Years' Course preparatory to Cæsar. *By* C. A. WILLIAMS. *2s.*

Second Latin Book. Being the Second Year of a Two Years' Course preparatory to Cæsar. *By the same Author. 2s. 6d.*

Latin Lessons for Beginners. *By* A. R. S. HALLIDIE. *1s. 6d.*

A First Latin Verse Book. *By* A. H. THOMAS. *3s. 6d.*

Elementary Latin Exercises. *By* A. E. HILLARD. and C. G. BOTTING. *2s. 6d.*

Latin Prose Composition. }
Greek Prose Composition. } *By* M. A. NORTH and A. E. HILLARD. *3s. 6d. each.*

Elementary Greek Exercises. *By* A. E. HILLARD & C. G. BOTTING. *2s 6d.*

A Primer of Greek Grammar. *By* EVELYN ABBOTT *and* E. D. MANSFIELD. *3s. 6d. net,* or separately :—
Accidence. 2s. 6d. net. *Syntax. 1s. 6d. net.*

A Primer of Greek Exercises. *By* W. GREENSTOCK. *3s. 6d.*

A First Greek Reading Book. *By* A. SIDGWICK. *2s. 6d.*

A First History of England *By* Mrs. C. RANSOME. *2s. 6d.*

An Elementary History of England. *By* C. RANSOME. *1s. 9d.*

The Story of England. A History for Junior Forms. *By* W. S. ROBINSON. In Four Parts.
Part I. From Early Times to 1272. *2s.* **Part II. 1272 to 1603.** *2s.*
Part III. 1603 to 1760. Part. IV. 1760 to 1910.

An Illustrated History of England. *By* W. S. ROBINSON. *3s. 6d.*
Period I. To End of Commonwealth, 1660, *2s.*
Period II. To Edward VII, 1907. *2s.*

Class Book of English History. *By* A. HASSALL. *3s. 6d.*

An Advanced History of England. *By* C. RANSOME. *7s. 6d.*
Period I. To Elizabeth, 1603. *4s.* Period II. To Edward VII, 1910. *4s.*

Rivingtons' Text-books of English History. *By* A. HASSALL.
The Tudor Dynasty. 1485–1603. *2s. 6d.* **The Great Rebellion. 1603–1660.** *2s. 6d.* **The Expansion of Great Britain. 1715–1789.** *3s.* **War and Reform. 1789–1837.** *3s.*

Notes on British History. *By* WILLIAM EDWARDS.
Part I. B.C. 556 to A.D. 1485. *2s. net.* **Part II. 1485–1660.** *2s. net.*
Part III. 1660–1783. *2s. net.* **Part IV. 1783–1901.** *4s. 6d. net.*

Junior British History Notes. *By the same Author.*
Part I. B.C. 55 to A.D. 1485. *1s. net.* **Part II. 1485 to 1660.** *1s. net.*
Part III. 1660 to 1783. *1s. net.* **Part IV. 1783 to 1901.** *2s.* net.

An Elementary History of Greece. *By* C. W. C. OMAN. *2s.*

A Short History of Greece. *By* W. S. ROBINSON. *3s.*

A Short History of Rome. *By* W. S. ROBINSON. *3s. 6d.*

A History of Rome. *By* J. L. MYRES. *5s.*

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

A Class Book of English History. For the Use of Upper Forms of Schools, Training Colleges, Army, Intermediate, and Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, the Central Welsh Board, Irish Intermediate, Scottish Leaving Certificates, etc. With Maps, Plans, Lists of Important Dates, Subjects for Class, Blackboard Illustrations, Chief Names, Notes and Index. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

In use at Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dublin, Belfast, Winchester, Westminster School, Manchester, Nottingham, Lancaster, Wigan, Blackpool, Newcastle, Hull, Bradford, Leeds, Carlisle, Liverpool, Sherborne, Durham, Pembroke, Birmingham, Bath, Bristol, Taunton, Exeter, Plymouth, Canterbury, Southampton, Ramsgate, Leicester, Kidderminster, Rochdale, Brecon, Bury St. Edmunds, Cardiff, Swansea, Carmarthen, Barry, Ebbw Vale, Porth, Wantage, Brockley, Wrexham, Newport, in India and Australia, and in Pupil Teachers' Centres, etc., and by the London County Council.

'I have long been of opinion that, in the hands of a competent teacher, the best textbook of English History is one which gives a clear, full, but concise account of the main current of events, with an adequate apparatus of chronological summaries, genealogical tables, and notes on important or disputed points. Such a textbook Mr. Hassall has provided.'—R. LODGE, *Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh.*

'It is, I think, the most completely equipped History of its size in the market. It is singularly full of matter carefully arranged and clearly expressed; its maps, genealogies, and elucidatory notes are all very much to the point. I have recommended it to my class, and shall hope to find that it is widely used.'—D. J. MEDLEY, *Professor of History in the University of Glasgow.*

'A well-planned and well-executed book.'—*Glasgow Herald.*

'This is one of the most complete and up-to-date school histories we have seen. . . . It embodies the results of the latest historical research, which has modified British history in many points.'—*Aberdeen Journal.*

LONDON: RIVINGTONS

In Eight Volumes. Crown 8vo. 6s. net each.
The Complete Set, £2, 8s. net.

PERIODS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

General Editor—ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.
STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

THE object of this Series is to present in separate Volumes a comprehensive and trustworthy account of the general development of European History, and to deal fully and carefully with the more prominent events in each century.

No such attempt to place the History of Europe in a comprehensive, detailed, and readable form before the English public has previously been made, and the series forms a valuable continuous history of Mediæval and Modern Europe.

Period 1.—The Dark Ages, 476-918.
By C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Period 2.—The Empire and the Papacy, 918-1273.
By T. F. TOUT, M.A., Professor of Mediæval and Modern History in the University of Manchester.

Period 3.—The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273-1494.
By R. LODGE, LL.D., Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh.

Period 4.—Europe in the Sixteenth Century, 1494-1598.
By A. H. JOHNSON, M.A., Historical Lecturer to Merton, Trinity, and University Colleges, Oxford.

Period 5.—The Ascendancy of France, 1598-1715.
By H. O. WAKEMAN, M.A., late Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

Period 6.—The Balance of Power, 1715-1789.
By ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.

Period 7.—Revolutionary Europe, 1789-1815.
By H. MORSE STEPHENS, M.A., Professor of History at the University of California, U.S.A.

Period 8.—Modern Europe, 1815-1899.
By W. ALISON PHILLIPS, M.A., formerly Senior Scholar at St. John's College, Oxford.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS

THE RESTORATION

AND

THE REVOLUTION

1660-1715

RIVINGTONS' TEXT-BOOKS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

FOR the use of Schools in which Special Subjects in English History are being taught. With Maps, Plans, Genealogies, Analyses, Lists of Dates, etc. *By* ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.

Volume V.—The Tudor Dynasty. 1485-1603. *2s. 6d.*
Volume VI.—The Great Rebellion. 1603-1660. *2s. 6d.*
Volume VII.—The Restoration and the Revolution. 1660-1715.
Volume VIII.—The Expansion of Great Britain. 1715-1789. *3s.*
Volume IX.—War and Reform. 1789-1837. *3s.*

'Mr. Hassall says that he has taken great pains to assimilate the results of the latest historical investigations, and the book, *The Tudor Dynasty*, shows, on almost every page, how well this has been done. . . . In clearness of arrangement, and in the supply of all suitable helps, such as maps, index, genealogical and chronological tables, and a full series of questions at the end of each chapter, Mr. Hassall's book deserves the highest praise. It is admirably suited for use in schools.'—*Guardian.*

'Mr. Hassall has acquired the art of keeping due proportion where much has to be said and there is little space to say it in. This done, given a certain vigour and lucidity of style—and here also Mr. Hassall is well equipped—we are pretty sure to have a useful book. This *The Tudor Dynasty* will certainly be.'—*Spectator.*

'*The Great Rebellion.*—Possessing the rare faculty of historical judgment, Mr. Hassall knows well how far to pursue a topic, what to emphasise, and what to discard. There are maps, summaries, and additional notes appended to each chapter, all of which are of great value. We should strongly recommend students that are specialising on this period to take note of this scholarly little work.'—*Educational Times.*

'*War and Reform.*—The treatment generally is vastly superior to the average of the school-books on this subject.'—*The Teacher.*

LONDON: RIVINGTONS

HE
H353r

THE RESTORATION

AND

THE REVOLUTION

1660-1715

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF

BY

ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD
EDITOR OF 'PERIODS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY'
AND AUTHOR OF
'A CLASS BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY'

MICROFORMED BY
PRESERVATION
SERVICES
DATE. JUN 22 1990

123138
15/7/12

RIVINGTONS
34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*
LONDON
1912



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.

This particular volume deals with the History of Great Britain from the accession of Charles II. in 1660 to the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

This period saw the Restoration of the Stuarts effected; it also witnessed their fall, followed by the Revolution of 1688, and by the accession in 1714 of George I., the first of the Hanoverian line of sovereigns. The Revolution of 1688, like that of 1399, established the supremacy of Parliament, and, moreover, marks the definite beginning of the constitutional system of government, which became firmly rooted in Great Britain. The period also witnessed Colonial developments, which were accompanied by a striking expansion of Trade and Commerce.

The years 1688-1691, which saw a Revolution carried out in England, Scotland, and Ireland, were thus of special importance not only in British but also in Foreign and Colonial history.

In 1689 began the 'Second Hundred Years'' War with France which was not terminated till 1815. During that period Great Britain took a leading part in checking the attempts of France to secure a paramount position on the Continent, in India, in America, in the West Indies, and on the sea.

Between the years 1689 and 1715 Great Britain passed through the first two stages of that struggle, the first ending at the Treaty of Ryswick, the second at the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. By

the Treaty of Utrecht it was evident that Great Britain had made a considerable advance as a European and Colonial power. At the time of Queen Anne's death she had entered upon a period of peace preparatory to the final struggle with France between 1740 and 1763 for supremacy in India, and Canada, and the West Indies.

The period 1660-1714 is also noteworthy in the religious life of England, as well as in the domain of literature. Eminent divines such as Sheldon, Cosin, Morley, Jeremy Taylor, Pearson, Sancroft, Ken, Wake, Atterbury, and many others testify to the activity of the Church under the later Stuarts. At the same time, literature was represented by such men as Dryden, Burnet, William Law, Defoe, Addison, Steele, Swift, and the numerous lesser-known writers of Queen Anne's reign. In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded, and in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

As in the case of the other volumes of this series, great care has been taken to ensure accuracy. Ranke's *History of England principally in the Seventeenth Century*, Mr. Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean*, and *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v., have been carefully consulted,

while vols. viii. and ix. of Messrs. Longmans' *History of England,* by Professor Lodge and Mr. Leadam, have proved most valuable on account of the learning and accuracy which are their characteristics. I have thus been enabled to embody the results of the latest historical investigations in this volume.

The history of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and the colonies during this period have received due attention, the religious life of Great Britain has been carefully treated, and the literary developments have been described.

I have again to express my gratitude for the valuable aid given me by that most accurate of historical students,—Mr. C. T. Knaus, of Bradford Grammar School.

A. HASSALL.

January 1912.

CONTENTS

PAGE

HISTORICAL LANDMARKS, MAINLY IN CONNECTION WITH BRITISH HISTORY ix

CHAPTER I.—CHARLES II., 1660-1685 . . . 1

CHAPTER II.—JAMES II., 1685-1688 . . . 97

CHAPTER III.—WILLIAM III. AND MARY, 1689-1694 119

WILLIAM III., 1694-1702 . . . 119

CHAPTER IV.—ANNE, 1702-1714 156

INDEX 212

MAPS

BRITISH ISLES, TO ILLUSTRATE BRITISH HISTORY SINCE 1603 15

THE FRENCH FRONTIER ON THE NORTH-EAST IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. 40

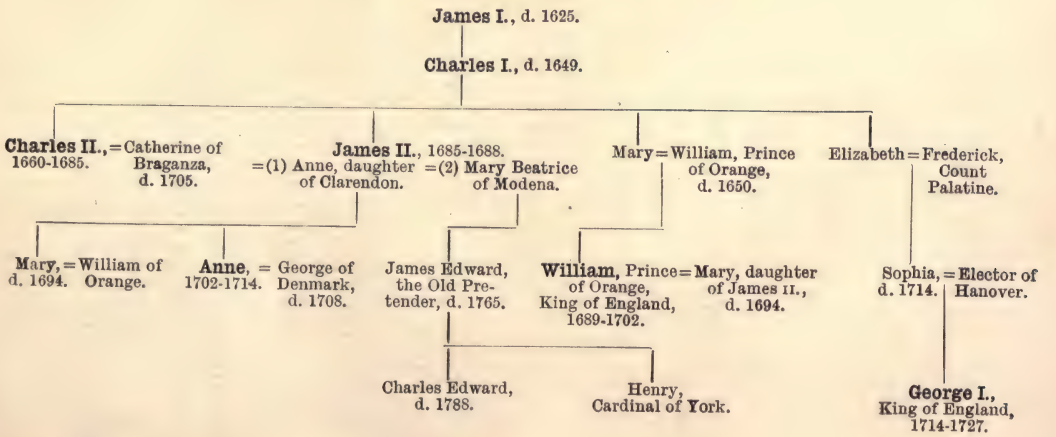
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1674 AND 1704 132

SPAIN, TO ILLUSTRATE THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR, 1702-1713, AND THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-1814 167

BATTLE OF BLENHEIM, AUGUST 13, 1704 . . . 171

BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET, SEPTEMBER 11, 1709 . . 190

THE STUARTS, 1660-1714.



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 Alliance.

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 brought forward.

1681-1685 Reaction in favour of Charles II.

1681 Louis XIV. seizes Strassburg.

1683 Vienna saved from the Turks by John Sobieski.

1685 Louis XIV. revokes the Edict of Nantes.

1686-1697 War of the League of Augsburg.

1688 The Revolution in England.

1689 Accession of William and Mary.

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.
1702-1713 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.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE year 1648 marked the close of the Thirty Years' War and of the Great Rebellion in England. Both wars were largely due to quarrels over the question of religion. With their termination a period of history opens in which commercial and political, rather than religious questions colour the policy of the chief European States.

In the contests between England and Holland during the Commonwealth, during the first fifteen years of the reign of Charles II., and during the so-called Second Hundred Years' War with France from 1689 to 1815, questions of 'maritime and commercial enterprise' occupy the chief attention of successive English Governments and the minds of Englishmen. At the same time, religious questions were not by any means ignored. During the years following the Restoration, religious considerations at times influenced politics in England, Scotland, and Wales, while much of Louis XIV.'s policy in the years following the Peace of Westphalia was coloured by his religious prejudices.

Trade, however, took the place of religion, as the pivot of international relations, and the reigns of the Stuart kings (Charles II. and James II.) are marked by an important advance in the colonial and commercial power of England.

The period from 1660 to 1715 witnessed the growth of the American colonies, the foundation of the Hudson's Bay

Company, and the acquisition by England of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, as well as of Gibraltar and Minorca. England's colonial and sea power was thus immensely developed, while her maritime supremacy was placed on a stable foundation.

Throughout the reigns of Charles II. and James II. the commercial principle was steadily becoming the chief force in society, and its triumph was finally secured after the Revolution in 1688, which, though itself the result of James II.'s religious intolerance, marked the final relegation of dynastic and ecclesiastical influences into a secondary place in English politics. The reigns of the last Stuart kings saw the beginnings of the expansion of England, and the foundations laid of the British Empire.

The reign of Charles II. has been with some justice described as 'the era of good laws and bad government'; but in spite of much that was faulty in the administration, there was no sign of national decadence. Both in his reign and in those of his immediate successors the expansion of Great Britain steadily continued, and the years from 1660 to 1715 may be described as 'the seed-time of the Empire.'[1]

During the first sixteen years of his reign Charles II. took great interest in the expansion of England beyond the sea. In 1668 he handed over Bombay to the East India Company, he spent vast sums on Tangier, and it was only his pecuniary difficulties which forced him to relinquish that possession in 1683.

In the progress of the North American colonies Charles II. took considerable interest. In 1683 a new colony called Carolina, later to be divided into North and South Carolina, was granted to a small association, the most notable of its members being Clarendon, Monk, and Ashley. A portion of the New Netherlands, which, when conquered from the

[1] See Hertz, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration.*

Dutch, was granted to James, Duke of York, and renamed New York, was sold by the Duke and became the colony of New Jersey. In 1686 William Penn formed Pennsylvania, which, like New Jersey, was colonised by Quakers.

The advance of the colonies was accompanied by an advance in industry, commerce, and in natural science.[1] It has been truly said that the Restoration marked the beginning of modern times, and in no respect is this more true than in the case of commerce and natural science. While industry and commerce developed, a great advance was made in scientific knowledge. Sir William Petty, who aided in the survey of Ireland at the beginning of the reign, was an original member of the Royal Society, which, embodied in 1662 and encouraged by Charles II., was 'dignified even in its early years by communications from Robert Boyle, the father of modern chemistry (1627-1691), and Isaac Newton' (1641-1724), the famous mathematician and pioneer in natural science. In 1671 Newton laid his *Theory of Light* before the Society, and in 1687 the true system of the universe was established by his *Principia*. The Restoration, too, marked a revolution in the literary history of England.' 'The king,' says Burnet, 'had got a right notion of style,' and with the Restoration modern English prose was born.

Moreover, the Episcopal bench was adorned by men of piety, learning, and practical ability. 'The Laudian revival had filled the ranks of the clergy with men of learning and devotion.' By Act of Parliament in 1660-61 the Church was restored to her status and property, and the Bishops were replaced in the House of Lords.

The protective system was in full force during this and the ensuing reigns, and 'external trade, with the exception of that to the West, was still confined for the most part to privileged

[1] See Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, pp. 237-38. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

companies such as the East India Company, the Levant Company, and the Eastland Company.'[1]

THE REIGN OF CHARLES II., 1660-1685.

Born, 1630; married, 1662, Catharine of Braganza.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Spain.*	*The Papacy.*
Louis XIV., 1643-1715.	Leopold I., 1658-1705.	Philip IV., 1621-1665. Charles II., 1665-1700.	Alexander VII., 1655-1667. Clement IX., 1667-1670. Clement X., 1670-1676. Innocent XI., 1676-1689.

Portugal.	*Turkey.*	*Sweden.*	*Brandenburg.*
Alfonso VI., 1656-1683. Peter II., 1683-1706.	Mohammed IV., 1649-1687.	Charles XI., 1660-1697.	Frederick William, 1640-1688.

Russia.	*Denmark and Norway.*	*Poland.*
Alexis, 1645-1670. Feodor Alexiévitch, 1676-1682. Ivan V. and Peter the Great, 1682-1689.	Frederick III., 1648-1670. Christian V., 1670-1699.	John Casimir V., 1648-1669. Michael, 1669-1673. John Sobieski, 1674-1696.

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 237. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Contents.

The Restoration—The Character of Charles II.—Clarendon—The Restoration in Scotland—Ireland—The Caroline Divines—The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion—Abolition of Feudal Tenures—The Religious Question—The Savoy Conference—The Cavalier Parliament, 1661—The Act of Uniformity—Foreign Policy—The King's Marriage—The Dutch War—The Great Plague—Louis XIV. and Flanders—The Treaty of Breda—Fall of Clarendon—The Cabal—The Triple Alliance—The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—The Stop of the Exchequer—The Opening of the War with the Dutch, 1672.

CHIEF NAMES.

Clarendon — Lauderdale — Ormonde — Monk (Albemarle) — Cosin—Barrow—Sheldon—Morley—Catharine of Braganza—Henrietta of Orleans—John de Witt—Major Holmes—De Ruyter—Ashley—Temple — Prince Rupert — Wren — Louis XIV. — Arlington — Clifford—Coventry—Bristol—Buckingham—Colbert—Leopold I.

PERIODS OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

(1) 1660-1672. From Charles's Accession to the outbreak of the Dutch War in 1672.
(2) 1672-1681. From the outbreak of the Dutch War of 1672 to the Dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in 1681.
(3) 1681-1685. Triumph of Charles II.

Period I.—1660-1672.

From the Accession of Charles II. to the Outbreak of the Dutch War in 1672.

The Restoration, 1660.—The return of Charles II. from exile to be king of Great Britain and Ireland was welcomed with enthusiasm in Scotland and Wales no less than in England. A variety of circumstances had led to the Restoration of Charles II. Richard Cromwell had failed as a ruler, and England was threatened with a military despotism, Puritanism

had become generally unpopular, trade was dislocated, all classes desired settlement and repose. Moreover, the nation was at heart attached to its Church and to the hereditary monarchy, and the whole influence of Churchmen and Royalists was thrown in favour of a restoration of the Stuarts. No satisfactory alternative to such a Restoration had been suggested, and the Convention had represented public opinion when in April 1660 it had invited Charles II. to return to the English throne.

The restoration of Charles II. on May 29, 1660, though unconditional, 'was none the less a compromise. The Monarchy which was restored was not the purely personal rule which Charles I. had endeavoured to establish, but the parliamentary monarchy which the statesmen of the Long Parliament had set up on its ruins in 1641.'[1] The restoration was a restoration not only of the Monarchy but also of the Parliament and of the Church. 'It required no public Act to abolish the various ordinances by which the Church had been superseded and persecuted. In the eye of the law they were unconstitutional acts of a rebel government, and had no legal validity.'[2] Though the Privy Council was again set up, there was no question of restoring the Star Chamber or the High Commission Court. The determination of the nation not to allow the restoration of the Star Chamber, and its desire that the King should govern by the advice of Parliament, makes it evident that the England of 1660 was very different from the England of 1640.

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. p. 92.

[2] Wren, Bishop of Ely, came out of prison. Pearce of Bath and Wells, Skinner of Oxford, Roberts of Bangor, Warner of Rochester, and King of Chichester returned to their Sees. Duppa moved from Salisbury to Winchester, and Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield, became Archbishop of York. In October 1660 five Bishops were consecrated, including Sheldon to London, Morley to Worcester, and Saunderson to Lincoln.

Charles II.—Charles II. was in many ways admirably adapted for ruling England in 1660 and the following years. Though himself a believer in the Divine Right of Kings, he realised before it was too late the impossibility of forcing his opinions upon the nation, and in any case he was determined not to go on his travels again. Unlike his successor, James II., he was ready to sacrifice principles if it seemed advantageous to do so. He disliked the control of Parliament, and he favoured Roman Catholicism; but he recognised that Parliament could not be ignored, and he kept secret till he was on his deathbed his attachment to the Roman Catholic religion. His chief claim to the favourable regard of Englishmen lies in the fact that during the greater part of his reign he took a keen interest in the **extension of the colonies**, and in the development of England's **naval and commercial power**, and that he refused to allow, in the case of Monmouth, the **hereditary succession** to be tampered with. He had, like all the Stuart kings, a firm belief 'in the sanctity of hereditary right.' His natural laziness, combined with his love of pleasure, had, however, a baneful influence upon his reign. His policy may not have been purely selfish, 'but in the long run personal considerations or family ties exercised a predominant influence on his political actions.'[1] Like many of his family, Charles II. had considerable abilities, far greater than were possessed by the majority of his subjects. But he allowed those abilities to lie dormant during the greater part of his reign, though on occasions he could show unexpected energy and decision.

Historians have, as a rule, taken an unfavourable view of Charles's character as a ruler. His subservience to France during many years of his reign is certainly most reprehensible. On the other hand, sufficient credit is not usually given him for his desire to secure religious toleration, nor for his anxiety,

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. p. 93.

by keeping Tangier in English hands, to secure for England that position in the Mediterranean which was obtained later by the conquest of Gibraltar.

During the excitement over the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill, Charles's coolness and courage never forsook him, and his determination was only equalled by his sagacity when he dissolved the Oxford Parliament in 1681. His estimate of the situation proved correct, and during the remaining years of his reign his personal popularity was probably as great as it was at the time of his accession.

The decay into which the navy fell towards the end of his reign was, however, as much due to the factious spirit in Parliament as it was to the carelessness of the King, who, however, shortly before his death, realised the necessity of reorganising it. If Charles accepted bribes from Louis XIV., so did the leaders of what later was known as the Whig Party. In refusing to consider the proposal to put away his wife, because she had not borne him an heir, Charles was at any rate showing the possession of 'a certain standard of honour,' while his refusal to tamper with the principle of hereditary succession at the bidding of politicians of the type of Shaftesbury is highly to his credit.

Indolence and selfishness were Charles's chief faults, and 'the history of his reign,' it has been said, 'is the record of missed opportunities.'[1] Nevertheless in his refusal to divorce his Queen, in his determination to uphold the hereditary succession, in his care of commerce, and, till 1674, of the colonies, and in his courage during the stormy period of his reign, Charles showed himself to have many of the qualities required by a king.

In the closing years of his reign the monarchy was in a strong position, and it required the political blindness and

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 235. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

folly of James II. to check the tendency towards the firm establishment of a popular monarchy and to bring about the Revolution of 1688.

Clarendon.—Charles was well aware that his father had acted unwisely in assuming the chief direction of affairs, and he therefore placed Sir Edward Hyde, a typical Englishman (Lord Chancellor since 1658, who in 1661 was created Earl of Clarendon), at the head of the Privy Council, which had been restored in June 1660. Hyde, who had been since 1652 the King's chief adviser, was fifty-one years of age, and was admirably fitted for his position as head of the Government. He was conscientious, straightforward, honest, and hardworking, devoted to his master, and anxious to further the national welfare. His immediate task was 'to restore the reign of law,' to rebuild the constitution, to place England's foreign policy on a sound foundation, to reunite the Anglican Church and Parliamentary Government, to reconcile conflicting religious parties, and to encourage England's colonial development.

Clarendon carried out successfully most of the above objects, but his failure to realise the necessity of religious toleration was one of the many causes of the spread of Nonconformity, and laid the seeds of much strife in the future. His colleagues in the Privy Council were men of various opinions. Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, Montagu, now Earl of Sandwich, Anthony Ashley Cooper, now Baron Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who were all old Commonwealth men, sat side by side with Royalists such as Clarendon, Ormonde, Nicholas, and Southampton: James, Duke of York, Charles's brother, who was afterwards James II., became Lord High Admiral, and Monk, Captain-General of the Army.

The effect of the Restoration upon Scotland.—One of the immediate results of the Restoration of Charles II. was the dissolution of the Union, under Cromwell, of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Scotland had supported Charles at Dunbar and Worcester, and both Charles and his chief advisers readily consented in 1660 to the restoration of the Scottish Parliament.

Charles's chief adviser on Scottish affairs was John Maitland, second Earl of Lauderdale. Hitherto he had been a successful opportunist. He had advocated the Solemn League and Covenant, and, till 1647, had supported the Parliamentary cause. But from December 1647, when he obtained from Charles I., then in Carisbrooke, the 'engagement,' he became a supporter of the Royal cause, and was taken prisoner by Cromwell at the Battle of Worcester. It was not till 1660 that he regained his freedom, and at once joined Charles at Breda.

For the next twenty years Lauderdale practically ruled Scotland. Scotland had indeed recovered its independence, the English troops were withdrawn, and the Parliament was restored. But the loss to its trade was considerable, for Scotland no longer enjoyed the advantage conferred on it by the Navigation Act of 1651. Moreover, Scotland, at any rate during Lauderdale's predominance, was practically ruled from London. Lauderdale was a man of considerable learning, but otherwise there was little that was pleasant in his character. He was resolute, unprincipled, and untruthful. He was determined to secure the complete subservience of the Scottish Parliament to the Crown, and though he disliked Episcopacy, and was in religion a Presbyterian, he was resolved to check any claim of the Presbyterians to spiritual independence, and to subject their Church to secular control.

His object, we are told, was 'to do in Scotland what . . . Strafford had deliberately attempted in Ireland, to organise a State which should be absolutely submissive to the King, and ready, if necessary, to help in coercing England into the like submission.'[1] For a few years he was opposed in his religious

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 45. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

policy by the Earl of Middleton, who was supported by the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Newburgh, and Sir Archibald Primrose. Lauderdale's chief supporters were the Earl of Crawford, Sir Robert Moray, and Alexander Bruce, who in 1663 became Earl of Kincardine.

At first the party which favoured the restoration of Episcopacy and disliked Presbyterianism got the upper hand. Middleton was appointed Lord High Commissioner, and Glencairn Chancellor. Lauderdale, however, became Secretary, and Crawford Treasurer. Rothes, who held a neutral position, became President of the Council, and Primrose, Law Clerk Register.

On January 1, 1661, the Scottish Parliament met, and, like the Cavalier Parliament in England, was enthusiastically Royalist in sentiment. It condemned the Marquess of Argyll to death, and on May 27, 1661, he was beheaded in Edinburgh. Feeling against him ran high among the Royalists, and a desire to avenge in his person the death of Montrose told against him. But technically there was no ground for his condemnation, the immediate cause of which was the discovery of some letters showing a close connection between him and Cromwell.

James Guthrie, a prominent Presbyterian minister, suffered a similar fate, while Johnston of Wariston, who had devised the National Covenant, escaped, but in July 1663, having been captured at Rouen, he was hanged in Edinburgh.

The Parliament also restored Episcopacy, and some ten bishops were appointed to Scottish Sees. The difficulty was to induce the Scottish Presbyterians to accept Episcopal government. At first, however, there was little resistance to the alliance between the Crown and the nobles. But first in south-western Scotland, and then elsewhere, resistance showed itself. In February 1663 nearly three hundred ministers, following the example of the English ministers,

refused to accept Episcopal ordination, and were deprived of their livings. In their resistance they were supported by their congregations, and what was practically a new religious war broke out, which dragged on for many years, and after many vicissitudes ended with a victory for Presbyterianism.

Meanwhile, Middleton's policy of Uniformity had failed, and his place as Lord High Commissioner was taken by Rothes. Lauderdale had triumphed. A compromise was effected in religious matters, and both the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians were deeply disappointed. The establishment of a national Synod, and of a limited Episcopacy dependent upon the support of the Crown and not based upon popular foundations, only partly satisfied the two religious parties. On October 9, 1663, the Parliament was dissolved, and Lauderdale remained master of the situation. Charles's Privy Council, composed of royal nominees, henceforward ruled Scotland. The Scottish Council, which from 1660 till Middleton's fall sat at Whitehall, and which practically ruled Scotland, had 'consisted of the King, Lauderdale, and Sir Robert Moray.'[1] Scotland was pacified and satisfied; though in reality dependent upon the King, she possessed her own Law Courts, her Privy Council, and her own Parliament. For a time she rejoiced in her limited independence. But economic causes gradually forced the Scots to recognise the necessity of Union with England, which, however, was not effected till 1707.

But before the Union was accomplished Scotland passed through difficulties, many of which had a religious origin. Lauderdale lived chiefly in London, and Scottish affairs were managed by the Scottish Council in Edinburgh, the chief members of which were John Leslie, the Earl of Rothes, the President, and James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, an

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 42. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

ambitious, astute man, who owed his rise to his subtle mind and diplomatic talents. These men, supported by Alexander Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow, determined upon the enforcement of Uniformity. The immediate result of their policy was the insurrection of the Covenanters, known as the Pentland Rising, which broke out in November 1666 in Galloway, and which ended in a battle on **Rullion Green**, where the rebels were finally overthrown, and suppressed with great severity.

Rothes had early in 1666 declared that in Scotland there was no danger whatever of a rising. This declaration, so soon followed by the movement of the Covenanters, enabled Lauderdale, who was jealous of his influence with Charles, to secure his downfall as well as that of Sharp. This was followed in June 1669 by an order from Whitehall restoring to their parishes all evicted Presbyterian clergy.

The cause of Episcopacy in Scotland thus suffered a severe blow. A policy of religious toleration was determined upon, and the Second Scottish Parliament met on October 19, 1669. A Bill was passed defining the royal supremacy over the bishops, who were placed in complete subjection to the Crown.

Before its first session closed in December 1669, the Parliament formally annexed the Orkneys and Shetlands to the Crown.

Lauderdale was now supreme in Scotland, and retained his power for another ten years. But from that time his influence gradually lessened and his policy changed. From being in favour of toleration he became an advocate of severe measures towards both the Episcopalians and to the Presbyterians. Severe acts against the latter were passed in the session of 1676. All attempts to secure a lasting ecclesiastical peace failed ; an effort to unite the English and Scottish Parliaments was also unsuccessful. In 1671 Lauderdale was promoted to

the post of President of the Privy Council in Scotland, and in 1672 he was created Duke of Lauderdale.

But though apparently in high favour with Charles, the influence of Lauderdale in Scotland begins from this time to decline. Many Scottish nobles were jealous of his power, and resented his dictatorial manner and methods. In 1672 he had married Lady Dysart, and her 'meddling greed' made her and her husband unpopular. In the ensuing sessions of Parliament the opposition to Lauderdale was similar to that offered by the English Parliament to Charles II. Feeling it necessary to act in harmony with Danby and the King's party in England, Lauderdale entered upon a policy of persecution of the Covenanters. In 1674 Charles, whose only confidants were the Duke of York, Danby, and Lauderdale, conferred upon the last-named an English Peerage, with the title of Earl of Guildford. In 1678 an army, largely composed of Highlanders, was sent into the West to carry out the suppression of Conventicles, and in 1679 the Covenanters broke out in rebellion. On May 3 they murdered Archbishop Sharp on **Magus Moor**, and on June 1 they defeated John Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, and his troops at **Drumclog**. On June 22, however, they were decisively beaten by Monmouth at **Bothwell Brig**, one result of this rising being the ruin of the credit of Lauderdale, who in October 1680 resigned his Secretaryship and retired to England.

Meanwhile James, Duke of York, who had arrived in Scotland in 1679, had taken charge of Scottish affairs, and by the time of his return to England in 1680 had done much to forward the cause of peace.

On his departure, however, the persecutions of the Covenanters continued, and were carried on for some time with great cruelty. James's return to Scotland in 1681 was followed by a period of tranquillity. To conciliate the Highland chiefs James imprisoned the Marquess of Argyll,



Emery Walker sc.

who, being a Campbell and a Lowlander, with a leaning towards the cause of Presbyterianism, was regarded with jealousy by the Northern clans. He was most unjustly condemned to death, but escaped to Holland.[1]

James's return also coincided with the triumph of the Monarchy in England. In both countries the year 1681 saw the dissolution of their respective Parliaments, and it was not till the reign of James II. that Parliaments again met in England and Scotland.

Ireland.—The restoration of Charles II. was followed by the dissolution of the Union between England and Ireland. Unlike Scotland, Ireland, certainly since the end of the fifteenth century, had been dependent upon and subject to England. Unlike the Scottish Parliament, which was 'in theory a sovereign assembly,' the Irish Parliament was controlled by the English Privy Council. It was in the interest of the Monarchy that Ireland, like Scotland, should not be closely united to England, but should be submissive to the King, so that if trouble arose in England the King could look to Scotland and Ireland.

Monk was given the office of lord-lieutenant, but he never visited Ireland, and, after an interval, during which deputies were appointed, Ormonde in November 1661 succeeded Monk and carried out the arduous task of pacifying Ireland.

The religious settlement caused little difficulty. The old Church organisation was simply restored, the Church recovered its lost lands, the English Prayer Book was enforced, and after September 1667 no one could hold a benefice unless he had received episcopal ordination. Further, all persons concerned in educational work were compelled to become members of the Anglican Church.

The Land Settlement.—A more difficult question for settlement was that of the land. After the rebellion of 1641-42 the

[1] See p. 100.

land hitherto held by the Roman Catholics and native Irish (about half of the land in Ireland) had been given partly to the Adventurers, with whom it was settled by Act of Parliament that in consideration of a subscription of £1,000,000 they should receive 2,500,000 acres, partly to the soldiers who had conquered Ireland and suppressed the rebellion.

On his accession Charles II. was called upon to decide how far this settlement of the land question in Ireland was to be recognised, and how far any interference with it would dangerously menace the 'English interest' in Ireland. In a country so constantly liable to 'troubles,' if not to rebellions, a military force could not be dispensed with.

On November 30, 1660, a royal Declaration—the basis of the first Act of Settlement—confirmed the majority of the Adventurers and soldiers in the possession of their lands, and the Church recovered all its property. From the forfeited lands which were as yet unappropriated, satisfaction was to be made to the Protestants and 'innocent' Roman Catholics. Ormonde, too, recovered his lands, the Irish Parliament voted him a sum of £30,000, and shortly after his arrival in Dublin in 1662 the Act of Settlement was accepted. Constant demands for restitution soon made it apparent that there was not sufficient land available for compensation to all the Protestants and Royalists who had suffered, and to the 'innocent' Roman Catholics. In 1665 an Explanatory Act was issued, which reduced the holdings of the Adventurers and Commonwealth settlers. These gave up one-third of their lands, and received 'adequate security for the remainder.'

On the whole, however, the Commonwealth Settlement was preserved, and though there was much dissatisfaction, that Settlement was gradually accepted, and the land question for the time ceased to be a cause of disturbance.

Though, however, Ireland remained outwardly tranquil during Charles II.'s reign, the discontent which was caused by

the difficulties in carrying out the land settlement, and by the policy adopted by the English Parliament, had only partly subsided, and might at any time become serious, as it did in James II.'s reign.

Moreover, the restrictions upon Irish trade which were enforced by Charles II.'s first Parliament caused economic loss to both Ireland and England. Owing to the dissolution of the Union with England, Ireland, like Scotland, was deprived of the benefits of the Navigation Act of Cromwell, and, like Scotland, was treated, as far as trade was concerned, as a foreign country. The Navigation Act of 1660 was modified in 1663 so as to exclude Ireland from all the privileges which she had hitherto enjoyed.

The Act of 1663 restricted the importation of Irish cattle into England, and by an Act introduced in 1665 and carried in 1666, in spite of the opposition of Ormonde and Clarendon, the Irish were forbidden to export cattle into England.

The shortsighted jealousy of the English merchants thus inflicted an immense injury upon Ireland. But they remained impenitent. In 1667 the Act of the previous year was confirmed, and in 1680 it was made perpetual, and 'at the same time the prohibition of importation into England was extended so as to include mutton and lamb, butter and cheese.'[1]

The Irish did indeed retaliate by introducing foreign weavers, and by manufacturing their own wool, but the English policy inflicted a severe blow upon Ireland, already burdened by taxation, and was a constant cause of irritation to all resident Irishmen.

The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, August 29, 1660.—Until its dissolution on December 29, 1660, the Convention Parliament continued to sit. A large majority of the members of the House of Commons were Presbyterians, but in the House

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 59. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

of Lords, now reinforced by all peers created since 1641, there was a strong Cavalier majority. An Act of Indemnity and Oblivion was passed on August 29, guaranteeing a general amnesty to those who had opposed the Crown, and only excepting from the benefit of this act seven regicides and certain other persons. Only ten men[1] were, however, executed in October 1660, much to the indignation of the Cavaliers, who declared that the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion was an Act of indemnity for the King's enemies and oblivion for the King's friends. In April 1662 three regicides were captured in Holland, sent to England and executed; in June of that year Vane also suffered a similar fate, while Lambert was imprisoned for life.

Meanwhile the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were hanged and burned beneath the gallows at Tyburn; and those of Pym, Blake, and others were removed from Westminster Abbey and buried outside.

Tenure of Land.—The question of settling disputes concerning the tenure of land presented innumerable difficulties. Since the outbreak of the Great Rebellion in 1642, immense changes had taken place in the ownership of land. Most of the Crown and Church lands had passed into the possession of private persons; many Cavaliers had been dispossessed. The Convention Parliament decided to restore their lands to the Crown and Church, and to those Cavaliers who had suffered confiscation. Otherwise the titles of existing holders were not interfered with, and Royalists who had willingly, or under practical compulsion, parted with their estates, gained no satisfaction from the Act of Indemnity. Their rage was vented upon Clarendon, whom they never ceased to regard as the author of this unpopular land settlement.

[1] Among the ten were Chief-Justice John Cook, Solicitor-General to the Commonwealth and prosecuting Counsel in the trial of Charles I., Harrison, and Hugh Peters.

Abolition of Feudal Tenures.—Another difficult matter which required immediate settlement was the revenue of the Crown. The Convention decided to grant Charles II. a revenue of £1,200,000, and confirmed the Ordinance of the Long Parliament abolishing feudal tenures and customs. Thus was abolished the ancient royal rights of purveyance and pre-emption, and with them the Court of Wards and Knight Service with all its incidents such as reliefs.

This arrangement was not regarded by Charles with great satisfaction, for he was heavily burdened with debt, he was far from economical, and many of the troubles of his reign were caused by his financial difficulties and perpetual impecuniosity. At the very outset of his reign he found himself unable to maintain a military force, and Cromwell's famous regiments were disbanded. Owing, however, to a rising of fanatics in London under one Venner, a cooper, in January 1661, it was found necessary to retain Monk's infantry regiment, known henceforward as the Coldstream Guards, and a cavalry regiment as the King's bodyguard, called the King's Horse Guards. These troops with some artillery were from various reasons gradually increased till a small standing army was created.

The Caroline Divines.—The reign of Charles II. has been called the 'Second Age of the Caroline Divines.'[1] John Cosin (1594-1672), Bishop of Durham in 1660, was a learned and active prelate, though somewhat intolerant in his attitude towards Protestant Nonconformists. George Morley (1597-1684) was Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Worcester in 1660, and Bishop of Winchester in 1662. He was a learned man of Calvinistic leanings. Jeremy Taylor, the author of the *Holy Living* and the *Holy Dying*, had been chaplain to Laud and Charles I., and in 1660 was made Bishop of Down

[1] Hutton, *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain.* London: Rivingtons.

and Connor. Another well-known bishop was Peter Gunning (1614-1684), who during the Commonwealth had performed church services at Exeter Chapel in the Strand. In 1661, as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, he took a prominent part at the Savoy Conference, and in 1669 became Bishop of Chichester, being removed to the bishopric of Ely in 1675. No less famous as a learned divine was John Pearson, who in 1659 had published his famous *Exposition of the Creed.* After the Restoration he received preferment, and in 1673 was consecrated Bishop of Chester. These men, and many others, such as South, Ken, Barrow, and Bull, were distinguished for their learning and opposition to Romanism, and were able exponents of the doctrines of the Church of England.

The reaction against Puritanism was in its extreme form confined to a great extent to the Court of Charles II., during whose reign religious observances were carefully followed by the greater portion of the nation. In Wales the Church was no less active. In 1669 Isaac Barrow, Bishop of Sodor and Man since 1663, was translated to St. Asaph, and till his death in 1680 took an active part in promoting religion in his diocese. 'During the seventeenth century eighteen Welshmen became bishops of the Welsh Sees, four of Irish, and four of English Sees.'[1]

The Religious Question.—The religious question presented immense difficulties. No problem which required solution at the Restoration was more vitally important than the religious one. 'Under the Commonwealth,' says Professor Lodge, 'there had been ecclesiastical anarchy tempered by State control.'[2] In the Convention Parliament were many Presbyterians as well as Churchmen, but while the Presbyterians had no desire for toleration if granted to Roman Catholics,

[1] Hutton, *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain*, p. 223.

[2] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 13. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Independents, and Anabaptists, the Churchmen had no wish that toleration should be extended to Presbyterians. And yet there was the fact that Charles in his declaration from Breda had distinctly promised a general toleration to all sects.

Till the end of 1660, when the Convention Parliament was dissolved, all went fairly well. The restoration of Episcopacy took place without delay, the nine surviving bishops regained their Sees, evicted clergy returned to their livings, the Prayer Book was again used. The first duty of the Church, now restored to her position, was to address herself to the solution of the great problem—the relations of the Puritan bodies to the Church.

At Clarendon's house a conference between leading Anglicans and Presbyterians took place, and on October 25, 1660, was published a royal declaration which did not insist upon the general use of the Prayer Book or the wearing of vestments. So satisfied was Reynolds, a leading Presbyterian, that he accepted the bishopric of Norwich.

The King's declaration, issued from Breda, in which he promised toleration to Protestant Nonconformists, however, did not become a formal Statute, and the Convention Parliament was dissolved on December 29, 1660, leaving the settlement of England's ecclesiastical future in the hands of the Royalist Parliament of 1661, whose representatives in this matter were Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London ; Morley, who in 1662 was translated from Worcester to Winchester, and on Juxon's death became Archbishop of Canterbury in August 1663 ; and Clarendon.

The Savoy Conference, 1661.—Meanwhile a conference had on April 21 assembled at Sheldon's lodgings in the Savoy, composed of Anglicans and Presbyterian divines, to revise the Liturgy, and was sitting when Parliament met on May 8. Twelve bishops and twelve Puritan clergy took part in the

conference. The demands of the latter, if accepted, would have led to the creation of a new church, and before the conference closed three of the Puritan clergy definitely demanded the disuse (1) of the sign of the cross at baptism, (2) of the surplice, (3) of the custom of kneeling at the reception of communion, (4) of subscription to the Prayer Book and Articles, (5) of the declaration that baptized infants were regenerate. No agreement was therefore possible.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661.—At the time of the King's Coronation, which took place on April 23, 1661, at the hands of Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, a violent Royalist reaction had set in. In the general election most of the Presbyterian Royalists failed to secure their return to Parliament, their places being taken by ardent Cavaliers. It soon became evident from the temper of the Cavalier Parliament that no religious settlement suitable to Presbyterians would be arrived at. The members of the new Parliament had been elected on a wave of enthusiasm for Church and King, and were resolved to support the monarchy and the Anglican Church, and to have no compromise with the Presbyterians.

Consequently, though the extra-judicial power of the Privy Council—which before the Great Rebellion had been wielded by the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, and the other offshoots of the Council—was not restored, a series of Statutes was passed during the first two sessions of this Parliament, *i.e.* between May 8, 1661, and May 19, 1662, which 'effectually put an end to all projects of comprehension, and restored Church and Crown to nearly all their old powers.'[1]

The determination to strengthen the royal power was clearly shown by the action of the Commons, by whom the Act of Indemnity was only reluctantly confirmed. The Solemn League and Covenant was ordered to be burnt by the common

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 16.

hangman, legislation without the sanction of the Crown was declared to be unconstitutional, the command of the naval and military forces was vested in the King, and severe Treason Laws were enacted.

The Corporation Act, 1661.—Equally emphatic was the determination of the Commons to restore the Church to its former position. The Bishops resumed their seats in the House of Lords, and 'the Ecclesiastical Courts, with the express exception of the High Commission, recovered their judicial functions.'[1] Before the end of the year (December 20) the **Corporation Act** was passed, compelling all members of town corporations to repudiate the Solemn League and Covenant, as well as the right of the people to resist the Crown, and to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Future holders of office were also to receive the Sacrament as Churchmen. Aimed alike at the Presbyterians and Independents, this Act did not, however, exclude them from Parliament.

Act of Uniformity and the beginning of Dissent, 1662.—In May 1662 a most important Act, which had very noteworthy results, was passed. It is known as the **Act of Uniformity.** By this Act the Presbyterians were finally alienated. The Savoy Conference had failed to arrive at any *modus vivendi*, and the Act of Uniformity represented the views of the Bishops and Convocation. All beneficed clergy were called up before St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24) to accept the Prayer Book—a revised version of which had been published in 1662—and to take an oath that armed resistance to the Sovereign was unlawful. All holders of livings not already in Anglican Orders must also receive Episcopal Ordination before August 24. A licence from the bishop of the diocese was also required from all teachers, who were also required to accept the doctrine of non-resistance and the Liturgy.

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 7.

On August 24 about two thousand clergy resigned their livings, and among them were many eminent men, such as Richard Baxter, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Case, John Wesley (grandfather of the famous John Wesley), and Gilbert Rule, who later became Principal of Edinburgh University.

The year 1662 marks the final division between the Church and Nonconformity, though it is improbable that those who were responsible for the Act of Uniformity realised how deep and far reaching would be the results of their action. By the end of 1662 'Church, State, and social organisation had been re-erected on the old foundations.'[1]

Charles and Toleration.—Charles himself was desirous of toleration, as was the Roman Catholic party at Court, headed by the Earl of Bristol and Lady Castlemaine, who adopted Roman Catholicism in 1663, by Henry Bennet (who became the Earl of Arlington in 1663), Lord Ashley, and Henry Coventry. But the Cavalier Parliament would not hear of toleration, and Charles was forced in 1663 to give up his hope of carrying out a policy of toleration. In May 1664, shortly after the outbreak of the Dutch War, the **Conventicle Act** was passed to prevent Nonconformists from holding meetings for worship.

Foreign Policy in the early years of the reign.—As regards foreign policy, the years 1660-1662 were of immense importance in English history, and the following questions awaited solution. Would England ally with France or Spain? Was any pacific settlement with the Dutch possible?

As in Cromwell's time, England had the choice of a French or Spanish alliance. Cromwell had decided for the former, and in consequence Spain was compelled in 1659 to accept the somewhat humiliating Treaty of the Pyrenees. After the conclusion of that treaty she devoted her efforts to reconquering Portugal, which country had recovered its independence

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 23.

in 1640. On his accession Charles was inclined to a Spanish alliance, and, like Charles I. when Prince of Wales, thought seriously of marrying the Infanta. But again the close connection between the Courts of Madrid and Vienna prevented an Anglo-Spanish alliance, for Margaret, Philip's only marriageable daughter, was already betrothed to the Emperor Leopold. The failure of the Spanish match-project had far-reaching effects. With the full approval of Louis XIV., Charles agreed, in 1661, to marry Catharine of Braganza, the sister of the Portuguese king, Alfonso VI. This decision had far-reaching results. The English alliance secured for Portugal its independence, which was formally recognised by Spain in 1668. Moreover, the terms of the marriage treaty (June 23, 1661) were most advantageous to England. She acquired Bombay and Tangier, the acquisition of which, it is said, 'was one of the chief inducements which impelled Charles to marry Catharine of Braganza.'[1] Charles also received £800,000 as his wife's dowry. The results of this alliance were of vast importance. The possession of Bombay aided England in her struggle with the Dutch in the East, the possession of Tangier gave her a commanding position in the Mediterranean, the friendship with France, already indicated by the marriage in March 1661 of Henrietta, sister of Charles, to Philip of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., was strengthened, the commercial classes in England were gratified. Catharine arrived in England on May 13, 1662, and her marriage with Charles took place on May 21. Her life in England was a far from enviable one, for she never exercised any influence over Charles, who preferred the society of Lady Castlemaine (Duchess of Cleveland), of Nell Gwyn, and later of Louise de Kéroualle (Duchess of Portsmouth).

Attitude of England towards Holland and France during the reign.—Jealousy of the Netherlands was a leading feature in

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 238.

public opinion in England during the first fifteen years of the reign of Charles II. The wars of Charles II., following that of Cromwell, not only sapped the power of Holland and were largely responsible for her decline, but gave a tremendous impetus to Great Britain's colonial development and maritime supremacy.

It may be said that England's foreign policy in Charles II.'s reign falls into two divisions. Till 1674 the popular feeling in England 'was focussed almost wholly on Dutch rivalry.' After 1674, when England withdrew from her war against the Netherlands, French unpopularity in England steadily increased, and in spite of intervals of peace hostilities broke out in 1689 between France and England and continued till 1815.

Causes of the War with Holland, 1665.—A variety of circumstances led to the war with the Dutch which took place in 1665.

The First Dutch War (1652-54) had by no means been decisive, and England's naval supremacy was by no means firmly secured. The commercial and colonial rivalry between the English and Dutch remained as acute as ever, and in both England and Holland, especially in the latter, there were bitter memories of the late struggle.

The accession of Charles II. did little to allay these hostile feelings. Charles's policy 'was mainly dictated by commercial considerations.' And Clarendon bears witness to the interest which at the time of his arrival in England he took in the development of English trade. In November 1660 he formed a **Council of Trade**, and the following month a **Council for Foreign Plantations**. Moreover, his marriage with Catharine of Braganza had been dictated by commercial considerations, while the acquisition of Bombay and Tangier, which was occupied by the English in January 1662, roused the fears of the Dutch, who were still 'the present holders of commercial dominion' in the world. Moreover, the Dutch

Government bitterly resented the renewal of the Navigation Act in 1660. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this economic measure, which 'protected England's shipping and encouraged the growth of a mercantile marine,'[1] though its evil effects upon Ireland's prosperity were considerable.[2]

It was evident that Charles, who was supported by all the English trading companies, was as anxious as Cromwell to uphold the commercial interests of England, but, unlike Cromwell, he was not hampered by religious considerations in dealing with the Dutch.

On the contrary, he disliked their religious views, he remembered that they had expelled him from their country, he resented the exclusion of the House of Orange, with which he was related, from power. Charles's hatred of the religious and political views of the Dutch, moreover, coincided with the national jealousy of Holland, and the war of 1665-67 was in entire agreement with public opinion.

Events leading to War.—Neither Charles, nor Clarendon, nor De Witt desired the outbreak of war in the year 1665, but the influences of the war party, headed by James, Duke of York, backed by public opinion, and strengthened by certain acts of hostility on the part of the Dutch in 1663 and 1664, rendered hostilities inevitable. Moreover, throughout the years 1662-1665 frequent collisions had taken place between the English and the Dutch traders in America, in West Africa, and in the East Indies. The seizure of the New Netherlands, or New Amsterdam, henceforth named New York,[3] by **Colonel Richard Nicholls**, in September 1664, the capture in

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England,* 1660-1702, p. 236. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

[2] See pages 16-18.

[3] It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the capture of the New Netherlands. 'But for its annexation it is hardly possible that these colonies (the ones founded in Charles II.'s reign) should have grown into the United States.'—Lodge, *ibid.*, p. 238.

the same year by **Major Holmes** of Dutch ships and the Dutch possessions in West Africa, and the attack in December 1664 upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet by an English squadron, were replies to a number of hostile acts on the part of the Dutch in India, in the West Indies, in the North Sea, and elsewhere, continuing from 1659. Moreover, in spite of an assurance given in a treaty made in 1662, the Dutch had not delivered Pularoon, one of the Spice Islands, into English hands—an island which the English had captured during the Commonwealth.

In January 1665 De Ruyter seized several English ships and English settlements on the Guinea Coast, and thus amply avenged Holmes's raid. He then made an expedition to the West Indies and North America, and did much damage to English shipping, arriving in Holland in June 1665 to find his country at open war with England.

During 1664 the war fever in England had grown stronger and stronger. Parliament petitioned the King to obtain redress for damage done by the Dutch to the East India Company and the Turkey Company. As has been stated, neither Charles II., nor De Witt, nor Clarendon, desired at that time a rupture of peace, but the feeling of the country forced the Government into war. The anti-Clarendon clique, which was headed by Bristol, and which had failed in their attacks in 1664 on his domestic policy,[1] now succeeded, with the support of the Duke of York, in involving England in war with the Dutch. In this they were aided by Downing, the English agent at The Hague, whose action anticipated in a manner that of Bismarck in 1870. He 'deliberately,' we are told, 'inflamed the quarrel by presenting the English demands for redress in a most offensive manner.'[2]

[1] The clique had hoped to secure his impeachment.

[2] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 72. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

In England, France was regarded as an ally, and there was no knowledge of the Treaty of 1662 between Louis XIV. and De Witt. France had clearly sympathised with England's action in support of Portugal against Spain. In 1662 England had sold Dunkirk to France. There was therefore every reason to suppose that French influence would be thrown upon the side of England in any quarrel between the latter and Holland.

Outbreak of the Second Dutch War, 1665.—On March 4, 1665, England, which was resolute in its hostility to the Dutch and fearful of Dutch competition in trade, had formally declared war upon Holland, and the famous **Second Dutch War** began. Neither country was ready for war, but the English nation never supported a war with greater alacrity. In April the Duke of York, at the head of a powerful fleet, cruised off Holland, capturing many merchantmen, and on June 3 defeated Obdam, the Dutch admiral, in the battle of Lowestoft (Southwold Bay), destroying over a dozen ships. In July, Sandwich succeeded the Duke of York in command of the fleet, but effected little of importance.

England's continental ally, the Bishop of Munster, had indeed invaded the eastern provinces of Holland, but Louis XIV. sent an army to aid the Dutch to expel the invader, who was forced to retire from the war in April 1666, while the Plague in London and the return of De Ruyter to Holland checked any further successful action on the part of England in the remaining months of 1665.

The Great Plague, 1665.—The pestilence known as the Plague had appeared in England in 1664, but it was not till 1665 that it was at its height. Its ravages in the summer and autumn of 1665 were fearful. It is said that in the autumn over seven thousand died in London each week, and that in all about 'a hundred thousand souls were swept away.' The Court was moved to Salisbury, and the Queen-Mother

went to France. Albemarle (Monk), who had been described as 'a hard, avaricious, self-seeking soldier,' was the only well-known man who remained in London and represented the Government. It was not till the beginning of 1666 that a normal state of things prevailed in London.

During the Plague the Conventicle Act was evaded. Fearing that the Nonconformist ministers would still further strengthen their position, the Parliament, which met at Oxford in October 1665, passed the **Five Mile Act.** Any minister who refused to take an oath promising not to support any alteration in Church and State was not to be permitted, under heavy penalties, to come within five miles of any town or parish in which they had previously preached or taught. Thus the desires of those who, like Ashley, Bristol, Coventry, Buckingham, and Bennet (Earl of Arlington, 1663), had hoped by supporting the King's wish for toleration to overthrow Clarendon were defeated. The Cavalier House of Commons had no desire to weaken the Church Settlement; an attempt of Charles to secure the passing of a Toleration Bill in 1663 had failed, and after the passing of the Five Mile Act, the 'Anti-Clarendon Clique' had to confess defeat in this second attack on the Chancellor.

The Four Days' Battle.—The year 1666 was an anxious one for England. France declared war against England in January, and the influence of the presence of the French Mediterranean fleet, which had now arrived in the Channel, favoured the Dutch. On June 1 began the famous 'Four Days' Battle,' which, though termed a Dutch victory, was, through the failure of the French to help their allies, practically a 'drawn' battle. At any rate, on July 25 the English fleet, under Albemarle and Prince Rupert, defeated the Dutch in a decisive fashion, and the English commanders sailed along the Dutch coast, capturing many prizes and inflicting serious damage to Dutch commerce, especially

by the burning of Dutch merchantmen on the Vlie in August.

The Great Fire of London, 1666.—England, however, experienced a very serious disaster shortly after her triumph over the Dutch. On Sunday, September 2, **the Great Fire** of London broke out, and raged continuously for five days. 'From the Thames to Newgate, and from the Tower to the Temple, was,' we are told, 'a vast smoking ruin.'[1] One result of the fire was that the opportunity was given to Sir Christopher Wren to build St. Paul's Cathedral. The interest taken in religion during the fifty years succeeding the Restoration was well exemplified in the career of Wren, who between 1666 and 1711 'designed and built fifty-three parish churches in London,' to take the place of the eighty-nine destroyed during the Great Fire.

Parliament met on September 11, at a period of deep depression, heightened by the fact that large supplies for the war were necessary. No confidence was felt in the administration, Parliament demanded an inquiry into the public accounts, and it was resolved that royal dispensation could not free a minister from responsibility. Moreover, the anxieties of the nation were about to be increased owing to the action of Louis XIV.

Louis XIV.'s designs on Flanders.—The French Monarchy had, with the close of its war with Spain in 1659, entered upon a new period in its history. Louis XIV., upon the death of Mazarin, found himself the most powerful monarch in Europe. In contrast with the growing strength of France, Spain was rapidly declining. During the Thirty Years' War Portugal had asserted its independence. Under Cromwell England had seized Jamaica, and France had secured, by the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, important additions to her territory at the expense of Spain, whose king, Philip IV., died in 1665, and was succeeded by his only son, Charles II.

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 78.

Of Philip's two daughters, the elder, Maria Theresa, the child of his first wife, had married Louis XIV. In virtue of an old law called the Law of Devolution, Louis claimed on behalf of his wife the greater part of the Spanish Netherlands, and in 1667 had resolved to enforce his Queen's claims by an invasion of Flanders.

The time seemed propitious, for, in addition to Charles II. of England's secret treaty, England and Holland were still at war. The French armies invaded Flanders (the Spanish Low Countries) on May 24, 1667, and in less than two months easily conquered the southern portion of the country.

Meanwhile in England 'the Plague, the Great Fire, disaffection at home and risings in Scotland, combined . . . to make peace urgent, while De Witt, alarmed by the designs of Louis XIV. on the Netherlands, wanted to be quit of a struggle which was inflicting serious losses on Dutch commerce and shipping,'[1] and to be free to deal with the new situation created by the invasion of Flanders by Louis.

The Dutch in the Medway, 1667.—In May 1667 a Peace Conference met at Breda. During its discussions Charles II., by the advice of Coventry, and in order to save money, unwisely decided to expend no more on the fleet, and consequently in June the Dutch, under Ruyter and Cornelius de Witt, were able to make a successful raid upon England, sailing up the Medway to Rochester on June 22, and destroying and capturing many ships. One man-of-war, the *Royal Charles*, was carried off, and three were destroyed. The duty of national defence had indeed been scandalously neglected by Charles.

This action by De Witt was due to his determination to hasten the negotiations at Breda, which up to the middle of June had made little progress, partly owing to the difficulty of settling the question of the English claims to Pularoon.

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. p. 187.

The conduct of Charles II., who acted in full though secret agreement with the French king, had rendered De Witt anxious to have his hands free in order to deal with the danger to the independence of Holland.

The Treaty of Breda, July 2, 1667.—De Witt's policy was successful, and on July 21, 1667, the **Treaty of Breda** was signed.[1] The Dutch acquired Surinam, the island of Tobago, and the island of Pularoon, which they had already promised to cede. England, however, again secured the recognition of 'the right of the flag,' and New Amsterdam (New York) was left in English hands. Thus the Dutch lost their foothold in North America. England and France also made peace, the former yielding Nova Scotia, which Cromwell had conquered in 1654. Charles's blunder in not refitting the fleet after the campaign of 1666 had alone prevented England from obtaining more favourable terms at the Conference of Breda. The Second Dutch War marked, however, a considerable advance in English naval tactics and in English colonial development. Moreover, it augured well for English successes in future naval wars.

The Treaty of Breda (1667) was merely a truce, and was regarded in England with indifference. Popular antagonism against Holland, England's great trade rival, remained as strong as ever, and it was not till the **Third Dutch War** of the reign (1672-74), that England's maritime supremacy and colonial predominance as against the Dutch were secured. From the close of that war in 1674 **jealousy of France** took the place of jealousy of the Netherlands. That jealousy, at

[1] In February 1667 Charles had promised Louis XIV. that for a year he would not conclude any treaty adverse to French interests. The French had captured Antigua, Montserrat, and the English half of St. Christopher's. Charles hoped by an agreement with Louis to recover these possessions.—*Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. pp. 110 and 112.

first commercial, gradually became also colonial, and indeed national.

Fall of Clarendon, 1667.—Owing, however, to the jealousy and hostility with which the Dutch were regarded in England, the Treaty of Breda, following the disasters in the Medway, was grudgingly accepted in England, and the popular indignation vented itself upon Clarendon.

Like Walpole, who in 1739 opposed war with Spain, Clarendon was opposed to the war with Holland. Walpole ought to have resigned in 1739, and Clarendon ought to have resigned in 1665 as soon as war had broken out. Though England had gained enormously in North America, the Medway incident occupied and rankled in men's minds. Clarendon's enemies, Ashley, Coventry, and Clifford, who was devoted to Arlington, seized the opportunity of inflaming Charles's mind against the minister, of whom indeed the King had become weary.

Deprived of the royal support, Clarendon had no hope of maintaining himself against his many foes, while in his case, as in that of Walpole, personal jealousies rather than any grave political crisis brought about his fall.

Clarendon paid the penalty of being at the head of affairs in days when there was no responsible government. He was regarded as the author of the policy upon which Parliament had insisted, and the Nonconformists attributed to him the persecuting laws—known as the Clarendon Code. In this case, as events after the fall of Clarendon showed, it was the Cavalier members themselves who had insisted upon the penal laws. Clarendon could not look for support from Parliament, for he and the House of Commons had come into collision over the question of the **appropriation of supplies.** The Commons had demanded that the proceeds of taxes should not be spent without the approval of Parliament. To the supremacy of Parliament Clarendon was opposed. He held

that the King should work in combination with the House of Commons, but that he was in reality irresponsible. Like Bacon, he hoped that each part of the Government would work in harmony with the other parts, and that the King would always act for the welfare of his people. His views were naturally unpopular in the House of Commons, which was still further alienated when he proposed a dissolution.

Though the war with Holland was distinctly contrary to his advice, he was held responsible for the mistakes which occurred during its continuance.

The sale of Dunkirk was in itself a wise measure, but very unpopular with the nation, which also regarded him as responsible for the Plague and the Fire. Though supported by the Bishops, the majority of his own party—the Cavaliers—had never 'forgiven him for the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.'

Every unpopular event since 1660 was attributed to him. He was accused of building up a large fortune by dishonest means, and of aiming at the succession by marrying his daughter to the Duke of York, while the waste of public money was laid to his charge.

It was not realised at that time how important to England was the possession of **colonies**. Clarendon was one of the first of English statesmen who took a keen interest in colonial expansion. During his period of office, the new Charter to the East India Company, the Navigation Act of 1660, the organisation of a rudimentary colonial department in which he and Shaftesbury were much concerned, all illustrate the importance of the Restoration in the history of the colonies.

Moreover, the influence of the Court, especially of the Roman Catholic portion of it, headed by Bristol and Lady Castlemaine, was violently opposed to him, and found in Charles—who was weary of his Chancellor—a strong supporter of their views.

A purely constitutional lawyer, Clarendon was unable to realise the necessity of adapting the constitution to the new conditions in England after 1660. Though he had successfully restored the old Parliamentary Monarchy in connection with the Anglican Church, he was unable to follow the drift of public opinion or the trend of constitutional development.

On August 30, 1667, the King demanded from him the Great Seal. The news of Clarendon's fall was received with universal rejoicing—but his domestic policy was continued and developed, and his colonial policy was carried on by Shaftesbury, and supported by Charles himself. 'No English politician, it has been said, for three-quarters of a century took so informed and statesmanlike a view of the relations of England to her colonies' as did Clarendon and Shaftesbury.[1]

Impeachment of Clarendon — his Exile. — The Commons, delighted at Clarendon's overthrow, impeached him in October, charging him with favouring the prerogative, with urging the King's marriage, and with the sale of Dunkirk. There being no ground for any of these charges, the House of Lords refused to send Clarendon to prison. In November, in obedience to the King's command, Clarendon went to France. His enemies declared that his retirement to France implied his guilt, and Parliament passed a Bill requiring his presence for trial on or before February 1, 1668. Owing to illness, Clarendon was unable to appear. He was therefore condemned to exile, and died in France on December 9, 1674, having written his autobiography, and completed the history of the Great Rebellion. Charles had shown weakness in sacrificing a devoted servant, and both he and the opponents of Clarendon soon found that the fall of the minister in no way aided them to carry out the aim on which they had set their hearts—the modification of the Ecclesiastical Settlement.

[1] Woodward, *The Expansion of the British Empire*, p. 132. Cambridge University Press, 1902.

The fall of Clarendon left Charles in a somewhat similar position to that of George III. after the resignation of Grenville in 1765. Both kings felt that they were masters of the situation. Both kings took a keen interest in politics, but while George III. never allowed his activity to lessen, Charles II., a far abler man, was content, during long periods, to allow his advisers to guide the ship of state, and to believe that 'they were guiding their master.'

Clarendon had not long to wait for revenge on his opponents. Sir William Coventry was in 1669 dismissed from the Council; Lady Castlemaine's influence was soon to be superseded by that of Louise de Kéroualle;[1] Ashley and Buckingham realised before many years had elapsed that Charles was determined to be his own minister, and, moreover, the House of Commons, though it had impeached Clarendon, insisted on carrying out his Church policy.

The Cabal.—The administration which succeeded that of Clarendon is known as the Cabal. It was composed of the following:—Clifford and Arlington, who were members of the Roman Church, the latter directing foreign affairs; Buckingham, the son of Charles I.'s favourite; Anthony Ashley Cooper, who in 1672 was created the first Earl of Shaftesbury—a man who, during the previous twenty-five years, had frequently changed sides; and Lauderdale, a Presbyterian at heart, who was engaged in governing Scotland in Charles's interest. The Cabal, or inner Cabinet, was a committee on foreign affairs, and while its members favoured the King's policy of toleration, its chief claim to fame was due to its foreign policy.

At the time of Clarendon's fall, in August 1667, the French were in possession of half of the Spanish Netherlands, and though the French invasion had taken place, in defiance of the

[1] Barbara Villiers was first made Lady Castlemaine, and later was created Duchess of Cleveland.

renunciation of her claim to the Spanish Succession made by Maria Theresa, the wife of Louis XIV., no serious opposition seemed likely to be forthcoming. At this juncture Charles II. (in spite of a secret engagement made with Louis XIV. in February 1667, by which he promised not to actively oppose the French schemes for a year) decided to bring home to the French king the importance of England, and, at the same time, to preclude any possibility of a future alliance between France and Holland.

Both these objects could be effected by a European coalition, which would check the hitherto successful French advance. On January 23, 1668, Sir William Temple concluded at The Hague an alliance with Holland and Sweden, known as the Triple Alliance. By the treaties which formed this alliance, the three powers agreed to insist upon the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, and, if necessary, to force France to yield her late conquests. Louis, whose armies had in January 1668 overrun Franche Comté, which belonged to Spain, was much surprised and irritated at the news of the conclusion of the Triple Alliance.

The French King's eyes, however, were directed towards Spain, the death of whose king, Charles II., a young and childless monarch in bad health, was shortly expected. In that event Louis hoped to secure peaceably a large portion of the immense Spanish possessions, and in view of the probable early death of the Spanish king, he had, on January 19, 1668, concluded a secret **Partition Treaty** with the Emperor Leopold. Consequently, it would be most unwise to risk a war with the Triple Alliance at that moment, and Louis prudently concluded with Spain, on May 2, the **Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle**, restoring Franche Comté, but keeping the French conquests in Flanders.

In England, however, where nothing was known of the real motives of Louis in agreeing to make peace with Spain, the


THE FRENCH FRONTIER
on the North-East in the reign of
LOUIS XIV
The French Frontier shown thus
Amsterdam
The Hague
Ryswicko
Utrecht
Nimeguen
Gertruydenberg
Breda
Ostend
Dunkirk
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Oudenarde
Mardyke
Lille
Tournay
Fontenoy
Steinkirk
Ramillies
Namur
Bouchain
Malplaquet
Landen
Liege
Bishopric of Liege
R. Meuse
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cologne
Bonn
R. Rhine
GERMANY
Netherlands
Luxemburg
R. Moselle
Frankfurt
Dettingen
R. Main
Mainz
The Palatinate
Heidelberg
FRANCE
PARIS
Metz
Duchy of Lorraine
Alsace
Strassburg
Blenheim
BAVARIA
R. Danube
Munich
BOHEMIA
Prague

apparent success of the **Triple Alliance** was received with enthusiasm, and Charles II.'s popularity during the next two years was considerable. Nevertheless, in spite of the wishes of Charles and of the members of the Cabal, the Parliament refused to modify the 'Clarendon Code'; or to interfere with the general lines of the ecclesiastical policy of Sheldon and Clarendon.

All attempts during the early months of 1668 to modify the ecclesiastical settlement failed, and on May 8, 1668, Charles prorogued Parliament, which did not meet again till October 1669, and then was adjourned till February 1670. Its meeting was coincident with an important though as yet unobserved development in European politics. No sooner had the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought to a conclusion his war with Spain, than Louis XIV. set to work to break up the Triple Alliance. This was rendered a comparatively easy task, owing to the jealousy felt by the English commercial classes of their Dutch rivals, and owing to Charles's failure to secure from Parliament full compliance with his wishes.

The chief difficulty in the way of an understanding with Louis XIV. was the growth in England of a feeling of hostility to France, which, however, though often apparent after 1674, did not become active till 1688. Colbert's protective policy had indeed already begun to make itself felt. In 1667 he closed the French market to English cloth merchants; he increased the French navy from 30 ships in 1660 to 273 in 1681. But as yet 'the popular view in England was focused almost wholly upon Dutch rivalry.'[1]

Charles II., therefore, was enabled to carry out in a remarkably short time a complete change of policy, and had little difficulty in tearing up the Triple Alliance, and in uniting England and France in hostility to Holland.

As early as July 8, 1668, he had indicated to his sister, the

[1] Hertz, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration*, pp. 94-95.

Duchess of Orleans, his desire for a close alliance with France, and when he realised that the money of which he was in need would not be provided by Parliament, he continued his efforts with zest. **Religious** motives also concurred to impel him in the direction of a French alliance.

On January 25, 1669, he announced at a private meeting that he was a Roman Catholic; and on May 22, 1670, his Roman Catholic ministers signed on his behalf the **Secret Treaty of Dover**, by which he and Louis XIV. agreed to partition Holland. Louis, moreover, who was entirely ignorant of the strong anti-Papal feeling in England, promised to assist Charles with men and money in the task of converting England to the Romish faith. £150,000 was to be paid to Charles at once, and six thousand French troops were to be sent to England whenever required. At the close of the war Charles was to receive Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand. To the French king, however, the destruction of Holland was the first task to be undertaken, and Charles being subsidised, there would be, Louis imagined, no difficulty in annihilating the Dutch Republic.

Only Arlington and Clifford, both of whom were Roman Catholics, knew of this treaty. A **second** and sham **treaty** was communicated to the other members of the Cabal, which omitted all notice of Charles's conversion, but referred to the territorial gains from the Dutch as a result of the coming war, which was fixed to begin early in 1672. All the members of the Cabal, including Arlington and Clifford, signed this second and open treaty.

Without the English alliance Louis could not have undertaken the Dutch war of 1672. But that alliance secured French commerce from all danger of attack from the Dutch fleet, and enabled Louis to enter upon the war in 1672.

The Stop of the Exchequer, 1672.—Charles had already obtained in 1671 supplies (£800,000) from Parliament, which

was ignorant of his desertion of the Triple Alliance, and which was then prorogued and did not meet again for two years. But more money was needed, and on January 2, 1672, by the advice of Clifford, Charles stopped all payments for a year from the Exchequer to the national creditors—the goldsmiths.

The practice of depositing money with the goldsmiths, who lent at interest, had since 1640 become recognised and was popular. Like Cromwell, Charles borrowed from them on the security of the taxes, and paid 8 per cent., the depositors getting 6 per cent. It was not till 1677 that interest again was paid by the Government, but only at the rate of 6 per cent. In 1683 payment stopped again, 'but in 1701 it was arranged that 3 per cent. should be paid. Later still, the South Sea Company took over the debt, and on the failure of that body the sum was included in the National Debt, of which, indeed, it formed the nucleus.'[1]

By this 'Stop of the Exchequer' English trade was disorganised, and much suffering was caused. Evelyn tells us that this action on the part of Charles 'ruined many widows and orphans, whose stocks were lent him, and the reputation of the Exchequer for ever. Never did his affairs prosper after it, for it did not supply the expense of the war, but melted away, I know not how.'

War with Holland, 1672.—The year 1672 was a year of vast import to Englishmen. Early in January the 'Stop of the Exchequer' had taken place. On March 15 the Declaration of Indulgence was issued, with the agreement of the members of the Cabal. Two days before its issue the Dutch Smyrna fleet was attacked off the Isle of Wight by Admiral Holmes, though no declaration of war had been made. The attack, discreditable as it was, proved a failure. On March 17

[1] Townsend Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History*, p. 238. London: Blackie and Co.

England declared war, and the Third Dutch War began. In England the commercial jealousy of Holland outweighed any fear of French predominance, and there was a pretty general wish that the raid up the Medway should be avenged. It was hoped that not only would the English fleet secure the command of the sea, but that English troops would be landed on the Dutch coast.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Charles arrives in London (May 29)	1660
Act of Indemnity and Oblivion (Aug. 29)	,,
Council of Trade formed (Nov.)	,,
Council for Foreign Plantations (Dec.)	,,
Venner's Rising	1661
The Scottish Parliament meets (Jan. 1)	,,
The Savoy Conference (April)	,,
Cavalier Parliament meets (May 8)	,,
Ormonde succeeds Monk as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Nov.)	,,
The Corporation Act (Dec.)	,,
England occupies Bombay (Jan.)	1662
Act of Uniformity (May)	,,
Execution of Vane (June)	,,
Secession of about two thousand of the Clergy of the English Church (Aug. 24)	,,
Treaty between Louis XIV. and De Witt	,,
Sale of Dunkirk (Nov.)	,,
Repeal of the Triennial Act	1664
The Conventicle Act (May)	,,
Seizure of 'New York' by Nicholls (Sept.)	,,
Seizure of Dutch Possessions in West Africa by Holmes	,,
Explanatory Act (Ireland)	1665
De Ruyter attacks the English on the Guinea Coast	,,

Opening of the Second Dutch War (March)	1665
De Ruyter arrives in Holland (June)	,,
English victory off Lowestoft (June 3)	,,
The Plague in London	,,
Parliament at Oxford (Oct.)	,,
The Five Mile Act (Oct.)	,,
Death of Philip IV. of Spain	,,
France at War with England (Jan.)	1666
The Irish are forbidden to export Cattle into England	,,
Four Days' Battle with the Dutch (June 1-4)	,,
The Great Fire in London (Sept.)	,,
Peace Conference at Breda (May-July)	1667
The Dutch raid the Thames and Medway (June)	,,
Treaty of Breda (July 21)	,,
Fall of Clarendon (August)	,,
The Cabal in Office	,,
The Triple Alliance (Jan. 23)	1668
The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2)	,,
Parliament prorogued till Feb. 1670 (May 8)	,,
Isaac Barrow, Bishop of Sodor and Man, becomes Bishop of St. Asaph	1669
Secret Treaty of Dover (May 22)	1670
The 'Stop of the Exchequer' (Jan. 2)	1672
The Declaration of Indulgence (March 15)	,,
Opening of the Third Dutch War (March 17)	,,

QUESTIONS ON PERIOD I., 1660-1672.

(1) The reign of Charles II. . . . was in fact a 'transitional state between the ancient and modern schemes of the English Constitution.' Discuss this statement.

(2) 'The Restoration marks the beginning of modern times.' Explain and illustrate.

(3) Illustrate and explain the strength of the reaction which followed on the Restoration.

(4) Illustrate the influence of the Restoration upon the domestic history of Scotland.

(5) Examine the relative influence of dynastic and commercial interests upon the relations of England and the United Provinces under Charles II.

(6) Sketch the character and policy of Clarendon.

(7) What were the causes of the break-up of the Triple Alliance of 1668?

Period II.—1672-1681.

From the Opening of the Dutch War of 1672 to the Dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, 1681.

Contents.

Opening of a New Period in 1672—War with the Dutch—Revolution in Holland—William of Orange—Treaty of Westminster, 1674—Domestic History, 1672-1675—The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672—The Test Act, 1673—Break-up of the Cabal—The Succession Question—Parliament, 1675—Danby supreme—Prorogation of Parliament, November 1675 to February 1677—French Military and Naval Successes—Marriage of William of Orange and Princess Mary, 1678—Its Effects—The Peace of Nimeguen—Louis XIV. triumphant—Charles and Danby supreme—The Popish Plot—The Parliamentary Test Act, 1678—Fall of Danby—New Parliament, March 1679—Temple's Scheme of a Privy Council—The Exclusion Bill—The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679—James, Duke of York and Monmouth—Whigs and Tories—The Political Situation, 1680—Exclusion Bill thrown out by the House of Lords—Death of Stafford—History of England's possession of Tangier—The Oxford Parliament, 1681—Its Dissolution—Triumph of Charles II.

CHIEF NAMES.

Temple—John De Witt—Louis XIV.—Leopold I.—Ashley (Shaftesbury)—Clifford—Arlington—Buckingham—De Ruyter—James, Duke of York—William of Orange—Bunyan—Dryden—Danby.

A new Period in the Reign opens, 1672.—With the opening of the Dutch War the reign enters upon a new and stormy period. Hitherto Charles had experienced little difficulty with Parliament. His foreign policy had on the whole met with the approval of the nation. Like the bulk of his subjects he disliked the Dutch Republic, partly on commercial, partly on political grounds. Holland was England's rival at sea and in the colonies, and her form of government was distasteful to the English people with their strong monarchical instincts. The dangerous activity of Louis XIV. in the Spanish Netherlands had, however, for the moment forced England and Holland to form with Sweden the Triple Alliance of 1668. But the hostility of the English nation to the Dutch was still strong, and did not cease till the Republican Government in Holland had been overthrown. Moreover, none of the members of the Cabal had any affection for the Dutch, and those of them who, like Shaftesbury and Buckingham, sympathised with the Nonconformists, were won over by promises of toleration to those religious bodies. Therefore when in 1672 the nation realised that the Triple Alliance no longer existed, and that England, in conjunction with France, was at war with Holland, no violent opposition was raised to the sudden change in foreign policy.

War with Dutch, 1672-1674.—On March 17, 1672, England declared war upon Holland, whose only allies were Brandenburg and Spain. On April 9 France declared war upon Holland, and the invasion of that country immediately followed. In June the French army, which was accompanied by Louis, was in Holland, while the Duke of York, who was

indifferently supported by a French fleet under Admiral d'Estrées, fought an indecisive naval battle on May 28 with De Ruyter, called the battle of **Southwold Bay** and also the battle of **Solebay**. In the engagement the French ships under d'Estrées took little part,[1] and in a Dutch account it is stated that 'the French fought little or nothing, but left the English in the brunt.'[2]

De Ruyter had, however, checked his foes, and was able to convoy safely to port a fleet of Dutch merchantmen.

At this crisis the courage and heroism of the Dutch did not forsake them. On June 15 it was decided to open the dykes, and by June 20 the country round Amsterdam was inundated.

Revolution in Holland, 1672.—Holland was saved, and the French were forced to retire. These events were followed by a revolution in Holland itself, where, on July 4, William of Orange was placed at the head of affairs. This act was followed on August 4 by the murder of the two De Witts. Now that the Republican party, to which Charles and his ministers were hostile, had been overthrown, there was no reason why the English king and William should not enter into friendly relations.

William's mother was Mary, daughter of Charles I., and consequently he was Charles II.'s nephew, and, after James of York and his two daughters (Mary and Anne), was next in succession to the English throne. He was now joined by the Emperor, and thus a great coalition against Louis XIV. was formed.

Desire in England for Peace with Holland.—Till the accession of William to the Stadtholderate the English

[1] 'I saw never a ship of the French strike a stroak,' was the testimony of an English captain.

[2] Quoted by Hertz, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration*, p. 97. London: Fisher Unwin.

nation had acquiesced in the attack on Holland. In spite of the Triple Alliance of 1668, Holland was still regarded as England's chief trading rival. But in 1673-74 the nation began to realise that Holland's power had considerably lessened, and that the chief danger to England's commerce and religion came from France.

The revolution at The Hague had thus lessened the hostility in England to the Dutch, while at the same time the growing animosity to the French was rapidly becoming apparent. Hoping to secure concessions from William which would redound to his own credit, Charles sent an embassy to Holland. But the English terms were very properly refused by William of Orange, and the war continued. Want of money, however, compelled Charles to summon Parliament in February 1673.

Treaty of Westminster, February 1674, ends the Dutch War.—As soon as Charles realised that without adequate funds it was quite impossible to continue hostilities, and that Spain was likely to declare war upon England, he accepted the advice of Parliament, and on February 9, 1674, the Treaty of Westminster brought Charles's **Third Dutch War** to a close. North of Cape Finisterre the Dutch were to respect the flag of England, which country was to receive 800,000 crowns. The peace with Holland was entirely due to the instrumentality of Parliament, which in this matter represented the general feeling of the country.

Attitude of Parliament, 1673-1674.—In concluding a peace with the Dutch, Charles was taking the only course open to him. Parliament, after its prorogation of nearly two years, had met in February 1673, and its temper boded no good to the King's policy. Of the members of the Cabal, Buckingham was irritated at his failure to bring about peace, and at the appointment of the Duke of Monmouth to the command of some English troops which had been sent to aid Louis.

Though Shaftesbury (Ashley), who had in 1672 been

created an Earl and appointed Lord Chancellor, had made in the House of Lords a famous speech on the text, *Delenda est Carthago*, in favour of the war, and had obtained a large sum from Parliament for its prosecution, peace had been made, and the House of Commons showed greater interest in the consideration of domestic matters than in foreign affairs.

During its prorogation not only had **war with the Dutch** been entered upon, but two events of great importance had occurred—**The Stop of the Exchequer**[1] and the **Declaration of Indulgence.**

The Declaration of Indulgence, March 1672.—The **Stop of the Exchequer** had taken place on January 2, 1672, and the **Declaration of Indulgence** had been published on March 15, 1672.[2] In the latter, Charles had declared the suspension of 'all and all manner of penal laws in ecclesiastic matters, against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists or recusants.'

The most powerful body in the Commons, now known as the Country Party, voted by a majority of 52 (168 to 116) that 'penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament,' and with the support of the House of Lords presented addresses to the King urging the expulsion of 'all alien priests and Jesuits within thirty days.'[3]

Charles was in a difficult position. His brother James, Duke of York, who had already urged Charles to restore Roman Catholicism, and who, rightly, was suspected of being a Roman Catholic, joined with Clifford, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and Lauderdale in urging Charles to stand firm; while Arlington advised the opposite policy, and was supported by Colbert de Croissy, Louis' envoy. On March 7, 1673, Charles

[1] See p. 43.

[2] In consequence of this Declaration, John Bunyan, who had been in prison since 1661, was released, and during the next few years wrote *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

[3] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 115. London: Longmans, 1910.

yielded, and the **Declaration of Indulgence was revoked.**—Any other course would probably have involved Charles in a civil war. The news of the King's surrender was celebrated by bonfires all over London.

The Test Act, March 1673.—The Opposition, encouraged by this victory, at once hastened to bring forward the **Test Act**, which declared that all office-holders were to renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and receive the 'Sacrament' in the English Church. In the debates in the House of Lords the members of the Cabal were divided, Clifford denouncing the Bill, while Arlington and Shaftesbury supported it. The **break-up of the Cabal** necessarily followed the passing of the Test Act (March 29). Clifford ceased to be Lord Treasurer, and James, Duke of York, to be High Admiral. Lauderdale, however, now the Duke of Lauderdale, and since June 1674 Earl of Guildford, and since 1667 Royal Commissioner in Scotland, remained in the King's service. In November Shaftesbury was dismissed from his Chancellorship, and shortly afterwards, with Buckingham, joined the Opposition.

The Effects of the Break-up of the Cabal, 1673.—Before these events had, however, taken place, **Sir Thomas Osborne** had been appointed, on June 19, Lord Treasurer, and in August was created Viscount Latimer, and later Earl and Marquess of Danby; while on September 30, James, Duke of York, took as his second wife the Princess Mary of Modena.

This latter event still further alienated public opinion from the French alliance, stirred up anti-papal passions, and **rendered the desire for peace with the Dutch** all the stronger. The violent Protestant feeling in the country was kept alive by the dismissal of Shaftesbury, and was far from being appeased by the conclusion of peace with the Dutch on February 9, 1674.

Result of the Peace with the Dutch.—One of the results of

the peace was that Louis concentrated his fleet in the Mediterranean, where Sicily, which in July 1674 revolted against the Spanish rule, was taken under French protection, and Messina, early in 1675, was occupied by a French garrison.

Spain appealed to the United Provinces for help, and De Ruyter was sent with a small squadron to the Mediterranean. On January 8, 1676, he fought the indecisive battle of **Stromboli**, but on April 22 he was killed in a fight off **Catania**.

On February 19, 1675, Charles had prorogued Parliament, which had indeed secured a notable victory over the prerogative, and had asserted successfully its right to control the foreign policy of the Crown.

The Succession Question.—Though, however, questions of foreign policy remained of the first importance, **the question of the Succession** was attracting the attention of all parties. Charles had no heir, and, in the ordinary course of events, his brother James, if he outlived him, would become King of England. The fact that James was a Roman Catholic, however, rendered his possible succession to the throne most unpalatable to the opposition led by Shaftesbury.

The leaders of the opposition hoped that the Duke of Monmouth, the King's illegitimate son, would be declared heir to the throne. But Charles was a firm believer in 'the sanctity of hereditary right,' and the conspirators were for the time forced to let their project remain in abeyance.

Change in the attitude of the Country Party. — Till the Dissolution of the Cabal the discontented Cavaliers and country gentlemen had been suspicious of Charles's ecclesiastical policy, disliking his overtures to the Nonconformists as much as his sympathy with Roman Catholicism. But the dissolution of the Cabal, the passing of the Test Act, and the rise to power of Danby, who, though in sympathy with Clarendon's domestic policy, advocated, unlike him, an alliance

with Holland and opposition to France—united the original 'Country Party' to the Crown, in opposition to the advocates of religious toleration and the supremacy of Parliament.

Policy of Danby.—Danby aimed at forming a strong Protestant Nationalist Party, which, in his opinion, would strengthen and popularise the monarchy. From this time till his fall in April 1679, Danby practically governed England. During that period 'there was a steady increase of French unpopularity in England.' At first this was due more to **economic** than **political** reasons, the result of the policy of Colbert the French Minister. Resistance to that policy caused the enactment of an Ordinance in 1678, prohibiting all French imports. Though repealed in 1685, this Ordinance was re-enacted in 1689. After the Peace of Nimeguen in 1678, the opposition to France was as much **political** as economic, due to the enormous and increasing power of France,[1] and in 1689 led to the outbreak of war with Louis XIV.—the beginning of a series of wars which, with intervals of peace, continued till the fall of Napoleon.

Meeting of Parliament, April 1675.—In April 1675 Parliament reassembled, and party feeling ran high. Danby silenced for a time the no-popery cry, by not only enforcing strictly the law against Conventicles, but by enforcing heavy penalties upon 'English subjects who should take Romish Orders or attend Mass.'[2] Danby, moreover, proposed the imposition of a new and very severe test upon all the members of both Houses, and upon all magistrates and office-holders.

Desirous of strengthening the Monarchy, he also proposed that all the above should take an oath, that under no circumstances was it lawful to take up arms against the King, and that they would never attempt to alter the government either in Church or State.

[1] See Hertz, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration*, p. 98. London: Fisher Unwin.

[2] Lodge, *ibid.* p. 133.

The Non-Resisting Bill has been described as a 'test of political opinion, drawn up so as to exclude from either House of Parliament all but the high-flying Anglicans and Cavaliers; no one was to sit as a legislator until he had sworn to alter nothing in Church or State.'[1] Had it passed, 'the future Whig party would have been excluded by law from political life.'[2]

George Savile, Lord Halifax, who had already become prominent in diplomacy, and who was a strong supporter of an alliance between England and Holland, opposed the proposal in an able speech.

Long and bitter debates ensued, and Danby's proposal had eventually to be dropped, owing to a quarrel between the two Houses, caused by one **Dr. Thomas Shirley** appealing from Chancery to the House of Lords in his case against **Sir John Fagg**, a member of the House of Commons.

The Case of Shirley *v.* **Fagg, 1675.**—The Commons declared that the Upper House had 'no right to hear appeals from Courts of Equity'; the Lords held their ground, and the quarrel between the two Houses became so envenomed that Charles prorogued Parliament from June 9 to October 13, 1675.

Danby's Supremacy.—Danby had so far shown himself possessed of remarkable political sagacity. He mastered and organised an elaborate system of bribery, and ruled by it. Pensions and places were now only given to those who by their votes would support the minister. He showed, moreover, considerable skill in reorganising the royal finance, and before the end of 1674 had largely reduced the expenses of the Government.

Though the dispute between the two Houses over the case of Shirley *v.* Fagg, leading as it did to the prorogation of

[1] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 381. London: Methuen.

[2] *Ibid.*

Parliament in June, had wrecked his great scheme of a non-resisting test, Danby remained the chief minister during the ensuing years.

Parliament prorogued from November 1675 till February 1677.—Till his fall in 1679, however, the struggle between the two political parties continued. Before Parliament met on October 13, 1675, Charles had made himself independent by accepting an annual payment from Louis XIV. of £100,000 a year on condition that if Parliament showed itself hostile to France it should be dissolved. Louis, however, was as suspicious of Danby's anti-French feelings as he was of those of the Parliament, which he feared might force Charles to enter into war with France.

On the meeting of Parliament in October, Shaftesbury again took up the case of Shirley *v.* Fagg, and much confusion resulted. By Danby's advice Charles thereupon prorogued Parliament from November 1675 to February 1677.

Danby had indeed revived Clarendon's Church-and-King policy, but, unlike Clarendon, he had to deal with a fierce and united opposition.

During the prorogation of Parliament, and during the ensuing years, the chief interest lay on the Continent, where Louis XIV.'s power continued to assert itself.

French Successes on Land and Sea, 1674-1678.—Turenne, Louis XIV.'s ablest general, had retrieved the failure of the 1673-74 campaign. In the autumn of 1674 the allies crossed the Rhine and occupied Alsace. But by a brilliant series of movements Turenne out-manœuvred the enemy, whom he defeated at Mulhausen and Turckheim (January 5, 1675), and a week later the left bank of the Rhine was completely cleared of all German soldiers. The year 1675, however, did not fulfil the hopes of the French. Turenne died on July 27, and in August, Condé, another great French general, retired owing to ill-health.

In 1676, the year in which James, Duke of York, openly declared himself a Roman Catholic, the French armies gained successes in the Netherlands, while the French fleet in the Mediterranean fought two indecisive battles with the Dutch off **Stromboli** (Jan. 8) and off **Catania** (April 22). The **death of De Ruyter,** however, was an immense advantage to the French, who for a time became supreme in the Mediterranean.

As the war dragged on the French people showed by rebellions in the provinces that they were weary of the war and desired peace. Nevertheless, peace was not yet at hand, though Louis had become fearful lest the English Parliament should force Charles II. to send aid to the Dutch.

Meeting of Parliament, February 1677.—On February 15, 1677, Parliament again met, and Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower for a year by the House of Lords for refusing to apologise for questioning the legality of the session. His supporters, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, were also imprisoned, but apologising were released. The most serious matter before Parliament was the continued successes of the French in the Spanish Netherlands, owing to which the Dutch Republic was in danger of becoming dependent upon France. Parliament was eager that England should aid William of Orange, but would not trust Charles with funds for the necessary operations.

Though Danby himself was in favour of a Dutch alliance, he joined James, Duke of York, in secretly negotiating in August with France for a sum of money to be given Charles, and agreed that Parliament, which had been adjourned on May 28, 1677, should not meet till April 1678.

Marriage of William of Orange and Princess Mary, November 1677.—At the same time he was strongly in favour of a Dutch alliance, and owing to his efforts William of Orange crossed over to England in October 1677, and in November married, amid great rejoicings, Mary, the daughter of James,

Duke of York. In spite of victories in the early part of 1677, Louis' fears of English intervention increased, and a revolution in English foreign policy seemed inevitable. Knowing that Danby was in sympathy with the Prince of Orange, he determined to intrigue with the Country Party in England and to bring about Danby's fall.

England and Holland draw together, 1677-1678.—The events of the autumn of 1677 in England had made such a course in the eyes of Louis necessary. During William's stay in England he and Danby had persuaded Charles and James to agree to the despatch of the Earl of Faversham to France for the purpose of bringing about a European peace. Louis, however, refused to consider the proposals, and consequently Charles agreed to the conclusion, on December 30, 1677, of a Treaty with the Dutch, and summoned Parliament to meet on January 28, 1678.

On the opening of Parliament in January 1678, Charles 'asked for money in order to equip ninety ships and thirty thousand soldiers.'

The union of the two sea-powers—England and Holland—caused Louis to evacuate Sicily and to redouble his attacks on the Spanish Netherlands.

Louis outwits his Opponents, 1678.—Louis had thus good grounds for anxiety. He at once intrigued with the opponents of William of Orange—the republican party in Holland—and eventually persuaded it to conclude a separate peace with France.

His intrigues against Danby and the war party were no less successful. The opponents of that minister were heavily bribed, and in May 1678 Louis won over Charles to the side of inaction in foreign affairs by a secret treaty (known to Danby, Lauderdale, and James), in accordance with which Charles was to receive a large sum of money on condition that he prorogued Parliament for four months, and that if the

Dutch had not made peace within two months, all recently raised English troops were to be disbanded, except those in Ostend and those required for service in Scotland.[1]

On July 25 the prorogation of Parliament took place, and Louis had won a signal and valuable triumph.

The Peace of Nimeguen, 1678-1679.—Owing to his skilful diplomacy and force of arms, Louis was now able to secure all his aims, by a number of treaties known as the Peace of Nimeguen.

On August 10 he made a treaty with Holland, on September 17 one with Spain, on February 2, 1679, one with the emperor and empire. By these treaties he secured Franche Comté, and by the acquisition of twelve cities in the Spanish Netherlands, a strong north-eastern frontier. He had obtained 'the most magnificent position held by any monarch between Charles v. and Napoleon.'[2]

Effect of the War upon England and Holland.—The war, which was now finally concluded, had results upon England as a maritime and colonising power which were little appreciated at the time. For the United Provinces, after the series of herculean struggles dating from the close of the Thirty Years' War, were now, from sheer exhaustion, unable to continue as a great sea-power. Their finances were exhausted, their navy well-nigh destroyed, and a serious decline in their trade, manufactures, and commerce had resulted from their wars with England and France.

Henceforward, instead of being the enemy, or at anyrate the rival of England, Holland becomes her ally. But 'as one increased and the other lessened, it became the alliance of the giant and the dwarf.'[3]

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, p. 149. London: Longmans, 1910.

[2] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. p. 220.

[3] Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, p. 168. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co.

Till the close of the Spanish Succession War in 1713, Holland was frequently at war, but always in alliance with England. These wars still further sapped her strength, and relegated her among the smaller and less important States of Europe.

Triumph of Charles and Danby, 1678.—While the chief European Powers were engaged in concluding treaties of peace which were destined to give Western Europe an uneasy period of rest for ten years, broken by a short war between France and Spain (1682-84), England was plunged into confusion owing to the Titus Oates revelations. These attracted the notice of the English public just when the Peace of Nimeguen left England free to devote itself to domestic affairs.

During the early part of 1678, the position of Charles and Danby seemed unassailable. English troops were returning from the Continent, a considerable English army was in Scotland, the French king had engaged to pay Charles large sums of money. The future seemed dark for the Whigs, to many of whom retirement from political life seemed preferable to continuing a hopeless struggle against a powerful king and minister.

The Popish Plot, 1678-1679.—Suddenly an event took place which completely changed the situation and rendered the Whigs all-powerful for four years. Rarely has England passed through a period as stormy as was that between August 1678 and May 1681, during which civil war seemed by no means unlikely to break out. In August 1678, after the King had been warned by one Israel Tonge of the existence of a Jesuit conspiracy, a certain Titus Oates, who was 'repulsive in character and appearance,' but 'endowed with considerable acuteness, with an unfailing readiness of apprehension, and with brazen effrontery,'[1] came forward and

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 151. London: Longmans, 1910.

asserted that a plot had been formed by the Jesuits for the murder of the King and the establishment of Roman Catholicism. Oates had been alternately a clergyman in the Church of England and a Roman priest. After his feigned conversion to the Roman Church, he had visited various Jesuit seminaries in Spain and St. Omer, where he heard that Father Edward Coleman, the Secretary of James, Duke of York, corresponded with Louis XIV.'s confessor, and that high expectations were entertained of the results which would follow upon Charles II.'s death and the accession of his brother.

Owing to somewhat natural suspicions entertained in England of Roman Catholic intrigues, Oates's lies met with a considerable amount of credence.

Oates declared that a plot existed for the murder of Charles II., that the Jesuits had ready an army of 20,000 men for the invasion and conquest of England, and the destruction of London by fire. Moreover, that the headquarters of the plot was in London, where the Jesuits met, and that at their meetings were present a number of English nobles and gentlemen, among whom were Lord Bellasis, the prime mover, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Stafford, Coleman, and Sir George Wakeman, the royal physician.[1]

Oates, on being brought before the Privy Council on September 28-30, reaffirmed these stories. Charles II. (who was present on the second day) with his shrewdness soon detected that Oates was a liar, and treated him with the contempt he deserved. The Council, however, ordered the arrest of several persons, including Coleman, and the seizure of their papers. The papers of one of the arrested Jesuits, and those of Coleman, confirmed to some extent certain of the assertions made by Oates.

There is no doubt that the Roman Catholics in England

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. p. 220.

hoped to see James, Duke of York, supreme in England, and it is equally true that the Jesuits in England and France had been engaged in schemes for the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England. The fact that there was no proof of an actual 'plot' did not, however, reassure the general public, and when in October, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a London magistrate, to whom Oates had early in September given a copy of his deposition, was found murdered at the foot of Primrose Hill, the excitement became intense. The Jesuits were accused of having murdered Sir Edmund, London was panic-struck, and his funeral, on November 1, was made the occasion for a great demonstration.

Parliament Panic-struck, 1678.—The Whigs fanned the flame, and when Parliament met in October 1678, they found themselves, though in a minority, the most influential party. Both Houses affirmed the existence of a plot 'for the murdering of the King,' and for 'destroying the Protestant religion.' The militia was called out, the penal laws were enforced, large numbers of Roman Catholics were imprisoned, and five Roman Catholic peers—Powis, Petre, Bellasis, Arundel of Wardour, and Stafford—were sent to the Tower, to be impeached later on. Bellasis, whom public report marked out as the commander of the Popish army, was such an invalid that he 'could hardly keep his feet,' and Charles II. had some reason for ridiculing the popular fears. Dryden wrote some lines which represent accurately the situation :—

> 'From hence began that Plot, the nation's curse,
> Bad in itself, but represented worse.
> . . . . . .
> Not weighed or winnowed by the multitude,
> But swallowed in the mass, unchewed and crude,
> Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies
> To please the fools and puzzle all the wise.'

The Test Act of 1678.—The discovery of Coleman's letters

convinced the Opposition that the Duke of York was aware of and agreed with their contents. It was most important for the Opposition to exclude the Duke from the throne, as his accession would be the signal of their downfall.

Consequently on November 2 Shaftesbury opened the attack by calling upon Charles to dismiss the Duke from his Council. He was supported by Halifax, Essex, and Barlow, Bishop of London, while on November 4 Lord Russell moved in the House of Commons that the Duke of York 'be removed from the King's presence and councils.'

Charles, in his desire to avoid further discussions, persuaded James not to attend any more meetings of the Privy Council for the future, and made a conciliatory statement. So long as James's **right of succession** was not attacked he was ready to make concessions. This decision was the signal for wild demonstrations of joy in London.

On December 1, 1678, the King accepted the **Test Act**, which excluded the Roman Catholic peers from both Houses of Parliament, the Duke of York alone being exempted.[1] In the debates in the House of Lords Danby had supported James, who in November had been violently attacked by Shaftesbury, Halifax, Essex, and Russell. More successful were the Whigs in their assaults upon the Standing Army and upon Danby. Indeed, their demand for the disbandment of the regular army can be defended. In the state of public opinion the questions of the alliance of the Court with Louis XIV., Roman Catholicism, and a standing army were closely connected. And Danby was represented, though erroneously, as being in favour of all the above.

Attack on Danby—His Fall—Dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament, January 1679.—Unfortunately for himself, Danby had made an enemy of Ralf, Lord Montagu, then ambassador

[1] It was not till 1829 that this Act was repealed, and Roman Catholic peers were again admitted to the House of Lords.

in Paris, and he had never been forgiven by Louis XIV. for having brought about the marriage of Mary to William of Orange. Montagu, now a member of Parliament, and who was associated with Barrillon, the French ambassador, satisfied his cupidity and revenged himself on Danby by accepting 50,000 **livres** (crowns) from the French king, and by giving to the Speaker of the House of Commons on December 19 the letter received by Louis in March 1678, in which the English minister had demanded six million **livres** as the price of the dissolution of Parliament. Danby had, it is true, always disapproved of Charles's negotiations with Louis, but that fact, if known, would not have aided him.

The Whig chiefs, who acted in collusion with Montagu, and who had received pensions from Barrillon, had now an opportunity of overthrowing the minister. The Parliament, naturally exasperated at this proof of treasonable conduct on the part of the minister, clamoured for his downfall, and voted for his impeachment. It was no defence that he had acted by the King's orders, and the Commons insisted upon the doctrine of **ministerial responsibility.** To save his minister, whose impeachment was voted, Charles prorogued Parliament on December 30, 1678. On January 24, 1679, by Danby's unselfish advice, Parliament was dissolved, having sat since 1661.

The Second Parliament, March-July 1679.—For the **first time in eighteen years a general election** took place, and the Country Party, or Whigs, swept the polls, the Government only securing the return of about twenty supporters. Parliament met on March 6, 1679; on March 4 James had left England for Brussels. Danby had received a marquisate from the King, but Parliament continued its attack upon him. On his dismissal from office he was threatened with attainder, and on April 16 was committed by the House of Lords to the Tower, where he remained five years. The Commons next

disbanded all the troops which had been raised since September 1677, and were then prepared to consider the question of the Succession, closely connected with which was the still burning question of Roman Catholicism.

The Importance of Danby's Fall.—The following two years sees what is practically a duel between the King and Shaftesbury, the latter endeavouring to secure the exclusion of James, Duke of York, from the succession to the throne, the former bent on preserving his brother's rights.

The fall of Danby thus constitutes an important epoch in Charles's reign. It marks the beginning of a struggle of the King with the future Whigs over the question of the **hereditary succession**, closely connected with which was the question of the **prerogative**.

Danby was a zealous champion both of the hereditary succession and of the prerogative. Moreover, he was a supporter of the Anglican Church, and a whole-hearted opponent of Popery, and indeed of France. His idea was 'to unite sovereignty and hereditary succession with a parliamentary constitution and the support of Protestantism on the Continent.' By a curious accident he came to be regarded as a partisan of France and of the Papacy. He could have saved himself by unfolding the history of Charles's policy during the previous years, but his loyalty forbade him from diverting the accusations of his opponents from himself to the king.

Temple's Scheme of a Privy Council.—In a situation which was perplexing to the highest degree, Charles, who had placed the Treasury in the hands of a commission which included Essex, Lawrence Hyde, and Sidney Godolphin (so prominent in Anne's reign), resolved to adopt a conciliatory attitude to his opponents, and to accept Sir William Temple's scheme of a **new Privy Council.**

Temple has been described as 'a doctrinaire by nature';

he hoped by the formation of a strengthened Privy Council to allay political discord. The new Council contained, besides its president, thirty members, of whom fifteen were to be 'officers of the State and household,' and fifteen were to be 'non-official' persons. The Council would thus, according to Temple, be no longer an unwieldy body; and being composed mainly of rich men, would be independent.

By adopting this scheme Charles hoped that he would win over the leaders of the Opposition, by giving them a share in the administration, and so avert any further attacks upon the prerogative of the Crown. He named Shaftesbury as President, and included in the Council several of his chief opponents, such as Halifax, Russell, Cavendish, and even one Powle, an active opponent of the Crown in the Lower House, and who was, moreover, in the pay of Barrillon. Thus the leaders of the party which was in a majority in the House of Commons had now some share in the administration. Temple's scheme, however, was not workable. The Council was too large for secrecy, and too small to take the place of Parliament. Moreover, Charles had no intention of delegating his power to the Council. He simply wished to calm parties and to make use of the Council, not to fall into its hands. The chief power, however, was soon seized by a small committee of the Council, composed of Sunderland, Essex, and Temple, who were joined later by Halifax. Temple soon retired, and the remaining three became known as the 'Triumvirate.' These three men had great territorial influence, and it was said that together they held more land in England than the king himself.

Though the Parliament only sat for three months, it dealt with two important questions—the **future succession** to the throne, and the question of **Habeas Corpus**.

The Exclusion Bill.—In face of 'the alarmed Protestantism of the Parliament and the people,' it was necessary to devise

some scheme which should give security to the Church, and on April 30, 1679, such a scheme was brought forward. But it was evidently quite futile to endeavour to bind the hands of a future king, and accordingly the extreme party, headed by Shaftesbury, declared in favour of excluding James from the crown of England. This attack on the **hereditary** character of royalty at once rallied to the side of the Crown many moderate men, such as Sir William Coventry, Cavendish, and Littleton, who argued in favour of stringent decrees which should lessen the power of a king to change the religion and constitution of the country.

But the House of Commons, still full of Protestant zeal, and convinced that James had plotted against the religion of the country, would not hear of any compromise. A Bill known as the **Exclusion Bill**, excluding James from the Crown of England, passed the first reading on May 15 and the second on May 21 by a majority of seventy-nine.

The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.—On May 27 Charles gave his assent to the **Habeas Corpus Act**, the object of which was to facilitate the execution of the 39th Clause of Magna Carta, which aimed at securing for every Englishman the right of trial by his peers or equals. Certain methods by which the Crown had evaded the rule requiring the issue of writs of Habeas Corpus were now exposed. On the same day as that on which he accepted this Act, Charles prorogued Parliament. At this moment Shaftesbury was at the height of his power, but the sudden close of the session came as an unpleasant surprise. On July 3, in spite of the opposition of Shaftesbury and his supporters in the Council, Charles **dissolved the Parliament** and summoned another for October 5, 1679. The Third Parliament, however, was prorogued, and did not meet till October 21, 1680.

Beginning of a reaction in favour of Charles.—During the intervening period England was on the verge of a civil war.

The fear of Jesuit conspiracies was still uppermost in men's minds, and though Coleman and three Jesuits had already been executed, five more, together with one Langhorne, a barrister, suffered death in June. Nevertheless events moved, though slowly, in favour of Charles. In Scotland, where the Covenanters had risen and murdered Archbishop Sharp on May 3 on **Magus Muir**, near St. Andrews, the royal arms had been successful on June 25 in the battle of **Bothwell Brig** over a force of Covenanters, though this victory also added to the reputation of the Duke of Monmouth, who was in command. In England the tide seemed, indeed, turning. On July 18 Chief-Justice Scroggs acquitted Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who was accused by one Bedloe, an associate of Oates, of a plot to poison the king. Three Benedictines were also acquitted at the same time. In October some Roman Catholics themselves endeavoured to turn the tables on their opponents by concocting what was known as the **Meal Tub Plot.** It seems to have originated with Lady Powis and a Mrs. Cellier, and an infamous wretch, called Dangerfield, was employed. It was said that Mrs. Cellier had found under her meal tub papers proving the existence of a Presbyterian conspiracy. But Dangerfield informed against Mrs. Cellier and joined the ranks of the Protestant informers. This affair only strengthened the hands of Shaftesbury and kept alive the general hatred of Roman Catholicism.

Even Wales had some experience of the wave of anti-Catholic feeling. In the year 1679, which saw England so stirred up, one Philip Lewis, a Welsh Jesuit, who had studied at St. Omer, was executed at Cardiff, while Charles Baker, another Welsh Jesuit (whose real name was David Lewis), and who, like Philip Lewis, had been a missioner in Wales, suffered death at Usk.

This revival of antagonism to Roman Catholicism was most

disappointing to Charles, who had just decided to act with vigour. Several circumstances seemed to warrant this decision. The Exclusion Bill had for the time been got rid of, his secret negotiations with Louis had not been revealed, the 'Triumvirate' had quarrelled with Shaftesbury. On several points they differed with him, but the chief cause of estrangement was **their opposition to his wish to regard Monmouth as Charles's successor.** Essex and Halifax looked rather to **William of Orange** as the next king of England, and desired to invite him to England and place him in the House of Lords as Duke of Gloucester.

Growth of Political and Economic Hostility to France.—From the time of the first development of the Popish Terror in 1678, the hostility to France became more and more apparent, and Shaftesbury utilised the fear of France to strengthen the opposition to Charles II. Alarm at French aggrandisement became general, and **took the place of the former jealousy of Holland.** That opposition to France, from being, as in 1674, chiefly **economic** now became **political** as well, and an illustration of the appreciation of the alarm felt at Colbert's protective policy is to be found in the fact that during the ensuing thirty years the consumption of port took the place of that of claret—a change which it is said cost France £137,000 a year.[1]

The position of James, Duke of York, and of Monmouth.—On August 22 the serious illness of Charles took all by surprise, and fearful of the accession of Monmouth and the triumph of their rivals, Sunderland and Halifax secretly, but with Charles's approval, invited James to return to Court.

The recovery of Charles rendered the return of James to the Continent necessary, but the Triumvirate persuaded Charles to deprive Monmouth of his position as Captain-

[1] Hertz, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration*, p. 160. London: Fisher Unwin.

General, and to order him to leave England. This compromise resulted in James returning to Brussels, and Monmouth taking up his residence at Arnhem. In a few weeks' time, however, James returned to England, and shortly afterwards made Edinburgh his headquarters.

Monmouth's cause had now received a severe blow, while the residence of James in Scotland, where he insisted on his royal rights, and withal acted with prudence and ability, definitely broke up Temple's Council, and was no little encouragement to Charles, who, on October 15, dismissed Shaftesbury from the Council, which during the next few months lost many of its members. Temple retired into private life, and Russell, Cavendish, Capel, and Powle in January 1680 resigned their seats.

Charles's position was, however, far from secure. The return of Monmouth to London in November 1679 had been the signal for great rejoicings, and though Charles refused to see him he remained in England, being received in the country as though he was heir to the throne.

Whigs and Tories. — Party feeling at the beginning of 1680 continued to run very high, and the supporters and opponents of Monmouth were about equal in number, and in their political influence evenly balanced. Since the close of 1679, pressure had been brought to bear upon Charles to induce him to summon a Parliament. In December 1679, at the instigation of Shaftesbury, seventeen Whig Peers, headed by old Prince Rupert, petitioned the King to make a declaration on the subject. Similar petitions were now drawn up in London and in the country. Charles's reply was to issue a declaration **proroguing Parliament from January 1680 to the following November.** He thus asserted definitely that the right of summoning Parliament was the royal prerogative.

This bold step caused consternation among the leaders of Shaftesbury's party; and it was by his advice that, as has

been said above, Russell, Capel, Cavendish, Powle, and Essex resigned their places in the Privy Council in January 1680.

In opposition to the **Country Party** a **Court Party** was formed. As the former advocated petitions to the King to induce him to summon Parliament, they were styled 'Petitioners.' Their opponents received the name of 'Abhorrers,' as they issued addresses disclaiming the petitions.

These names were soon replaced by **Whig** and **Tory**, both in their origin opprobrious terms. The term 'Whig' denoted the Covenanting rebels in Scotland, that of 'Tory' the Popish outlaws in Ireland, who gained a precarious livelihood by highway robbery.

The Political Situation, 1680.—Temple's Privy Council being virtually dissolved by the beginning of 1680, the Government fell into the hands of a **new Triumvirate**—Sunderland, Godolphin, and Lawrence Hyde, the First Commissioner of the Treasury. It was becoming more evident than ever that opinion in the country was much divided. A large portion of the well-to-do middle class deprecated any acts which might lead to civil war, and in March the Duke of York was well received in London. Charles's policy of masterly inactivity, and his unshaken resolution to allow **no tampering with the hereditary succession**, was beginning to be appreciated by the average Englishman who desired peace and order, and in reality disliked Shaftesbury's schemes for excluding James.

At the same time Monmouth was receiving distinct encouragement in the western counties, which was in itself an inducement to Shaftesbury and his party to continue their policy.

Foreign Policy of 1680.—The Triumvirate (or 'the Chits,' as they were called on account of the youth of the three men) at once set to work to win popularity by their **foreign policy**, and on June 10, 1680, returned to the policy of the Triple Alliance by concluding a treaty with Spain for the mainten-

ance of the Peace of Nimeguen. This treaty, which was approved of by the Dutch, was all the more necessary as Louis XIV. had already erected his **Chambres de Réunion**, which eventually added much territory to France. But to make the treaty effective, it was desirable that Charles should have the full support of Parliament.

Parliament, October 1680.—Consequently, 'on account of external rather than of internal relations,' **the Third** Parliament of the reign began its sittings on October 21, 1680. Charles opened the Session with an able, weighty, and conciliatory speech. He laid great stress on his friendly relations with Spain and Holland, so necessary for the peace of Christendom, and he pointed out the necessity for defending **Tangier** against the attacks of the Moors. He urged 'the continuance of investigations into the Popish plot.' He was, moreover, ready to concur in any measures for the greater security of the Protestant faith, so long as they were compatible **with the maintenance of the regular succession.** An appeal for union, upon which the power and prestige of England depended, closed a temperate speech, which did great credit to Charles's political sagacity.

It was, however, all in vain. The fear of the Popish Plot was still great, and Barrillon, the French ambassador, had distributed French gold freely among the members of the Whig party, in order that the treaty between England and Spain should not be ratified.

But it did not require Barrillon's gold to stir up opposition to the King. The members cared nothing for foreign affairs at that moment, and a Triple Alliance between England, Spain, and Holland had no interest for them.

The Exclusion Bill passes the Commons.—The keynote of the debate was indicated by Lord Russell, who declared that 'this Parliament must destroy Popery or they will destroy us.' It soon became evident that, in spite of the King's

speech, 'external considerations fell into the background before the complications of internal affairs.'[1]

On November 2 it was decided to bring in a **Second** and more stringent **Exclusion Bill**, which not only declared James, Duke of York, incapable of succession, but forbade him to enter the kingdom. On November 15, the Bill, which had been hurried through its various stages, reached the House of Lords. There a famous debate of six hours took place. Shaftesbury, Essex, Sunderland, and even Monmouth spoke in favour of it, and **Halifax**, known as 'The Trimmer,' spoke, it is said, sixteen times in opposition to it.

Position of Halifax—Defeat of the Exclusion Bill.—His position was a peculiar one. He was 'an old antagonist of the Duke of York, an opponent of Papacy on principle; but yet he would not suffer Shaftesbury and the Duke of Monmouth to come into power.'[2]

He was convinced that the passing of the Exclusion Bill would lead to civil war, he fully realised that William of Orange was the most valuable defender of Protestantism, and 'he did not believe that the Duke would ever ascend the throne.'[3] The accession of William of Orange, to which he looked forward, would preserve the principle of hereditary right.

In his oratorical contest with Shaftesbury, in which he declared that he was neither Whig nor Tory, but a **Trimmer**, Halifax came off victor, and the Bill was defeated by 63 votes to 30.

Death of Stafford, December 29, 1680.—The immediate result was the death of Thomas Howard, Viscount Stafford. The excitement caused by the rejection of the Exclusion Bill rendered it difficult for the King and his Government to oppose the vehemence of the movement against Roman

[1] Ranke, *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 109.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 113. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Catholicism, and on December 29 Stafford was executed, a victim to the anger of the House of Commons at the rejection of the Exclusion Bill, and the last victim of the Popish Plot. A further result of the disappointment of the Commons was seen in December 1680, when they refused to vote adequate supplies for the defence of Tangier.

The Acquisition of Tangier.—The acquisition of Tangier by Charles II. on the occasion of his marriage with Catharine of Portugal had been most popular in England. This African port in English hands would be a valuable base for operations against the Moorish pirates who infested the Mediterranean.

In his instructions to Lord Peterborough, the first governor of Tangier, the policy of Charles II. was clearly stated. 'Our main design in putting Ourself to this great charge for making this addition to our Dominions being to gaine our Subjects the Trade of Barbary and to Enlarge our Dominion in that Sea . . . it shall be and remain a free port.' The English Government evidently hoped that an extensive and profitable trade would grow up round Tangier, which itself would afford protection to English merchant ships. As, however, Charles's reign proceeded, foreign wars and internal troubles prevented the Government from keeping the navy in good and serviceable condition, and from sending adequate and regular supplies of money to Tangier.

So the whole history of the occupation of Tangier by England is a history of lost opportunities on the part of the English Government, and of heroic struggles on the part of the Tangier garrison to maintain itself against overwhelming odds.

On January 30, 1662, Lord Peterborough, at the head of a regiment of English troops, marched into Tangier, which was an isolated town, flanked by 'sandhills with an unexplored country beyond them.'[1] The first duty of the English was to

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, vol. xix. p. 64.

restore the fortifications, which were in as ruined a condition as was the town. Before, however, this work was accomplished, the garrison had to defend itself against the continual attacks of the Moors.

The Tangier Committee.—Meanwhile a Tangier Committee had been formed by Charles II., and it included the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Lord Sandwich (who had been with a fleet guarding Tangier till Peterborough's arrival), Cholmley, and Pepys, the Treasurer in 1665. It was at once decided by the Committee to build a mole which would afford protection to the harbour. One of the Committee, Sir Hugh Cholmley, was appointed surveyor of the work, which was carried on in desultory fashion till 1679.

Defeat and Death of Lord Teviot, 1664.—From 1663 to 1664 Lord Teviot governed Tangier, but was himself, with some five hundred men, killed in an engagement with the Moors on May 4, 1664. He was succeeded by Lord Belasyse, who made peace with the Moors. But from 1665 the English Government, fully occupied at home, paid less and less attention to the needs of Tangier, the cost of the maintenance of which much troubled the Committee.

In 1668 a civil government was established, but continual disputes between the military and civil authorities ensued, and added to the difficulties of the successive governors.

The Great Siege of Tangier, 1680.—After 1672 the hostility of the Moorish Emperor, Mulai Ismaïl, caused the garrison much anxiety, and in 1680 Tangier, like Gibraltar a century later, was closely besieged, and the garrison had great difficulty in preventing the capture of the town. In the autumn, on the conclusion of a four months' armistice, the garrison was aided by Admiral Herbert and the sailors from an English squadron. With their aid a decisive victory was won over the Moors, and, fortunately for Tangier, which was now barely defensible, friendly relations were established

with the Moors, and a definite peace was concluded in May 1681.

But the last days of the British occupation were approaching. In 1680 the Commons were convinced that Tangier was becoming 'a nursery for Papists' and 'a stepping-stone to promotion for desperate Popish officers,' and on November 29, 1680, they refused to consider the matter till they were 'effectually secured from the imminent and apparent dangers arising from the power of Popish persons and councils.'

The Evacuation of Tangier, 1684.—Want of money therefore compelled the English Government to evacuate Tangier, and in 1683 Lord Dartmouth, who was accompanied by Pepys, was sent to destroy the fortifications and to carry out the retirement of the English garrison.

By March 1684 the work of evacuation was finished, and 'all hope of making Tangier the starting-point of a North African Empire'[1] was given up.

Final struggle between Charles and the Commons, 1680-1681.—The refusal of the Commons in December 1680 to aid in the defence of Tangier had indeed been a conditional refusal. On December 20 they had formulated their demands. These included the practical nomination by the Commons of the Commanders of the Tower, of Hull, Plymouth, and Portsmouth, and the exclusion of James. Should Charles agree to these demands, not only would the Commons support measures for the defence of Tangier, but would support the King's alliances '**so far as these tended to the advantage of Protestantism.**'

This restriction enraged Charles, who was aware that various other proposals, which were very distasteful to him, were in preparation.

'Matters,' says Ranke, 'seemed to be taking a course

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, vol. xix. p. 75.

similar to that taken in the year 1641.' But Charles II. was a very different man from Charles I., and the sympathies of at least half the nation were with him **on the question of the Succession.** On that question he had no intention of yielding. As his foreign allies who urged opposition to France also urged his surrender to the wishes of Parliament, Charles naturally turned to Louis, who was aware of the anti-French disposition of the Parliament. Secret negotiations were again begun, Louis urging Charles to dissolve Parliament. That body, like William of Orange, had indeed made a serious mistake. By concentrating its attention upon the Exclusion Bill, it had prevented the formation of a powerful European alliance, which would have included England, the Emperor, Spain, Holland, and certain German Protestant States, and which would have checked Louis XIV. As it was, Louis was enabled until 1688 (with the exception of a short war with Spain) to carry out undisturbed his Chambers of Reunion policy, by which he annexed a great extent of territory to France. Owing to the shortsightedness of the Whigs, England remained a cipher in European politics until 1689, and Tangier was evacuated.

On January 10, 1681, Charles **dissolved the Parliament**, striking Sunderland, Essex, and Temple (who favoured the Exclusion Bill) from the list of Privy Councillors.

The Oxford Parliament, March 1681.—Charles at once summoned a new Parliament (the Fourth) to meet, not in London, where it would be supported and encouraged by 'the Train-bands and Pope-burning populace,' but at **Oxford**, on March 21, 1681. The Whigs, who had secured a large majority at the elections, were confident and exultant. They rode into Oxford with bands of armed retainers, while Charles not only fortified Windsor Castle, Lambeth Palace, and Whitehall, but stationed a regiment on the road from Oxford to London.

During the interval between the dissolution of the last

Parliament and the meeting of the Oxford Parliament, Charles had made a **definite agreement with Louis XIV.**, who promised to pay him 12,500,000 francs during the ensuing three years if the alliance of England with Spain was broken off, and if the non-interference of Parliament with French schemes on the Continent was assured.

The Oxford Parliament played into the King's hands, for by its refusal of consent to any compromise over the Third Exclusion Bill which it produced, and by its dictatorial attitude—Shaftesbury insisting on Charles's recognition of Monmouth as his successor—it alienated all moderate men. Charles lodged in Christ Church surrounded by his Life Guards, the Lords sat in the Geometry School, the Commons in Convocation House. Balliol College was converted into a Whig citadel. The feeling in Oxford and in the country was strongly in favour of the King, and the militia, no less than the city of Oxford and the undergraduates, showed unmistakably their contempt for Whigism.

The Restoration of Charles II. had been followed by the restoration of a great number of Fellows and Scholars who had been ejected. Men so expelled naturally supported Charles II., and in Oxford the 'fever-fit of loyalty' was in 1681 still maintained at its height.

Unaware of Charles's agreement with Louis, the Whigs were confident that their refusal in December to grant the King supplies would ensure their supremacy and the victory of the Third Exclusion Bill.

On March 28, the eighth day of the session, the King arrived in the House of Lords, and to the dismay of the Commons, who had been summoned to hear, as they confidently expected, the announcement of Charles's surrender, Parliament was dissolved.[1] Till 1688 England stood by while Louis XIV.

[1] See Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, pp. 414-417, for a graphic description of the Oxford Parliament. London: Methuen.

carried out his ambitious schemes, seizing Strassburg and generally strengthening his frontiers. Meanwhile Charles remained untroubled by Parliament and supreme till his death.

Charles triumphant in Scotland, 1681.—The year 1681 saw also the triumph of the Monarchy in Scotland. On July 28 Parliament met in Edinburgh under the guidance of James, who represented Charles II., as Commissioner. It at once showed distinct opposition to the policy of the English exclusionists, by emphasising the right 'of succession or lineal descent of the Crown to the nearest heir.' It demanded pledges distasteful to the Presbyterians, such as 'the repudiation of the covenant, the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, and the acceptance of the doctrine of passive obedience.' It also required the acceptance of a test which Roman Catholics and Episcopalians were not likely to accept. One result of the test was the ruin of the Marquess of Argyll. As representing the nobles of the Lowlands, in whose hands the chief power lay, he was unpopular with the Highland chieftains whom James wished to conciliate.

James readily seized the opportunity of imprisoning Argyll (who was afterwards condemned to death) for adding the qualification 'so far as it is consistent with the Protestant religion' to his acceptance of the Test.[1] Argyll, however, escaped to Holland, only to return and be executed in 1685.

Charles was now secure in both England and Scotland, and no Parliament met again in either country during his reign.

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 207 London: Longmans, 1910.

IMPORTANT DATES.

The Stop of the Exchequer	1672
Declaration of Indulgence, The First (March)	,,
The Third Dutch War (March)	,,
Invasion of Holland by Louis XIV.	,,
Battle of Southwold Bay (March)	,,
William of Orange Stadtholder (July)	,,
The Test Act (March)	1673
Battle of the Texel	,,
Break-up of the Cabal—Osborne (Danby) Chief Minister (June)	,,
James, Duke of York, marries Mary of Modena (Sept.)	,,
Shaftesbury deprived of the Great Seal (Nov.)	,,
Treaty of Westminster with Holland (Feb.)	1674
Shaftesbury excluded from the Privy Council (May)	,,
Meeting of Parliament (April)	1675
Danby's Bill for a New Test	,,
Case of Shirley v. Fagg	,,
Parliament prorogued (Nov.) till Feb. 1677—Charles receiving a subsidy from Louis XIV.	,,
James, Duke of York, an avowed Roman Catholic,	1676
Death of De Ruyter (April)—France supreme in the Mediterranean	,,
Successes of the French in the Netherlands,	,,
Parliament meets (Feb.)—is adjourned (May) till January 1678	1677
French successes in the Netherlands	,,
Marriage of William of Orange and Princess Mary (Nov.)	,,
The Popish Plot—Popularity of Titus Oates	1678
Peace of Nimeguen	,,
The Parliamentary Test Act (Nov.)	,,
Impeachment of Danby (Dec.)	,,
Dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament (January)	1679
The Second Parliament (March)	,,

The Exclusion Bill (April)	**1679**
Temple's Scheme of a Privy Council (April)	,,
Imprisonment of Danby (April)	,,
The Habeas Corpus Act (May)	,,
Battle of Bothwell Brig (June 25)	,,
Dissolution of the Second Parliament (July)	,,
The Third Parliament meets (Oct.)	**1680**
Exclusion Bill, having passed the Commons, is thrown out by the Lords (Nov.)	,,
Execution of Stafford (Dec.)	,,
The Third Parliament is dissolved (Jan.)	**1681**
Dissolution of the Fourth (the Oxford) Parliament (March 28)	,,
Triumph of Charles II.	,,

QUESTIONS ON PERIOD II., 1672-1681.

(1) Are there any indications of Charles II. being influenced by other than personal interests in his policy?

(2) Explain the attempts made under Charles II. for the comprehension of the Protestant Nonconformists. Why did they fail?

(3) How was the Settlement of Ireland by Charles II. rendered difficult by the measures and intentions of Cromwell?

(4) Trace the causes and describe the character of the restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland at the Restoration.

(5) Write accounts of the policy pursued (1) by Lauderdale in Scotland and (2) by Ormonde in Ireland.

(6) Illustrate from the career of Danby the gradual development of party principles.

(7) On what grounds has Shaftesbury been described as a precursor of the Revolution?

(8) What grounds are there for questioning the view that Shaftesbury was an unprincipled statesman?

(9) Illustrate the meaning of the word 'Trimmer' as applied to Halifax.

(10) Trace in the reign of Charles II. the gradual formation of political parties.

Period III.—1681-1685.

Triumph of Charles II.

Contents.

Survey of the Exclusion Bill Struggle—Triumph of Charles II.—The Succession Question—Shaftesbury and Monmouth—Charles's dependence upon Louis XIV.—Seizure of Strassburg—Reign of Terror—Trial of Shaftesbury—His Acquittal—Remodelling of the Municipal Corporations—Flight and Death of Shaftesbury—The Rye House Plot—Charles Triumphant—Louis XIV.'s Successes on the Continent—England's Responsibility—John Locke—Hobbes—Filmer—Algernon Sydney—The Succession Question—Princess Anne marries Prince George of Denmark—Death of Charles II.

CHIEF NAMES.

William of Orange—Monmouth—Shaftesbury—Jefferies—Rumbold—Dryden—Locke—Louis XIV.—George of Denmark—Princess Anne—Hobbes—Filmer—Algernon Sydney.

A Survey of the Exclusion Bill Struggle.—In looking back over the stormy period which set in in 1672, and which came to a dramatic conclusion in 1681, it will be recognised that there was good ground for the suspicions and often violent attitude assumed by Parliament towards the Crown. During those years 'the dread of a return to military rule, and the fear of the establishment of Roman Catholicism,' were the dominant features. From 1678 to 1681 these fears, owing to the so-called Popish Plot, developed into little less than a panic, during which even sagacious and level-headed men seemed to lose all sense of judgment.

Finding themselves on the verge of civil war, and realising that the stories about a Popish Plot had been much exaggerated, the majority of Englishmen had turned against Shaftesbury and the Whigs and had supported the Crown.

Charles II. Triumphant.—From the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March 1681, Charles allied himself to, and relied with confidence upon the support of Churchmen, and remained absolute for the remainder of his reign. He had triumphed over the Whigs, but at the price of dependence upon Louis XIV.'s bounty. Till the end of his reign he had no necessity to summon a Parliament.

The general feeling of insecurity was, however, intensified by the dominant position held by Louis XIV. in Europe, and by the conversion of the Duke of York.

The passing of the Test Act had marked the first definite realisation by Englishmen of the necessity of taking steps to secure their independence; the production of the Exclusion Bill was the natural result of their fears (fully justified in the ensuing reign) that James Duke of York's accession would endanger the English Church.

During these stormy years, from 1672 to 1681, sagacious and far-seeing men like Halifax and Temple fixed their hopes upon William of Orange as a suitable successor of Charles II. But their hopes that William would succeed Charles were frustrated, partly by Charles's own determination not to allow the hereditary succession to be tampered with, but mainly by Shaftesbury's personal ambition. Cromwell had recognised the ambitious and somewhat unscrupulous character of 'the little man with three names' (Antony Ashley Cooper), and during the debates over the Exclusion Bill Shaftesbury did nothing to strengthen his cause with moderate Englishmen. The weakness of that cause lay in his endeavour to secure the recognition of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II., as heir to the throne. With Monmouth as king, Shaftesbury would, he firmly believed, be chief minister and the most influential man in the kingdom. Love of their **Church**, and attachment to the **hereditary succession**, were the two strongest passions in the hearts of Englishmen. Shaftesbury,

taking advantage of the temporary excitement over the so-called Popish Plot, had made a bold attempt to interfere with the hereditary succession, and had failed.

Charles again Louis XIV.'s Pensioner.—One unfortunate result of Shaftesbury's support of Monmouth, and insistence upon the Exclusion Bill, was that he forced Charles from 1681 to 1685 to become the pensioner of Louis. And consequently England stood on one side while Louis carried out his annexation projects, and increased and strengthened the north-eastern and eastern boundaries of France.

This neutrality of England, while such stirring events were proceeding on the Continent—Louis' seizure of Strassburg, September 1681—war with Spain (1683-1684)—the invasion of Eastern Europe by the Turks, who in 1683 besieged Vienna, which was only saved by the efforts of John Sobieski—puzzled such powers as Holland, Spain, and the Emperor, who fully realised the necessity of forming a strong and united opposition to France.

The Reign of Terror.—With regard to home affairs, Charles was chiefly advised by Lawrence Hyde, son of Clarendon, and by his brother James, and while preserving his secret alliance with France, looked to and received the enthusiastic support of the Church, which was gratified by the absence (1) of all attempts to give relief to the Protestant Dissenters, and (2) of concessions to the Roman Catholics. In fact a new period of persecution of the Dissenters was begun, the Clarendon Code was enforced with the greatest severity, and the prisons were filled with those who would not conform.

Nor were the Whigs and those who encouraged the idea of a Popish plot secure from attack during a period when despotism was praised in the most extravagant terms, and when James Duke of York's popularity even exceeded that of the King. Oates was deservedly disgraced, and Colledge, 'the Protestant Joiner,' and a member of the Green Ribbon Club

which since its foundation in 1675 had become the centre of the Whig organisation,[1] was convicted in Oxford of treason. One Fitzharris, and Plunket, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, were also executed, and in November 1681 Shaftesbury, who in July had been sent to the Tower, was put on his trial.

In London, however, strong Whig principles still prevailed, and Shaftesbury was on November 28 acquitted, his acquittal being followed by great rejoicings in the city.

The Municipal Corporations.—One result of his acquittal was the decision of the Government to attack municipal self-government in London and other towns. No delay took place in carrying out this decision. In December 1681 a writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued, calling upon the city to show cause why its charter should not be forfeited on account of the imposition of irregular tolls. During 1682 the attack continued. The Lord Mayor, Sir John Moore, happened to be a Tory, and with his aid two Tory sheriffs were elected in September; his successor, Sir William Pritchard, was also a Tory. The importance of these events lay in the fact that 'the Sheriffs appointed the juries, who could dispose of the life and liberty of every man obnoxious to the Court.'[2]

All over the country the towns proceeded to surrender their charters, and the corporations during 1682-84 were rapidly re-modelled on a Tory basis.

Under these circumstances the Whig leaders had serious reason to fear a general proscription. Shaftesbury, who was in bad health, and whose 'temper was soured by the consciousness that he had led his party to defeat and disaster,'[3] counselled armed resistance, and advised Monmouth to make a 'progress' through Cheshire. The only result was the

[1] See Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 393. London: Methuen & Co.

[2] Trevelyan, *ibid.*, p. 420.

[3] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 223.

arrest of Monmouth, who discountenanced Shaftesbury's proposal to incite without delay the inhabitants of London to rebellion. The latter now feared that his life was in danger, and in November 1682 fled to Holland, where in January 1683 he died.

Protestant Plots, 1683.—Though plots for the assassination of Charles and for a general insurrection had been discussed by Shaftesbury and such men as Essex, Hampden (a grandson of John Hampden), Russell, Howard of Esrick, Sydney, and Monmouth, no agreement had been come to, and it was not till 1683 that the Rye House Plot for the seizure or murder of the King and James was formed. The plot was organised by Robert Ferguson, who gathered round him a group of desperate men, of whom Richard Rumbold is the best known. The capture was to be effected at Rye House, near Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, in April, when it was expected that Charles and James would be returning from Newmarket.

While this plot was being hatched, the plot for a general insurrection had by no means been abandoned. The discovery however, in June, of the Rye House Plot was fatal to both plots, and not only were Rumbold and some of his associates arrested, but Hampden, Howard, Russell, and Sydney were seized. Rumbold, Ferguson, and Monmouth fled, Essex committed suicide, Howard turned King's evidence, and Russell and Sydney, though they had never agreed to the assassination of the King, were executed, the former in November, the latter in December. Hampden was heavily fined, and Monmouth, who surrendered himself in November, shortly afterwards fled to Holland.

The 'Protestant Plot' had failed, with the result that Charles's ascendency in the country was more firmly established than ever. Already in June 1683, the Charter of London 'was declared by the Court of King's Bench to be for-

feited to the Crown,' and London 'passed under the control of the King.'[1] The work of securing the surrender of even the corporations which had proved obstinate was now completed, and in 1684 Judge Jeffreys, on his return from the northern circuit, declared that he had 'made all the Charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him.'

Charles Triumphant.—The reaction in favour of the King thus enabled him to rule without Parliaments to the close of his reign. Few events in Charles's reign are so remarkable as the change in public opinion with regard to the Crown. That change, which became more and more marked after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, was chiefly caused by the realisation that the Exclusion Bill had no legal foundation. The tide in favour of the King having definitely set in, it was not difficult to obtain declarations from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from many towns, in support of Royalist principles.

The unpopularity of Parliament coincided with Charles's secret engagement to Louis, and in consequence of that engagement, known only to Rochester, the French king was enabled to carry out his work of annexation without meeting with any serious opposition.

Relations of Charles II. and William of Orange.—Louis' successes during the years 1681-1685 were in the main due to his understanding with Charles. In September 1681 the French occupied Strassburg and Casale, in December they invested Luxemburg. Now, if ever, Charles might be expected to intervene with success, for English public opinion was decidedly hostile to France. The Treaty of June 1680 still bound England to Spain, and in the summer of 1681 (July) William of Orange had come to England in order to induce Charles to aid him and his allies in maintaining the balance of power in Europe.

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 223.

At Windsor an interesting interview took place between him and Charles. While William expressed doubts as to the wisdom of dissolving the Oxford Parliament, he expressed himself strongly against the Exclusion Bill. He was also opposed to the restrictions which Shaftesbury and the Whigs had proposed to subject the Crown. At the same time he thought it would be possible for Charles and the Parliament to agree about foreign policy.[1]

French Successes, 1682-1684. — Charles had no difficulty in defeating his nephew in argument, and in making it clear that a meeting of Parliament at that time was to be deprecated. After William's departure, Louis' demand of the Duchy of Luxemburg raised a new and difficult question, for England's policy since Edward III.'s reign had been to exclude France from the Netherlands. Realising that Charles might be forced to take action, Louis sent him an additional million francs, and in March 1682 withdrew from Luxemburg, alleging that his action was prompted by a wish not to hamper the Emperor, whose capital, Vienna, was about to be attacked by the Turks.

In December 1683 **the Spaniards declared war upon France**, and in June 1684 the French occupied the fortress of Luxemburg. Charles, who had congratulated Louis on his success, only made ironical answers to the expostulations of the Dutch ambassador. In August the Imperial Diet and Spain agreed to the **Truce of Ratisbon** with Louis, by which the French remained in possession of their conquests (either won or due to the Reunions) for twenty years.

England's Responsibility. — Louis' Successes. — Charles's evasive policy during these years was difficult if not impossible for men like William of Orange and Halifax to understand—a 'policy to which none but Rochester held the key.'[2] Never-

[1] Ranke, *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 140.

[2] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 228.

theless, the blame for England's lack of a strong foreign policy as well as for her retirement from Tangier in 1684, must be shared by Shaftesbury and the Whigs with Charles.

John Locke.—One notable illustration of the widespread character of the reaction in favour of the royal power is to be found in the expulsion of John Locke, the philosopher, from Oxford. That famous man, who had been educated at Winchester and Christ Church, where he became lecturer and Censor, had from 1667 been closely connected with Shaftesbury. In 1679 he returned to Oxford, but in 1684, while abroad, he was expelled from Christ Church, owing to an intimation from the Court that his expulsion was desired by the King.[1]

Thomas Hobbes.—Thomas Hobbes, another celebrated political philosopher, had died in 1679. His well-known work, *The Leviathan*, did not find favour among the extreme Royalists, as in it he argued that 'the body politic has been formed as the only alternative to war.'

Filmer's 'Patriarchia.'—He also was fiercely attacked by Sir Robert Filmer, who asserted, in his *Patriarchia*, published in 1680, the natural power of kings.

Filmer's views were subjected to severe criticism by Locke. During the years immediately following the dissolution of Oxford Parliament, however, the views of Filmer were acceptable, not only to the Court, but to Englishmen in general.

Algernon Sydney.—Another literary opponent of Filmer was Algernon Sydney. A republican by instinct, Sydney, after a long absence abroad following on the Restoration, had returned in 1677 to England. He had joined the Whig opposition to Charles II., and in 1683 had suffered death on a charge of treason. Before his death he wrote

[1] In 1690 he published *An Essay concerning Human Understanding.*

an answer to Filmer's *Patriarchia*, entitled *Discourses concerning Government.*

Butler, Marvell, Dryden.—After the Restoration it was unlikely for some time that literature of the highest kind could be expected to flourish. Such poems as Butler's *Hudibras* were the natural expression of the hatred of the Puritans which had grown up in the minds of many during the Commonwealth, and Butler and Andrew Marvell have rightly been described as being with Dryden the only original poets of the Restoration period. *Hudibras*, however, in spite of its great popularity, was an ephemeral work; and the best representative poet of the Restoration era is undoubtedly *John Dryden.* 'He who knows minutely' the life of John Dryden, 'knows intimately the course of English letters and poetry from the Restoration' to the end of the century. He wrote *Astraea Redux* to celebrate the return of justice as represented by Charles II. In 1667 appeared the *Annus mirabilis*, which commemorates the events of the year 1666, the Great Fire of London, and the Dutch War. In 1668 he became poet laureate, and during the next fourteen years he kept himself chiefly to dramatic work. In 1680-81, however, when party spirit ran high over the Exclusion Bill and the parties of the Whigs and Tories appeared, he showed his skill as a satirist in *Absalom and Achitophel*, the first part being published in 1681, and the second part the following year. This satire ridiculed the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill. Shaftesbury as Achitophel was fiercely attacked, though Monmouth as Absalom received gentler treatment. This poem forms the first great example of party poetry. Shortly afterwards Dryden produced another satire called the *Medal*, in which he attacks Shaftesbury with great vigour. 'For rancorous abuse, for lofty and uncompromising scorn,' this poem 'has no parallel in literature.' It was at once answered by a dramatist of the name of *Thomas Shadwell*, who was himself attacked fiercely

and made a laughingstock in the *Macflecknoe*, which was published in 1682, and in which Shadwell was described in terms alternately of ridicule and ferocity. In 1682 Dryden advanced arguments on behalf of the Church of England in his *Religio laici*, but in 1686 he joined the Church of Rome, and at once set to work to defend Roman Catholicism. In 1687 appeared *The Hind and the Panther*, an allegory and a defence of Roman Catholicism, and in June 1688 *Britannia Rediviva*, written on the birth of the Prince of Wales. Till his death Dryden remained a Roman Catholic, producing during his remaining years the famous odes *Saint Cecilia's Day* and *Alexander's Feast*.

Dryden stands out during this period as the first poet and the first prose writer of his time. 'The Restoration marks the real moment of birth of our modern English prose.' Dryden's influence on English prose style was immense, and he was imitated by great numbers of men of letters. His works, it has been said, 'contain a faithful representation of the whole literary movement in England for the best part of half a century.' Dryden, says another writer, 'is entitled to be considered as the great reformer of English prose . . . who above all others led the way to that clear, sane, and balanced method of writing which it was the especial mission of Restoration literature to introduce.'[1]

His style of writing was better adapted for the period in which he lived than that of Milton. In 1667 the latter published *Paradise Lost*, in 1671 *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, and in 1674 he died.

John Bunyan.—A writer who rivalled Dryden in popularity, and whose works are now read by thousands who do not know the name of any of Dryden's works, is John Bunyan. In the strength of his imagination he surpassed even Dante. 'The

[1] Garnett, *The Age of Dryden*, p. 149. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1904.

mind of Bunyan,' says Macaulay, 'was so imaginative, that personifications, when he dealt with them, became men.' The *Pilgrim's Progress* has deservedly won undying fame, and 'ranks with *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* as one of the great realistic books in the English language.'[1]

A 'brazier' by trade, John Bunyan was born in 1628 near Bedford. In 1655 he became a preacher, and in 1660, shortly after the Restoration, was imprisoned in Bedford. In 1672 he was released, but again imprisoned for a short time in 1675-76.

While in prison he wrote the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which appeared in 1678, and in 1684 the second part was published. The first part became at once immensely popular, and before his death in 1688, Bunyan, whom Evelyn describes as 'an Anabaptist, a very odd ignorant person,' was well known by the Government.

He wrote several other works, which, though of merit, cannot compare in interest with the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn.—From 1660 to 1669 the celebrated *Diary of Samuel Pepys* throws much light on the characters of the men of the period and on the attitude of the nation towards the leading events. Pepys was a civil servant before the Restoration, and after that event became attached to the Admiralty. He was present in Tangier in 1683, the year of the end of the English occupation, and was regarded with great favour by James II., who appreciated his knowledge of naval matters. After the Revolution of 1688 he retired into private life, and died in 1703.

His immortal *Diary* is one of the best guides to an understanding of the history of the early years of Charles II.'s reign. Another *Diary*, but far inferior in merit to that of Pepys, is that of *John Evelyn*, who was abroad from 1643 to 1647 and,

[1] Garnett, *The Age of Dryden*, p. 236.

came into the royal favour at the Restoration. His writings are those of a man who was cautious and moderate.

Marriage of Princess Anne to George of Denmark, 1683.—Before the death of Charles at the beginning of 1685, the question of the succession had been under discussion at the English and French Courts. James Duke of York had no children; one of his sisters, Mary, had married William of Orange; the other, Anne, was in July 1683 married to George, brother of the King of Denmark, it being hoped that he would become a Roman Catholic, and that Denmark would remain allied to France.

This marriage, and the attempts made in the following year by James to further the cause of Roman Catholicism, gave some indication of what might be expected after Charles II.'s death. While Sunderland drew near to James, Rochester fell into disgrace, Godolphin became head of the treasury, and the influence of Halifax increased. But before the effect of these changes could be appreciated, Charles was seized with a sudden illness on February 2, 1685. On his death-bed Father Huddleston, who had assisted him to escape after the battle of Worcester, administered to him 'the last rites of the Roman Church.' He died on February 6, at noon, his death causing sincere regret among the majority of his subjects, with whom he enjoyed great popularity.

CHIEF DATES.

The Tory Reaction	1681-1688
Louis XIV. seizes Strassburg (Sept.)	1681
Acquittal of Shaftesbury (Nov.)	,,
Issue of Writ *Quo Warranto* (Dec.)	,,
Remodelling of the Corporations	1682-1683
Flight of Shaftesbury (Nov.)	1682
Death of Shaftesbury (Jan.)	1683
Spain at War with France	,,
Marriage of Princess Anne to George of Denmark	1683
Evacuation of Tangier	1684
Expulsion of Locke from Christ Church	,,
Truce of Ratisbon	,,
Death of Charles II. (Feb. 6)	1685

QUESTIONS ON PERIOD III., 1685-1688.

(1) Show how the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament marks an epoch in Charles II.'s reign.

(2) Describe the character of the reaction that took place between 1681 and 1685.

(3) Sketch the career of Algernon Sydney.

(4) To what extent was the Rye House Plot a serious danger.

(5) Show the effect of English neutrality upon Louis XIV.'s foreign policy.

(6) Describe the chief characteristics of the political writings of Hobbes and Filmer.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I. Legislation in Charles II.'s Reign.

1. *Beneficial Legislation.*

(1) *The Statute of Distribution*, providing for the administration of the effects of a person dying intestate (without making a will).

(2) *The Statute of Frauds*, to protect contracts, leases, and wills.

(3) *The Act abolishing Military Tenures* (12 Charles II., 1660).—Henceforward land was no longer held on military tenure. The power of bequeathing land by will was enlarged; every father was given the power of appointing a guardian to his children; and the Crown was deprived of its rights of purveyance and preemption. In a word, the old feudal land law was abolished. In compensation for the loss of revenue which these changes implied, the King was given an hereditary excise upon beer and other liquors.

(4) *The Act against Tumultuous Petitioning*, 1661.—This Act was intended to prevent riotous petitioning, and has now become a dead letter.

(5) *The Appropriation Act*, 1665.—From this time it was recognised that 'supplies granted by Parliament are only to be expended for particular objects specified by itself.'

(6) *Commission of Public Accounts.*—An Act was passed (1666) appointing Commissioners to inspect the public accounts, and this Act marks the further advance of the Commons towards the control of the administration.

(7) *The Habeas Corpus Act* (31 Charles II., 1679).—This famous Act simplified and made more effectual the 39th clause of Magna Carta. By it every person committed on a charge of misdemeanour could be released on bail, and it enacted that one committed for treason or felony was to be tried within a short space of time. Its defects were remedied by the Bill of Rights and subsequent Acts of Parliament.

2. *Baneful Legislation.*

(1) The series of Acts issued by the 'Cavalier' Parliament of Charles II., and known as the Clarendon Code :—

(*a*) *The Corporation Act*, 1661.—One of the effects of this Act was to produce a class of men who *occasionally conformed, i.e.* who took the oaths for the sake of holding their offices, but who remained outside the Church. It was against *Occasional Conformity* that the efforts of the Tories in Anne's reign were directed; (*b*) *The Act of Uniformity*, 1662.—By this Act, which illustrates the intolerance of the age, all Protestant and Roman Catholic Dissenters were attacked; (*c*) *The Conventicle Act*, 1664; (*d*) *The Five Mile Act*, 1665.

(2) *The Test Act*, 1673.—All persons holding any office were to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, to take the oath of Supremacy, and to declare against Transubstantiation.

(3) *The Parliamentary Test Act*, 1678.—An Act to prevent Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament. From the reign of Elizabeth an oath of Supremacy had been exacted from members of the Commons, but not from the Lords.

II. The Stop of the Exchequer.

It was the common practice to deposit money with the goldsmiths, who were willing to lend at interest. Charles II. paid eight per cent. for what he borrowed, and in 1672 his debt amounted to £1,328,526. In that year the goldsmiths received a severe shock, for the King declared he would not repay his debt, but only continue to pay interest upon it. It was, however, not till 1677 that he began to pay six per cent. Eventually the sum advanced to Charles II. formed the nucleus of the present National Debt.

III. Colonial Development.

The reign of Charles II. saw the development of the old colonies and the establishment of new ones. *Virginia* was formed in 1607, and in 1643 *Massachusetts*, *Plymouth*, *Connecticut*, and *New-haven* united in a confederation called the *United Colonies of New England*. The Plantation of *Maryland* took place in 1632, and *Rhode Island* was established in 1647. Out of the *New Netherlands*, taken from the Dutch by the Treaty of Breda (1667), were formed *New York* and the *New Jerseys*. In 1663 and in 1681 the Carolinas and Pennsylvania were respectively formed. Maine and New Hampshire, founded in Charles I.'s reign, became practically dependent upon Massachusetts.

IV. The Expulsion of John Locke from Christ Church, Oxford, 1684.

(*a*) 'Mr. Locke was dismissed . . . by a special order of King Charles II. as Visitor of the College. His Majesty, at the instigation of Charles, Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State, applied to Dr. Fell, then Dean of Christ Church, and enforced his expulsion. . . . The philosopher thus was expelled by his King and not by his College; a conclusion easy to be maintained, when we remember that the College afterwards offered to admit him again as a supernumerary student, the vacancy caused by his dismission having been filled up.'

James Hurdis, *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men.* Selected and edited by Lilian M. Quiller-Couch. Oxford Historical Society, 1892.

(*b*) The letter from Charles II. to the Dean of Christ Church was most emphatic:—'. . . Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyale behaviour of ——Lock, one of the Students of that our Colledge, we have thought fit to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his said students' place, etc., etc.'

This letter was dated November 11, 1684, and on November 15 the Dean and Chapter removed 'Mr. Lock from his student's place.' Charles acted as Visitor *not* as King. Therefore it was not a question of Royal Prerogative.

CHAPTER II

JAMES II.—1685-1688

Born, 1633; married (1) 1661, Anne Hyde, d. 1671.
(2) 1673, Mary of Modena, d. 1718.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Spain.*	*The Papacy.*
Louis XIV., 1643-1715.	Leopold I., 1658-1705.	Charles II., 1665-1700.	Innocent XI., 1676-1689.

Portugal.	*Turkey.*	*Sweden.*	*Brandenburg.*
Alfonso VI., 1656-1683.	Mohammed V., 1649-1687.	Charles XI., 1660-1697.	Frederick William, 1640-1688.
Peter II., 1683-1706.	Suleiman II., 1687-1691.		Frederick III., 1688-1713.

Russia.	*Denmark and Norway.*	*Poland.*
Feodor Alexiévitch, 1676-1682. Ivan V. and Peter the Great, 1682-1689.	Christian V., 1670-1699.	John Sobieski, 1674-1696.

Contents.

Accession of James II.—His Character—His Policy on his Accession—Argyll's Rising—Monmouth's Rising—Sedgemoor—The Bloody Assize—The Results of the Rising—James all-powerful—The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Its Effects in England—Meeting of Parliament, November 1685—The Prorogation—Case of Godden *v.* Hales—The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission—The First Declaration of Indulgence—The Municipal Corporations—James's attack on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—The Situation at the Opening of 1688—The Trial of the Seven Bishops—Invitation to William of Orange—Situation on the Continent—Louis XIV.'s Mistake—William sails for England—Flight of James II.—Completion of the Revolution—Its Character—Accession of William and Mary—The Declaration of Right—The Bill of Rights.

CHIEF NAMES.

Argyll—Churchill (Marlborough)—Rochester—Halifax—Monmouth—Sancroft—Admiral Russell—Tyrconnel—Jeffreys—Louis XIV.

Period I.—1685.

February 6 to November 20.

The Accession of James II.—On February 6, 1685, James II., at the age of fifty-two, succeeded to the Crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland. For the first time since the reign of Queen Mary a ruler who was an avowed member of the Church of Rome ascended the throne. Attachment to the hereditary succession was powerful among the majority of the nation; and that feeling had been strong enough to defeat the aims of Shaftesbury and his supporters. It was evident during the later years of Charles II.'s reign that the Anglican Church was the most powerful element in the English national life, and as long as James could rely upon its support, so long would his throne be safe from attack. 'I know,' James declared shortly after his accession, 'the principles of the

Church of England are for monarchy . . . therefore I shall always take good care to defend and support it.'

James's Character.—At his accession he was in his fifty-third year. He had seen service with the fleet; he had shown distinct capacity as a soldier, and had won praise from the great French Marshal Turenne. In 1660 he had married Anne Hyde, daughter of Clarendon, and she on her deathbed in 1671 had declared herself a Roman Catholic. In 1673 he had chosen as his second wife Mary of Modena—a marriage advocated by Louis XIV., who trusted that an important step had thus been taken towards the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism in England.

To his credit James, during the reign of Charles II., had steadily refused to abjure his religion. According to Sir John Evelyn he was a man of 'infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, and great understanding, and of a most sincere and honest nature. He makes a conscience of what he promises, and performs it.' But he was obstinate, narrow-minded, with no appreciation of or sympathy for the views of others, and what proved fatal to his career as king, he allowed himself to be influenced by his Roman Catholic associates. Like Charles I., he had an obstinate belief in the divine right of kings, and he was convinced that whatever he did was above criticism. Nothing could excuse his failure to realise the important position held by the Church in England, and this failure led to his fall.

His Early Policy, 1685.—In 1685 James did nothing to check the continuous arrivals of the Huguenots into England nor to alienate the dominant Tory party, nor to shake the confidence which the English people felt in him at his accession. Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin were at once taken into his close confidence. Rochester became Lord High Treasurer, Sunderland remained a Secretary of State, Godolphin became Chamberlain to the Queen, while Clarendon,

Rochester's brother, received the Privy Seal, and Halifax became President of the Council.

Before the first Parliament of the reign met in May, the King had, however, caused considerable alarm in London by attending in state the Roman Catholic service in the Queen's Chapel at St. James's.

No serious symptom of disaffection appeared in the early months of the reign. The Scottish Parliament which met on April 23 was submissive, but violent against all who attended worship at Conventicles (including field Conventicles), and in consequence the Covenanters in the south-western counties suffered severely during James's reign at the hands of Claverhouse and his followers.

The English Parliament which assembled on May 10 was filled with Tories, who at first showed an enthusiastic loyalty for the King, and that loyalty was very manifest during the abortive risings of the exiles Argyll and Monmouth, who had agreed at Brussels upon concerted movements in England and Scotland against James II.

Protestant rising in Scotland under Argyll, 1688.—In May, Archibald, Earl of Argyll, accompanied by Colonel Rumbold, who had been one of the chief instigators of the Rye House Plot, landed in Scotland, expecting to be joined by a considerable force of malcontents. But he found few ready to join in his ill-starred adventure. The Government had taken precautions, the leading Campbells had been arrested, the outlets from the Highlands were guarded, Argyll's attempts to secure support from the Covenanters in the west proved fruitless, and in June he was captured, taken to Edinburgh, and executed, Rumbold suffering a similar fate.

Of his other comrades, Ayloffe, an Englishman, was executed in London, Sir John Cochran was pardoned, and Sir Patrick Hume escaped.

Monmouth's rising in the West of England.—Equally unsuccessful was **Monmouth's rising** in the west of England. He arrived at Lyme Regis on June 11, at a most inopportune time for the success of his expedition. James II. was still popular, and had done nothing to alienate any portion of the English people. However, by laying special emphasis in his declaration upon his position as 'the champion of Protestantism against a Popish king,' Monmouth succeeded in securing a considerable amount of support in Devon and Somerset, where the fear and hatred of Popery was especially strong. Some small successes encouraged Monmouth, who, at Taunton, on June 20, assumed the royal title. He then determined to march to Bristol, but turned aside and arrived at Frome. He then retreated to Bridgewater, his object apparently being to advance up the Severn Valley to Cheshire, where he hoped to find support.

Battle of Sedgemoor, July 5-6.—Finding himself opposed by a strong Royalist force under Feversham, who was a Frenchman of no military capacity—a nephew of the great Turenne—he resolved on July 5 to attempt a night attack upon the Royalist camp, which was pitched on the plain of Sedgemoor, near the village of Weston Zoyland.

Any chance of success was lost when Monmouth's force arrived at a broad ditch or 'rhine,' which in the darkness proved very difficult to cross. Though Feversham was in bed, his second in command, Lord Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough), a capable soldier, who had seen service abroad, drew up the Royal army, which, owing to this delay on the part of the assailants, had time to make hasty preparations for resisting the attack.

The rebel cavalry under Grey having fled, the Royal army became the assailants. In spite of a very brave defence on the part of Monmouth's followers, the Royal army, especially when aided by the arrival of artillery, proved victorious.

Many rebels were slain, and Monmouth, who had shown courage during the battle, fled to the New Forest.

On July 8 he was captured while hiding in a ditch, and taken to London. On July 15, two days after a painful interview with James II., Monmouth was executed on Tower Hill.

The 'Bloody' Assizes.—His followers were severely treated, first by Colonel Kirke and his soldiers from Tangier—'Kirke's Lambs,' and then by Judge Jeffreys. The former, who had seen service at Tangier, showed great brutality towards the unfortunate prisoners, many of whom were hanged without any form of trial. Judge Jeffreys, a Welshman, and an unscrupulous instrument of the tyranny of James II., held a circuit known as 'the Bloody Assizes.' 'More than three hundred persons were put to death, and more than eight hundred were sold to slavery in the West Indian plantations.'[1]

At Winchester, on his way to the west, Jeffreys had tried and condemned to execution Alicia Lisle, an aged lady, on the charge that she had hidden some rebels, and another woman was burnt alive.

Though James approved of the severities of Kirke, Jeffreys, and his colleagues, public opinion was deeply moved by the cruelty of the punishments meted out to the rebels.

The Effects of the Risings.—The insurrection had made evident to the king and to the nation the superiority of regular troops over an ill-trained force. The meaning and value of a standing army was clearly manifest to James, who was now at the height of his power. Jeffreys received a Peerage and was elevated to the office of Lord Chancellor. A camp of thirteen thousand men was formed on Hounslow Heath to overawe London, and the Earl of Tyrconnel was ordered to raise a strong Roman Catholic army in Ireland.

James at the Height of his Power.—The autumn of 1685 seemed to be full of hope for the Roman Catholics in England

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 251.

as well as for those in France. That year, 1685, marked 'the apogee of Louis' long reign.' France had obtained 'a position of incontestable preponderance in Continental Europe,' and Louis naturally regarded England, if not as an active ally, at any rate as a power which, as long as it was ruled by the Stuarts, would in no wise interfere with his schemes. In 1681 he had, in time of peace, seized Strassburg and other German territories, the Emperor, owing to his Turkish war, being unable to oppose him.

In 1684 Charles II. had congratulated him upon the French capture of Luxemburg during the short war between France and Spain, which was ended by the **Truce of Ratisbon** on August 15, 1684.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October 1685.—In the following year, however, Louis, full of overweening confidence, and deceived by the inaccurate reports made to him by his advisers, **revoked the Edict of Nantes on October 1.** The Huguenot population thereupon sought new homes in all parts of the British Isles, in Germany, Holland, America, and other parts of the world. Louis thus lost an invaluable portion of the French population, a not inconsiderable number of which were to be found during the next twenty-five years among the foes of France. Marshal Vauban asserts that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes scattered among Louis' foes some 600 officers and some 12,000 soldiers, 'better seasoned than the Roman Catholics.' Moreover, the Revocation strengthened the opposition to Louis in Europe. 'In 1684 Louis had given the law to Europe; in 1687, his domination in Europe was threatened on all sides.' [1] Into England the Huguenots poured, and were at first received by James II. with cordiality; he even promised collections in the churches

[1] Hassall, *Louis XIV.*, p. 251. London and New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895.

for their support. In the following year (1686), however, he changed his attitude, and no longer was anxious to shelter the exiles. The effect of the arrival of the Huguenots upon many parts of southern England was soon felt, though their superiority in various crafts often excited the jealousy of the English populations of the towns in which they settled.

New trades were created, new churches were built. By their writing of pamphlets 'they furthered tendencies which were growing in men's minds, and gave an impulse to the ever increasing opposition in England and Germany to Roman Catholicism and Louis XIV.'

Political Situation on the Meeting of Parliament, November 9.—Before Parliament met in the autumn of 1685, two important events had occurred. On October 12, the **Revocation of the Edict of Nantes** was declared by Louis XIV.; on October 21 **Halifax was dismissed** from office. He had refused to support the repeal of the Test and Habeas Corpus Acts, and his overthrow made a profound impression both at home and abroad. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had an equally important effect. Though due in great measure to 'political considerations, and to the prevailing doctrine of uniformity,' it was regarded (as was in later years the infraction of the Treaty of Limerick) as due to religious intolerance only. Louis regarded the opinions of the Huguenots, just as English ministers in William III.'s reign regarded Roman Catholic principles, as likely to lead to rebellion.

Thus the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes brought religious questions into a foremost place among the affairs of Europe. If the King of France considered himself justified in depriving the Protestants in France of the protection which was afforded them by the Edict of Nantes, a similar act might well be expected from King James.

Moreover, an address made by the Bishop of Valence had attracted much attention. After comparing the achievements performed by Louis XIV. in favour of Roman Catholicism, he added that Louis' power had been given him in order that he might effect similar results in England. People in England naturally regarded these words as implying a threatened intervention on the part of the King of France, while the religious feelings of the Protestants in England received an additional stimulus to patriotism.

The arrival of bands of Huguenots in England still more intensified the anti-Catholic feeling, and when Parliament met on November 9, it was obvious from the first that its anxieties were due to religious as well as political fears. Louis XIV. had succeeded in bringing the religious question into the foreground, and in giving it the foremost place among all the affairs of Europe. Parliament then on its first meeting showed anxiety with regard to—(1) The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and (2) the demands made by James for funds for the maintenance of a standing army, in which he had already appointed Roman Catholic officers. By so doing he had acted in direct contravention of the Test Act. Till the meeting of Parliament, James was apparently at the height of his power. He had secured a large revenue from the English and Scottish Parliaments; he had put down the rebellions of Monmouth and Argyll; he had a strong army and navy at his disposal; foreign powers were anxious for his friendship. It might almost be said that he held the fate of Europe in his hands. This strong position was lost partly by James's over-confidence, partly by his religious fanaticism. He believed that, by means of the royal power, he might free himself from the dictation of Parliament. As a matter of conscience, he was determined to repeal the Penal Laws, and to grant the Roman Catholics freedom of worship.

The Prorogation of Parliament, November 20. Its importance.—Parliament met on November 7. It was prorogued on November 20. During its session it became obvious that the Tory majority regarded the presence of a standing army as dangerous to English interests, and the maintenance of the Test Act as a bulwark of the Established Church. After a long debate, which began on November 12, on the question whether supply should take precedence of questions relating to the Army and the Test, the Court party was defeated, and it was decided to increase the efficiency of the militia. James was determined to carry out his wishes, and consequently prorogued Parliament on November 20, by which action he lost the grant of £700,000.

Period II.

November 20, 1685-1688.

The Alliance between James and the Church ends.—From the dismissal of James's Parliament, his downfall may be said to date. From that time his alliance with the Church came to an end; from that time the Revolution gradually approached. Two circumstances attest the blindness of James. In the first place, Rochester fell from favour. His brother Clarendon was sent to Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant, and Sunderland became the chief adviser. Sunderland's triumph was a victory for Louis XIV., for the prorogation of Parliament meant the inability of England to take any action on the Continent. For the time being, England's neutrality was assured. James had no apprehension of any danger in the future. He was determined to humiliate the Church without any delay, and to promote the cause of Roman Catholicism. He removed the Bishop of London from the Privy Council; he allowed the secret of Charles II.'s conversion to be disclosed; he dismissed all office-holders

who had voted against the Court. It was thus obvious that James was resolved to continue the work of humiliating the Church.

While he was engaged in attacking the Established Church, he was also active in advancing the cause of Roman Catholicism. His chief difficulty lay in the refusal of Parliament to repeal or modify the Test Act. James therefore resolved to carry out his wishes by means of the exercise of his prerogative. In other words, he determined to use his dispensing power.

The Case of Godden v. Hales, 1686. Roman Catholicism in Oxford and Scotland.—In July 1686 the case of Godden v. Hales was decided in favour of the latter, who, though a convert to Roman Catholicism, had accepted a military commission. This decision, recognising as legal the appointment of Roman Catholics in the army, was now extended to political and ecclesiastical offices. Already in May the Master of University College, Oxford, and three Fellows had been allowed to hold their offices without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy or the Sacrament. In December John Massey, a Roman Catholic, was appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church, while the Bishoprics of Oxford and Chester were conferred upon men who were not recognised as sound Churchmen. The same policy was pursued towards Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland a Roman Catholic service was celebrated at Holyrood House, and Scottish Roman Catholics were allowed to worship in their own houses, and to receive royal protection against the rigour of the laws. In July a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, the chief member of which was Judge Jeffreys, was also set up—something like the Old Court of High Commission (abolished in 1641),—and it at once suspended Compton, Bishop of London, for refusing to silence one of his clergy who had uttered words disagreeable to the King.

The Political Position at the end of 1686.—An army being stationed in a summer camp on Hounslow Heath, James hoped that London would be overawed. At the end of 1686, James's policy seemed to have been successful. The external improvement in the position of Roman Catholics was not to be denied. The concentration of sixteen thousand soldiers on Hounslow Heath seemed sufficient to enable Roman Catholics to celebrate openly their worship. Tyrconnel, the Roman Catholic lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was busy undermining the Protestant ascendency in Ireland. The aversion of the majority of Englishmen from taking any steps which might lead to civil war was as strong as ever. Nevertheless, even the English Roman Catholics had good grounds for anxiety at the end of 1686. All their gains depended upon the exercise of a contested prerogative, and it seemed probable, in the event of the death of James, that the evasions of the Test Act would be at once checked. It was quite clear to them, as it was to James, that the one thing necessary was to make his changes permanent. The permanent success of his religious policy was to be secured at all hazards. There was only one way by which this could be brought about, namely by **an alliance with the Presbyterians and other Dissenters.** This, at first sight, did not seem impossible.

The First Declaration of Indulgence, April 4, 1687, and Halifax's Letters to a Dissenter.—Early in January 1687, Clarendon, who had for long been a mere cipher in Ireland, was ordered to return to England, and Rochester, his brother, was dismissed from the Treasurership. The dismissal of the Hydes was followed on April 4, 1687, by the **First Declaration of Indulgence.** This Declaration can be compared with that issued by Charles II. in 1673, but James's Declaration was a far more extensive measure than that of Charles II. The results were at once seen. A certain number of Dissenters were pleased, and determined to support the Crown. Halifax,

on the contrary, issued his famous **Letter to a Dissenter**, of which twenty thousand copies were immediately sold, and in which he brought forward all the arguments necessary for convincing a Nonconformist that it was his duty and interest to prefer an alliance with the Church to an alliance with the Court. These arguments, says Lord Macaulay, were condensed into the smallest compass, 'arranged in the most perspicuous manner, illustrated with lively wit, and enforced by an eloquence, earnest indeed, yet never in its utmost vehemence transgressing the limits of exact good sense and good breeding.'

Views of William Penn.—**William Penn** approved of James's **First Declaration of Indulgence**, and his views were supported by a certain number of Dissenters. William Penn reminded the Episcopal Church that its connection with the Crown formed the principal basis of its authority. Was it wise for that Church to separate from the present King, who differed from it on one point only? The Church would certainly not be able, he said, to hinder the relief of the Papists during the King's reign, and if it assented to the general indulgence, it would at once satisfy the instinct of the Protestant dissenters for self-preservation and attract them to itself. Even after toleration had been granted the Episcopal Church would remain the dominant one, maintained no longer by force but by the approval of all parties. The first step in the direction of reconciliation between the Dissenters and the Crown was to show the former that Churchmen were no longer in favour.

The Municipal Corporations and Counties.—Still resolved to continue his policy of winning over the Nonconformists, James devoted the autumn of 1687 to the manipulation of the constituencies. During the last few years of Charles II.'s reign the Corporations of London and most of the large towns had been placed in the hands of Tories, with the result that

a Tory reaction spread over the country. James now reversed the policy of his brother, excluded the Tories from office, and placed the Municipal Corporations in the hands of the Dissenters. He endeavoured to carry out a similar policy in the counties, and ordered the lords-lieutenant to mould the county administration as he did that of the towns. This task was found to be an impossible one to carry out, and the King gradually realised that no reliance could be placed upon the counties, even if, in certain cases, reliance could be placed upon the towns. The Dissenters as a body **preferred living under disabilities themselves to granting any liberties to Roman Catholics**. James's hope that for the sake of securing benefits for themselves the Dissenters would grant similar benefits to Roman Catholics proved delusive.

James's attack on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.—Nevertheless throughout 1687 James persevered in his policy, and in the autumn of that year he made the famous attack upon the Established Church in Oxford. He had already deprived Dr. Peachell, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, of the Vice-Chancellorship, for refusing to admit one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of M.A. His attack on Oxford was equally ill-timed. In March 1687 the Fellows of Magdalen College had refused to elect Antony Farmer, a Roman Catholic and the King's nominee, and elected John Hough, a Fellow, but in August they were required to appoint Parker, Bishop of Oxford, President of the College, and James himself visited Oxford in order to secure obedience to his wishes. Parker's representative only obtained admission to his lodgings by forcible measures. The Fellows were evicted, and on the death of Parker, in February 1688, James placed another Roman Catholic, Bonaventura Gifford, as President of Magdalen, which for the time became a Roman Catholic seminary.

The Position at the beginning of 1688.—At the beginning of

1688 two questions had to be decided. First, would the Protestant Dissenters support the King if that support meant equal privileges to the Roman Catholics? And secondly, would the English Church remain faithful to the principle of passive resistance? Realising that the great majority of Dissenters were not in favour of his policy, James, still hoping to gain their support, issued on April 27, 1688, a **Second Declaration of Indulgence**, and ordered it to be read in all churches. This demand roused a strong feeling of opposition among the clergy, a large majority of whom refused to read publicly the Declaration in their churches.

The Trial of the Seven Bishops.—A petition asking the King to withdraw his declaration was signed by Sancroft (Archbishop of Canterbury), and Bishops Ken (Bath and Wales), Lake (Chichester), Lloyd (St. Asaph), Trelawney (Bristol), Turner (Ely), and White (Peterborough). James declared that the petition was a libel, and that the bishops were raising a standard of rebellion. He therefore, on June 8, summoned the bishops before the Council and sent them to the Tower. Before the trial of the seven bishops took place, the Queen, on June 10, gave *birth to a son.* Much excitement was caused by this event, which undoubtedly hastened the decision of men of all parties to invite William of Orange to come with an armed force to defend the liberties of England. On June 30, the seven bishops were acquitted, after a trial which was watched by the nation with intense interest. Their acquittal was the signal of general exultation, in which the Dissenters and even the soldiers of Hounslow Heath joined. *The Church had again stood forth as the champion of national liberties*, and had been supported by all classes of Dissenters.

The Invitation to William of Orange.—The determination of a small body of able men to invite William of Orange brought with it, however, considerable risks. In the first place, the King might obtain a manageable Parliament. In the second

place, the King had a strong army in England, largely officered by Roman Catholics. There were also troops under Tyrconnel in Ireland, while in Scotland a considerable army still existed. Moreover, it was possible that French auxiliaries might be summoned in the event of any real danger to James's throne. The danger, however, which was regarded as the most serious by the leading opponents of James II., was the perpetuation of a Popish dynasty. Halifax, however, considered that a waiting policy was better than a policy of immediate action, which in his opinion brought with it immense risks. The Government in the Netherlands, alarmed at French intrigues which Louis was carrying out in the Electorate of Cologne, feared that the weakening of their forces might result in an invasion of their country by the French, similar to that in 1672. Louis XIV., it was well known, was about to invade Germany. It was doubtful, however, whether he would not send a strong army against the Netherlands. Delay on the part of Louis was impossible, for the Emperor was occupied on his eastern frontier in fighting the Turks, and consequently such a good opportunity of strengthening the western frontier of France might not occur again for many years. While the French Government hesitated, the leading opponents of James II. realised the necessity for immediate action, for it was common talk that a new alliance between England and France might be formed at any moment, and that the union of the French and English fleets in the Channel might be accomplished. Were such a union to take place, it would be impossible for William of Orange to come to the assistance of Churchmen in England. On the night of June 30, the date of the acquittal of the bishops, some leading Whigs and Tories, including Devonshire, Admiral Russell, and Compton, sent William of Orange an invitation to bring an armed force to protect the liberties of England. But as long as there was a possibility of an invasion of the Netherlands by a French army, William could not lead

mistakes were made, which renders his name, at least in Ireland, synonymous with a period of unrest and disappointment. Though Scotland as a whole accepted the Revolution, the Highlanders rose under **John Graham** of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, and fought the battle of **Killiecrankie** on July 27, 1689. Had it not been for the death of Dundee, it is probable that the English would have suffered severe defeat. Dundee was succeeded by an officer named Cannon, who had none of the genius of Dundee. After Killiecrankie the English General Mackay had made a skilful retreat, and no serious results to the English followed the battle. The tide now turned. The Highlanders failed to storm the town of Dunkeld, being repulsed by the Cameronian regiment. Cannon and his Highlanders were finally routed in June 1690, and the pacification of the Highlands was then taken in hand.

The Massacre of Glencoe, February 13, 1692.— During that pacification the **massacre of Glencoe** took place, due partly to an hereditary feud between the Macdonalds and the Campbells, partly to the general hostility between Highlanders and Lowlanders, and partly to a misunderstanding with regard to the oath which was taken by the head of the Macdonalds of Glencoe. This man had reached Fort William on December 31, 1691, in order to swear allegiance to King William before January 1, 1692. At Fort William there was no officer qualified to take the oath, and Macdonald had to journey to Inveraray, where he arrived on January 6, and was duly sworn. His late arrival was made the excuse for the famous massacre of Glencoe, carried out by the Campbells, who were the foes of the Macdonalds. The Campbells had received an order from London to extirpate the tribe of Glencoe, which in the order signed by William himself was described as a set of thieves. On February 13 the massacre took place, and naturally embittered the feelings

of the Highlanders towards the Government. No proper inquiry was made into the rights of the case, and the Macdonalds received no reparation. Henceforward, however, the making of roads, and the building of forts, discouraged all risings on the part of clans, and kept the Highlanders in awe for almost a generation. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 were the last occasions on which the Highlanders showed their independence.

Criticism of William's Irish and Scottish Policy.—In the affairs of Ireland and Scotland William undoubtedly took little interest. This was unfortunate, but to a certain extent excusable, when the momentous importance of the struggle on the Continent, and the issues involved, are remembered.

Period II.—1691-1697.

The Struggle against Louis XIV.

William in the Netherlands, January to October 1691. The fall of Mons.—On January 5, 1691, William adjourned Parliament, in which Danby, now Earl of Carmarthen, was the leading minister, and on the following day he returned to Holland. There the war against Louis XIV. still continued, and William was unable to prevent the capture by Louis XIV. of the great fortress of **Mons**. On April 13 he was again in England, and after a short visit, during which he conferred the Archbishopric of Canterbury upon John Tillotson, he returned to Flanders on May 2, 1691, taking Marlborough with him. The campaign that ensued has been described as the most futile of the war. No battle took place, though the advantage of the campaign rested with the French.

English Politics. The Veto. Disgrace of Marlborough, January 25, 1692.—On October 19 William again arrived in England, in order to open Parliament. A long session ensued,

during which William for the first time, in the case of a Bill for regulating trials for High Treason, exercised **his right of veto.** The really important event, however, of the year 1691 was the discovery of a political intrigue on the part of Marlborough. He was suspected of a design for the raising of Princess Anne to the throne. Like many others, Marlborough thought that William's chances of holding his own against Louis XIV. were doubtful. Therefore, in order to avoid disgrace or death should James II. be restored, he corresponded with James and the English exiles. On January 25, 1692, he was dismissed and disgraced. The importance of this event can be realised when it is remembered that during the remainder of the war Marlborough's services were not required. Certain changes took place in the Cabinet, but the majority of the ministers remained Tory.

The Victory of La Hogue, May 19, 1692: Its Significance.—On March 4, 1692, William set out for the Continent. During his absence the French formed elaborate plans for the invasion of England. These plans were, however, ruined by the defeat of the French fleet on May 19, 1692, in the **battle of La Hogue.** It 'proved to be the last great naval encounter of the war. It is one of the landmarks in the rise of British naval supremacy.'[1] It also marks an important epoch in the history of Anglo-French rivalry in America. This defeat at La Hogue had indeed far-reaching effects upon French naval and colonial history. It rendered France incapable of supporting and protecting the immense territory in North America over which she had asserted claims. La Salle, the famous French explorer, had between 1666 and 1684 occupied for France the valley of the Mississippi. In 1672, moreover, he had claimed Louisiana for France. His energy, however, was destined to prove fruitless.

French Successes on the Continent.—On the Continent

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, 1660-1702, p. 379.


MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE THE CAMPAIGNS OF
1674 and 1704.
March of Turenne
1674
March of Marlborough
1704
UNITED
PROVINCES
Amsterdam
TheHague
Rotterdam
GERMANY
R. Rhine
Meuse
Ghent
Antwerp
Maestricht
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
Lille
Namur
Liege
Köln
Bonn
Mons
Coblentz
Mainz
R. Main
Moselle
Luxembourg
Trier
Würzburg
Metz
Heilbronn
Ratisbon
Hagenau
Donauwörth
Passau
Vienna
Strassburg
Blenheim
Augsburg
R. Isar
R. Inn
Colmar
Ulm
R. Danube
Belfort
Mulhausen
R. Danube
R. Rhine
Basel
Innsbruck
SWITZERLAND
BRENNER PASS
Trent
FRANCE
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS

William was not successful. The French captured in June the important fortress of **Namur.** The fall of Namur was a severe blow to William's hopes, and was followed by the battle of **Steinkirk** on August 3. In this battle William found himself opposed by Luxembourg, who was a far abler general than his opponent. Owing to the inaction at a critical moment of Count Solmes and his cavalry and infantry, the division of Mackay was practically destroyed. Its five regiments were cut to pieces, and the English Life Guards would have suffered a similar fate 'had it not been for some regiments on the right who marched up boldly to their relief and received the enemy's fire in their faces, before any one of their platoons had discharged a musket.' The destruction of Mackay's division decided the issue of the battle.

The Session of 1692-93. The Land Tax, The National Debt, The Triennial Bill.—In November 1692 Parliament met, William having returned the previous month, his popularity being much increased by the failure of a plot on the part of one Grandval to assassinate him. Parliament had reason to congratulate itself on the great naval victory of La Hogue in the previous May, though England had suffered a military reverse at Steinkirk. Moreover, a certain amount of discontent soon appeared in consequence of the failure of the harvest and of William's intimation that more money would be required for the prosecution of the war. The session of 1692-93 is, however, noteworthy, as an important step was taken in finance under the auspices of **Charles Montagu.** At his suggestion the land tax was reorganised, and the national debt was originated on January 20, 1693, in a loan to pay for war expenses.[1] Important, too, is the fact that William **vetoed the Triennial Bill,** which had passed both Houses of Parliament.

The Battle of Landen, July 19, 1693. Loss of the Smyrna Fleet.—In 1693 William was again in the Netherlands, where on

[1] See page 135.

July 19 the allied forces under his command were defeated by Luxembourg in the **battle of Landen** (Neerwinden). It was only through William's coolness that his army was saved from annihilation. Solmes was killed, and Sarsfield, who was fighting on the French side, was mortally wounded in this, the deadliest battle of the whole war. Had the great Napoleon been in command, this crushing blow would have been rapidly and energetically followed up, but Luxembourg, either through indolence or owing to the military custom of the day, made no attempt to follow up his success, and William rapidly reorganised his forces. Though Luxembourg took Charleroi, all danger to the allied cause was past. In June, just before the battle of Landen, an English merchant fleet, known as the **Smyrna Fleet**, four hundred strong, had been attacked by the French fleets, and more than half the ships were either captured or destroyed. Thus when William returned to England on October 31, he was compelled to admit that the nation had suffered serious losses by land and sea.

Louis XIV. anxious for Peace, 1694.—The Commons, however, accepted the situation and granted increased supplies. Their patriotic spirit and confidence in the future was justified by the fact that Louis XIV., in spite of his victories in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Savoy, was becoming anxious for peace. Great distress was rife in the provinces, the possibilities of the question of the Spanish Succession being thrown upon Europe made it desirable that the war with England and her allies should be concluded as soon as possible. The King of Denmark, who occupied a position of neutrality, endeavoured to bring about some understanding between England and France. Louis, however, would make no satisfactory declaration with regard to the question of the recognition of the *de facto* king and queen of England. William accordingly was justified in rejecting Louis' overtures, and the war continued for another two years.

Formation of a United Ministry, 1694-96.—Under these circumstances it was vitally important that England should present a united front. This was impossible so long as William governed by mixed ministries. In 1694 a Bill provided for Triennial Parliaments, and shortly afterwards William resolved to form a united ministry, which would support him cordially in his war policy. By the advice of Sunderland, who pointed out (1) that the political theory held by the Whigs favoured the Revolution of 1688, (2) that the Whigs were the stronger body in the House of Commons, William determined to place himself entirely in the hands of the Whigs, the party which was pledged to the continuance of the war on land as well as on the sea. In 1694 he adopted the Whig policy and withdrew his veto of the Triennial Bill, which declared that no Parliament should last more than three years. In 1695 he did **not renew the Licensing Act**, that is to say, the censorship of the press was no longer exercised; thus a number of political newspapers were allowed to spring up. During these years he was gradually carrying out a change of ministers, and in 1695 the Tory Carmarthen, now the Duke of Leeds, was proved to have received a bribe from the East India Company, and retired, being followed in 1696 by Godolphin, the last of the Tory ministers. All the Tory statesmen had now left the Government, and in 1697 **the first united ministry** was formed by a group of statesmen known as the Junto. It included Somers, a skilful lawyer, who became Chancellor and a Peer in 1697, Lord Wharton, Charles Montagu (Lord Halifax, 1700), and Lord Orford, nephew of the Duke of Bedford, and better known as Russell, the victor of the battle of La Hogue. Charles Montagu's elevation was due to his continued success as a financier. Faced by a deficit in 1693, he had suggested various expedients for raising money. Having adopted the views of one William Paterson, who in 1691, in a pamphlet,

had shown the advisability of setting up a national bank, Montgau had established the **Bank of England** in 1694. He then, in 1695, successfully re-established the currency on a sound basis, and thus, by means of his financial skill, restored England's credit. The Bank was a company which lent its capital of £1,200,000 to the Government on condition of receiving £100,000 permanently as interest. England henceforward had a national bank and a national debt, and her finance was placed on a steady and stable basis. From that year England entered upon a period of well-nigh unbroken commercial prosperity. Abroad, too, William had at last met with success.

The Naval Campaign of 1694: its Importance.—The naval campaign of 1694 was of great importance, though it saw two serious disasters to the English cause. A Turkey fleet was dispersed by a storm and ruined, while an attempt made against Brest failed, partly through the treachery of Marlborough, who disclosed the plan to James II. Talmash, a capable commander, was killed, and the expedition returned. A second expedition to the Mediterranean under **Russell**, at the head of a combined English and Dutch fleet, was more successful, and its presence in the Mediterranean contributed, among other causes, to the Peace of Ryswick.

The Effect of the Presence of the English Fleet in the Mediterranean. A Summary.—At the accession of William, England was far from being of importance in Europe. During James II.'s reign she had practically been a cipher in European politics. William's task was therefore a difficult one. Not only had he to watch his enemies at home, but he had to take measures to secure for England that predominance in Europe which she had enjoyed in Cromwell's time. On his accession he found no army in existence, the navy was disorganised, and his own position threatened, not only by secret foes at home, but also by

the activities of Louis XIV. on the Continent, in Ireland, and on the sea. He had therefore to secure English interests in the Channel and in the North Sea before restoring England's position in the Mediterranean. Even after the victory of La Hogue those interests were far from being secure, for the French navy was still numerically strong, and in 1793 a French fleet, as has been mentioned, captured a considerable portion of the Smyrna convoy off Cape St. Vincent.

Louis, however, had determined to muster the French fleet at **Toulon**, and this decision altered the conditions of the war. Louis' object was, by means of the presence of the fleet in the Mediterranean, to dominate the Gulf of Lyons and to cut the communications between Spain and the Empire. This danger could only be met by the dispatch of an English fleet to the Mediterranean. After finding no French ships in Brest harbour, Russell in 1794, as has been stated, sailed with the fleet for the Mediterranean, his entrance into that sea relieving Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, where the French had won successes, and driving Tourville, the French admiral, back to Toulon. To prevent a fresh investment of Barcelona by the French, William ordered Russell, who later was made Earl of Orford, to remain in the Mediterranean, and consequently the English fleet wintered at Cadiz.

The effect of the wintering of Russell at Cadiz was immense. Louis recognised the necessity of 'breaking William's hold in the Mediterranean,' and determined to commission the war-ships which had been laid up at Brest. For this purpose seamen were sent in 1696 from Tourville's fleet to man the ships at Brest. But these seamen, we are informed, deserted in hundreds, and the French fleet never recovered. 'All this,' writes Mr. Corbett, 'was directly the result of an enemy dominating the Mediterranean and keeping a fleet interposed between the two seats of the French maritime power.'

There is little doubt, then, that the presence of the English fleet in the Mediterranean was in no small way responsible for Louis' readiness to agree to the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

William in the Netherlands, 1695. Capture of Namur, August 26.—Meanwhile, in 1695, Luxembourg being dead, William won a great success in the Netherlands. Before that event he had suffered a serious loss. **Queen Mary had died** on December 28, 1694 (a few days before the death of Luxembourg), and with her death all chance of the King becoming generally popular passed away. In spite of this great blow William, after an interval, resumed his efforts to combat conspiracy and faction at home and the French abroad. On August 26, 1695, William captured **Namur**, in face of a French army. 'The capture of Namur was the greatest event of the year, and indeed of the campaign.' [1] And in September, in spite of the efforts of Villeroy, the French commander, to divert William's attention to Brussels, the citadel also fell into the hands of the English. From this time Louis' fortunes began to decline.

Triumph of the Whigs in Parliament, 1695-96.—In October William returned to England, where he received a warm welcome. There the Tory Speaker, Trevor, had been expelled from his office for his venality, and in May the Duke of Leeds (Carmarthen) had retired from public life in consequence of a similar charge. During the autumn of 1695 a **plot** was formed for the **assassination of the King**. The chief supporters were Sir George Barclay, a certain Charnock, Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford, Sir John Fenwick, and Sir William Parkins. Two previous attempts to restore James II. had failed, one by the Battle of the Boyne, the second by the Battle of La Hogue. The third attempt, by means of an armed insurrection, was to be preceded by the

[1] Traill, *William III.*, p. 159.

death of William. The secret of the assassination plot was divulged in the spring of 1696. Its discovery led to the revival of the popularity of William III. and to the execution of Sir John Fenwick. The Whigs were now completely triumphant. The Jacobite cause had received a serious blow, James II. henceforward renounced his political hopes for religion, and an **association** was formed to defend William and to maintain the succession of the Princess Anne. The Government, with Somers as Lord Chancellor and Montagu as Lord Treasurer, was on a strong basis, while Louis XIV. had now become anxious for peace.

The Peace of Ryswick, 1697.—The King and Parliament, however, were distrustful of Louis XIV. Both Houses agreed with William's expressed view. 'I am sure,' he said, 'we shall agree in opinion that the only way to treat with France is with our swords in our hands.' Early in 1697, however, Louis renewed his attempts to end the war. As he offered not only to restore Lorraine and Luxemburg, but also to recognise William as King of England, the Dutch Government and William were ready to assent. The Emperor first raised objections, but finally all the allies agreed to assemble at The Hague, while the French representatives should take up their quarters at Delft, a few miles off, the representatives of all powers to meet at a village called **Ryswick**. There, on May 9, 1697, the Congress took place, a Swedish minister acting as mediator. As the proceedings hung fire, William opened direct negotiations with Louis, and finally, on September 11, 1697, the **Treaty of Ryswick** was signed between France and Spain, the United Provinces and England, the Emperor signifying his adhesion a few weeks later. Louis promised not to encourage plots against William III.; all places taken since the Peace of Nimeguen were to be restored, and thus France regained Pondicherry and Nova Scotia, whilst Spain regained Catalonia, Luxemburg, Mons, Ath, and Courtray. The chief forts

in the Spanish Netherlands were to be garrisoned by Dutch troops, and Fort Albany was restored by Louis to the Hudson Bay Company. On October 20, on the instigation of William III., the Emperor made peace with France, which power kept Strassburg and Landau. However, she withdrew from the right bank of the Rhine and restored Lorraine to its Duke. In view of the adhesion of the Duke of Savoy on August 29, 1696 to the French cause with its result, the neutralisation of Italy, which would enable Louis to throw some thirty thousand extra troops into the Netherlands, William was wise to accept Louis' overtures. There was no doubt, however, that William was astonished, early in 1697, to find Louis was so ready to make concessions and to cease his open support of James II. The chief reason for Louis' conduct is probably to be found in his realisation that at any moment the important question of the Spanish succession might be thrown down before Europe. In view of the imminence of this question, and of his realisation of the great financial distress in France, Louis was wise to make peace. 'At any rate the Grand Alliance was broken up, and France, with her recuperative powers and her well-organised government, remained the strongest and most united state in Europe.'[1]

Period III.—1697-1702.

The Spanish Succession.

The Spanish Succession Question.—It was obvious to William that the Treaty of Ryswick was a mere truce, and that the danger to England from France was by no means over. It was therefore necessary to maintain an attitude of watchful preparation. To his despair he found that this view was not shared by either the Whigs or the Tories. Both parties anticipated that the end of the war would be followed

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. p. 63.

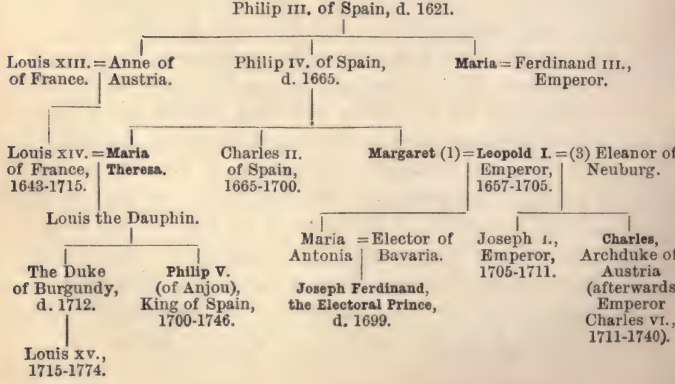
by the disbandment of the standing army, by the lowering of taxes, and by a vast expansion of trade. They had no realisation of the existing continental problem, while William, on the contrary, with his larger view of the situation, realised that it was in Europe that great questions bearing upon England's future were to be decided. He was therefore anxious that at least a force of thirty thousand men should be maintained, in view of the uncertainty of the situation. Unfortunately the relations between King and Parliament were somewhat strained by his support of, and confidence in Sunderland, who at this time was viewed with suspicion by his colleagues in office. Sunderland, however, realising his unpopularity, resigned office in December 1697, while the standing army was reduced to some eight thousand men, in addition to four thousand in Scotland and twelve thousand in Ireland. William was obliged, moreover, to send his Dutch guards back to Holland, as the Parliament insisted that the eight thousand men employed in England should all be English. 1698 witnessed another triumph in the financial world, viz. that of Montagu, who secured the passing of an Act which strengthened the power of the new East India Company. The result was that the Whig influence in London was vastly increased, and England's financial strength was in striking fashion demonstrated to Europe. In August 1698 a General Election took place, with the result that many opponents both to the Whig ministers and to the King's foreign policy were elected. The unpopularity of the Court, and the prospects of differences between it and Parliament were all the more serious as 'William was already engaged in the most momentous negotiations of his life.'[1]

In 1698 Europe found itself face to face with the question of the Spanish Succession. That question had threatened to become acute at any moment during the last thirty years.

[1] Lodge, *The Political History of England*, p. 413.

Charles II. of Spain, who had no children, had never been expected to live long. He was now only thirty-six, but his health was so weak that it was obvious that his death might take place at any moment. In view of that event, the succession to the Spanish Crown and Dominions became of the first importance. Both Louis XIV. and Leopold I. had married daughters of Philip IV. of Spain, who died in 1665, and had been succeeded by his son Charles II. In the case of both marriages renunciations on the part of the two princesses of their claims to Spain had been secured, but Louis XIV. had on his marriage declared his wife's renunciation null and void, while Leopold, who had married Margaret, the younger daughter of Philip IV., claimed the Crown on behalf of her child, Maria Antonia, who had married Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria. She, however, had renounced her claims in favour of Leopold's children by a later marriage, and those children were **Joseph**, who afterwards became Emperor in 1705, and **Charles**, Archduke of Austria, who, on Joseph's death in 1711, became Emperor.

The Spanish Succession.



Thus the Spanish Succession question resolved itself into a **struggle between the Bourbons and the Austrian Hapsburgs** for the Crown of Spain.

William's Policy. The First Partition Treaty, October 1698.—William's interest was to prevent a great European war from breaking out. For it was obvious that Louis would never consent to the accession of Charles, Archduke of Austria, to the Spanish dominions. Hoping to arrive at an amicable settlement, in which the interests of France should be preserved, Louis first opened negotiations with William III., and secondly, sent Harcourt, a diplomatist, to Madrid to urge the Bourbon claim. Negotiations with William III. eventuated in the **First Partition Treaty**, which was drawn up in October 1698. By this treaty it was settled that Joseph Ferdinand, known as the Electoral Prince, the son of Maria Antonia, the daughter of Leopold by his first wife, should have Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Indies; France was to have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, known as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with Guipuscoa; Austria was to have the Duchy of Milan and other minor Italian possessions. William concluded this Partition Treaty without consulting his ministers until he had settled all the details. 'It was the most unconstitutional act of William's reign,' though, according to Tallard, 'the most celebrated treaty which had been made for ages.' Charles II. of Spain and his advisers were naturally much irritated at the attempt to settle the future of Spain during his lifetime, and the French cause became for a time most unpopular in Madrid. William himself was irritated at Spain's protest against the treaty, but during the next few months he was too busily occupied in England to pay much attention to Spanish discontent.

William's Grants of Irish Land.—In England the Parliament criticised severely the Irish grants which had been made by William. William had promised to make no grants of land

without the acquiescence of Parliament. Nevertheless his grants to his friends had been enormous, and the Commons now proposed to appoint commissioners to inquire into these grants. The Bill settling their appointment was forced through the House of Lords by 'tacking' it on to a Bill granting the land tax. On May 4, 1699, the session of Parliament came to an end, and William was enabled to turn his attention to a new phase in the Spanish Succession question.

The Second Partition Treaty, March 1700.—In January 1699 the Electoral Prince had died, and the First Partition Treaty was therefore rendered valueless. All the arrangements of Louis and William had now to be reconsidered, and fresh endeavours made to prevent the outbreak of war. Leopold had just concluded the Peace of Carlowitz (1699), which brought to a successful close his long war with the Turks, begun in 1682. Hungary and Transylvania were now his, and a large army was set free to operate if necessary in the west. Consequently the Austrian Government was confident and dictatorial, and its attitude was undoubtedly one of the reasons which decided Louis to open negotiations with William for a second Partition Treaty. After long negotiations the **Second Partition Treaty** was signed by English, French, and Dutch representatives between October 1699 and March 15, 1700. By this treaty it was arranged that the Spanish Netherlands, Sardinia, and the Spanish colonies were to be given to the Archduke Charles; the Dauphin was to receive Naples and Sicily, Guipuscoa, Elba, and the Duchy of Milan, which latter was to be given to the Archduke Charles in exchange for Lorraine. Thus the French dominions were to be rounded off on the near east, France became supreme in the west basin of the Mediterranean, and the supremacy of the Hapsburgs in Italy was to be transferred to the Bourbons. Leopold, the Emperor, refused to accede to this treaty in spite of all William's endeavours,

Leopold had no intention of surrendering Italy, and was encouraged in his opposition by a diplomatic quarrel which had taken place between England and Spain. In Spain the news of the Second Partition Treaty had roused the Spaniards to fury. The Spanish Ambassador in London entered a protest, and was ordered to quit England. Spain retaliated by dismissing the English envoy from Madrid. Thus by October 1699 the relations between England and Spain had become unfriendly, and all hope of Austria's approval to the Partition Treaty was abandoned. During the early months of the year 1700, William was forced to yield to the wishes of the Commons with regard to his grants of Irish land. His conduct in this matter had been indefensible, and the resumption of the forfeited estates was finally decided upon in April 1700. The second session of his Tory Parliament was now closed, and William's position was a difficult one. The Second Partition Treaty had been severely criticised, and without war would be difficult to enforce.

The Darien Scheme.—The failure of the **Darien Scheme** had raised great discontent in Scotland. That scheme, originated by Paterson, the famous financier, who had suggested the formation of the Bank of England, had for its object the peopling with Scots of the Isthmus of Darien. It was expected that the colony would gradually establish a great emporium for trade. In 1698 about three thousand colonists left Scotland for the new settlement, but the climate was unhealthy, and the assaults of the Spaniards became serious. The colonists therefore withdrew, and the project failed. Its failure was due, as the Scots asserted, to the jealousy of England, and to the lack of encouragement on the part of the colonial governors. To William, however, the failure of the Darien Scheme was an additional argument in favour of a closer union between England and Scotland.

Death of Charles of Spain, Nov. 1, 1700. Philip of Anjou,

King of Spain.—On November 1, 1700, Charles II. of Spain died, leaving the Spanish Empire to the second son of the Dauphin, Philip, Duke of Anjou. Louis XIV. at once threw over the Partition Treaty and accepted the will. Thus William's policy had failed, and the Bourbons were now supreme in Western Europe. Moreover, he seemed quite helpless: in England the Partition Treaties had been most unpopular, for the merchants foresaw that the occupation of Naples and Sicily and the Tuscan Ports[1]—Piombino, Porto Ercole, Porto San Stefano, Telamone, Orbitello, Porto Longone (in Elba)—would make the French all-powerful in the Mediterranean, and English trade would be seriously menaced. Moreover, the English nation showed no immediate alarm at the prospect of Spain and France being ruled by the Bourbons. The Dutch too, fearing a French invasion, agreed to recognise Philip as King of Spain. It seemed as though Louis XIV. would be allowed quietly to enjoy the fulfilment of the great ambition of his life. To William no way appeared out of his difficulties. A Tory reaction set in after the Peace of Ryswick and continued till 1701, during which period domestic affairs occupied the chief attention of Parliament.

The Parliament of 1701.—In 1701 a new Parliament met and the Tory majority at once impeached the Junto—that is Somers, Portland (Bentinck), Orford (Russell), Halifax (Montagu)—for their share in the negotiations connected with the Partition Treaties and on other grounds. The House of Lords, however, took advantage of a reaction caused by the violence of the Commons, and acquitted Somers and Montagu, who had been impeached by the House of Commons. The Commons were furious, and the relations between the two Houses became so embittered that William prorogued Parliament on June 28. Before the prorogation took place the Grand Jury of Kent petitioned the Commons to turn their

[1] See map in Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, p. 204.

'loyal addresses into Bills of Supply.' The Commons attacked the petitioners, whose action was supported by Defoe's *Legion Memorial*, a pamphlet which had a wide circulation.

The Act of Settlement, 1701.—Before they were dissolved the Commons passed the **Act of Settlement**, which was necessitated by the **death of the young Duke of Gloucester** in July 1700, son of the Princess Anne. By this Act the Crown was settled after the death of Anne on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (the daughter of James I.), and her heirs being Protestant. Checks on the royal power were also added. First the king was not allowed to leave Great Britain without the leave of Parliament. Secondly, no minister, placeman, or pensioner of the Crown was to sit in the House of Commons. Thirdly, business was to be transacted, not in a Cabinet, but in the Privy Council. Fourthly, no pardon under the Great Seal could be pleaded as a bar to an impeachment. Fifthly, judges were to hold their places during good behaviour, and were only to be removed from office by an address from both Houses of Parliament. It also stated that in the event of the accession of a foreign-born ruler, the nation should not be engaged, without the consent of Parliament, in war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the Crown of England. Only clauses 4 and 5 were ever really operative, for 1 was repealed to please George I., and clause 3, which would have made impossible our system of Cabinet Government, was repealed in 1705, when it was settled that any member of the House of Commons who takes a salaried office must seek re-election.

Louis XIV. makes War inevitable.—Being passed by a Tory House of Commons, the Act of Settlement committed the Tory party to the Hanoverian succession, and shows to what extent that party had broken with the idea of divine right. While, however, the House of Commons was thus displaying in

various ways its hostility to William and the Whigs, Louis XIV. was committing a series of impolitic acts which stirred up feeling in England and led immediately to the war of the Spanish Succession. He took no steps to allay the fear that the Spanish and French fleets might combine against English commerce, or the suspicion that Philip v. of Spain might one day become King of France. Moreover, in 1701 Louis suddenly seized certain fortresses known as **Barrier Fortresses** on the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands. By the Peace of Ryswick Dutch troops had been allowed to garrison these fortresses. From his action it was quite evident that Louis anticipated that war would break out.

The Grand Alliance of 1701.—Parliament being prorogued, William at once sent ten thousand troops to Holland under Marlborough, and on September 7 laid the foundation of a **Grand Alliance** between England, Holland, and the Emperor. Hostilities had already broken out in Italy, where Prince Eugene had won a victory over the French in Lombardy. On September 1 a battle was fought at **Chiari**, in which Eugene was again victorious, his victory undoubtedly influencing the decision of the Powers at The Hague to form the **Grand Alliance** on September 7. This Alliance did not in itself mean the outbreak of war. The allies simply demanded that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. They asked that the Netherlands and Italian provinces should be placed in Hapsburg hands, and that the maritime powers, *i.e.* England and Holland, should be granted commercial and political security. Louis XIV. was now face to face with one of the most important crises in his life. **On September 16 James II. died**, and Louis without any delay formally acknowledged his son James Edward, afterwards known as the Old Pretender, as the King of England. English patriotism and the spirit of antagonism to France were at once roused. William, who had for a long

time been convinced that war was inevitable, returned to England at the beginning of November.

War Inevitable. Death of William III., March 8, 1702.—On November 11 Parliament was dissolved, and a General Election took place. The Whig candidates were returned in large numbers, loyal addresses poured in, abundant supplies were voted. A Bill was passed to secure the Protestant succession. William was authorised to maintain forty thousand sailors and forty thousand soldiers, and to make immediate preparations for war. On February 21, 1702, a fall from his horse broke his collar bone, and shortly afterwards he caught a bad cold. On March 8 he died at Kensington, leaving to his successor the execution of his two favourite projects, namely, the overthrow of the power of Louis XIV. and the union of Scotland.

The Colonies after the Restoration.—The period between 1660 and 1702 is most important in the history of the growth of England's American colonies. Certainly till 1675 Charles II. himself took a great interest in England's colonial expansion, and he was supported in his policy by such men as Clarendon and Shaftesbury. Clarendon devoted much time and thought to the development of the colonies. That minister wished to emphasize the supremacy of the Crown, to secure toleration for the Church of England, and to ensure the execution of the Navigation Acts. The wars with the Dutch in Charles's reign were essentially wars for trade, colonial expansion, and sea dominion. To carry out this policy, a strong navy was absolutely necessary, and the excellence of the Dutch shipbuilders stimulated the English to expend vast sums on their fleet. The Dutch, however, were poor colonists, and in their oversea dominions made little progress. The English, on the other hand, were excellent colonists, and showed unusual powers of expansion.

Soon after the accession of Charles II. Carolina was

established in 1663, its capital, Charlestown, being named after Charles II. Carolina was divided into North and South Carolina, which for a long period remained nominally united. North Carolina, however, advanced slowly, being without good harbours, and failing to attract emigrants. South Carolina, on the other hand, was far more flourishing. Religious toleration was allowed; liberal grants of land for settlers formed an inducement to emigrants, and for some twenty-five years excellent governors were chosen. Charlestown, which was the chief town, became a popular and flourishing city, and the colony in 1685 was reinforced by Huguenots. In the Carolinas the famous constitution of John Locke was to a certain extent established. Before the end of the century the colony had made considerable progress.

More important colonial developments took place in the North. In 1667, by the Treaty of Breda, England acquired the Dutch colony of the New Netherlands. New Amsterdam became New York, and the Delaware Settlement formed the Province of New Jersey. New York was the first colony that was won by conquest.

The importance of this new addition to England lay in the fact that as long as the Dutch owned the New Netherlands, a barrier existed between New England and the Southern colonies. That barrier was now removed. The English colonies formed one consolidated community, and a great danger to English colonial development was removed.

In 1681 William Penn, a Quaker, the son of the conqueror of Jamaica, obtained a Charter granting him a large territory close to the Delawares, lying between Maryland and the colonies lately acquired from the Dutch. There he formed the colony of Pennsylvania. Quakers migrated to this settlement, and a democratic constitution was set up. At the end of the century it is stated that some twenty thousand settlers were to be found in the colony, which gradually lost

much of its Quaker characteristics. At the end of the century the possibility of expansion was being endangered by French developments in the lands west of the existing colonies.

The outbreak of war in 1689 between England and France marked the beginning of an important period in the history of the British colonies in the New World. The battle of La Hogue was a serious blow to the French sea-power. Moreover, Louis XIV. henceforward concentrated his attention on his army and on land operations. The result of this policy was seen in the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, which marked the steady advance of British colonial interests no less than the decline of the French power in North America.

IMPORTANT DATES.

The First Mutiny Act	**1689**
The Bill of Rights	**,,**
Battle of Killiecrankie (July 27)	**,,**
Siege of Londonderry	**,,**
Battle off Beachy Head (June 30)	**1690**
Battle of the Boyne (July 1)	**,,**
The Massacre of Glencoe (Feb.)	**1691**
Treaty of Limerick (Oct.)	**,,**
Battle of Cape La Hogue	**1692**
Battle of Steinkirk	**,,**
National Debt founded	**1693**
Battle of Landen (Neerwinden) (July)	**,,**
Bank of England founded	**1694**
Triennial Act passed	**,,**
Formation of a United Ministry	**1694-1696**
Death of Mary (Dec.)	**1694**
Death of Luxembourg (Dec.)	**,,**
Censorship of the Press expired	**1695**
Capture of Namur	**,,**

Coinage renewed	**1696**
Peace of Ryswick	**1697**
First Partition Treaty (Oct.)	**1698**
New English East India Company	,,
Second Partition Treaty (May)	**1700**
Death of Charles II. of Spain (Nov.)	,,
The Failure of the Darien Scheme	,,
The Act of Settlement	**1701**
Philip V. arrives in Madrid (Feb. 18)	,,
Death of James II. (Sept. 6)	,,
Louis recognises the Pretender as King of England	,,
Formation of the Grand Alliance (Sept. 7)	,,
Death of William III. (March 8)	**1702**

QUESTIONS OF THE REIGN.

(1) Discuss the importance of the rebellion in Ireland which ended in the Treaty of Limerick.

(2) Criticise generally William III.'s policy to Ireland and Scotland.

(3) Illustrate from the relations of William III. to his ministers the views he held of his position as an English king.

(4) 'William III. lacked imagination and invention.' Criticise this view of his character.

(5) Estimate the value of the British sea-power during the reign.

(6) 'William III.'s reign was an age of transition.' Discuss this assertion with regard to the constitutional history of the reign.

(7) Enumerate the chief motives of the opposition to William III.

(8) Describe Montagu's financial schemes.

(9) Illustrate the influence of the mercantile classes upon English politics under William III.

(10) Criticise William's policy with regard to the Partition Treaties.

(11) Discuss the causes of the outbreak of war in 1702.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. The Penal Laws.

(*a*) 1696. An Act required from members of both Houses of the Irish Parliament the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and a declaration against transubstantiation. These oaths were also enforced upon 'every person holding offices ecclesiastical, civil, or military.'

Acts were also passed forbidding Roman Catholics to send their children abroad for education, or to any but Protestant schools at home, and also forbidding them to carry or even possess arms.

(*b*) 1698. An Act ordered 'all bishops, Jesuits, monks, friars, and regular clergy to leave Ireland,' and another Act prevented, except in certain specified cases, intermarriage of Roman Catholics and Protestants.

(*c*) 1699. An Act forbade Roman Catholics to practise as solicitors, without taking the oaths, on penalty of £100.

(*d*) In 1704 and 1710 more stringent Acts were passed with the object of keeping land and education away from the Roman Catholics; and in 1733 all Roman Catholics were disfranchised both as regards Parliamentary and municipal elections.

2. Summary of Montagu's Financial and Commercial Schemes.

(1) The reorganisation of the Land Tax	1693
(2) The beginning of the National Debt	,,
(3) The Lottery Loan	1694
(4) The establishment of the Bank of England . . .	,,
(5) The re-establishment of the Currency—assisted by the issue of Exchequer Bills	1695
(6) The General Mortgage—to make good out of the general funds of the country deficiencies in Parliamentary funds	1696
(7) Formation of the General East India Company—which in 1708 united with the existing East India Company	1698

3. General Constitutional Results of the Revolution of 1688.

(a) *On the Crown.*

The powers of the Crown remained considerable. The King had the right to summon and dissolve Parliament; he was still the fountain of honour. Gradually, however, by the Mutiny Act, the rise of the Cabinet, and by Place and Pension Bills, the position of the Crown with regard to the Executive and Parliament became defined.

(b) *On the House of Lords.*

Its influence by no means destroyed but rather enhanced by the Revolution. The Peers, by their local influence, possessed great influence over the elections of members to the House of Commons, an influence not destroyed till the Reform Bill of 1832.

(c) *On the House of Commons.*

It became the most important element in the Constitution. It was no longer in danger of direct attack on the part of the Crown, but its character became oligarchical, the constituencies did not represent the people, and it was rarely affected by public opinion. It was not till the reign of George III. that it began to represent the constituencies better.

4. Party Government.

Between 1688 and 1715 a great revolution was effected in the character and constitution of the Executive Government. Both William III. and Anne tried to govern by mixed ministries, *i.e.* composed of men of both parties. The plan did not work well in either reign. Between 1693 and 1697, by Sunderland's advice, William formed a united Whig Ministry with excellent results. The 'Junto,' as the close partnership between Russell, Somers, Montagu, and Wharton was called, resembled in some respects the modern Cabinet; and such was the jealousy felt towards this new creation, that a clause was inserted in the Act of Settlement to check its growth. That clause was repealed in Anne's reign, but the Cabinet—the hyphen between the Crown and Parliament, *i.e.* between the Executive and Legislature—is the result of a convention. Since William III.'s days the leaders of the party which has a majority in the House of Commons have acted as the Executive, and have had seats in Parliament.

5. William and the Church.

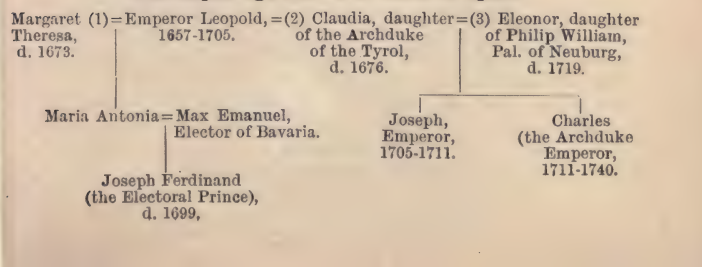
William had hoped to effect an alteration in the Prayer Book which the Nonconformists would accept. Seeing the impossibility of carrying his scheme even in Convocation, it was withdrawn. As a punishment, Convocation was not allowed to meet for eleven years, bishoprics were only given to those who were Whig in politics and latitudinarian in their religious views; as in the time of Walpole, the Whig policy was to reduce the Church to a department of State.

In spite, however, of her difficulties, the Church made considerable progress. In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded, and in 1701 that for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Besides the foundation of these and other religious societies, many admirable books were written, such as Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, and *The Whole Duty of Man*.

6. The Views of Whigs and Tories.

The Tories, who were mainly composed of the landed gentry, supported the Church of England and hereditary right, while the Whigs were in favour of the Nonconformists and the right of Parliament to regulate the succession. Owing to James II.'s attack on the Church, the Tories had been forced to subordinate their support of the hereditary succession to their desire to secure the safety of the Church. After the Peace of Ryswick the Tories showed their jealousy of William III. and of the Whigs by opposing the existence of a standing army, and by declaring that England should 'avail herself of her insular position, keep out of foreign complications, and trust for defence to her fleet and militia.'

The Hapsburgs and their Claim to Spain.



CHAPTER IV

ANNE—1702-1714.

Born, 1665; married, 1683, Prince George of Denmark.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

France.	*The Empire.*	*Spain.*	*The Papacy.*
Louis XIV., 1643-1715.	Leopold I., 1658-1705. Joseph I., 1705-1711. Charles VI., 1711-1740.	Charles II., 1665-1700. Philip V., 1700-1746.	Clement XI., 1700-1721.

Portugal.	*Turkey.*	*Sweden.*	*Brandenburg-Prussia.*
Peter II., 1683-1706. John V., 1706-1751.	Mustapha III., 1695-1703. Achmet III., 1703-1727.	Charles XII., 1697-1719.	Frederick III., 1688-1713. (Frederick I., King of Prussia from 1701.) Frederick William, 1713-1740.

Russia.	*Poland.*	*Denmark and Norway.*
Peter the Great, 1688-1724.	Frederick Augustus I., Elector of Saxony, 1697-1704 (deposed). Stanislaus Leszczynski, 1704-1709. Frederick Augustus (restored), 1709-1733.	Frederick IV., 1699-1730.

PERIODS OF THE REIGN.

(1) From the Accession of Queen Anne to the formation of a United Whig Ministry (1702-1708). During this period the battles of Vigo Bay, Blenheim, Malaga, Ramillies, and Oudenarde were won, and Gibraltar and Minorca captured. At home, the Union of England and Scotland was effected, and during these years the Tory ministry became gradually a Whig one.

(2) From 1708 to 1710, during which years England was under a United Whig Ministry. In 1709 Malplaquet was won, but the nation was becoming weary of the war, and in the summer of 1710 Anne dismissed the ministry.

(3) From 1710 to the end of the reign, 1714, the period of the Peace of Utrecht and the Succession Question. During these years the Tories were in office, their leaders being Harley (Oxford) and St. John (Bolingbroke). The reign closed amid much political excitement.

Period I.—1702-1708.

From Anne's Accession to the Formation of a United Whig Ministry. — English Victories, and the steady Increase of the Influence of the Whigs.

Contents.

Accession of Anne—The Importance of the Reign—The Character of Anne—Marlborough—Divisions of the Reign—The War with France—England's Naval Strength—The Battle of Vigo Bay—Marlborough in the Netherlands—The Treaty of Turin—The Methuen Treaty—The Archduke Charles in Spain—Capture of Gibraltar—Influence of the British Command of the Sea—The Blenheim Campaign—The Battle of Blenheim—French Successes in 1705—The Pacification of Milan, 1706—Ramillies—French Overtures for Peace—Charles XII. in Saxony, 1707—The Supremacy of the Whigs—The Union of Scotland, 1707—The Whig Resolutions, 1707.

CHIEF NAMES.

Louis XIV.—Marlborough—Godolphin—Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough—Max Emmanuel of Bavaria—Tallard—Cloudesley Shovell—Paul Methuen—John Methuen—Archduke Charles—Admiral Rooke—Prince George of Hesse—Admiral Leake—Margrave of Baden—Marsin—Lord Cutts—Louis of Baden—Villars—Earl of Peterborough—Berwick—Prince Eugene—Charles XII.

The Importance of Anne's Reign.—The reign of Queen Anne was of profound importance to Europe no less than to Great Britain. It saw the power of France definitely checked, and the kingdom of Spain, under a Bourbon ruler, launched upon a new period in its career. It witnessed Great Britain's triumph in Europe, and it marked an epoch in the history of her expansion over-seas. Moreover, the occupation by Great Britain of Gibraltar was an event of world-wide significance, as it enabled her fleets to enter the Mediterranean at will, and to prevent the Bourbon Powers from establishing their ascendancy in that sea. At home the reign, owing to the existence of acute party strife, witnessed a remarkable outburst of **political literature** connected with the names of Defoe, Addison, Steele, and Swift. It also has a peculiar interest for the constitutional historian, for during the reign a distinct step was taken towards the development of party government, and towards the establishment of the modern Cabinet.

The Union of Scotland with England in 1707 was, moreover, an event which by itself was sufficiently important to mark the reign as one of exceptional interest to all the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland.

Accession of Anne, 1702.—On March 8, 1702, Anne ascended the throne, and on April 23, 1702, St. George's Day, her coronation took place. She was the younger daughter of James II. and his first wife, Anne Hyde. Her husband was

Prince George of Denmark (the brother of King Christian v.), to whom she was devoted, and whom she had married in 1683. He was a strong supporter of the Tory party, but had little political influence.

Her Character.—Anne was a woman whose ability is now recognised by all students of her life and reign. Like most of the Stuart sovereigns, 'she was keenly appreciative of the dignity of sovereignty,' and in all matters of state she had 'a strong sense of the homage due to her.' She was possessed of considerable intellectual powers, and, when occasion demanded it, could act with vigour. During her reign the dignity of the monarchy was fully maintained. As regards her religious principles, she was attached to the English Church, though her views were not entirely acceptable to the more extreme Tories, a section of whom would have preferred to have seen the Pretender on the throne of England after William III.'s death. Ordinarily Anne was disinclined to take an active part in politics, and till 1710 allowed the masterful Duchess of Marlborough to exercise a dominant influence at her Court.

Popular with the nation, who appreciated her homely virtues and her English tastes, Anne, however, never allowed herself to be dominated for any length of time by her favourites. Without any originality she had certain fixed principles. She had no liking for any of her ministers, whether Whig or Tory, if they showed themselves overbearing in manner, or appeared profane, profligate, or wanting in respect to herself. Like George III., whom she resembled in many ways, she held opinions which, as a rule, were those of the majority of the nation. Her obstinacy and narrow-mindedness, which were very apparent on occasions, in no way detracted from her well-deserved popularity. 'Her face,' we read, 'was heavy but not unpleasing, her forehead good, her lower jaw large.' This was the Queen who presided over

the destinies of Great Britain during a very momentous period in its history.

For some years before her accession Anne had been the centre of a small circle, and had been influenced by Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, a handsome, strong-willed, capable woman, who was steeped in Whig principles.

Her Accession.—On March 11, 1702, three days after William III.'s death, Anne declared in the House of Lords her intention of reducing 'the exorbitant power of France,' and of supporting the Allies, of whom Austria and Holland were the chief. On May 4 war was declared upon France and Spain. Godolphin, an able and sagacious financier, was appointed Lord Treasurer; Marlborough, Captain-General; Sir Edward Seymour, a strong Tory, Comptroller of the Household; the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward; while Sir Charles Hedges and the Earl of Nottingham, a High Churchman, became Secretaries of State. Several Whigs were continued in office, and general satisfaction was felt at the evident desire of the Queen not to associate herself entirely with one party in the State. Nevertheless, the influence of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough was paramount with Anne during the early years of her reign. Marlborough and Godolphin, 'supported by the Whigs and by the Whig majority in the House of Lords,' advocated, in opposition to Rochester and Nottingham, the strenuous prosecution of war. The successes gained by the English arms during the early years of the war fully justified their policy in the eyes of the nation.

Marlborough.—John Churchill, who was born in 1650, had already had a distinguished career. He had seen service in Flanders during the war of 1672-1678; he had been closely connected with James II. when Duke of York. In 1682 he was created Baron Churchill of Aymouth in the Scottish peerage; the following year saw him Colonel of the

First Dragoons. He took a leading part in crushing Monmouth's rebellion, but in 1687 he negotiated with William of Orange, while the following year he vowed fidelity to James II. After William had landed in England, Churchill forsook the cause of James, and in 1689 was created Earl of Marlborough. During William's reign the worst feature of Marlborough's character appeared. He intrigued with the dethroned James II. and with the army, and in 1692 was deservedly dismissed from his offices and imprisoned in the Tower. He was not received back to favour till 1698, when he was restored to his commands.

At the time of the accession of Anne no man in the kingdom had greater influence. Already Captain-General of the forces and Master-General of the ordnance, Marlborough had attained to a height of power unusual at any period of English history. But his military qualities fully qualified him for his position, and by his victories he justified the confidence placed in him by the Queen and nation.

He was one of the ablest generals that England has ever possessed. Resourceful, resolute, and gifted with sound judgment, Marlborough, whenever in command of troops, showed himself superior to all his contemporaries both as a strategist and a tactician. His knowledge of naval warfare was considerable, and, like William III., he was fully alive to the advantage to England of the possession of Minorca or some Spanish port in the Mediterranean. He was determined that England should have the power of keeping a fleet permanently in the Mediterranean.

England threatened by the Franco-Spanish Alliance.—Just as the very independence of the British nation was threatened in the years 1580-88 by Spain, and as it was again to be threatened in 1792-3 by France, so in 1702 British trade and with it British independence were imperilled. 'French mercantilism,' writes Mr. Leadam, 'enforced by the joint

action of Spain with France, threatening Dutch and English trade at all points, was a menace to their very existence as European powers of the first rank.'[1] The close alliance between France and Spain constituted, indeed, a serious danger to the independence of the British and Dutch colonies, quite apart from the effects which the alliance would have upon the trade of those colonies.

Importance of Naval Supremacy to England.—The loss of naval supremacy would, therefore, mean a blow to the independence of the nascent colonies in North America and elsewhere, and undoubtedly would be followed by fresh attempts to place the Pretender upon the English throne. It meant destruction to British trade in the Mediterranean, the serious consequences of which it was impossible to overrate.

Summary of the causes of the War with France.—Apart, however, from commercial and colonial questions, the threatened occupation of Flanders by French troops was in itself a sufficient cause of war. 'The Barrier' against France no longer existed, and thus the Belgian border was open to an advance of French troops.[2]

Thus, on political no less than on commercial grounds, it was impossible for England and Holland to look on with equanimity while Louis broke all treaties, and threatened the independence and very existence of both these countries.

Opening of the War. Marlborough's First Campaign, 1702.—On July 2, 1702, Marlborough joined the main army, which numbered sixty thousand men, in the Netherlands, with Nimeguen as his headquarters. After capturing several towns he ended the campaign by taking Liège, and on his

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England*, 1702-1760, p. 6. London: Longmans, 1909.

[2] It had been arranged that the Imperial fortresses on the Belgian frontier should be occupied by Dutch troops.

return to England was created Marquess of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough.

In September 1702 Max Emmanuel, the Elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne (both members of the House of Wittelsbach), joined Louis XIV., and the Empire at once declared war on France and her allies. The Elector of Bavaria was connected by marriage ties with the Bourbons, he was jealous of the Emperor, and was anxious to obtain the title of King.[1] The geographical position of Bavaria rendered the alliance of its Elector with Louis XIV. a matter of very serious moment to the Emperor.

The war thus begun was waged (1) at sea and in the colonies, (2) in Spain, (3) in Italy, and (4) in the Netherlands. The general election held in August had resulted in the triumph of the Tories, who strongly advocated warlike operations in the Spanish Peninsula in conjunction with the fleet.

Naval Operations, 1702. Battle of Vigo Bay.—In 1702 English fleets were to be found on the Spanish and Portuguese coasts, and in the West Indies. In the West Indies Admiral Benbow failed in his endeavour to destroy a French squadron which was conveying the Spanish viceroy to Mexico. Benbow died on November 4, 1702.

Against Cadiz a combined English and Dutch fleet sailed in July from England, the troops being under the command of Ormonde, while the fleet was commanded by Sir George Rooke. The expedition, like a similar one in the reign of Elizabeth, failed in its object—the capture of Cadiz—but on October 23 Rooke won the battle of **Vigo Bay**, destroying and capturing many French and Spanish ships, as well as a Spanish treasure fleet, and securing booty to the value of £1,000,000. Thus at the opening of the war Spain and

[1] Early in the nineteenth century a descendant did obtain from Napoleon the title of King of Bavaria.

France suffered a severe financial loss and a blow to their prestige. The affair at Vigo, too, weakened the tie which bound Portugal to the Bourbons.

Marlborough's Second Campaign in the Netherlands, March-September 1703.—In the following year, 1703, which saw Portugal and Savoy join the Grand Alliance, Marlborough entered upon his **Second Campaign**. He was at once confronted with a serious difficulty. Outnumbering the French by thirty thousand men, he desired that a policy of energetic action should be taken. It was known that the French Government was planning an invasion by Villars, in conjunction with the Elector of Bavaria, of the Hapsburg territories, which it was intended should culminate in an attack on Vienna itself. Marlborough, hampered as he was by the nervous fears of the Dutch, was only able to make so serious a diversion on the Meuse that the French troops were recalled from the Upper Rhine. In May 1703 he captured Bonn, and, still hampered by the lack of initiative on the part of the Dutch, he devoted himself during the remainder of the campaign to the reduction of Spanish Guelderland, capturing Huy (a fortress covering Liège), Limburg, and Guelders.

The Dutch general Opdam had on June 26 been defeated by the French at **Eckeren** ; otherwise the Allies could congratulate themselves on a series of unbroken successes.

Project of Villars, 1703.—Had, however, the Elector of Bavaria cordially supported the French army in 1703, Vienna might have been attacked. The aim of Villars, the ablest of the French generals, had indeed deserved success, and it would undoubtedly have succeeded had it not been for the conduct of Maximilian Emmanuel, the Elector of Bavaria. Instead of supporting Villars, Maximilian had set off in June to invade the Tyrol, which he hoped to annex to his own dominions. It is said that Maximilian did not wish to inflict a decisive blow on the Emperor, who was his

kinsman. He certainly disliked Villars, and he was surrounded by favourites, some of whom are said to have been in the pay of Austrian statesmen.

At any rate a splendid opportunity of dealing a decisive blow upon the Austrians, and possibly of occupying Vienna, was lost. Quarrels ensued, and Villars shortly afterwards placed his resignation in the hands of Louis, who, unfortunately for France, accepted it.

The campaign of 1703 thus ended without any decisive success having been achieved, and both the French and the Allies made preparations for a more ambitious programme in 1704.

Plans for the Campaign of 1704.—While Marlborough had laid all his plans for a campaign on the Meuse in 1704, the French and Bavarians resolved to attack Austria itself, and to advance through Bavaria to Vienna. The position of the French troops at the close of 1703 seemed to hold out a promise of success for the coming campaign.

Villars had taken Kehl, the key to any advance from France into Southern Germany. In October 1703 he was succeeded in his command by Count Marsin. On the middle Rhine the French army was commanded by Marshal Tallard, who had taken Landau in November 1703. The strong position held by the French had caused much uneasiness among the South German princes, who were by no means encouraged by the blow suffered by Louis XIV. in Italy, when Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, hitherto regarded as a firm ally of France, had on October 25 signed the **Treaty of Turin**, by which he undertook to aid the Grand Alliance. It was hoped that by means of a land attack on the part of Victor Amadeus, and an attack from the sea by Sir Cloudesley Shovell with some English ships, Toulon might be taken. But Shovell's expedition proved a failure, and he returned to England in November 1703, only to

lose some seventeen ships in the great storm of November 26. Nevertheless, the year 1703 brought the Allies some encouragement.

The Methuen Treaty, 1703.—Towards the close of 1702, the claim of the Archduke Charles (second son of the Emperor) to the throne of Spain had been definitely made, and it was stated that a Portuguese army would support that claim. Consequently, on May 16, 1703, Paul Methuen, the English envoy to **Portugal**, concluded an important treaty with the Portuguese Government, which now, like Savoy in November, changed sides and **joined the Coalition**. On December 27, 1703, the famous **Methuen Treaty** was concluded by John Methuen (formerly Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, and father of Paul Methuen), who was in 1703 Ambassador Extraordinary to Portugal. Preferential duties were granted to Portugal on imported Portuguese wines, and Portugal not only opened her markets to British manufactures, but gave England 'a monopoly for her woollen goods in the Portuguese markets.' The immediate effect of this treaty was that the Tories began to recognise the **commercial** benefits to be derived from the war, while the ultimate result was that for nearly a century Portugal became in great measure dependent on England, both commercially and politically.

The Archduke in Spain, 1704.—On January 17, 1704, the Archduke Charles, who in 1711 became the Emperor Charles VI., had landed in England from The Hague, and had been cordially received by Queen Anne as King of Spain. He proceeded in Rooke's flagship, and escorted by a large fleet, to Lisbon, only to find, as Wellington found about a century later, that the Portuguese army was wellnigh useless.

The French invade Portugal, 1704.—Meanwhile Louis XIV. had answered Portugal's defection by preparing for active intervention in Spain, and in February 1704 James, Duke of


BAY OF BISCAY
To Paris
C. ORTEGAL
Ferrol
Coruna
Santander
S. Sebastian
Bayonne
Toulouse
C. FINISTERRE
Vittoria
Pampeluna
GULF OF LYONS
Vigo
R. Minho
R. Esla
Burgos
Navarette
PYRENEES MTS
R. Pisuerga
Tudela
Almenara
Valladolid
Saragossa
R. Douro
R. Ebro
Catalonia
Barcelona
Oporto
Almeida
Salamanca
Brihuega
Fuentes d'Onoro
Ciudad Rodrigo
MADRID
R. Tagus
MINORCA
Port Mahon
Mondego B.
Busaco
Talavera
Toledo
MAJORCA
Vimeira
Valencia
Torres Vedras
Cintra
LISBON
Badajoz
Eluas
Albuera
Almanza
IVICA
C. NAO
SEA
R. Guadiana
Baylen
R. Guadalquiver
Cordova
Lagos
Seville
Granada
Cartagena
C. ST. VINCENT
Cadiz
Barrosa
C. GATA
C. TRAFALGAR
Gibraltar
C. TARIFA
1704
MEDITERRANEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
SPAIN
TO ILLUSTRATE THE
SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR
1702-1713
AND THE
PENINSULAR WAR
1808-1814.

Berwick[1] arrived in Spain to take command of the Spanish and French forces. In May **he invaded Portugal**. An indecisive campaign was the result, at the close of which the **Earl of Galway**, a man of French extraction, and endowed with military qualities of a high order, was appointed to command the English forces. He arrived at Lisbon on August 10, 1704, six days after the capture of Gibraltar.

Capture of Gibraltar, August 6, 1704.—Marlborough, who had 'a singular insight into naval affairs,' had planned that Rooke should attack Toulon from the sea, while the Duke of Savoy attacked it on land.

But the Duke was unable to find sufficient troops for the attack, and Rooke, who on May 8 had set out from Lisbon for Nice with a strong fleet, was ordered to remain at sea watching for a French fleet. On August 1 Admiral Byng, with seventeen ships, arrived in the bay of Gibraltar; Rooke joined him, and Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt landed with some troops. After a short resistance the garrison in Gibraltar, which numbered under five hundred men, capitulated, and **Gibraltar from August 6, 1704, to the present day has remained a British possession.**

An action with the French fleet off **Malaga** followed on August 24. Both sides suffered severely, and the battle was indecisive, though the French suffered such severe losses that the naval supremacy of the Allies during the continuance of the war was practically unquestioned. The influence of **the battle of Malaga** on the war and on the position of England later on was thus most important. Leaving Prince George in command at Gibraltar and a portion of his fleet under Admiral Sir John Leake at Lisbon, Rooke returned in September to England. Of prominent Englishmen Harley alone seems to have appreciated the importance to England of the capture of Gibraltar.

[1] The son of James II. and Arabella Churchill, the sister of Marlborough.

Attempts to retake Gibraltar, 1705.—A fierce attempt was at once made by a combined Spanish and French force to retake Gibraltar, but it failed owing to the appearance of Leake at the head of a squadron in November, and by his second appearance in March 1705 with a powerful fleet. The first serious attempt to recapture Gibraltar had thus failed, and the failure of Louis XIV. and Philip of Spain had a most encouraging effect upon the Austrian party in Spain.

The Influence of the British Command of the Sea.—Henceforward during the continuance of the war the **maritime supremacy** of Great Britain and Holland was practically assured. The French soon realised their helplessness at sea, and though enterprising Frenchmen took part in commerce-destroying, no great naval battle was fought during the remainder of the war. England being in command of the Mediterranean the influence of the British sea-power soon made itself felt, and in consequence during the later years of the war France suffered severe privations from lack of food. Her navy, in 1688 and the years immediately following, had been formidable, but Louis by his ambitious continental policy wasted the resources of France, and consequently on the outbreak of the Spanish Succession War his fleet had deteriorated and had 'shrivelled away like a leaf in the fire.'[1]

Great Britain's Commercial Strength. — Great Britain's wealth, on the contrary, had increased, and her navy had developed. Her credit, even during the long Spanish Succession War, remained good, while the finances of France soon became exhausted. The genius of the English people for trade and finance had been demonstrated and developed by the **famous series of fiscal measures** adopted in the reign of William III., and which, while leading to commercial prosperity, built it on a deep and solid foundation.

[1] Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, p. 225. London: Sampson Low, Marston.

The Blenheim Campaign, 1704.—Meanwhile Marlborough had the previous year won the memorable **battle of Blenheim**, thus inflicting a severe blow upon France and her allies. Some of the winter months of 1703-4 had been spent by him at The Hague in making plans for the ensuing campaign.

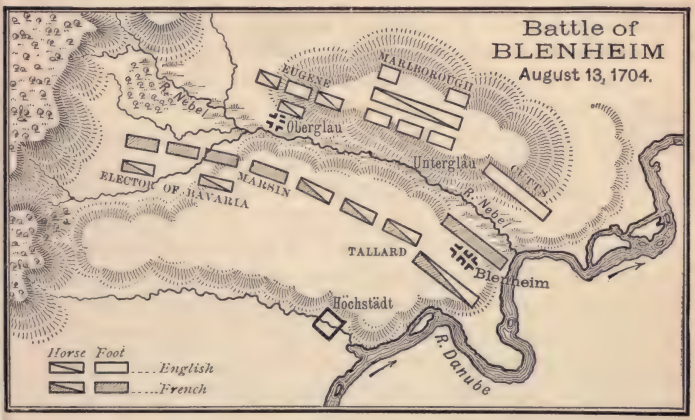
It was apparent to him that unless strenuous action was taken in the spring of 1704 that England's chief ally, the Emperor Leopold, would be overwhelmed by his foes. A formidable insurrection under **Rakoczy** had broken out in Hungary, and was demanding the continued presence of a large Austrian army. The Elector of Bavaria had some forty-five thousand men stationed on the Danube between Ulm and Linz; a large French army under Marshal Tallard was on the Upper Rhine ready in conjunction with a French army in Italy to converge upon Vienna. The Emperor had indeed one army of twenty thousand men watching the Elector of Bavaria, and an inadequate force under the Margrave of Baden on the banks of the Rhine.

The necessity of marching to the relief of the Emperor was clearly manifest to Marlborough. The Dutch Government was, as always, opposed to any extensive operations, and Marlborough was forced to 'hoodwink the Dutch' by pretending that he was proposing to confine his operations to the neighbourhood of the Moselle.

Overcoming with difficulty the objections of the Dutch Government, he began his famous march for the Danube on May 19, and having been reinforced on his way by a number of German troops effected a junction with the Austrian forces under Prince Eugene, and with those under Baden, early in June on the river Neckar. His object was to destroy the Bavarian army at the earliest possible moment. The plan of campaign was simple: while Eugene watched the French army under Tallard on the Rhine, Marlborough and Baden marched towards **Donauwörth** on the Danube.

Before their arrival at Donauwörth they met and inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon ten thousand Bavarians.

Meanwhile Tallard crossed the Rhine and advanced into Bavaria, uniting his forces with those of the Elector of Bavaria at Augsburg. They then decided to march to the Danube, cross to the northern bank and overthrow Eugene on the plain of Höchstädt. Eugene, on learning of Tallard's march, had left his entrenchments at Stollhofen and had



advanced with nine thousand foot and six thousand horse to Höchstädt. He was thus in danger of being overwhelmed. He therefore returned towards Donauwörth, but his safety from destruction depended entirely upon the ability of Marlborough, who was some twenty miles distant on the south side of the Danube, to join him. Realising the dangerous position in which Eugene stood, Marlborough hastened his movements and by forced marches joined Eugene on August 11.

The Battle of Blenheim, August 13, 1704.—On August 13

the famous **Battle of Blenheim** was fought. Between the two armies was the river Nebel. The French right flank was protected by the fortified village of Blenheim, its centre by that of Oberglauheim, and its left flank by that of Lutzingen. Marsin and the Elector of Bavaria were stationed between Oberglauheim and Lutzingen, while Tallard held the centre and posted in Blenheim a strong force.

The English right wing was under Eugene; while the left wing was commanded by Marlborough, under whom were the Princes of Würtemberg, Baireuth, and Hesse-Cassel, General Churchill (the Duke's brother), and Lord Cutts whose corps (ten battalions) marched along the Danube to attack the village of Blenheim. For a time fortune seemed likely to favour the French, as three attacks on Blenheim by Cutts were repulsed, while Marlborough's cavalry in the centre were twice routed, and the German infantry, which had attacked Oberglauheim, were cut to pieces. It was only by a charge of cavalry that Marlborough prevented a French force from inserting itself between him and Eugene, whose cavalry had suffered a severe reverse. At this crisis Marlborough concentrated all his available troops in the **centre** and made a determined attack. Tallard had weakened his own centre by sending infantry regiments to aid in the defence of Blenheim.

Consequently, Marlborough was enabled 'to drive a wedge between the army of Tallard and that of Marsin on the left.' Tallard was taken prisoner, and in spite of resistance on the part of the nine thousand troops in Blenheim, the victory—a glorious one—was gained. The battle of Blenheim was the first serious defeat experienced by the French during Louis XIV.'s long reign; it saved Vienna; it established the military reputation of Marlborough.

The victory of Blenheim, the **first great English Victory won on the Continent since Agincourt**, was due to Marl-

borough's generalship. All through that trying afternoon he had shown the greatest energy, 'being in all places wherever his presence was requisite, without fear of danger, or in the least hurry, giving his orders with all the calmness imaginable.'

As soon as the battle was won, he scribbled a note in pencil on the back of an old hotel bill to the Duchess, asking her 'to give his duty to the Queen, and let her know that her army had won a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest.'

After the battle the victorious army rested for a few days, and on August 23, near Ulm, it was joined by the Margrave of Baden, who had been vainly besieging Ingolstädt. The united forces then followed the retreating French to the Rhine. After capturing Trèves on October 29, which he hoped would prove a useful base for the ensuing campaign in 1705, and after concluding at Berlin a treaty with Frederick I. of Prussia, who engaged to send eight thousand men to Italy in the following year, Marlborough returned to England early in December, taking with him Tallard and other distinguished prisoners.

The year 1704.—The year 1704 was indeed a glorious one in British annals, for it saw the victory of Blenheim and the capture of Gibraltar. The House of Commons illustrated the intensity of party feeling by insisting in coupling Blenheim and Malaga, in a congratulatory vote to the Queen. While Rooke, however, was not employed again, Marlborough received the royal manor of Woodstock, and a promise from the Queen of a palace (Blenheim).

The victory of Marlborough at Blenheim cleared Germany of the French armies. Max Emmanuel became an exile, and the war operations were carried to the frontier of France.

French successful in the early months of 1705.—In the

spring of 1705 Marlborough proposed, in conjunction with Louis of Baden, to invade Lorraine. Villars, who had again been given a command, assumed the offensive, and Marlborough, finding that Louis of Baden made no attempt to support him, decided not to attack Villars' lines which rested on the Moselle and the fortress of Sierck. In June, owing to the fears of the Dutch of an invasion of the Netherlands by Villeroy, Marlborough returned to the Meuse and carried out his **fourth campaign**, with Villeroy as his opponent. Hampered by the Dutch military system, under which, as he said, 'it was impossible to act offensively,' Marlborough's campaign in the latter half of 1705 had no result.

The proposed invasion of France, therefore, ended in failure. Villars captured Trèves, and the campaign in the Moselle district remained a bright exception to the years of disaster through which France passed after 1705.

Marlborough's Statesmanship. — Rarely had Marlborough shown such statesmanship as he did upon the conclusion of the campaign of 1705. In Holland a peace party was arising, and its jealousy of England was outspoken. If energetic measures were not immediately taken the Grand Alliance might be dissolved. Marlborough at once set to work to strengthen that alliance. He reassured the Emperor at Vienna as to the continuance of the English loan; he conciliated Frederick I. at Berlin, and the Electress Sophia at Hanover; he even won over the States-General at The Hague to his arrangements for the memorable campaign in 1706.

Summary of the Situation at the close of 1705.—The situation then at the close of the year 1705 was hopeful for the Grand Alliance. Though a combined army of the Allies, which included English, Dutch, and Portuguese troops, had won some successes in Portugal, it was forced in October to retire from the siege of Badajoz. On the east of Spain, however, a combined English and Dutch fleet, in which were some six

thousand five hundred troops, were more successful. Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, a man 'intoxicated by vanity with an insane jealousy,' was associated with Sir Cloudesley Shovell as Joint-Admiral, while he (Peterborough) held also a commission as General. With the fleet was Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, who knew Spain and the character of the people, and the Archduke Charles, who claimed the crown of Spain. In an attack on September 14 upon an outlying fort of Barcelona, Prince George was killed, but three days later, on September 17, **Barcelona capitulated.** The results of this success were instantaneous and surprising. Valencia and Catalonia rose against Philip v., and even Castile wavered.

The Year 1706 in Spain.—The year 1706 proved a memorable one, and was marked by brilliant successes on the part of the Allies in Spain. The defection of Portugal and Savoy, together with the French defeat at Blenheim, would have discouraged most men, but it was just at times of crisis that Louis showed unexpected vigour. In April 1706 a French fleet appeared before Barcelona, in which town was the Archduke Charles. The arrival, however, of Admiral Leake with a strong fleet of English and Dutch ships saved Barcelona, and a French army, which Louis had despatched under Tessé, retired with Philip v. to Roussillon.

Soon afterwards the Anglo-Portuguese army advanced from Portugal under Galway and Das Minas. They were opposed by Berwick, who, however, did not offer battle, and on June 27 the **Allies entered Madrid** and **proclaimed Charles III. King.** Galway found himself in a position somewhat resembling that of the French in 1808. The population was hostile, and his hold on Madrid uncertain. Nevertheless, had Galway not been seized with illness at this critical moment, had he been loyally supported by Das Minas, and had Peterborough marched at once from the east of Spain and

joined him, Berwick and the French forces might have been driven north of the Ebro.

Owing, however, to personal differences between Minas and Galway, and between Peterborough and Charles III., unfortunate delays took place, and valuable time was wasted. When at last, on August 5, a junction was effected at Guadalaxara, the relations of the three generals were so strained that Charles gladly accepted a proposal that Peterborough should join the Duke of Savoy in Italy, and on September 15 that erratic Englishman sailed for Italy. Berwick had already, on August 4, occupied Madrid, and had no difficulty in drawing the remains of the Archduke's army into Valencia.

The Treaty of Milan, March 13, 1707.—In other directions the French were unsuccessful. On September 7, 1706, the French army was decisively beaten by Prince Eugene before Turin, and on March 13, 1707, the Emperor, anxious to secure Mantua, concluded **the Treaty or Pacification of Milan.** This infamous conduct of the Emperor set free all the French troops in Italy, and enabled them to reinforce their comrades in Spain, and, in the following year, win the battle of **Almanza.** Further, the Emperor, now freed from all danger from the French in Italy, sent thirteen thousand troops to conquer Naples for himself, instead of aiding the Allies in attacking Toulon. One result of his action, however, was the acknowledgment of the Archduke Charles as King in Milan and Naples.

The Campaign of Ramillies and the Battle, May 23, 1706.—Meanwhile stirring events had taken place in the Netherlands. The Dutch Government had realised early in the year that vigorous operations were necessary. Three French armies were prepared to take the offensive. Villars commanded one army on the Upper Rhine, Marsin was stationed between Alsace and the Netherlands, while near the south-eastern

corner of the Netherlands lay another French army of about sixty thousand under Villeroy, with whom was Max Emmanuel, Elector of Bavaria. Without waiting to effect a junction with Marsin, Villeroy entered into a battle with Marlborough near **Ramillies**, which was distant from Namur about eleven miles. Marlborough had about sixty thousand troops under his command. The French were drawn up on some high ground, between which and the allied army was the river Gheet and some marshy land. At first the French cavalry routed the Dutch horse, and a situation dangerous to the allied army was created. At this crisis, Marlborough, as at Blenheim, showed great presence of mind. By making a feint to attack their left, he distracted the attention of the French generals and then delivered his main attack against their right. This was forced back, and from the Mound of Ottomond Marlborough's cannon were able to sweep the French lines, while the French cavalry were routed, and the French centre pierced. The French and Bavarians lost nearly fifteen thousand men, and the greater part of the French artillery was captured. The loss of the Allies was comparatively small, only about one thousand being killed. Antwerp and all the chief places in Brabant were taken; Flanders was safe from French invasion. After the capture of Ostend on July 6, and Courtrai and other towns shortly afterwards, the campaign closed—Mons, Charleroi, Namur, and Luxemburg being the only 'barrier fortresses' which remained in French hands.

French Overtures for Peace, 1706.—Dispirited at his defeat at Ramillies, and at the successes of the Allies in Spain, Louis XIV. opened negotiations for peace, first with the Dutch in August, and later with Marlborough. Louis would have been satisfied with a kingdom in Southern Italy for his grandson Philip, and, that granted, was ready to make immense concessions. Party politics, however, in England prevented the

acceptance by the Whigs in the Cabinet of these advantageous proposals. The Whigs were opposed by the Church. Anne was becoming restive at the domination exercised over her by the Duchess of Marlborough, and the conclusion of peace would re-establish the influence of the Tories. Consequently, after a certain amount of negotiation, Godolphin and his Whig colleagues, supported indeed by the Queen and by public opinion, decided that they would insist upon **the cession of all the Spanish dominions** as a preliminary to the opening of negotiations. This was the opinion of the Emperor, but in laying down the above condition, which in 1707 was accepted by both Houses of Parliament, the Government was taking up an entirely new and unwarrantable position. 'Had peace been made in 1706 instead of 1713,' writes Lecky, 'more than thirty millions of English money, as well as innumerable English lives, would have been saved.'[1] Party interests, however, demanded the continuance of the war, and hostilities therefore were not suspended.

Charles XII. in Saxony, 1706-7.—Louis' rejection of the hard terms offered by the Allies was probably wise, for the close of 1706 and the early months of 1707 seemed likely to see a diversion in his favour. In the autumn of 1706 that somewhat erratic genius, Charles XII., King of Sweden, having concluded on September 14 the Treaty of **Altranstädt** with the Elector of Saxony, appeared to be about to invade the Austrian territories. The Emperor Joseph had lately given refuge to a number of escaped Russian prisoners, and had aided Augustus of Saxony; while in Silesia the Austrian persecution of the Protestants never ceased. Until all likelihood of a Swedish attack upon Austria was removed it was impossible for Marlborough to hope for any support from the German princes. 'A march of the Swedes upon Vienna,' writes Mr. Leadam,

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 45.

'must have been the ruin of the Grand Alliance.'[1] The prospect of such a march naturally encouraged Louis to refuse the hard terms of the Allies: it also determined Marlborough to pay his well-known visit to Charles XII. at **Altranstädt** on April 26, 1707. In spite, however, of Charles's gracious attitude to Marlborough, the obstinate conduct of Joseph almost ruined the effect of Marlborough's negotiations. Luckily for the Grand Alliance Italian affairs fully occupied Joseph, whose troops conquered Naples in May 1707, and the danger blew over.[2] Charles turned eastwards in August, and Marlborough was able to devote his attention to the question of an invasion of France. In the meantime the affairs of France had somewhat prospered, Villars crossing the Rhine, capturing the lines of **Stolhofen**, and pushing into Swabia. The death of Louis of Baden in January 1707 had removed a cautious, but by no means incompetent, leader of the Army of the Empire, and it was not till the autumn that a satisfactory successor was found in the person of the Elector George Lewis of Hanover. In Spain the Allies had suffered a serious reverse. Owing to disagreements between the Archduke Charles and Galway their forces had separated, and on April 25, 1707, the latter was defeated by Berwick in the battle of **Almanza**. The French and their Spanish allies regained the provinces of Aragon, Murcia, and Valencia, and dominated Catalonia.

Eugene attacks Toulon, July 1707.—In Provence Eugene failed in an attack upon Toulon in July. The failure as well as the defeat of the Allies at Almanza was largely due to the Emperor, who, instead of supporting the expedition, had concluded the **Truce** or **Treaty of Milan** in March with Louis (who

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England* (1702-1760), p. 113. London: Longmans and Co., 1909.

[2] The conduct of the Emperor on this and other occasions afforded *some* justification for Bolingbroke's methods for bringing about the Treaty of Utrecht.

was thus able to send reinforcements to Spain), and had sent some thirteen thousand men to Naples. The expedition against Toulon was conducted on land by Eugene, aided by the Duke of Savoy, while at sea an English fleet under Shovell was ready to afford all possible assistance. But delays, in large measure due to the Duke of Savoy, took place. Berwick had time to send troops from Spain to aid in the defence of Toulon; and after some vain attempts to capture the town Eugene withdrew his forces on August 22, having lost some ten thousand men. Fearing their capture the French had, however, destroyed a number of ships, and consequently during the remainder of the war were unable to take any part in operations at sea.[1]

The Results of 1707.—On the whole, therefore, the results of the campaign were disadvantageous to the Allies. The **Campaign of Villars in Germany** had enabled him to send a large contribution of money to Versailles; **Almanza** had practically ruined the chances of the Allies in Spain; the failure at **Toulon** had shaken the confidence of the Italian states. Portugal and Savoy were no longer trustworthy allies, and the Emperor's selfishness and lack of military insight had weakened the bonds which held together the Grand Alliance, and thus the events of the year 1707 had given incontestable proofs that the French cause was by no means hopeless.

The Gradual Supremacy of the Whigs, 1702-1708.—The year 1708 is a memorable one in the history of English party politics, for it saw the establishment of a **United Whig Ministry.** During the previous years of Anne's reign the Government had been composed partly of Whigs, partly of Tories. Before the close of 1704 several extreme Tories, such as Jersey, Seymour, Nottingham, and Blaithwayte, Secretary-at-

[1] On his return home Shovell was wrecked on the Scilly Islands and murdered by the inhabitants.

War, who disliked the policy approved of by Godolphin and Marlborough of active intervention in Holland, had resigned, their places being for the most part taken by moderate Tories. Thus Harley succeeded Nottingham as Secretary of State, and St. John became Secretary-at-War, showing during the years 1704-1708 great ability and energy. His position was a difficult one, for the extreme Tories never lost an opportunity of hampering the ministry, and in 1704 attempted, though in vain, to force the Bill against Occasional Conformity through the House of Lords by tacking it to the Land Tax Bill. The elections of 1705, however, showed that the Tories had lost all their popularity. In the new Parliament a Whig Speaker was elected; and William Cowper, an able Whig, was made Lord Keeper in place of Wright, a High Church Tory lawyer.

The Union with Scotland, 1707.—In 1707 the Whigs carried **the Union with Scotland**, a measure desired by William III., and one which strengthened the Parliamentary Settlement. On Anne's accession Commissioners were appointed in England and Scotland to consider the question of the Union of the two countries. For a time there was considerable opposition to the project in Scotland, the Jacobites being hostile to it, while popular feeling was roused owing to the idea that a Union would injuriously affect Presbyterianism.

Financially Scotland was weak, but its government persevered in a hostile attitude towards the English proposals. Early in 1705 the English Government prohibited the importation of Scottish linen into England and Ireland, and determined that 'Scotland should be treated on the footing she had assumed for herself, that of an independent and rival nation.'[1]

In spite, however, of the bitterness engendered in Scotland by England's retaliatory measures, Scottish Commissioners

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England* (1702-1760), p. 98.

were appointed early in 1706 to discuss the Treaty of Union. Scotland's last Parliament met on October 3, 1706, and in spite of much popular opposition and disorder, the Union was carried. On January 11, 1707, the Treaty arranging the Act of Union with Scotland received Queen Anne's assent. Scotland's religion and legal system were secured; her commerce was made free; forty-five Scottish members were to sit in the House of Commons, and sixteen peers elected by the whole body of nobles were to sit in the House of Lords. The title of the United Kingdom was to be Great Britain. On March 6, 1707, the Queen gave her assent to an Act passed embodying these decisions, and a great difficulty in England's path was removed, though many years were to elapse before the whole of Scotland was to be reconciled to the Union.

The Whig Resolution of December 22, 1707.—On December 22, 1707, the Whigs carried in the House of Lords a resolution not to make peace **so long as a Bourbon was on the throne of Spain.** No such object had been mentioned in the demands made by the Grand Alliance at the opening of the war. The Whigs had thus formulated a **new policy** which, as events showed, they were unable to carry out. Nevertheless there was much justification for the determination not to allow Spain as well as France to be governed by Bourbons. 'A whole generation had grown up to regard Louis XIV. as a monster of ambition, with a mission from the devil to make slaves and Papists of the whole human race, a perfidious tyrant with whom it was useless to think of entering into a compact, whom it was absolutely necessary to bind with chains of iron.'[1]

CHIEF DATES.

Accession of Anne (March 8) **1702**
Marlborough's Campaign in the Netherlands (July-Nov.) ,,

[1] Wyon, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, vol. ii. p. 339.

Capture of Spanish Treasure Fleet by Rooke (Oct.)	1702
Marlborough's Campaign in the Netherlands (March-Sept.)	1703
Portugal joins the Grand Alliance (May)	,,
The Scottish 'Act of Security' passed (May)	,,
Savoy joins the Grand Alliance (Nov.)	,,
The Methuen Treaty (Dec.)	,,
Capture of Gibraltar by Rooke (Aug. 6)	1704
Battle of Blenheim (Aug. 13)	,,
Battle of Malaga (Aug. 24)	,,
The Dissolution of the First Parliament of Anne's Reign (April)	1705
Joseph I. becomes Emperor (May 6)	,,
Peterborough captures Barcelona (Sept. 17)	,,
The Second Parliament of the Reign meets (Oct.)	,,
Battle of Ramillies (May 23)	1706
Negotiations for Peace at The Hague	,,
Occupation of Madrid by Galway (June)	,,
Evacuation of Madrid by the Allies (August)	,,
Battle of Turin—Victory of Eugene (Sept.)	,,
Agitation in Scotland against Union (Oct.)	,,
Treaty of Milan by the Emperor with France (Mar. 13)	1707
Marlborough interviews Charles XII. (April)	,,
Battle of Almanza—Victory of Berwick (April)	,,
The Allies attack Toulon (July)	,,
Battle of Oudenarde (July)	,,
St. John retires from Office (July)	,,
Victory at Wynendale (Sept. 27)	,,
Capture of Lille (Oct. 22)	,,
Resolution in Parliament against the Possession of Spain and Spanish West Indies by the House of Bourbon (Dec.)	,,
Resignation of Harley (Feb. 10)	1708

QUESTIONS ON THE PERIOD, 1701-1708.

(1) Is it true that 'the War of the Spanish Succession was not necessary, nor even conducive, to the interests of England'?

(2) Give some account of the opposition in Scotland to the Union, and discuss the reasons for that opposition.

(3) By what classes were the Whigs and Tories of the reign of Anne respectively supported?

(4) Illustrate Marlborough's military capacity from an examination of *one* of the following:—the Blenheim or the Ramillies or the Almanza campaign, and draw a sketch map.

(5) Trace the history and explain the failure of the Jacobite attempt of 1708.

(6) Give an account of (1) The Darien Scheme; (2) the movements leading to the capture of Gibraltar.

(7) Write short accounts of:—Rooke, Leake, Prince Eugene, Villars, Addison, Shrewsbury, Ormonde, the Duchess of Marlborough, Somers, Peterborough.

Period II.—1708-1710.

The United Whig Ministry and its Fall.

Contents.

The Whigs in power, 1708—Danger of a French Invasion of Scotland — Oudenarde — Peace Negotiations, 1709 — Malplaquet — The Barrier Treaty—Peace Negotiations at Gertruydenberg—Battles of Almenara, Saragossa, Brihuega, Villa Viciosa—The Trial of Sacheverell—Fall of the Whig Ministry, 1710.

CHIEF NAMES.

Marlborough — Godolphin — Harley — St. John (Bolingbroke) — Ormonde—Sacheverell—Mrs. Masham (Abigail *Hill*)—Vendôme

—Webb—Leake—Louis XIV.—Joseph I.—Charles VI.—Boufflers —Villars—Townshend—Philip V.—Louis XIV.—Stanhope—Staremberg—Walpole—Torcy—James Edward (the Old Pretender).

Reconstruction of the Government.—At the beginning of 1708 it was recognised that no peace proposals which were not compatible with the Whig resolution against the possession by a Bourbon of any part of the Spanish monarchy could be entertained by the Whig party. That party became, in 1708, more united and powerful than ever. In 1707 St. John had retired from office. In April 1708 **Harley** resigned, and he was followed into retirement by Sir Simon Harcourt, the Attorney-General, and Sir Thomas Mansell, Comptroller of the Household. The War Secretaryship was taken by **Robert Walpole**, and Sir James Montagu, who in 1707 had become Solicitor-General, now in 1708 became Attorney-General. Lord Cholmondeley was appointed Comptroller of the Household, while Harley's Secretaryship was given to Henry Boyle, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer (since January 19), was succeeded by John Smith, the Speaker of the House of Commons.[1]

The Whig Predominance.—The moderate Tories had now left the Ministry, which became entirely Whig. These changes were far from being acceptable to the Queen, who, leaning more and more on the advice of Mrs. Masham (Abigail Hill), who was inspired by Harley, viewed the growing Whig predominance with suspicion as likely 'to tear that little prerogative the Crown has to pieces.' The influence of the masterful Duchess of Marlborough was rapidly declining, and as early as the summer of 1708 it seemed possible that Anne would dismiss the Whig ministry. Events abroad and at home, however, came to its assistance, and it remained in power till 1710.

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England* (1702-1760), p. 133.

Three events came, in 1708, to the aid of the Whigs, who found themselves before the year closed in a strong position.

The first of these was the failure of a projected invasion of Scotland ; the second was the victory of Oudenarde ; the third was the death of Prince George, the beloved husband of Queen Anne.

The proposed Invasion of Scotland, 1708.—The union with Scotland was far from being popular north of the Tweed. According to Defoe, who wrote in August 1707 from Edinburgh, 'different interests, differing parties, all join in a universal clamour, and the very Whigs dictate openly, that they will join with France or King James, or anybody, rather than be insulted, as they call it, by the English.' It was further reported to Harley in October that the whole kingdom of Scotland was disaffected. The hopes of the Pretender and his friends naturally rose on hearing of the discontent which had resulted from the Union, and an attempt was made to anticipate the movement of 1715 and to organise an insurrection in Scotland. Chamillart, the French war minister, agreed to support a rising, and at Dunkirk, early in 1708, an expeditionary force was prepared. On March 17 the expedition sailed, and arrived off the eastern coast of Scotland five days later. An English fleet, however, was on the alert, the weather proved tempestuous, the Scottish Jacobites showed excessive caution and made no movement. One ship having been captured, the remainder of the French ships returned to France after enduring for some three weeks many hardships at sea owing to the stormy weather.

The Results of its Failure.—One result of this Jacobite expedition was to call forth an undoubted expression of loyalty on the part of the English nation to Queen Anne. Godolphin, supported by Parliament, showed calmness and resource during the crisis, which, owing to the lack of reliable news, was much exaggerated. On April 1, in an answer to

the loyal addresses of the two Houses, Anne styled her brother as 'a Popish Pretender.'

Another result was that the credit of the Whig Government was raised, and in the General Election held in May 1708 the Whigs obtained a considerable majority.

Oudenarde, July 11, 1708.—On July 11, 1708, Marlborough won the battle of **Oudenarde.** Vendôme, taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Dutch, had in the summer occupied Bruges and Ghent, the citadel of which capitulated on July 8. The capture of Oudenarde would separate Flanders and Brabant, and would facilitate communications between France and Ghent and Bruges. By skilful manœuvres and rapid marches Marlborough surprised the French army before it could effect its purpose. Vendôme decided to risk a general engagement on the evening of July 8, and so the battle of Oudenarde took place. The Prussian, Danish and Dutch troops in Marlborough's army loyally supported their English allies, and showed conspicuous bravery.

Till eight o'clock in the evening the French made gallant efforts to win the battle, but a turning movement by Marlborough's cavalry under Ouwerkerk outflanked their right, while their left was driven back by the English cavalry. Vendôme suffered a serious reverse, losing six thousand killed and wounded and nine thousand prisoners, while the Allies' losses were only three thousand. No battle illustrates better Marlborough's skill in his choice of ground, and the confidence placed in him by his troops. Had he been unhampered by his allies, he would at once have invaded France. Checked, however, by the cautious Eugene, he was forced to be content with besieging **Lille**, the key of French Flanders, which fell on December 8.

Webb wins Wynendale, September 27. Fall of Lille.—The siege was rendered memorable by a victory on September 27 over a large French force by General Webb, who was

bringing supplies 'of powder and ball' to Marlborough's army. The engagement took place at **Wynendale**, and Webb's victory decided the fate of **Lille**, which capitulated on October 22, the citadel surrendering on December 9. Ghent and Bruges were recovered, and the year closed triumphantly for the Allies in the Netherlands. In the Mediterranean successes had been won. Under Leake, the successor of Sir Cloudesley Shovell, the English fleet in August captured Sardinia, which island recognised Charles the Archduke as its ruler; and in August Stanhope conquered Minorca, and its harbour, Port Mahon, proved a valuable possession for the navy.

Death of Prince George of Denmark, October 28, 1708.—On October 28 Prince George of Denmark, Anne's husband, died, and the afflicted Queen struggled no more against the supremacy of the Whigs. On the meeting of Parliament on November 18, the importance of the foreign policy of the Government was again emphasised. It seemed indeed in the early months of 1709 as though the confidence of the Whigs in their ability to carry their foreign policy was justified. For after a very cold winter, famine as well as bankruptcy threatened the French nation. The supremacy of the British in the Mediterranean checked the arrival of food supplies into France, and the consequent distress in France was terrible.

Negotiations for Peace 1709 at The Hague.—In May 1709 negotiations were opened at The Hague by Louis' plenipotentiary, the Marquis de Torcy, and after an interval of ten days, the English plenipotentiaries (Marlborough and Lord Townshend), the Emperor and the Dutch representatives, signed their ultimatum.

Louis had proposed that Philip, his grandson, should cede Spain and all Spanish possessions, keeping only Naples and Sicily. But these proposals received no favour with the

representatives of the Allies, who drew up a long list of their demands, one of which (Article 37) contained the famous request that if Philip refused to surrender Spain and Sicily, Louis should support the Allies with troops in the process of coercion.

Rejection by Louis of the Terms of the Allies.—These terms were too intolerable for even a crushed power to accept, and Louis at once (May) appealed to the patriotism of the French people. His appeal, to the surprise of the Allies, was successful; famine aided the appeal, and half-starved recruits flocked to the standards. The war operations recommenced, the command of the French army being entrusted to Villars (so far the only undefeated French general), under whom served Boufflers, the brave defender of Lille.

Marlborough's plan was to take Tournay, Mons, and Valenciennes, and then to invade France. To prevent the execution of this plan was the object of Villars.

The Battle of Malplaquet, September 11, 1709. — On September 3 Tournay, after a brave defence, surrendered, and Marlborough next turned his attention to Mons. To prevent its capture, Villars advanced and took up a strong position at **Malplaquet**. Between him and Mons lay the army of the Allies. On September 9 the fiercest battle of the war took place. Prince Eugene, who was wounded during the battle, commanded the Allies' right wing, composed of Imperial and Danish troops, while the left wing, consisting of the Dutch guards, was under the Prince of Orange. Marlborough himself was in the centre at the head of the English, Prussian, Hanoverian, and Dutch troops. Opposite the right wing was the wood of Taisnière; behind was stationed the cavalry and some battalions of British troops, under Lord Orkney.

The English left wing was early in the battle driven back, and a terrific struggle took place all along the line. Marl-

borough showed his usual skill in reforming the shattered troops, while at a critical moment troops under Withers arrived from Tournay and attacked the French left wing. At this moment, while endeavouring to strengthen his left wing,



Villars was wounded, the command devolving upon Boufflers. Marlborough at once realised that this movement had weakened the French centre, against which he hurled the reserves (fifteen battalions) under Orkney. In spite of brilliant efforts to save the day by the French cavalry, the French were forced to retire, the retirement being carried out in good order.

The Allies, who had lost over twenty thousand men, were too exhausted to pursue the French, whose losses amounted to about twelve thousand. Among the French wounded was James Edward, the Pretender.

The Barrier Treaty of October 1709.—On October 21 the Allies took Mons, and on October 29 the **Barrier Treaty** was arranged by Townshend with the Dutch. By this treaty the Dutch received the right of garrisoning a number of towns in the Spanish Netherlands. Further claims of the Dutch to Spanish Guelderland and certain towns which theoretically were imperial towns (Liège, Huy, Bonn) were recognised by England, whose claim to Minorca was accepted.

Though the alliance between England and Holland was strengthened, the Emperor and the King of Prussia were much irritated. But it was no small advantage for the English ministry to secure from the Dutch Republic an undertaking 'not to conclude peace except upon the conditions that Louis XIV. should recognise the Queen's title and the succession of the House of Hanover.' [1]

Peace Negotiations at Gertruydenberg, March 1710.—Early the following year—in March—at **Gertruydenberg** peace negotiations were renewed, and the Conference continued till July. The English and Dutch were now not unfavourable to the consideration of terms of peace, though the Emperor, who was becoming estranged from his allies, objected to any partition of the Spanish dominions, while Savoy opposed the proposed cession of Sicily to Philip. Louis, indeed, offered to make a large monthly payment towards the expenses connected with the forcible expulsion of Philip from Spain, but the Dutch refused the proposal, and, owing to their inflexible attitude, the Conference broke down.

Spanish Affairs. Battles of Almenara, Saragossa, Brihuega, Villa Viciosa, 1709.—Events in Spain during the months of

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England* (1702-1760), p. 150.

July, August, and September seemed to justify the confidence of the Allies. In 1709 the French had been withdrawn from Spain, and in 1710 the Allies under Stanhope and Staremberg determined to make a great effort to secure for the Archduke Charles the Spanish Crown. Advancing from Catalonia, which was practically the only province held for Charles, they won on July 27 the battle of **Almenara**, Philip with difficulty managing to escape; and on August 19 the battle of **Saragossa** was fought. So conclusive a victory was it that it may be said to have avenged Almanza. The result of this battle was that the Allies, on September 23, for the second time occupied Madrid. The capital had been to a great extent abandoned by its inhabitants, and Charles is said to have exclaimed, 'This city is a desert.' After a short stay at Toledo the Allies, finding the country was opposed to them, determined to return to Catalonia, as Vendôme, whom Louis had despatched, blocked the road to Portugal. He at once followed the retreating army, and on December 8 defeated Stanhope and the English troops at **Brihuega**, and fought a drawn battle at **Villa Viciosa** on December 10 with Staremberg. Those two battles **mark the close of the attempts of the Allies** to depose Philip. The feeling of the Spaniards was as opposed to the Archduke Charles as a century later it was to Napoleon. The Allies, moreover, were hardly secure in Catalonia, as Gerona was taken by De Noailles in January 1711. Philip v. was now and henceforward secure of his Spanish throne.

Growing Weakness of the Whig Ministry.—The overthrow of the policy of the Allies in Spain came shortly after the fall of the great Whig ministry. During 1709, for various causes, that ministry had weakened. Many of the leading Whigs, such as Somers, Orford, and Halifax, were dissatisfied and jealous of Marlborough. Moreover, early in 1710 the friendship between the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough

came to a close. All that was needed, writes Mr. Leadam, 'to sweep away the ministry' was 'a turn in the current of popular favour.' The enthusiasm for the war was over, 'financial difficulties were accumulating.' Tory squires and the clergy were resentful at the land-tax and 'the growing insolence of the Dissenters.'[1] The train was laid; it only required a match to cause an explosion.

The Trial of Sacheverell, 1710.—In January 1710 Sacheverell, a High Church clergyman, was impeached in the House of Lords for a sermon delivered at St. Paul's—'**The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State**'—and in February his trial in Westminster Hall began. On March 23 he was declared guilty of some of the charges brought against him. He was forbidden to preach for three years, and his sermons were ordered to be burnt publicly.

Fall of the Whig Ministry, 1710.—This mild sentence was regarded as a virtual acquittal, and popular rejoicings took place all over the country, while in London the Dissenters' meeting-houses were attacked. This success against the Whigs encouraged Harley, whose intrigues for the overthrow of the ministry were now crowned with success. On June 13 Anne dismissed Sunderland from office, and on August 7 Godolphin fell. Any idea of a coalition ministry was soon seen to be hopeless, for before the end of the year so many resignations on the part of Whig office-holders had taken place that in December 1710, 'with the exception of the Dukes of Newcastle and Somerset, scarcely a Whig was left in any office of importance.'

At the General Election, which took place in October, a most dramatic change in the balance of parties took place, the Whigs were overthrown, and a large Tory majority was found in the new House of Commons.

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England* (1702-1760), p. 163.

CHIEF DATES, 1708-1710.

Resignation of Harley (Feb. 10)	1708
Walpole War Secretary	,,
The Ministry entirely Whig	,,
The attempted Jacobite invasion of Scotland (March)	,,
Battle of Oudenarde (July)	,,
Death of Prince George of Denmark (Oct.)	,,
Peace Negotiations at The Hague (May)	1709
Battle of Malplaquet (Sept. 11)	,,
The Barrier Treaty (Oct.)	,,
Trial of Sacheverell	1710
Peace Negotiations at Gertruydenberg (March)	,,
Battle of Almenara (July 27)	,,
Fall of Godolphin (Aug. 7)	,,
Battle of Saragossa (Aug. 19)	,,
General Election. Fall of Whig Ministry (Oct.)	,,
Battle of Brihuega (Dec. 8)	,,
Battle of Villa Viciosa (Dec. 10)	,,

QUESTIONS ON THE PERIOD, 1708-1710.

(1) The reign of Queen Anne has been termed the Augustan Age in English literature. Discuss this statement.

(2) Illustrate the influence of the mercantile classes upon English politics in the reign of Anne.

(3) Trace the career of Godolphin, and estimate his merits and defects as a politician.

(4) Examine the causes of the ascendency of the Whigs in 1708, and explain the fall of the Whig ministry in 1710.

(5) To what extent was religion a powerful force in politics in Anne's reign?

(6) State and criticise the causes of the failure of the peace negotiations at (1) The Hague, (2) Gertruydenberg.

(7) Describe briefly the characters of the chief Whig ministers (other than Godolphin).

(8) Explain the circumstances leading to the Jacobite attempt of 1708, and the causes of its failure.

(9) Draw plans to illustrate the battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet.

(10) Distinguish between the good and bad points in the character of Marlborough.

Period III.—1710-1714.

The Peace of Utrecht and the Succession Question.

Contents.

The Tory Ministry—Harley and St. John—The Tory Peace Policy—The Death of Joseph I.—Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*—Its Importance—The Archduke Charles now Emperor—Creation of twelve Tory Peers—Peace Negotiations—The Peace of Utrecht—Struggles over the Treaty of Commerce—Weakness of the Tory Ministry—The Succession Question—Ascendency of Bolingbroke—His Difficulties—The Whigs attack the Government, 1714—The Schism Act—Dismissal of Harley—Bolingbroke Supreme—Death of the Queen—Accession of George I.

CHIEF NAMES.

Harley—St. John (Bolingbroke)—Ormonde—Louis XIV.—Philip V.—Charles VI.—The Electress Sophia—Prince George—Atterbury—Shrewsbury—Swift—James Edward (the old Pretender)—Berkeley—Wyndham—Buckingham—Marlborough—Gaultier—Torcy—Prince Eugene—Defoe—Hanmer.

The Tory Ministry, 1710-1714.—In the new ministry Earl Poulett was First Lord of the Treasury, and Harley, who had failed to form a ministry of 'moderates,' was Chancellor of the Exchequer, his appointment dating from August 10. St. John was Secretary of State for the Northern Department, and Lord Dartmouth Secretary of State for the Southern Department. In May 1711 numerous changes were made. Harley,

who, on May 24, was created Earl of Oxford, became head of the Ministry and Lord Treasurer, while Poulett accepted the office of Lord Steward. Walpole had, in January 1711, been dismissed from his office of Treasurer of the Navy, which was now placed in the hands of Sir John Leake (as First Lord of the Admiralty). Rochester's post as Lord President was given to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and Sir Simon Harcourt was appointed Lord Keeper, and, in 1713, Lord Chancellor. Ormonde became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal.

Harley and St. John.—In this ministry Harley and St. John were the dominating factors, the former always urging moderation, while the latter was in favour of a vigorous and anti-Whig policy. He was, it is said, 'a politician of practical aims, of clear insight, and of no convictions save of the charms of office.'[1]

His gifts as a writer and orator were considerable. He is described by Prince Eugene as 'of a bold and daring spirit, and of an aspiring temper.' He was the very opposite of the cautious Harley. Endowed with a mental versatility and without scruples, St. John proved an attractive leader to the pronounced Tories, and to all who held Jacobite views.

Harley, a Whig by birth, and 'a good judge of men as well as of letters,' was scrupulous by nature, loved the *via media*, had a 'taste for nicely balancing between extremes,' and, like many statesmen, had a 'dislike for the mob's plaudits.'[2] He owed his position as head of the Tory ministry to his prudence and sagacity. He was by no means an extreme Tory, and had he had a free hand would probably have formed a mixed ministry. He was by nature more fitted to be 'a successful administrator and a capable Parliamentarian than

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England* (1702-1760), p. 176. Longmans, London, 1909.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

a responsible leader of a great party in troubled and eventful times.' He was by nature accurate and a man of detail, admirably fitted for a place in an administration, but not for the position of a responsible leader at a time when breadth of view, foresight, and determination were required. Unlike St. John, he was a poor speaker, and without any political brilliancy. A man of moderate views, Harley always endeavoured to secure the support of the moderate men of both parties.

To these two men was now entrusted the government of Great Britain during the years 1710-1714, years which saw the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, the death of Anne, and the accession of George I., the first of the Hanoverian line of kings.

In 1711, when the Cabinet was reconstructed on purely party lines, St. John's views had triumphed, and the homogeneity of the Cabinet marks a step in the gradual establishment of modern party government. Nevertheless, Harley continued to consult the Whig Halifax, and during all his career never agreed with the extreme Tory views of many of his supporters.

The Tory Policy of Peace.—The first object of the new Tory ministry was the conclusion of peace. In bringing this about Harley had the support of the majority of the nation. From the time of the battle of Ramillies, Harley had never ceased to urge upon the Queen the necessity of bringing the war to a close. He pointed out that England was becoming exhausted, and that its trade was being injuriously affected. The influence of Mrs. Masham was thrown on his side, and Abbé Gaultier, the French Agent in London, induced the Jacobite Lord Jersey to enter into communications with Torcy. On November 25, 1710, the new Parliament had met. Several of Marlborough's friends were removed from their posts—civil and military—and in January 1711 the Duchess of Marl-

borough was dismissed from her office in the Queen's household. Marlborough himself had arrived in England at the close of 1710, only to find himself the centre of the attacks of the extreme Tories.

In March 1711 one Guiscard made an attempt on the life of Harley, who gained for a time immense popularity, which strengthened his influence in Parliament.

The Death of Joseph I., 1711. Its Importance.—The **death of the Emperor Joseph I.** in April 1711 considerably facilitated the negotiations between England and France. His brother, the Archduke Charles, became Emperor as Charles VI., and it was recognised in England and Holland that the Union of the Crowns of Spain and Austria could not be contemplated. In his *Conduct of the Allies*, which appeared in November 1711, **Swift** in forcible language pointed out that in the 8th Article of the Grand Alliance it was merely stipulated that the kingdoms of France and Spain 'should never be united or come under the government of the same person.' To place the Emperor Charles VI. in possession of the Spanish monarchy would simply mean the restoration of the empire of Charles V. Nevertheless, the House of Lords, in which there was a Whig majority, on the meeting of Parliament on December 1711, carried on December 7, by 62 to 54 votes, an amendment to the Address, that 'no peace could be safe or honourable if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon.' The House of Commons, however, rejected a similar motion by 232 to 106 votes. At this critical moment St. John acted with vigour and was supported by the Tory party. Marlborough, accused of peculation on December 31, 1711, was dismissed, and the Duke of Ormonde was appointed Captain-General. He arrived in the Netherlands to take command of the army in April 1712.

Occasional Conformity Act, 1711.—The Tories had also just won another triumph. Before the year 1711 had closed, an

Act known as **Nottingham's Occasional Conformity Act** had been passed. Hitherto, in spite of the efforts of the High Churchmen in 1702 and 1703, **Bills against Occasional Conformity** had not become law. In 1711, however, the Dissenters were again successfully attacked. By Nottingham's Act Dissenters, though excluded from the Universities and public schools, could educate their children in their own educational establishments. Till Bolingbroke's **Schism Act** of 1714 the education of the children of Dissenters remained in the hands of their parents.

The Creation of Twelve Tory Peers, January 1711-1712.—By January 2, 1712, twelve new peers had been created, and the following day the House of Lords was adjourned, St. John declaring that, if necessary, the ministers would have given the Whigs another dozen. On the same day Prince Eugene arrived in London, only to hear that Marlborough had fallen, and that his own presence in England was far from being agreeable to the Tory Cabinet. After the establishment of their ascendency in the House of Lords and the fall of Marlborough, the ministers lost no time in opening peace negotiations at Utrecht. The first meeting of the plenipotentiaries took place on January 29, 1712.

Continuance of Peace Negotiations.—The peace negotiations were wearisome in their length, and were marked by duplicity and treachery on the part of the English Cabinet. Harley was unable to guide or influence St. John, who, as one of the Secretaries of State, was entrusted with the conduct of the negotiations. Without acquainting Eugene of the intentions of the ministers, Ormonde, who had received in May the famous 'restraining orders,'[1] entered reluctantly into a secret correspondence with the enemy; in July he announced that his government had arranged an armistice, and thus the

[1] Ormonde was not to engage in any siege or battle till further orders.

French, freed from all fear of English hostility, were able to regain many towns in the Netherlands. In August 1712, St. John, who in July had been appointed Baron St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke, visited Paris, and an armistice for four months, afterwards prolonged, was arranged. Peace negotiations continued without intermission during the autumn and winter months, with the result that between March 31 and April 11, 1713, a number of treaties, which constituted the **Peace of Utrecht**, were signed.

The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.—By the Treaty between England and France the renunciation by Philip v. of his claims to the succession in France was secured, and the claim of the House of Hanover to the English throne was recognised by Louis XIV. England also secured the cession of Nova Scotia (Acadie), Hudson's Bay, and Newfoundland (certain fishing rights being excepted), as well as the cession of the island of St. Christopher. Louis also undertook to dismantle the fortification of Dunkirk.

The Treaty between England and Spain, which was not formally concluded till July, recognised the English possessions of Gibraltar and Minorca. Henceforward Gibraltar and Port Mahon were to be garrisoned by British troops. Spain also recognised the **Assiento**, or contract, giving England the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish colonies in America with slaves. She also allowed England to send one ship annually to Portobello, in South America. It was further arranged that Sicily should be erected into a kingdom and placed in the hands of the Duke of Savoy. The clauses in the Treaty referring to the 'Assiento' were the successful outcome of the financial policy of Harley, who, on the formation of the South Sea Scheme, owed much to the fertile brain and ready pen of Defoe.

In September 1711 the **South Sea Company** had been formed, and though based on private enterprise was supported

by the Government. To it was granted the nominal monopoly of the trade in the South Seas—by which was implied the slave trade. Therefore, the success of Harley's political objects in the Peace of Utrecht carried with it the success of his financial scheme.

The results of the war had thus been satisfactory, though the methods employed in carrying on the negotiations which led to the Peace were severely criticised. The concealment of the negotiations from the Dutch and from the Emperor can, however, be defended. The Dutch were in reality not over-trustworthy allies, and the Emperor, who secured Milan, Naples, and Sardinia, had no real cause of complaint. The conclusion of the Treaty of Milan in March 1707 between Austria and France had enabled French reinforcements to be poured into Spain, and led to the English defeat at **Almanza** in April 1707.

The Meaning of the Treaties of Utrecht to Europe.—To Europe generally the Treaties of Utrecht were as important as they were to England. France was left in close alliance with Spain, and in a position of strength on the Rhine; the House of Hapsburg acquired the Roman Catholic Netherlands (Belgium), subject to the arrangements with the Dutch about the Barrier fortresses, Naples, and the Tuscan Presidencies (Presidii), Sardinia, the Milanese and Mantua. The Hapsburg House thus became less German and somewhat unwieldy. Spain, on the other hand, became more compact. She had lost Gibraltar, the Roman Catholic Netherlands, and Sicily, which was now given to Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, who laid the foundations of a North Italian kingdom, and Minorca. The Elector of Brandenburg was recognised as King of Prussia, and received Upper Guelderland; the Dutch were confirmed in their right to garrison the eight fortresses, known as the Barrier fortresses: Charleroi, Furnes, Menin, Mons, Namur, Tournay, and Ypres.

Thus, while Brandenburg and Savoy became kingdoms, the principle of nationality was ignored, and the doctrine of the Balance of Power was carefully adhered to.

The Peace of Utrecht and the Expansion of Great Britain.—The place taken by the Peace of Utrecht in the history of the expansion of Great Britain is of undying importance. In 1689 the combined efforts of England and Holland seemed to be directed against a Roman Catholic revival initiated by Louis XIV. For the success of Louis' policy the reconquest of Ireland and England by James II., and the conquest of Holland by the French, were absolutely necessary. The war was indeed in its initiation rather religious than commercial. But no sooner had England and Holland successfully dissipated all danger of the success of Roman Catholicism than **commercial** rather than **religious** interests push their way into the forefront.

The Darien Expedition implied the desire of the Scots to seize and exploit territory hitherto claimed by Spain. The accession of Philip of Anjou to the Spanish throne was meant to prelude an attempt of France and Spain to exclude England from the New World. The War of the Spanish Succession was, to quote the words of the late Professor Seeley, 'the most business-like of all our wars, and it was waged in the interests of English and Dutch merchants, whose trade and livelihood were at stake.' [1] The Treaty of Utrecht 'left England,' says the same historian, 'the first state in the world without dispute.'

The Principle of the Mercantile System.—The whole of colonial history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is grouped round the principle of the Mercantile System. As that Mercantile System was the cause of the foundation of England's first Colonial Empire, so it was the cause of its

[1] Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, p. 130. London: Macmillan and Co., 1883.

loss in the eighteenth century. The Mercantile System took it for granted that men's minds were influenced entirely by commercial interests, and took no account of any other influence at work. At the time of the Peace of Utrecht that principle exercised a powerful influence over the minds of all European statesmen.

Party Struggles over the Treaty of Commerce, 1713.—On April 9, 1713, Queen Anne, in her speech at the opening of the session of Parliament, announced the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht. Universal was the satisfaction felt throughout the country at the announcement, though a proposed **Treaty of Commerce** with France which had been drawn up under the influence of Bolingbroke roused the opposition of the manufacturing interests. Petitions against this Commercial Treaty poured in, and Defoe, instigated by Oxford, attacked it in his paper which was entitled *Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved.*

The chief articles in this Treaty were thrown out in the House of Commons in June 1713, and to Bolingbroke's rage Oxford sided with the opponents of the Treaty. The opposition in the House of Commons was led by Sir Thomas Hanmer, whose followers have been termed **Hanoverian Tories** (or Whimsicals), because during the ensuing crisis over the Succession question they opposed the idea of the accession of James Edward—the Old Pretender—to the English throne, **so long as he remained a Roman Catholic.**

Weakness of the Ministry.—The conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht marked the beginning of Harley's fall, for from that period the rivalry between him and Bolingbroke became more and more acute. On the necessity of ending the war they had been agreed, but, the Peace concluded, differences arose between them with regard to domestic politics. Harley, a moderate Whig by conviction and temperament, had little in

common with Bolingbroke, 'a Tory from ambition and policy.' Harley, though far from ambitious, was stubborn, and by no means prepared to yield the first place in the State to his abler and in many respects stronger subordinate. After the conclusion of the Peace the impatience felt by Bolingbroke grew into actual personal dislike for Harley.

The Succession Question.—From the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht till the death of Anne the Succession Question occupied the attention of all parties. The Queen's health was unsatisfactory, and it was unlikely that she would live long. In view of her death it was imperative, in Bolingbroke's opinion, that he and not Oxford should, as soon as possible, be at the head of affairs.

The defeat of Bolingbroke over the Commercial Treaty with France revealed, however, the fact that Harley's influence had still to be reckoned with. He could rely upon the support of the Queen for his policy of 'combining both parties in the service of the country.' At the same time, in the new Parliament which was elected in the autumn of 1713, the majority of the members preferred the policy of Bolingbroke, who aimed at securing the supremacy of the Tories, to the more conciliatory policy of Harley.

The Queen's severe illness at Christmas-time 1713, however, was followed by the supersession of Oxford in her favour by the active Bolingbroke. The latter won her over to his side by his assertion that during her late illness the Whigs had desired her death.

Ascendency of Bolingbroke. His Difficulties.—Thus, from the opening of 1714, Bolingbroke's 'programme of government by party supremacy' was consistently favoured by the Queen. But Bolingbroke found many difficulties in attempting to secure the supremacy of his party. Before the year 1713 had closed, it became evident that the Pretender would, under no circumstances, abjure his faith. Consequently the majority

of the Tories decided that they would not support James Edward unless he conformed to the Protestant religion.

The importance of this decision cannot be overrated when the political situation in 1713 is observed. Anne's health was far from being in a satisfactory condition, and had caused much anxiety during the year 1713. Consequently, intrigues with the Pretender had taken place in which Harley and Bolingbroke were implicated, and the fears of the Whigs had been increased. Those fears were by no means groundless. In 1713 Ormonde, whose Jacobite sympathies were well known, had received the post of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 'which gave him command of the defences of the southern coasts,'[1] and early in 1714 had urged Harley to take action.

Attitude of Harley and Bolingbroke towards the Pretender, 1714.—But both Harley and Bolingbroke decided to watch events, and the latter insisted that the Pretender's 'partisans were to lie still.' Both were confident that at the right moment James Edward would abjure Roman Catholicism, and, like Henry IV. of France, would consider that a crown was worth a change of religion. A cautious policy seemed certainly necessary. In **Ireland**, where Shrewsbury had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant, a violent Protestant feeling had shown itself in the Parliament in November 1713, which had offered a reward for the Pretender alive or dead. And, moreover, the majority of the English people, who were Tories and Churchmen, had expressed no views on the question of the succession. In fact, neither Harley nor Bolingbroke were popular statesmen, and neither carried great weight in the country.

The Whigs attack the Government, 1714.—The early months of 1714 thus gave to the Whigs plenty of opportunities for weakening the ministry. In March 1714 they criticised the

[1] Leadam, *The Political History of England* (1702-1760), p. 211.

disgraceful treatment of the Catalans, who, having supported the English cause in the Spanish Succession War, had been deserted by the English ministry at the end of the war, and left to suffer the greatest cruelties at the hands of the Spanish Government.

The ministry was also accused of failing to secure the expulsion from Lorraine of the Pretender, and on a vote that the 'Protestant succession is in danger,' the ministry only obtained in the House of Lords, on April 3, a majority of twelve. Moreover, Anne herself, who was a strong supporter of the English Church, now took up a strong attitude of opposition to her half-brother, urged his expulsion from Lorraine, and began to repose less confidence in Bolingbroke.

Bolingbroke's energetic Policy. The Schism Act.—It had for some time been evident to that politician that an energetic policy was required if the Tory party was to remain in power. Already, in February, an envoy had been sent to Hanover in order to show that the Tories would support the Hanoverian Succession. And, in May and June, Bolingbroke endeavoured to rally and unite the Tory party by introducing and carrying the **Schism Bill**, which should take the place of the Tory Occasional Conformity Act of 1711.

By the **Schism Bill**, which passed the Lords on June 15, the education of the children of Dissenters was henceforward to be in the hands of schoolmasters who had been licensed by the Bishops.

The Approach of the Crisis. Bolingbroke Supreme.—On May 28 the Electress Sophia had died, and her son George became Elector of Hanover. Queen Anne, whose loyalty to the Church of England was undoubted, had already taken up a position of decided hostility to the Pretender, and had on April 30 demanded his expulsion from Lorraine.

On June 27 Oxford, who had quarrelled with Bolingbroke and who had incurred the dislike of the Queen, was dismissed

from office. Bolingbroke was triumphant. He at once showed the greatest energy, and set to work to recast the ministry, proposing to advance to the highest posts men who, like Wyndham, Buckingham, Mar, Ormonde, and Atterbury, were not favourable to the Hanoverian Succession.

The Crisis.—But his plans were cut short by the Queen's illness on the morning of Friday, July 30. At the meeting of the Council which was hurriedly summoned, the Dukes of Somerset and Argyll, who were both Whigs, appeared. Shrewsbury, who now favoured the Hanoverian Succession, presided.

The Important Part played by Shrewsbury.—At this crisis Shrewsbury, whose character is still somewhat of an enigma, exercised a powerful influence. He, Somerset, and Argyll were all nominally Whigs, but in 1710 had supported the movement for 'extricating the Queen from the dominion of Godolphin and the Whig Junto.' At the same time they had no sympathy with the extreme Tory and High Church supporters of Harley and St. John. As the predominance of these men soon became apparent, Somerset and Argyll retired from their posts, but Shrewsbury remained at the head of affairs in Ireland, where he made no attempt to check declarations in support of the Protestant Succession. In 1714 he came over to England, and for a time emulated 'the impenetrable reserve of Monk on his famous march from Scotland.'

When he did declare himself, he took the side of the moderate Tories. He favoured the proclamation against the Pretender, he opposed Bolingbroke's commercial treaty with Spain, he held private intercourse with the Queen, he did not oppose the dismissal of Oxford. He remained till Anne's death an enigma to Bolingbroke, who a few days before Anne's illness said, 'How I stand with that man (Harley) I know; but as to the other (Shrewsbury) I know not.'

Shrewsbury was now to take a leading part in one of the greatest crises in English history.

Death of Anne, August 1, 1714. Accession of George I.—On August 1 **Anne died**, and the Council, reinforced by more Whigs, at once took measures to secure the quiet accession of George of Hanover.

The fleet under Lord Berkeley, a Whig, was sent to sea; troops were recalled from Flanders; the lords-lieutenant were ordered to watch and disarm all Roman Catholics. Bolingbroke had not had time to make preparations, had he so wished, to hinder the accession of George; the Tories made no movement, while the Whigs on their part acted with vigour and decision. George I. was therefore proclaimed King without any opposition.

CHIEF DATES, 1710-1714.

Harley at the head of a Tory Ministry (Jan.)	**1710**
De Noailles takes Gerona	,,
Philip V. secure in Spain (Jan.)	,,
Dismissal of the Duchess of Marlborough by the Queen (Jan.)	**1711**
Death of the Emperor Joseph I. (April)	,,
Preliminaries of Peace agreed upon (Sept.)	,,
Appearance of Swift's 'Conduct of the Allies' (Nov.)	,,
Dismissal of Marlborough (Dec. 31)	,,
Creation of Twelve Tory Peers (Dec.-Jan.)	**1711-12**
Peace Congress opened at Utrecht (Jan. 12)	**1712**
Ormonde in Command in the Netherlands (April)	,,
Armistice with the French (July)	,,
St. John created Viscount Bolingbroke (July)	,,
Bolingbroke in Paris (August)	,,
The Peace of Utrecht (April 4)	**1713**
Defeat of Bolingbroke's Commercial Treaty (June 18)	,,

Dissolution of Parliament (August 3)	**1713**
Treaty of Rastadt between France and the Emperor (March 7) (confirmed by the Emperor at Baden, Sept. 7, 1714)	**1714**
Death of the Electress Sophia (May 28)	,,
The Schism Act passed (June 15)	,,
Dismissal of Oxford (June 27)	,,
Death of Queen Anne (August 1)	,,

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Peace Negotiations before the Treaty of Utrecht.

(1) 1706. After Ramillies, Louis was willing that the Archduke Charles should have Spain on condition that Philip had Naples, Sicily, and Milan as a kingdom.

(2) 1709. At The Hague, after Oudenarde, Louis was prepared to waive the condition of a monarchy for Philip.

(3) 1710. At Gertruydenberg, after Malplaquet, Louis offered to yield Alsace and to recognise the Archduke Charles as King of Spain.

(4) 1712. At Utrecht.

2. The Peace of Utrecht.

(I.) *Arguments for the Peace.*

(*a*) The terms freed Europe from all danger of a union of France and Spain.

(*b*) The continuance of the war threatened Europe with the risk of the union of Spain and the Empire.

(*c*) The war had become a serious burden for England, and the National Debt was increasing enormously.

(*d*) The Spaniards had a perfect right to choose their own king.

(II.) *Arguments against the Peace.*

(*a*) Renunciations were useless, and the danger of France and Spain being united under Philip remained.

(*b*) It was not even safe to allow kings of the same family to rule France and Spain.

(*c*) The great victories of Marlborough demanded more substantial results.

(*d*) France had dominated Europe for over half a century, and ought to be crushed.

3. The Union with Scotland.

By the Reform Bill of 1832, the number of the Scottish Representatives in the British Parliament was increased from forty-five to fifty-three, and by the Reform Bill of 1867 seven more were added, making sixty in all. For many years the Scots were very hostile to the Union, and the Rebellion of 1715, riots in 1725, and the Rebellion of 1745 testified to the existence of discontent. Gradually various circumstances tended to regenerate and conciliate Scotland. Of these the chief were:—(1) The growth of industrial life, (2) the spread of a knowledge of English, (3) new roads intersecting the Highlands. The Disarming Act of 1715, and the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1745, also weakened the authority of the chieftains, while the elder Pitt's policy of forming the Highlanders into Scottish regiments found vent for their military qualities.

4. The Connection of Literature and Politics in Anne's Reign.

Anne's reign is often described as the Augustan Age of English Literature. In her reign literary men were highly esteemed, English prose style reached a high perfection, and literature was closely connected with politics. Owing to the absence of newspapers, and the consequent dearth of political information at a time when the middle classes were becoming of great importance and were desirous of obtaining news, the leaders in Parliament enlisted the services of pamphleteers. Of these the most celebrated were Daniel Defoe, Joseph Addison, and Jonathan Swift.

5. Isaac Newton and the Royal Society.

Isaac Newton was born in 1642. In 1678 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1703 he succeeded Lord Somers as President of that Society. His immortal work—the *Principia*—was issued in a complete form in 1687. It has been described as 'one of the landmarks in the history of mathematics.' One

of his contemporaries was the French philosopher and diplomatist—Leibnitz—whose writings mark a great advance in mathematical knowledge. The period from 1660 to 1730 witnessed a remarkable development in knowledge generally. Newton died in 1727.

6. The North and East of Europe.

During the Spanish Succession War, Charles XII. of Sweden was keeping the north and east of Europe in a turmoil. After defeating the Danes and Poles, he overthrew the Russians under Peter the Great at Narva in 1700, and spent the next five years in needless campaigns. Marlborough visited him in his camp at Altranstädt, near Leipzig, in order to persuade him not to aid Louis XIV. In 1709 Peter the Great defeated him utterly in the battle of Pultava, and Charles took refuge in Turkey. In 1711 Peter was himself defeated by the Turks near the Pruth, and during the rest of Anne's reign no events of importance occurred in the north and east of Europe.

QUESTIONS ON THE PERIOD, 1710-1714.

(1) Comment on the internal affairs of the reign of Anne as illustrating the development of party government.

(2) Examine the condition of the Jacobite party in the years 1708, 1713, and 1714.

(3) Explain the motives of Bolingbroke in negotiating the Peace of Utrecht. Did its provisions prove of great advantage to England?

(4) What light does the attitude of parties in the later years of Anne throw upon the probability or improbability of a Stuart restoration at her death?

(5) Estimate briefly the political influence of (1) Defoe, (2) Swift, by reference to their writings.

(6) Estimate the political ability of Harley.

(7) Discuss the importance of Anne's reign in the history of British Colonial development.

INDEX

Absalom and Achitophel, 89.
Act of Settlement, the First, 17.
Addison, 158, 210.
Adventurers, the, 17.
Africa, West, 28.
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 39, 41.
Albemarle. *See* Monk.
Alexander's Feast, 90.
Alfonso VI., 26.
Almanza, battle of, 179, 180, 192, 201.
Alsace, 176.
Altranstädt, Treaty of, 178, 179.
America, North, 149-151, 162.
Anne, Princess, 92, 114, 116, 131; Queen, 158-160, 181, 182, 188.
Annus mirabilis, the, 89.
Antigua, 34.
Antwerp, 177.
Appropriation of supplies, 35.
Archduke Charles, 176.
Argyll, Marquess of, 11, 14, 15, 100, 105, 207.
Arlington, 31, 35, 42, 50, 51.
Arundel, Lord, 60, 61.
Ashley, 31, 35, 37, 38.
'Assiento,' the, 200.
Astraea Redux, 89.
Ath, 139.
Athlone, 127.
Atterbury, 207.
Austria, 142.
Avaux, 125.
Ayloffe, 100.

Badajoz, 174.
Balance of power, the, 202.
Bank of England, the, 136.
Barcelona, 137, 175.
Barclay, Sir G., 138.
Barlow, Bishop, 62.
'Barrier,' the, 148, 162, 177, 201.
Barrillon, 63, 65.
Barrow, Isaac, 21.
Bavaria, Elector of, 163-165, 170-173.
Baxter, R., 25.
Beachy Head, battle of, 126, 127.
Bellasis, Lord, 61.
Benbow, Admiral, 163.
Bennet. *See* Arlington.
Berkeley, Lord, 208.
Berwick, Marshal, 168, 176, 179.
Bill of Rights, 115, 116.
Bismarck, 29.
Blake, 19.
Blathwayte, 181, 182.
Blenheim, battle of, 170-173.
'Bloody' Assizes, the, 103.
Bolingbroke, 203-205.
Bombay, 27.
Bonn, 164.
Bothwell Brig, battle of, 14, 67.
Boufflers, 190.
Bourbons, the, 143.
Boyle, Robert, 3.
Boyne, battle of the, 127, 138.
Bradshaw, 19.
Brandenburg, 113.
Breda, Declaration of, 22; Treaty of, 34, 35.
Brest, 137.
Bridgewater, 101.
Brihuega, battle of, 192.
Bristol, Earl of, 31, 36.
Britannia Rediviva, 90.

Brixham, 114.
Bruce, Alexander, 11.
Bruges, 187, 188.
Buckingham, 31, 38, 49-51; 56.
Bull, 21.
Bunyan, J., 90-91.
Burnet, Gilbert, 3, 13, 123, 124.
Butler, 89.
Byng, Admiral, 168.

Cabal, the, 38, 41, 47, 52-56.
Cabinet, the growth of the, 147, 197.
Cadiz, 137, 163.
Cadsand, 42.
Calamy, Edmund, 25.
Cambridge, University of, 86, 110.
Campbells, the, 129.
Cannon, 129.
Carlowitz, Treaty of, 144.
Carmarthen (Leeds), 135.
Carolinas, the, 2, 149, 150.
Caroline Divines, the, 20, 21.
Carrickfergus, 126.
Casale, 86.
Case, Thomas, 25.
Castlemaine, Lady, 26, 36, 38.
Catalans, the, 139, 192, 206.
Catania, battle off, 52.
Catharine of Braganza, 26, 27.
Cavalier Parliament, 23 *seq.*
Cavendish, 65, 66.
Cellier, Mrs., 67.
Chamillart, 186.
Charleroi, 134, 177.
Charles, Archduke, 142, 166, 188, 192, 198.
Charles I., 99; II., 1-96.
—— II. of Spain, 32, 108, 142, 146.
—— V., Emperor, 198.
—— XII., 178, 179, 211.
Charlestown, 150.
Charnock, 138.
Cheshire, 84.
Chiari, battle of, 148.
Cholmondeley, 185.
Christ Church, Oxford, 20, 88, 107.
Church of England, the, 106-111, 149.
Civil List, the, 123.
Clarendon, 18, 22 *seq.*; Code, 35, 41, 99; the younger, 106, 108, 149.
Claverhouse, 14, 100, 129. *See* Graham.
Clifford, 35, 42, 43, 50.
Cochran, Sir J., 100.
Colbert, 41, 53; de Croissy, 50.
Coldstream Guards, the, 20.
Coleman, 60.
Colledge, 83.
Cologne, electorate of, 112.
Colonies, the, 162.
Commons, House of, 38, 61-64, 116.
Comprehension Bill, the, 123.
Compton, Bishop, 107, 112.
Condé, 55.
Conduct of the Allies, the, 198.
Conventicle Act, the, 25, 31.
Corbett, Mr., quoted, 137.
Cork, 127.
Corporation Act, the, 24.
Cosin, John, Bishop of Durham, 20.
Country Party, the, 63.
Court of Wards and Knight Service, 20.
Courtray, 139.
Covenanters, the, 14.
Coventry, Sir W., 31, 33, 35, 66.
Cowper, 181-185.
Crawfurd, Earl of, 11.
Cromwell, Oliver, 19, 25, 28, 32, 34, 43, 83, 136.

Danby (Carmarthen), 14, 122, 124, 131.
Darien Scheme, the, 145, 202.
Dartmouth, 195.
Das Minas, 175.
Declaration of Indulgence, the First, 50, 51, 108; the Second, 111.
Declaration of Right, 115.
Defoe, 147, 158, 186, 200, 203.
Delft, 139.
Denbigh, Earl of, 114.
De Ruyter, 48, 52.
D'Estrées, Admiral, 48.
Devolution, Law of, 33.

Devonshire, Earl of, 114, 160.
De Witt, Cornelius, 33, 34; John, 28-30, 33, 34, 48.
Discourses concerning Government, 89.
Dissenters, the, 108-110.
Donauwörth (Blenheim), 170, 171.
Dover, Secret Treaty of, 42.
Downing, 29.
Drumclog, battle of, 14.
Dryden, 61, 89, 90.
Dublin, 126.
Duleek, Pass of, 127.
Dunbar, battle of, 10; town of, 129.
Dundee, Viscount. *See* Graham, John.
Dunkirk, 36, 37, 186, 200.
Dutch, the, 150.
Dysart, Lady, 14.

East India Company, 4, 29, 36, 135, 141.
Eastland Company, 4.
Ebro, the, 176.
Ecclesiastical Commission, Court of, 107.
Eckeren, battle of, 164.
Edict of Nantes, Revocation of, 103-5.
Edinburgh, 25, 186.
Edward III., 87.
Elba, 144.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 163; of Bohemia, 147.
Empire, the, 163.
English Church, the, 159.
Essex, Lord, 64, 66.
Eugene, Prince, 148, 170, 187, 196.
Evelyn, John, 43, 91, 92; his Diary, 91-92, 99.
Exclusion Bill, 66, 86.
Expansion of England, the, 202.
Explanatory Act, the (Irish), 17.
Exposition of the Creed, the, 21.

Farmer, Antony, 110.
Faversham, Earl of, 57.
Fenwick, Sir J., 139.
Ferguson, R., 85.
Filmer, 88.
Fire, the Great, 30.
Five Mile Act, 31.
Flanders, 33 *seq.*, 177.
Fleurus, battle of, 126.
Foreign Plantations, Council for, 27.
Fort Albany, 140.
Fort William, 129.
Four Days' Battle, the, 31.
France, *passim*.
Franche Comté, 39, 58, 59.
Frederick I. of Prussia, 173, 174.
Frome, 101.

Galway, Earl of, 127, 176, 179.
Gaultier, Abbé, 197.
George of Denmark, Prince, 114, 159, 186, 188.
George III., 38, 159.
George, Elector of Hanover, 206, 208.
Gerona, 192.
Ghent, 187, 188.
Gibraltar, 2, 158, 168, 169, 200, 201.
Gifford, Bonaventura, 110.
Ginkell, 127.
Glencoe, 129, 130.
Gloucester, Duke of, 147.
Godolphin, 65, 92, 99, 135, 160, 186, 207.
Grace, Act of, 124.
Graham, John (*see* Claverhouse), 14, 100, 129.
Grand Alliance, the, 148, 164, 179, 198.
Great Fire, the, 32.
Great Rebellion, the, 1, 37.
Green Ribbon Club, the, 83, 84.
Grenville, 38.
Guadalaxara, 176.
Guelderland, Spanish, 191.
Guelders, 164.
Guinea Coast, the, 29.
Guipuscoa, 144.
Guiscard, 198.
Gulliver's Travels, 91.
Gunning, Peter, 21.

Habeas Corpus, 65, 66.
Hague, The, 39, 139, 188.
Halifax, Lord, 54, 62, 65, 82, 83, 92, 108, 109, 112, 121, 123, 124, 197.
Hampden, 85.
Hanoverian Succession, the, 206, 207.
Harcourt, Sir S., 185, 196.
Harley, 181-86, 192, 195 (Oxford), 196.
Hassall's *Louis XIV.*, quoted, 103.
Hearth Tax, 123.
Hedges, 160.
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 26, 30, 31.
Herbert, Admiral, 123, 126.
Hesse-Darmstadt, Prince George of, 168.
Hind and Panther, The, 90.
Hobbes, 88.
Holland, 1, 28, 41, 44, 47, 49 *seq.*, 56-58, 83, 85, 112, 113, 130, 149, 162-164, 191, 202.
Holmes, Major, 29, 43.
Holy Living and the Holy Dying, The, 20.
Horse Guards, the King's, 20.
Hough, John, 110.
Hounslow Heath, 108, 111.
House of Commons, 146-148.
Howard of Escrick, 82.
Huddleston, Father, 92.
Hudibras, 89.
Hudson's Bay Company, 1, 2, 140.
Huguenots, 103, 104.
Hume, Sir Patrick, 100.
Hungary, 176.
Huy, 164.
Hyde, Anne, 158.
—— Lawrence, 64, 83.

Indemnity and Oblivion, Act of, 19, 23, 36.
Indies, East, 28, 29; West, 29.
Indulgence, Declaration of, 43.
Ireland, 16-18, 106-108, 122, 125-128, 143, 144, 182, 205.
Ireton, 19.
Irish Brigade, the, 128.
Israel Tonge, 59.
Italy, 140, 163, 176, 177, 201.

Jamaica, 32, 150.
James Edward (the Old Pretender), 148, 186, 191, 205.
James, Duke of York, 1-3, 14, 16, 56, 57, 61-64, 83; II., 125, 136, 139, 148, 158, 161, 202.
James I., 147.
Jeffreys, Judge, 86, 102.
Jersey, Lord, 181, 198.
Jesuits, the, 60, 61, 67.
Johnston of Wariston, 11.
Joseph, Emperor, 178-180, 191, 200.
Junto, the, 135, 146.
Juxon, Archbishop, 22.

Kehl, 165.
Ken, Bishop, 21, 111.
Kent, Grand Jury of, 146.
Kéroualle, Louise de, 26, 38.
Killiecrankie, 129.
Kinsale, 126.
Kirke, 102.

La Hogue, 131, 135, 137, 138, 150.
Lake, Bishop, 111.
Lambert, 19.
Landau, 165.
Landen, battle of, 134.
La Salle, 131.
Latitudinarians, the, 123.
Laud, 20.
Lauderdale, 10 *seq.*, 51, 57.
Lauzun, 125-127.
Leadam, Mr., quoted, 161, 193.
Leake, Admiral, 168, 169, 188, 196.
Lecky, quoted, 178.
Legion Memorial, the, 147.
Leibnitz, 211.
Leopold I., 26, 39, 83, 87, 103, 112, 113, 139, 142, 164.
Letter to a Dissenter, 109.
Levant Co., the, 4.
Leviathan, the, 88.

Lewis, Philip, 67.
—— David, 67.
Licensing Act, 135.
Liège, 162, 164, 191.
Lille, 187, 188.
Limburg, 164.
Limerick, Treaty of, 127, 128.
Lisle, Alicia, 102, 123.
Literature and Politics, connection of, under Anne, 210.
Littleton, 66.
Locke, John, 88, 150.
Lodge, Professor, quoted, 21.
London, 20, 84-86, 114.
Londonderry, 125.
Lords, House of, 38, 63, 116, 146, 206.
Lorraine, 139, 206.
Louis XIV., 1, 26, 41, 49, 53, 99, 121, 122, 126, 131, 134, 137-140, 142, 146, 148, 162, 166, 169, 202.
—— of Baden, 179.
Louisiana, 131.
Lowestoft, battle of (Southwold Bay), 30.
Luxembourg, Marshal, 133, 134, 138.
Luxemburg, 86, 87, 103, 139, 177.
Lyme Regis, 101.

Macdonalds, the, 129, 130.
Macflecknoe, the, 90.
Mackay, General, 127, 129, 133.
Madrid, 176.
Magdalen College, Oxford, 110, 138; Cambridge, 110.
Magna Carta, 66.
Magus Moor, 14, 67.
Malaga, battle of, 168, 172.
Malplaquet, battle of, 189.
Mansell, Sir T., 185.
Mantua, 176, 201.
Mar, 237.
Maria Theresa, 39.
Marlborough, Duke of, 101, 114, 127, 148, 160, 161, 177, 188, 192, 197, 198.
—— Duchess of, 166, 192, 197, 198.
Marsin, 165, 172, 176.
Marvell, A., 89.
Mary (wife of William of Orange), 63, 92, 121 *seq.*
—— of Modena, 51, 98.
Massey, John, 107.
Max Emmanuel, 142, 163, 172, 173, 177.
Meal Tub Plot, the, 67.
Medal, the, 89.
Mediterranean, the, 26, 52, 136-138, 146, 158, 161-164, 188.
Medway, the, 33, 44.
Mercantile System, the, 203.
Mercator, or *Commerce Retrieved*, 203.
Messina, 52.
Methuen, Paul, 166; John, 166; Treaty, 166.
Mexico, 163.
Middleton, Earl of, 11, 12.
Milan, 144; Treaty of, 176, 179, 180, 181, 201.
Milton, 90.
Minorca, 2, 161, 188, 201.
Monk, 16, 20, 31, 207.
Monmouth, 14, 49, 82, 83, 85, 100-102, 105.
Mons, 130, 139, 177, 189.
Montagu, Charles (Lord Halifax), 133, 135, 136, 139, 141, 146.
—— Sir James, 185.
—— Lord, 62, 63.
Montserrat, 34.
Moore, Sir John, 84.
Moray, Sir R., 11, 12.
Morley, Dean and Bishop, 20.
Mound of Ottoman, the, 177.
Mulhausen, battle of, 55.
Municipal Corporations, 84, 110.
Mutiny Act, the, 124.

Namur, 133, 138, 177.
Naples, 144, 176, 179, 188, 201.
Napoleon, 121, 134, 192.
Narva, battle of, 211.
National Debt, the, 43.

Navigation Act of 1651, 10; of 1660, 18, 28, 36, 38, 149.
Neerwinden. *See* Landen.
Nell Gwyn, 26.
Netherlands, the, 26-35, 163; the Spanish, 146, 176, 191.
New Amsterdam, 150.
Newcastle, Duke of, 193.
Newfoundland, 2.
Newmarket, 85.
New Netherlands, the, 2, 3, 150.
Newton, Isaac, 3, 210, 211.
New York, 3, 28, 150.
Nicholls, Col. R., 28.
Nimeguen, Peace of, 58, 59, 139, 162.
Nonconformists, the, 47, 123.
Non-jurors, the, 123.
Non-Resisting Bill, the, 54.
North America, 34.
Northern Department, 195.
Nottingham, 121, 160, 182, 199.
Nova Scotia, 2, 34, 139.

Obdam, 30.
Occasional Conformity Act, 181, 199, 206.
Opdam, 164.
Orange, Prince of, 28, 189.
Orford, Lord. *See* Russell, Admiral.
Orkney, Lord, 189.
Orkneys, the, 13.
Ormonde, 16, 17, 163, 196, 198, 199, 205, 207.
Oudenarde, battle of, 187.
Oxford, University of, 86, 110; Parliament, 82, 84; Earl of, 192, 204-205.

Paradise Lost, 90.
—— *Regained*, 90.
Parker, Bishop, 110.
Parkgate, 125.
Partition Treaty (1668), the, 39.
—— Treaty, the First, 143; the Second, 144-146.
Paterson, 145.
Patriarchia, the, 88.
Peachell, Dr., 110.
Pearson, John, 21.
Penal Laws, 105.
Penn, William, 3, 109, 150.
Pennsylvania, 150.
Pentland Rising, the, 63.
Pepys, Samuel, 91; his Diary, 91.
Peterborough, Earl of, 143, 175, 176.
Peter the Great, 211.
Petre, Lord, 61.
Petty, Sir W., 3.
Philip of Anjou, 145, 146.
—— of Orleans, 26.
—— IV., 26, 32, 142; V., 169, 192, 202; VI., 146.
Philipsbury, 113.
Pilgrim's Progress, the, 91.
Plague, the Great, 30, 31, 36.
Plunket, 84.
Popish Plot, the, 81, 82.
Portland, Earl of, 123.
Port Mahon, 188, 200.
Portobello, 200.
Portugal, 142, 180, 192.
Poulett, Earl, 195, 196.
Powis, Lord, 61; Lady, 67.
Prayer Book, the English, 76.
Presbyterians, the, 108.
Primrose, Sir A., 11.
Principia, the, 3, 210.
Pritchard, Sir W., 84.
Privy Council, 6, 16, 23, 63.
—— Temple's Scheme of, 65, 66
Prussia, King of, 201, 202.
Prussian troops, the, 189.
Pruth, battle of the, 211.
Pularoon, 29, 33.
Pultava, battle of, 211.
Pym, 19.
Pyrenees, Treaty of the, 25, 32.

Quakers, the, 3, 150, 151.
Quo Warranto, writ of, 84.

Rakoczy, 170.
Ramillies, battle of, 177.
Ratisbon, Truce of, 87.
Resolution of Dec. 22, 1707, the Whig, 182.
Responsibility, ministerial, 63.
Restoration, the, 5, 6.
Reunions, the, 87.
Revolution of 1688, 116 *seq.*
Reynolds, Bishop, 22.
Robinson, Bishop John, 196.
Robinson Crusoe, 91.
Rochester, Lord, 86, 92, 99, 106, 108, 160, 196.
—— town of, 33, 114.
Rooke, Sir George, 163.
Rosen, 125.
Rothes, Earl of, 11-13.
Royal Society, the, 3, 210, 211.
Rule, Gilbert, 25.
Rullion Green, battle of, 13.
Rumbold, 100.
Rupert, Prince, 31.
Russell, Lord, 62, 85.
—— Admiral, 112, 135-137.
Rye House Plot, 85, 100.
Ryswick, Treaty of, 136, 139, 140, 146, 148.

Sacheverell, 193.
Saint Cecilia's Day, 90.
St. Christopher, 34, 200.
St. John (Bolingbroke), 179, 181, 185, 195-208.
St. Paul's Cathedral, 32.
St. Ruth, 127.
Salisbury, 56, 114.
Samson Agonistes, 90.
Sancroft, Bishop, 111, 123.
Saragossa, battle of, 192.
Sardinia, 188, 201.
Sarsfield, 127, 128, 134.
Savoy Conference, the, 22, 23.
—— Duke of, 140, 165, 176, 180.
Saxony, 178.
Schism Bill, 206.
Schomberg, 126.
Scotland, 1, 33, 58, 59, 100, 106, 112, 122, 128-131, 145, 149, 158, 181-186, 210.
Scroggs, Chief-Justice, 67.
Sedgemoor, battle of, 101, 102.
Seeley, quoted, 202.
Settlement, the Act of, 147.
Seven Bishops, Trial of the, 111.
Severn Valley, the, 101.
Seymour, 160, 181.
Shadwell, T., 89.
Shaftesbury, 49, 51, 55, 56, 63-67, 81, 83-85, 87-89, 98, 149.
Sharp, Archbishop, 14, 67.
Sheldon, 41.
Shetlands, the, 13.
Shirley and Fagg, 54, 55.
—— Sir T., 54.
Shovell, Sir Cloudesley, 165, 166, 188.
Shrewsbury, 122, 205, 207, 208.
Sicily, 144, 188, 189, 200.
Sidney, Algernon, 85, 89, 90, 123.
Sluys, 42.
Smith, John, 185.
Smyrna fleet, the Dutch, 29, 43, 134.
Sobieski, John, 83.
Solebay, battle of, 48.
Solmes, Count, 133, 134.
Somers, 139, 146, 192, 210.
Somerset, Duke of, 193, 207.
Sophia, Electress, 106, 147, 174.
South, Bishop, 21.
South Sea Scheme, 200, 201.
Southern Department, 195.
Southwold Bay, battle of, 48. *See* Lowestoft.
Spain, 25, 26, 41, 49, 59, 83, 160, 162, 163, 192, 198, 202.
Spanish Netherlands, 47, 58.
Spanish Succession, the, 39, 59, 134.
Spice Islands, the, 29.
Stafford, Lord, 60, 72, 73.
Stanhope, 188, 192.
Staremberg, 192.
Steele, 158.

Steinkirk, battle of, 133.
Stolhofen, lines of, 179.
Stop of the Exchequer, 42-43, 50.
Strassburg, 86, 103.
Stromboli, battle of, 52.
Succession Question, the, 52, 54, 66.
Sunderland, 99, 106, 114.
Surinam, 34.
Sweden, 39, 139.
Swift, 158, 190, 200.

Taisnière, wood of, 189.
Tallard, 170-173.
Talmash, 127, 136.
Tangier, 2, 26, 27, 73-75.
Taunton, 101.
Temple, Sir William, 39, 65, 83.
Test Act of 1678, the, 61, 62, 106, 108.
Test and Corporation Acts, 123.
Theory of Light, the, 3.
Thirty Years' War, the, 1.
Tillotson, 123, 124, 130.
Titus Oates, 59, 60.
Tobago, 34.
Torbay, 114.
Torcy, Marquis de, 188, 198.
Tories, the, 122, 124, 159, 166.
Torrington, Lord. *See* Herbert.
Tory Peers, creation of, 199.
Toulon, 137, 168, 176, 180.
Tournay, 190.
Tourville, 126, 137.
Townshend, Lord, 188.
Trade, Council of, 27.
Trelawney, Bishop, 111.
Trèves, 173.
Triennial Bill, the, 133, 134.
Triple Alliance (1668), the, 39, 41, 47, 49.
Triumvirate, the, 65.
Turckheim, battle of, 55.
Turenne, 55, 99.
Turin, 170; Treaty of, 165.
Turkey Company, the, 29.
Turks, the, 83, 87, 112, 113.
Turner, Bishop, 111.
Tuscan Ports (Presidii), the, 146, 201.
Tyrconnel, Earl of, 102, 108, 112, 126, 127.

Uniformity, Act of, 24.
Union with Scotland, 181, 182.
University College, Oxford, 107.
Usk, 67.
Utrecht, Peace of, 151, 199-204, 209, 210.

Valence, Bishop of, 105.
Valencia, 176.
Vane, the younger, 19.
Vauban, 103.
Vendôme, 142, 187.
Venner, 20.
Veto, the, 131, 133, 134.
Victor Amadeus II., 165, 201, 202.
Vienna, 87, 164, 165, 170, 172.
Vigo Bay, battle of, 163, 164.
Villa Viciosa, battle of, 192.
Villars, Marshal, 164, 165, 174, 176, 180, 190.
Villeroy, 138, 174, 177.

Wakeman, Sir G., 60, 67.
Walcheren, 42.
Wales, 1, 21.
Walpole, 35, 186, 196.
Webb, General, 137.
Wesley, John, 25.
West Indies, the, 102, 163.
Westminster, Treaty of, 49.
Weston Zoyland, 101.
Wharton, Lord, 56, 135.
Whigs, the, 59, 63, 81, 122, 124, 138, 159.
White, Bishop, 111.
William of Orange, 48 *seq.*, 56, 63, 82, 86, 87, 111-116; III., 121 *seq.*, 148, 149, 159, 169, 181-185.

Winchester, 88.
Windsor, 87.
Wirral, Hundred of, 125.
Withers, 190.
Wittelsbach, House of, 163.
Woodstock, 173.
Worcester, battle of, 10.
Wren, Sir Christopher, 32.
Wright, 181.
Wyndham, 207.
Wynendale, battle of, 187, 188.

York, Duke of, 47.

R&K
25/2/35

THE MODERN FRENCH SERIES

A Primer of French Grammar. *By* A. A. SOMERVILLE. *2s. net.*

Primary French Exercises. *By* A. A. SOMERVILLE. *1s. 6d. net.*

Grammaire Française Elementaire (A l'Usage des Élèves Anglais).
By A. A. SOMERVILLE. *1s. 6d.*

A Primary French Translation Book. *1s. 6d.*

Beginners' Texts. 10 Vols. *7d. each.*
1. Recueil de Pièces Faciles. 2. Premières Lectures Françaises. 3. Les Deux Sœurs. 4. Nouvelles et Anecdotes. 5. La Belle au Bois Dormant et Le Chat Botté. 6. Historiettes. 7. Mêle-toi de ton Mêtier. 8. Huit Contes. 9. Petites Histoires Enfantines. 10. Ce Qu'on Voit.

Elementary Texts. 11 Vols. *9d. each.*
1. Deux Contes d'Andersen. 2. Laurette, ou Le Cachet Rouge. 3. Le Petit Tailleur Bouton. 4. Les Enfants Patriotes. 5. L'Expédition de la Jeune-Hardie. 6. Un Cas de Conscience. 7. L'Histoire de la Mère Michel et de son Chat. 8. Seulette. 9. Les Prisonniers du Caucase. 10. Récits de Guerre et de Révolution. 11. Une Aventure du Célèbre Pierrot.

Intermediate Translation Book. *By* W. S. LYON. *2s. 6d. net.*

Intermediate Texts. 12 Vols. *1s. each.*
1. Deux Legendes Bretonnes. 2. Le Trésor du Vieux Seigneur. 3. Chez les Sauvages. 4. Murat. 5. Histoire d'un Paysan, Chs. I–IV. 6. Yvon et Finette. 7. Récits de la Vieille France. 8. L'Evasion du Duc de Beaufort. 9. Le Duc de Reichstadt. 10. Le Pacte de Famine. 11. La Cigale chez les Fourmis. 12. L'Oeillet Rouge.

Passages for Unseen Translation. *By* H. C. STEEL. *2s. 6d. net.*

Morceaux Detachés d'Auteurs Contemporains. *3s. net.*

Advanced Prose Composition. *By* J. DUHAMEL. *4s. 6d. net.*

Advanced Texts. 12 Vols. *2s. each.*
1. Sacs et Parchemins. 2. Nouvelles Contemporaines. 3. Le Violon de Faïence. 4. La Petite Fadette. 5. Pêcheur d'Islande. And 7 other Vols., of which a detailed list can be had on application.

THE MODERN GERMAN SERIES

A Primer of German Grammar.
By A. A. SOMERVILLE and L. S. R. BYRNE. *2s. net.*

Primary German Exercises. *By the same Authors.* *2s. net.*

A First German Writer. *By the same Authors.* *3s. 6d.*

Primary German Translation and Exercise Book.
By H. S. BERESFORD-WEBB. *2s. net.*

Advanced Prose Composition. *By* R. J. MORICH. *4s. 6d.*

A German Commercial Reader. *By* H. PREISINGER. *2s. net.*

A German Science Reader. *By* FRANCIS JONES. *2s. net.*

Beginners' Texts. 6 Vols. *9d. each.*
Elementary Texts. 7 Vols. *1s. each.*
Advanced Texts. 5 Vols. *2s. each.*
} *Lists on application.*


DA
425
H37
1912
c.1
ROBA