from home. A 'Rice Act' gave freedom to them to ship rice (a great crop of Carolina), without touching at England, to any ports south of Cape Finisterre (1729). A similar privilege was given in respect of sugar under an Act of 1733. Thus a salutary amount of freedom was allowed from the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, which compelled the Colonies to ship directly to British ports.

New reign. George I died in 1727 on his way to Osnabrück in Hanover. His son, George II, like his father, a sensible, good-natured man, made no change in the ministry. He had one great advantage over his father: he could speak English quite fluently. Nevertheless, he was not quite an Englishman: he was too stiff and punctilious, 'so that I have often seen him put so much out of humour at his private levee, by a mistake or blunder of a valet de chambre, that the gaping crowd admitted to his public levee have from his looks and silence concluded that he had just received some dreadful news' (Lord Chesterfield).

He was a brave man, and, when the country went to war, quite naturally went with the army, and, sword in hand, led the troops in the attack. He had, too, what the English like, a sense of justice, and was fair to every one. He did not greatly like Walpole (whose exterior was not prim enough for 'dapper George'), but always gave the great minister fair treatment and his confidence. He had a good eye for ability, and was more shrewd than people thought. When some one told him once that Wolfe, whom he was trusting with such high command, was *mad*, George replied: 'I wish he would bite some of my other generals'. He was fortunate in having a very handsome and amiable wife in Queen Caroline, a firm supporter of the minister. Had it not been for her help, Walpole would have found it hard to keep the peace in 1733. The French and Spanish monarchies had signed a 'Family Compact' to support each other, and Walpole knew of its existence, and knew that it meant a danger to England. In 1733 the War of the Polish Succession broke out, France and

Spain taking opposite sides to Austria. A large party in England desired to support Austria. Actually, so short is men's memory of the horrors of war, the people seemed tired of peace. Walpole was, as usual, calm and sensible. England had no interest in the struggle: neither side was fighting for any principle, except to gain power. Walpole's firmness carried the country through the crisis, and it was with some real pride that he could tell his friend, Queen Caroline, that though fifty thousand men had been killed in one year in Europe, not one of them was an Englishman.



GEORGE II

The war of Jenkins's Ear. The end of Walpole's happy administration came in consequence of the war which broke out in 1739. During the peace British commerce had flourished exceedingly, and British ships were sailing on every sea. London and Bristol were among the most thriving ports in Western Europe. Yet the moribund Spanish Empire still stood in the way, shutting out English commerce from half the New World. Spain could neither develop her empire herself nor endure the thought of any one else doing so. Her *guarda costas* kept a watch in the waters round the Spanish Colonies, and prevented trading. Under one of the treaties made at the Peace of Utrecht, the South Sea Company exercised the right of sending one ship of five hundred tons burden each year to the South Seas (see p. 431); this ship on each voyage was met and restocked several times by other ships dispatched for the purpose—a practice of which the

Spanish Government bitterly complained, although the Spanish colonists, who could get goods in no other way, welcomed it. The English, on their side, were just as jealous of their own rights in the English Colonies, and, if the Spaniards had been in a position to trade with them, would have been equally resentful.

One Jenkins, the master of a sloop which traded from Jamaica, came forward in 1738 with a tale of having been stopped by Spanish *guarda costas*, searched, and having had his ear torn off. Whether the man was a fraud or not has never been quite proved. Anyhow, the war party made great use of him, and the British Lion was roused by the story of his woe.

Walpole had no sympathy with the agitation. If there were grievances, he said, let them be adjusted peacefully. He arranged a convention (called the Convention of the Pardo): the claims of England and Spain for damages were to be set off one against the other, and the balance, £95,000, to be handed over to the English Government (1739). Walpole thought he had weathered the storm once more. He defended his conduct in Parliament with his usual vigour and lucidity:

'It requires no great art, no great abilities in a minister,' exclaimed Walpole, 'to pursue such measures as might make a war unavoidable. That is a very easy matter; but, Sir, how many ministers have you had, who knew the art of avoiding war, by making a safe and honourable peace?' [1]

The Opposition, however, roused the country against him. In the Opposition was a fiery, eloquent young man, William Pitt, 'this terrible cornet of horse',[2] as Walpole called him. His speech on the Spanish Convention, in the session of Parliament of 1739, expressed the temper of the nation:

'Is this', he cried, 'any longer a nation, or what is an English Parliament, if with more ships in your harbours than in all the navies of Europe, with above two millions of people in your American colonies, you will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable convention? Sir, I call it no more than it has been proved in this debate. It carries fallacy or downright subjection in almost every line; it has been laid open or exposed in so many strong and glaring lights that I cannot pretend to add anything to the conviction and indignation it has raised.' [1]

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, ch. xx.
[2] Pitt had been a cornet in Lord Cobham's regiment of horse, but was dismissed from the Army for a speech made in Parliament in 1736.

It was one of Pitt's great merits that he thought of the Empire as a whole, and not of England only, and his speech on this occasion, if not wise in all respects, at least shows his wide outlook. Yet the Opposition in this instance cannot be acquitted of using the war-cry in order to drive Walpole from the Government:

'Some years after,' wrote Burke, 'it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned.' [2]

Unfortunately for his reputation, Walpole did not allow himself to be driven from office. A minister who cannot conscientiously approve of a policy should not consent to carry it out. Yet Walpole tried to do this. 'They may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands.' He probably thought the people would get over their madness, and be glad of his policy of common sense again. Unfortunately, war has a way of spreading. The war over 'Jenkins's Ear' soon involved not Spain and England only, but France, Austria, Prussia and Bavaria, likewise.

Condition of the Navy. England and Spain were maritime empires, and the war was conducted at sea. It was the South American trade that the merchants were interested in, and accordingly it was to South America that the fleets were

[1] Mahon, *History of England*. [2] Ibid.

sent. One expedition went against the Atlantic coast, another against the Pacific coast. The novelist Smollett was a surgeon's mate in the expedition to Cartagena, and in *Roderick Random* he describes the conditions of life on His Majesty's ships in the middle of the eighteenth century:

'After dinner Thomson led me round the ship, showed me the different parts, described their uses, and, as far as he could, made me acquainted with the particulars of the discipline and economy practised on board. He then demanded of the boatswain an hammock for me, which was slung in a very neat manner by my friend Jack Rattlin; and as I had no bed-clothes, procured credit for me, with the purser, for a mattress and two blankets. At seven o'clock in the evening, Morgan visited the sick, and having ordered what was proper for each, I assisted Thomson in making up his prescriptions; but when I followed him with the medicines into the sick berth or hospital, and observed the situations of the patients, I was much less surprised that people should die on board than that any sick person should recover. Here I saw about fifty miserable distempered wretches, suspended in rows, so huddled one upon another, that not more than fourteen inches space was allotted for each with his bed and bedding; and deprived of the light of day, as well as of fresh air, breathing nothing but a noisome atmosphere of the morbid steams exhaling from their own excrements and diseased bodies, devoured with vermin hatched in the filth that surrounded them and destitute of every convenience necessary for people in that helpless condition.'[1]

Anson's Voyage. Commodore George Anson was born in 1697, and had entered the Navy at the age of 13. Without either wealth or influence, he had risen to the position of captain, through strict attention to his profession. He was a man of few words, but nobody knew more about ships and sailors. He was cool, courageous, and careful to carry out instructions—one of the steadiest sailors in a service distinguished for good sense and judgement.

The squadron which went out with him in 1740 consisted of the *Centurion*, 60 guns and 400 men, the *Gloucester* and the *Severn* (each 50 guns and 300 men), the *Pearl*, 40 guns, the *Wager*, 28 guns, and the sloop *Trial*—a mere cockle-shell—8 guns. They left Portsmouth in September, and sailed across the Atlantic to Brazil; then south towards Patagonia and the Straits of Magellan. Off Tierra del Fuego the squadron was scattered by a storm. The Commodore's flagship, the *Centurion*, went on its way alone. By the beginning of summer, 1741, it had sailed round South America to the quiet waters of the Pacific. Horrid ailments attacked the crew—scurvy, jaundice, ulcers, rheumatism—due to the lack of proper nourishment. Two hundred of the crew died. At last they reached Juan Fernandez, Robinson Crusoe's island, where Alexander Selkirk, the Scottish sailor, had lived alone between 1704 and 1709. The island was uninhabited; the sailors joyfully roamed over it, refreshing themselves with wild fruit and herbs, and the flesh of goats that they killed. The first goat shot was an aged animal with 'an exceeding majestic beard, and most venerable aspect', a survivor, they thought, of Alexander Selkirk's little herd.

At Juan Fernandez the *Centurion* was joined by the little sloop *Trial*. The *Pearl* and *Severn* had been compelled to put back to Brazil. The *Wager* had been wrecked off Chile; the officers and men were saved, but the crew had mutinied and gone off in the long-boat. This long-boat, wonderful to relate, had succeeded in weathering the Straits of Magellan and in sailing back to Brazil. The captain, the lieutenant, surgeon, and two midshipmen, left alone on an island off Chile, made their way, helped by kindly Indians, to the Spanish settlements. Although England was at war with Spain, and the English fleet had come to plunder the Spanish colonies, the officers were treated with the greatest courtesy. In Castro they were lodged in the Jesuit College, on the chance of being converted, but no force was put upon them. They were left at liberty, on parole, until arrangements were made for their exchange. One of the midshipmen, the Honourable John Byron, became

[1] Smollett, *Roderick Random*, ch. xxv.

grandfather of the poet Byron, and left a narrative of adventures.

In September 1741 Anson, with the *Centurion* and *Trial*, left Juan Fernandez. Between Valparaiso and Cal[illegible] they took a Spanish merchantman, with a cargo of sug[illegible] silver, and cloth—each useful in its own way. The Spania[illegible] captured on board complimented the Commodore on [illegible] energy in building the *Trial* on Juan Fernandez—they nev[illegible] dreamed such a tiny ship could have sailed from Englar[illegible]. Anson's next objective was the town of Paita. Lieutena[illegible] Brett, with 58 sailors in the *Centurion's* boats, landed a[illegible] captured the whole town. £30,000 was taken, and the to[illegible] was set on fire. All prisoners, however, were treated wi[illegible] kindness and civility.

Off Peru, Anson hoped to capture the 'Manilla Galleon' a great ship which came twice a year from the Philippin[illegible] to exchange its merchandise for Peruvian silver. He missed it, however, and so sailed across the Pacific towards Chin[illegible] At the Portuguese settlement of Macao he was able to repe[illegible] and then put out again (April 1743). On June 20 the Co[illegible] of modore fell in with the Manilla Galleon returning with si[illegible] ore from Peru. A sharp action ensued; the British gu[illegible] proved much superior, and the Galleon with its rich c[illegible] was captured.

The great voyage was completed by a journey round Cape of Good Hope. In June 1744 the Commodore cast anchor in Spithead after an absence of three years nine mon[illegible] He had shown the power of Britain on the sea, having sa[illegible] through the Spanish waters and hit hard at the Spar[illegible] power. His chaplain has left a narrative of the great voya[illegible] which is also admirably described in Lord Mahon's splen[illegible] *History of England*. Anson continued to serve with [illegible] tinction in the Navy, and was later raised to the peera[illegible] As First Sea Lord he did much for the efficient administrat[illegible] of the service. Unfortunately he died, like Nelson, withc[illegible] leaving any son to follow in his steps.

he attack on Porto Bello (1740). A fleet also went out [illegible]er Admiral Vernon, and attacked and took Porto Bello. [illegible]s was the expedition in which the novelist Smollett served, [illegible]. from which he got his material for depicting life on board [illegible].S. *Galloper*. Porto Bello was captured, and the event [illegible]ired an otherwise undistinguished writer to produce one [illegible]he finest ballads in the English language. This man was



RUDYERD'S EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE, built in 1708

[illegible]ard Glover, a public-spirited London merchant, with the [illegible]ys of a scholar and man of letters. In 1726, when there [illegible]friction between the Governments of England and Spain, [illegible]iral Hosier, a stalwart sailor of the type of Benbow, had [illegible] sent to blockade the Spanish ports in the West Indies [illegible]outh America. His orders, however, forbade him to [illegible]t. Cruising off unhealthy coasts the ships' companies [illegible]ered terribly from fever and scurvy. Inaction and the [illegible]t of his gallant men dying broke the Admiral's hea[illegible]

When Vernon took Porto Bello in 1740, Glover imagi
Hosier and his ghostly crews coming up from the waves
congratulate the lucky victor :

As near Porto-Bello lying
On the gently swelling flood,
At midnight with streamers flying
Our triumphant navy rode ;
There while Vernon sate all-glorious
From the Spaniards' late defeat ;
And his crews, with shouts victorious,
Drank success to England's fleet :

On a sudden shrilly sounding,
Hideous yells and shrieks were heard ;
Then each heart with fear confounding,
A sad troop of ghosts appear'd,
All in dreary hammocks shrouded,
Which for winding sheets they wore,
And with looks by sorrow clouded
Frowning on that hostile shore.

On them gleamed the moon's wan lustre,
When the shade of Hosier brave
His pale bands were seen to muster
Rising from their watry grave.
O'er the glimmering wave he hy'd him,
Where the *Burford*[1] rear'd her sail,
With three thousand ghosts beside him
And in groans did Vernon hail.

Heed, oh heed our fatal story,
I am Hosier's injur'd ghost ;
You who now have purchas'd glory
At this place where I was lost !
Tho' in Porto-Bello's ruin
You now triumph free from fears,
When you think on our undoing
You will mix your joy with tears.

See these mournful spectres sweeping
Ghastly o'er this hated wave,
Whose wan cheeks are stain'd with weeping ;
These were English captains brave.

[1] Admiral Vernon's ship.

Mark those numbers pale and horrid,
Those were once my sailors bold :
Lo, each hangs his drooping forehead
While his dismal tale is told.

I, by twenty sail attended,
Did this Spanish town affright ;
Nothing then its wealth defended
But my orders not to fight.
Oh ! that in this rolling ocean
I had cast them with disdain
And obey'd my heart's warm motion
To have quell'd the pride of Spain !

For resistance I could fear none,
But with twenty ships had done
What thou, brave and happy Vernon,
Hast achiev'd with six alone.
Then the bastimentos never
Had our foul dishonour seen,
Nor the sea the sad receiver
Of this gallant train had been.

Hence with all my train attending
From their oozy tombs below,
Thro' the hoary foam ascending,
Here I feed my constant woe.
Here the bastimentos viewing,
We recall our shameful doom,
And our plaintive cries renewing
Wander thro' the midnight gloom.

O'er these waves for ever mourning
Shall we roam deprived of rest,
If to Britain's shores returning
You neglect my just request ;
After the proud foe subduing,
When your patriot friends you see,
Think on vengeance for my ruin,
And for England sham'd in me.[1]

End of Walpole's ministry. After Porto Bello, Cartagena was attacked by Vernon, without success ; and so the

[1] *The Percy Reliques*, XXV, 'Admiral Hosier's Ghost'

expedition was half a failure. The Opposition in the House of Commons grew stronger. In those days, when an election was disputed for having been conducted with some legal informality or with bribery, the case was not tried before judges, as at the present day. It was argued out on the floor of the House of Commons, and was decided by a party vote. The Opposition disputed the validity of the election of a Government candidate for the borough of Chippenham. They outvoted the Government on this point (January 28, 1742), and Walpole resigned. This was the most critical act of his life. All his time in office he had been a *peace-minister*. At the last he had been compelled to undertake a war against Spain, but it was a limited, naval war only. When he found the struggle spreading, and involving the great military Powers of the Continent of Europe, he had to choose once and for all—to become definitely a war-minister at the head of a great war-Government, or to resign. He choose the latter course. Only George II, who had learned to value the great minister, showed any sorrow. In February Walpole was raised to the peerage as Earl of Orford.

He took his defeat philosophically, was gratified with his peerage and pension of £4,000 a year, kept up a lively interest in politics, and went on with his magnificent collection of old pictures at Houghton. The greater part of this collection is now to be seen, not at Houghton, but in the Hermitage Gallery at Petrograd.

The War of the Austrian Succession. The predictions of the great minister were all coming true. The war was dragging on, wasting England's resources equally with Spain's. Taxation was bound to increase, and, with taxation, discontent with the Hanoverian rule was sure to arise. The Jacobite party, so long laid low, could raise its head, and avail itself of this feeling of dissatisfaction to attempt a revolution. Moreover, the war abroad had spread farther. In October 1740 the Emperor Charles VI, the head of the Germanic Confederation, died. He left his Austrian dominions to his

daughter, the proud and spirited Maria Theresa. France, Prussia, and Great Britain had agreed to the law which Charles had made (called the Pragmatic Sanction), leaving all his territories undivided to his daughter. Among the territories was the fine province of Silesia, through which flow the upper waters of the river Oder. Frederick II of Prussia, although his State had, under his father, been one of the guarantors of the Pragmatic Sanction, invaded Silesia (December 1740), to seize it from Austria. This act produced the War of the Austrian Succession. The war ultimately resulted in the annexation of Silesia to Prussia. France took the side of Prussia, England adhered to the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and honoured the memory of the defunct Charles VI, who as the 'Archduke Charles' had been the Allied candidate for the throne of Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Spain, in the present war, was under the 'Family Compact' (p. 454) on the same side as France. Thus Prussia, Spain, and France were arrayed against Holland, Austria, and England. It was the second time (the first time was 1702–13) that England went to war in the eighteenth century in defence of a treaty. The 'War of Jenkins's Ear', with its issues left unsettled, merged into the War of the Austrian Succession. A conflagration abroad, with rebellion at home, was what Walpole's successors in office had to face.

The operations of the Austrian Succession War. Although George II concluded a treaty of neutrality for one year for his German Electorate, Hanover (which was exposed to the danger of a French invasion), he himself was ardent in his desire to help Austria. In this he was supported by the leader of the new Government, Lord Carteret, a man of brilliant parts but convivial habits, who (according to Horace Walpole) boasted that it was not his affair to make judges and bishops; 'it is my business', he said, 'to make Kings and Emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe'.

The British Fleet was employed to secure the neutrality of Naples, at that time under Don Carlos, a son of the King of

Spain. Commodore Martin brought his ships into the Bay of Naples. Negotiations between the Neapolitan ministers and the English sailor were conducted in the flagship. The ministers began to make difficulties. Commodore Martin laid his watch upon the cabin table, and gave the Neapolitans one hour in which to make up their minds, before the bombardment should begin. This method of sea diplomacy proved effective. The Government of Naples signed a convention of neutrality (1742).

Dettingen. Up to the end of 1742 the war on the Continent had gone against Austria. Frederick of Prussia overran Silesia, and then threw over his alliance with the French, and made peace (annexing Silesia) with the Austrians (June 1742). In the summer of 1743 an army of about 40,000 British and hired Hanoverian troops entered Germany, to drive the French out of the Rhineland. They were at first under Lord Stair, but when they reached Dettingen, on the river Main (June 1743), George II joined them, and took over the command. On June 27 the British met the French army, which was in considerably superior numbers. King George, who was then in his sixtieth year, dismounted from his horse, and marched at the head of his troops to the attack. He waved his sword, and called, 'Now, boys, now for the honour of England; fire and behave bravely, and the French will soon run'; and so he advanced against the French. His younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, commanding the left, likewise led the attack in person, and exposed himself where the fighting was hottest. The King and his men reached the French lines and broke them. Fighting fiercely, the French were forced to retreat, and, before the day was over, the retreat had been turned into a rout.

Fontenoy (May 11, 1745). The French were cleared out of South Germany, but in 1745 they invaded the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), and threatened to invade England. The young Duke of Cumberland led an Anglo-Dutch army against the French forces, which were under Marshal Saxe.

Cumberland was a good soldier, keen in his profession, hard-working, courageous. The Duke, however, was not the equal of the experienced Marshal Saxe, who had, indeed, something of a genius for warfare. The two armies met at Fontenoy, the French being strongly posted, with only a small gap offering an opening between the village and the wood of Barré on their left. The attack of the Dutch troops failed. The Duke, to retrieve the day, led a solid column of 10,000 men against the gap. This attack is finely described by the historian of the British army:

> Forward tramped the ranks of scarlet, silent and stately as if on parade. Full half a mile of ground was to be traversed before they could close with the invisible enemy that awaited them in the entrenchments over the crest of the slope, and the way was marked clearly by the red flashes and puffs of white smoke that leaped from Fontenoy and the Redoubt d'Eu on either flank. The shot plunged fiercely and more fiercely into the serried lines as they advanced into that murderous cross-fire, but the gaping ranks were quietly closed, the perfect order was never lost, the stately step was never hurried. Only the Hanoverians in the second line, finding that they were cramped for space, dropped back quietly and decorously, and marched on in third line behind the British. Silent and inexorable the scarlet lines strode on. They came abreast of village and redoubt, and the shot which had hitherto swept away files now swept away ranks. Then the first line passed beyond redoubt and village and the French cannon took it in reverse. The gaps grew wider and more frequent, the front grew narrower as the men closed up; but still the proud battalions advanced, strewing the sward behind them with scarlet, like some mass of red blossom that floats down a lazy stream and sheds its petals as it goes.' [1]

The heroic advance of the British column had all but won the day. An advance by the Dutch would have completed the success. But the Dutch, though at hand and in good condition, remained immobile. Marshal Saxe made his last effort; he launched the Irish Brigade (Irish regiments in the French service) against the flank of the decimated British column, and

[1] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Bk. VII, ch. v.

brought up more artillery against its front. Exhausted, unsupported—shattered by artillery fire, assailed by the impetuous Irish—the column stopped and wavered; then steadily wheeled and, protected by rear-guards, marched slowly out of range.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Further warfare on land was almost completely stopped, so far as England was concerned, by a new Jacobite Rebellion, which occurred in the same year as the battle of Fontenoy. At sea, in a large number of minor actions, the British Navy gained a complete ascendancy. Louisbourg in Cape Breton Island was captured, and Canada itself could have been invaded. In India, however, the French had taken Madras from the British; on the Continent of Europe they held most of the Austrian Netherlands. With matters so nicely balanced, further warfare seemed useless. In October 1748 the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded. France and England restored what they had taken from each other. The Austrian Netherlands were returned to Austria, but Frederick II of Prussia retained Silesia. The commercial relations of England and Spain were put upon the same footing as they had stood before 1739.

Thus the treaty at the end of the war merely restored the same unsatisfactory state of affairs that had caused the war. Nothing was really settled. England still objected to the Spanish trading restrictions; Austria desired to get back Silesia, the colonial question between France and England had been brought forward, and then ignored. If the war was worth fighting at all, it was worth finishing off with a settlement more likely to prove durable. As matters stood after 1748, the peace only proved to be a breathing-space before the renewal of the contest on a more momentous scale.

The Young Pretender. Prince Charles Edward Stuart, born at Rome in 1720, was the son of James the Old Pretender and his wife, the Princess Clementina Sobieski. He received a rather desultory education, but he grew up a cultivated young man, knowing French and Italian, and with a taste for music

and the fine arts. He saw a little soldiering too, and served with credit in the Spanish forces. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out, the Jacobites saw their chance, and plans were formed for raising a rebellion against the House of Hanover in England. Charles went from Rome to France to get help. Sir Horace Mann, the British Minister to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the well-known correspondent of Horace Walpole, saw Charles as the Prince was passing through Florence. 'The young man', he reported, 'is above the middle height and very thin.' He had a long, pale face, and large blue eyes. There was certainly something very striking about him, as there was about all the Stuarts. He was courageous and dignified, inspiring respect and interest in all who met him.

Charles's design was to get a French fleet and army, and to make a descent upon the shores of Britain. The French Government, however, knew the impossibility of such an enterprise in face of the British fleet; so in 1745 Charles had to set forth practically unsupported. On July 13, with a few friends, he set sail from the island of Belleisle, near the mouth of the Loire, in the *Doutelle* (also called the *Du Teillay*), a small ship which he had secretly hired. On July 23, having evaded the British naval patrols, he landed in the Hebrides. From here Charles proceeded to Moidart, in the country of the Macdonalds, on the west coast of Inverness-shire. The raising of the Standard took place on August 19, 1745, at Glenfinnan.

The Highland chiefs were by no means enthusiastic for the enterprise. The Hanoverian Government was strong, and, although it interfered little in the Highlands, Marshal Wade had made some good military roads, which laid the country open to the red-coats, if necessary. The fact that the Hanoverian Government had left the Highland chiefs so much to themselves made them unwilling to upset such a satisfactory state of affairs. Nevertheless, they rallied to the call of the House of Stuart. They had never forgotten how the

great Marquis of Montrose (p. 355) had trained Highlanders to meet and overcome the disciplined soldiers of the south. The great chiefs, Macdonell of Glengarry, Cameron of Lochiel, and others, brought their clansmen to join Charles's host. All told, this host was only a few thousands strong, yet Charles never hesitated to pursue his great venture.

On September 4 he entered Perth. From there the march to Edinburgh was unopposed, except by a few companies of dragoons, whom the Highlanders easily put to flight, outside the city. Edinburgh itself was entered, although the castle held out for King George. Charles held a court at Holyrood Palace. The sojourn of the chiefs and clansmen in Edinburgh is described with splendid humour and imagination in Scott's novel *Waverley*.

The bulk of the British regular forces were in Flanders with the Duke of Cumberland, and had to be brought back in haste. At Prestonpans, east of Edinburgh, the regular forces under Sir John Cope were met and defeated. Charles, however, did not follow up his victory, but delayed at Edinburgh for another month. Before recommencing his march south, Charles, in the name of his father, 'James III', issued a proclamation in Edinburgh (October 1745), dealing with the old difficulty of religion, for both his father and himself were Papists:

'Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threat of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my Royal father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth. I with my own money hired a vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland attended by seven persons; I publish the King my Father's declaration and proclaim his title with pardon in one hand and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall propose for the happiness of the people. . . . The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies being called over to protect his government against the King's subjects, is it not high time for the King my Father to accept also of assistance? Who has the better chance to be independent of foreign powers—he who, with the aid of his own subjects can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder, or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over for so many years? Let him if he pleases try the experiment: let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put all upon the issue of a battle, and I will trust only to the King my father's subjects.'[1]

It was quite true, as Charles said, that the cause of George II, like his wars abroad, required Dutch, German, and other mercenaries. The English people did not personally wish to fight against Charles; but they certainly did not wish to fight for him. And this is true of the Scots also, of whom there were seldom more than 6,000 found at any time in his army. It was really only a 'raid' into a torpid country that Charles led, and it had no chance of success.

The Highland host marched south by Kelso, and by way of Liddesdale entered Cumberland (November 8, 1745). The town of Carlisle surrendered, almost without a blow. Then the march proceeded. At first Charles drove in a carriage, but as the hardships increased, and supplies became more difficult to procure, he insisted upon sharing the privations of his followers. Clad in plaid and kilt, bearing his claymore and target, he marched at the head of the army, and showed the same endurance as the hardy clansmen. Rising at four in the morning, he marched all day without stopping for a regular meal. In the evening he ate a hearty supper, and then lay down in his clothes.

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, ch. xxviii.

Preston, Wigan, and Manchester were next reached in turn. On December 4 (1745) Derby was reached. When the news reached London, on December 6, 'Black Friday', despair for a time seemed to possess the people. The Government was still largely unprepared; the troops ordered to Finchley Common had not been mobilized. The shops were shut; the Bank of England had to pay over the counter in sixpences, to avoid being 'broken'.

Nevertheless, on the same day, December 6, Charles began his retreat. Lord Mahon, the eminent historian of the eighteenth century, states as his solemn belief that 'had Charles marched onward from Derby, he would have gained the British throne'. He adds, however, that Charles would not long have held it. The second statement is certainly true, the first is doubtful. Charles himself was anxious to go on. His councillors dissuaded him. The great march had shown that, heroic as his qualities were, his cause excited no enthusiasm. Six or seven thousand men, with little ammunition, no money, no supplies, could not long avoid destruction from the armies of Marshal Wade and the Duke of Cumberland, which were converging upon them. As the Highlanders advanced, they must have taken more and more to plunder; and this would have raised the whole country against them. A 'raid' like Charles's was only justified as a practical scheme if it met with a ready response among the people to whom it came. No such response was elicited by the Highland host in 1745. Its retreat was inevitable, and, with its retreat, its destruction.

In the long march back to the Highlands, ruin was only deferred by the skill of Lord George Murray, Charles's most able officer. Glasgow, Stirling, and Falkirk were on the route followed. At Falkirk on January 17, 1746, the Highlanders dispersed the forces (about 8,000 men) of the brutal soldier, General Hawley. The end was only postponed, however. It is difficult to see why, once in the Highlands, the host was kept together at all. Quarrels were now common among

the chiefs, and each blamed the other for the hopeless result. On April 16, 1746, Charles and his small army met the Duke of Cumberland with the red-coats on Culloden Moor, near Inverness. The heroism of the Highlanders could not prevent the destruction of their force.

The cruel treatment of the vanquished has stained the Duke of Cumberland's name. Inverness-shire and the Western Highlands were given over to be ravaged by the soldiery. Luckily, the wildness and inaccessibility of the country saved many of the people. Charles wandered from April till September among the faithful clansmen, although the British Government offered £30,000 for his capture. It was a greater sum of money than had ever been seen in the Highlands. He was tracked to the small island of South Uist, and was only saved by Miss Flora Macdonald, who took him to Skye in a small boat, disguised as her female attendant. Miss Macdonald was arrested later, but after a year obtained release, and married Alan Macdonald of Kingsburgh.

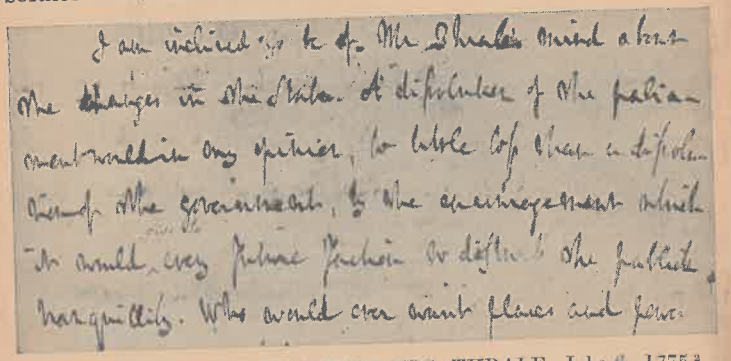
Dr. Johnson visited her at Kingsburgh in 1773. The meeting is described by Boswell in the *Tour to the Hebrides*.

'I was highly pleased to see Dr. Johnson safely arrived at Kingsburgh, and received by the hospitable Mr. Macdonald, who, with a most respectful attention, supported him into the house. Kingsburgh was completely the figure of a gallant Highlander,—exhibiting "the graceful mien and manly looks", which our popular Scotch song has justly attributed to that character. He had his Tartan plaid thrown about him, a large blue bonnet with a knot of black ribband like a cockade, a brown short coat of a kind of duffil, a Tartan waistcoat with gold buttons and gold button-holes, a bluish philibeg, and Tartan hose. He had jet black hair tied behind, and was a large stately man, with a steady sensible countenance.

'There was a comfortable parlour with a good fire, and a dram went round. By and by supper was served, at which there appeared the lady of the house, the celebrated Miss Flora Macdonald. She is a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well-bred. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great champion of the English Tories, salute Miss Flora Macdonald in the isle of Skye, was a striking sight;

for though somewhat congenial in their notions, it was very improbable they should meet here.'[1]

Macdonald and Flora went to North Carolina in 1773, and settled there. He fought for King George in the American War of Independence. At the end of the war they returned to Scotland. Flora Macdonald died in 1790. She had five sons and two daughters. Two of the sons became naval officers, and died at sea. Another became a distinguished soldier and man of science.



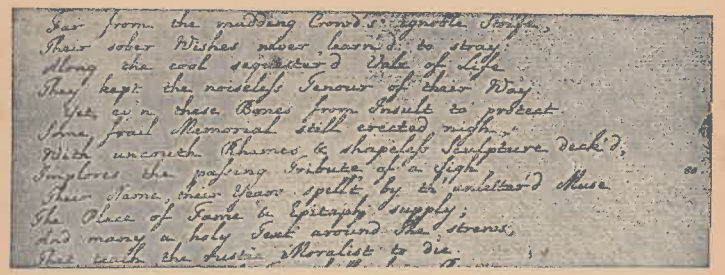
LETTER OF DR. JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE, July 6, 1775[2]

Prince Charles, after escaping to France, lived first at Avignon, then secretly in Paris, for the French Government could not officially support him. The fine young man who had borne every misfortune cheerfully in his great adventure became a hopeless drunkard in exile. After the death of his father in 1766, he resided in Rome. In 1772 he married Louisa, Princess of Stolberg, but the union was unhappy. They had no children, and separated five years later. Charles's brother Henry was a Catholic priest, and is known in history

[1] Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 184 (ed. Birkbeck Hill).

[2] 'I am inclined to be of Mr. Thrale's mind about the changes in the State. A dissolution of the Parliament would in my opinion, be little less than a dissolution of the Government, by the encouragement which it would give to every future faction to disturb the publick tranquillity. Who would ever want places and power. . . .'

as the Cardinal of York. He was a man of good sense and judgement. The last years of Charles's life were mostly spent at Florence, where his illegitimate daughter kept house for him. He died at Rome on January 31, 1788, and is buried in St. Peter's, where a beautiful monument by Canova commemorates 'James III, Charles III, and Henry IX'. The monument and inscription are both due to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. His father had for years paid a pension to the Cardinal of York. When the Hanoverians



FACSIMILE of lines 73–84 of the MS. of Gray's *Elegy* at Pembroke College, Cambridge

could be so generous to their rivals, it was clear that the Jacobite party was dead.

CHAPTER XXII

CHATHAM

Early career. William Pitt was born on November 15, 1708, in the city of Westminster. His father was Robert Pitt of Boconnoc in Cornwall; his grandfather was Thomas Pitt, at one time an East India merchant, and subsequently Governor of Madras. Governor Pitt bought a diamond in India for £20,000. In 1717 he sold it to the Duke of Orleans for £125,000, and it became one of the famous heirlooms of the French royal family. William Pitt, the grandson, was only the younger son of a man of small landed property. He was

educated at d Trinity College, Oxford, and acquired a wide knowl f the classics, if nothing else. From his boyhood he h tendency to gout, and this may have inclined him to dy, rather than to the more active pursuits of youth. He as a great reader of Demosthenes and Bolingbroke, and modelled his style of oratory on their works.

His choice of profession was the Army. In 1731 he became a cornet in the Blues, Lord Cobham's Regiment, now known as the Royal Horse Guards. A cornet was standard-bearer



WHITEHALL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

in a troop of horse. The young officer's private means were £100 a year. With the military life he soon combined the parliamentary, as officers resident in London are still able to do. In 1735 he was returned to the House of Commons as burgess for Old Sarum, a borough which Governor Pitt had purchased, and which had been in the family ever since. William Pitt at once sided with the opposition to Walpole, and soon showed his power of speaking. 'We must muzzle this terrible cornet of horse,' said Walpole. The King was offended by Pitt's attitude towards the royal family at this time; accordingly, the young M.P. was relieved of his commission in the Army. He obtained a position in the household of

Frederick, Prince of Wales, who always supported the opposition against his father the King. In 1739 Pitt made a great speech (*supra*, p. 456) in the House of Commons against the Convention of the Pardo, by which Walpole hoped to avoid war with Spain.

During the War of the Austrian Succession Pitt was not in office. He made himself conspicuous by denouncing the policy of subsidizing foreign States for military purposes. He objected especially to English money being used to pay Hanoverian troops. Great Britain, he said, was being considered 'only as a province to a despicable electorate' (1742). George II naturally resented this attitude. Pitt, however, was rapidly becoming one of the most popular men in the country; therefore, at last, in 1746, the King was obliged to yield, and to allow him to become Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in the ministry of which Henry Pelham, the younger brother of the Duke of Newcastle, was Premier. Pitt whole-heartedly supported the policy of the Government, Hanoverian subsidies and all. He held minor office till 1756, sitting in the House of Commons for Seaford, and then for the 'pocket' borough of Aldeburgh.



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

When Henry Pelham died in 1754, the Duke of Newcastle became Premier. In 1755 Pitt was dismissed from office for once again denouncing the subsidies given to Hanover. War between France and Great Britain was now going on. Pitt supported the Government in their policy of strengthening the Navy and Army but criticized them for their mistakes—like

the loss of Minorca, or the defeat of Braddock—most unmercifully. In 1756 his popularity in the country was higher than ever. The war was going badly. The Government seemed not to know what to do. The Duke of Newcastle persuaded the King to pocket his pride and to offer the position of Secretary of State to Pitt. Pitt accepted it, and became virtually Prime Minister (December 1756). On April 9, 1757, the King dismissed him again, and for eleven weeks there was no Ministry at all; the administration of the country was carried on by the permanent civil servants. In June the King had to invite Pitt to come back to office. He became Secretary of State on the understanding that he should direct foreign affairs and the war. The Duke of Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury. This was an excellent combination. Pitt had the genius for carrying the nation through a crisis, for rousing enthusiasm, for conceiving great plans. Newcastle, on the other hand, was a party politician, an unsurpassed manager of the House of Commons. Newcastle was a better man than he has been painted. He was shrewd and disinterested; if he gave pensions and sinecures to men to secure their support, he made nothing for himself, and left office in 1762 poorer than he had entered upon it.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (p. 468) had satisfied few of the States which made it. Austria wanted to get back Silesia; the English people felt they had made little headway in the New World, and in the Indies. The splendid empire which Champlain and La Salle had founded for France in the early seventeenth century was steadily expanding and closing round the British settlements in New England. In Louisiana and Canada—on the Mississippi, the Ohio, the St. Lawrence—French power was supreme; the New England Colonies could not expand westward of the Alleghany Mountains; indeed they might not be able to maintain their independence against the French. In India, where the French and English had commercial 'factories' and forts, collisions were frequent between the

representatives of the two nations. Thus both in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres little was needed to start a general conflagration[1].

In 1756 occurred the well-known 'Diplomatic Revolution'. Austria and France, enemies for the last 250 years, agreed to become allies. Austria's object was to recover Silesia from Frederick II of Prussia; France's object was to gain a strong military ally, who could help to check England and her allies in any operations in Europe. The English Government (this was just before Pitt joined it as Secretary of State) had already concluded a treaty of alliance with Prussia (Treaty of Westminster, January 16, 1756). The news of this was sufficient to bring the hesitating French and Austrian Governments together, and on May 1, 1756, they concluded the Treaty of Versailles. Thus the Diplomatic Revolution was completed. Austria and France, enemies in the War of the Austrian Succession, were allies: so were England and Prussia.

British Defeats. In July 1755 General Braddock was ambushed and defeated on an expedition against Fort Duquesne, the French fort on the Ohio river in North America (see p. 494). In May 1756 a French fleet from Toulon landed 16,000 men in the island of Minorca, which had been in British possession since the Treaty of Utrecht. The design of the French had been known for some time in England, and the Government sent Admiral John Byng, with ten warships, to the Mediterranean. John Byng was a son of Admiral George Byng, who had won the battle of Cape Passaro (p. 442). When he arrived off Port Mahon, in Minorca, he found the French already landed and their fleet at anchor. After fighting an indecisive action, Byng resolved to leave Minorca to its fate. His ships were about equal in number to the French, but somewhat lighter in guns. His retirement made the capitulation of the Governor of Minorca inevitable. On

[1] See pp. 491–507 and pp. 623–630 for more detailed descriptions of Canadian and Indian affairs.

his return, Byng was tried by court-martial at Portsmouth, and convicted under the Article of War concerning officers guilty of 'cowardice, negligence, or disaffection'. From the first and last offences—cowardice and disaffection—the court explicitly exonerated the Admiral; of negligence they could not acquit him. The penalty prescribed under this Article was death. The Admiral, who showed perfect calmness and dignity, was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, on March 14, 1757

The influence of Pitt. The war was clearly going badly when the great period of Pitt commenced, in June 1757—the famous coalition with the Duke of Newcastle. Braddock had been killed, and his expedition ruined; Minorca had been lost; the French in India had roused the Nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, against the British. Surajah Dowlah had captured Calcutta and perpetrated the crime associated with the name 'Black Hole' (June 1756). Finally, on July 26, 1757, the Duke of Cumberland, who was charged with the duty of protecting Hanover, was beaten at Hastenbeck, though not seriously.

Pitt had begun his coalition ministry with the Duke of Newcastle less than a month previously (June 29, 1757). Some little time was required for him to make his influence felt. 'I am sure that I can save this country, and nobody else can,' he is reported (by Horace Walpole) to have said. Every one yielded to the magic of his enthusiasm. He came to power over a dispirited, unsuccessful people. He did not point out their defects and enlarge upon their difficulties; he spoke always as if the English were the greatest and happiest nation in the world, and he made them act as such. No one, it was said, ever left his room without feeling a braver man than when he entered it. He had a genius for choosing the right men; he inspired confidence in all. Thus Frederick II of Prussia, one of the greatest generals of the age, trusted him. The Navy and Army trusted him. His plans were carried out with enthusiasm. 'We are forced to ask every morning',

writes Horace Walpole in the 'wonderful year' 1759, 'what victory there has been, for fear of missing one.' So great is the force of genius, of the elusive quality called greatness. It consists not merely in skill, judgement, industry (Pitt had these qualities), but in the faculty of success—of inspiring men in such a way that they achieve what seems impossible.

Pitt's war policy. Pitt's method of conducting war with the French was to use the Navy to cut them off from their colonies. If this was accomplished, the French colonies would sooner or later fall before the English arms. It was necessary, however, to do some fighting in Europe, in order to protect Hanover and to exhaust France's military strength. For these reasons the Government had entered into alliance with Frederick II of Prussia (p. 479). Pitt adopted the subsidizing policy, which he had formerly opposed so strenuously. He paid King Frederick about £700,000 a year; without this money, Prussia (a very poor State in those days) could not have carried on the struggle against the combined forces of Austria and France. A British army was sent to Germany—about 20,000 well-trained troops. They were put under an able German general, Ferdinand of Brunswick, a relative of King George II.

The command of the sea. The policy of the Admiralty during the ministry of Pitt was masterly. France has only two really good ports, Brest on the Brittany coast and Toulon in the Mediterranean. Britain, on the other hand, is splendidly provided with natural harbours, which could take any size of ship then afloat. The south coast of England has a number of fine ports—for instance, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portsmouth. At the entrance to the Mediterranean, Great Britain holds, as she held in the eighteenth century, the harbour and fort of Gibraltar. In the Seven Years' War (1756–63) the Admiralty used these ports as a base for a policy of blockade against France. An English squadron was generally cruising in the neighbourhood of Brest, or in the neighbourhood of Toulon. If the west wind (a very common wind) was blowing, the French fleet could not easily sail out

of Brest, and likewise there were difficulties in leaving Toulon. The British crews, constantly at sea in all sorts of foul weather, off Brest or Toulon, grew ever more hardened and expert. The French crews and ships, confined by the blockade to port, deteriorated in spirit and in quality. The French were brave sailors, but they acquired less experience at sea, and became less dashing and venturesome.

Their theory of naval strategy was different from that of the English. The French used their Navy for protective purposes. Its chief business was to convoy merchantmen, so as to save them from the British cruisers, or to protect the islands and colonies of France in the New World. This policy was reasonable, but it imposed an attitude of caution upon the French naval officers. They had always to consider whether, by risking an engagement, they were endangering the colonies which they were protecting. Their first object was always to keep their fleet 'in being', so as to be able to use it to protect the French empire. This defensive policy prevented the French, so dashing on land, from becoming dashing at sea.

The officers of the British Navy, on the other hand, had always been taught that their simple duty was to find out the enemy's fleet and to sink it. If they sunk the enemy's fleet, then, no matter what their own losses were, the command of the sea would remain with England. Even if the losses on each side were 'a ship for a ship', England, being more of a naval than a military power, could replace her losses more quickly than France, and so would have the preponderance.

The effect of this policy on the British officers and men is noticeable all through the glorious history of the Navy. As their sole duty was to seek out the enemy's fleet and sink it, they became more and more enterprising and bold. To attack became their habit; they did not consider whether it was their duty to cover this or that island, to keep their fleet in being: they considered one problem only—namely, could they attack the enemy with a prospect of sinking at least as many hostile ships as the enemy could sink of the English? And as the answer was always assumed to be 'yes', it soon almost ceased to be considered. The naval officers always sought out the enemy's fleet and attacked it. Admiral Byng off Minorca did not make an 'error of judgement', as Macaulay says: he did worse, he neglected his instructions and abandoned the policy of fighting the hostile ships at all cost.

Thus the British Navy was always at sea, always looking out for a chance to attack. It had one other great advantage.



GIBRALTAR

France, being washed by two seas, had to divide her naval power between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, between Brest and Toulon. The British fleet, cruising between Plymouth and Gibraltar, had always a good chance, if either the Brest or Toulon fleet evaded the blockade, of catching it before it could join with the other. The battles of Quiberon Bay and Lagos are instances in point.

Lagos. Admiral Edward Boscawen was the third son of the second Viscount Falmouth. The Boscawens of Boscawen Ros were a very ancient Cornish family. Edward was born in **1711.** At the age of 14 he entered the Navy, and sailed in the *Superbe*, 60 guns, to the West Indies with Admiral Hosier, in

1726. Luckily for England, young Boscawen did not become one of the ghosts that figure in Glover's noble ballad (p. 462); instead, he was serving on Admiral Vernon's flagship when Porto Bello was taken, in 1740. From this time Boscawen saw almost continuous active service in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. In 1758 he was admiral of the Blue and commander-in-chief of the fleet in the operations off Louisburg (p. 496). In 1759 he was given command of the squadron in the Mediterranean.

For a time he blockaded the Toulon fleet. Deeming it better, however, to destroy this fleet than to imprison it, he retired to Gibraltar. He knew that the French would sail for Brest, to take part in an invasion of England, which was being prepared in the north of France. On August 17, 1759, a scouting frigate reported to Boscawen that the Toulon fleet was in sight. The admiral at once put to sea, and on the 18th came into touch with the French fleet. The British had 14 ships, the French 12, but these were more heavily armed. Five French ships became separated by some mistake, and Boscawen, in a stiff fight which lasted from half-past one to half-past four in the afternoon, dispersed the enemy. They were chased into Lagos Bay. Only two of the French admiral's seven great ships escaped.[1]

Quiberon Bay. Edward Lord Hawke was the only son of a London barrister, and was born in 1705. The Hawkes, like the Boscawens, were an old, though not wealthy, Cornish family. Young Edward must have had a great love for the sea, for he volunteered in 1719 as a seaman for service in the West Indian waters, and served for five years. On his return home, he soon tired of life on land, and again joined the Navy as

[1] Boscawen continued to serve in the war till 1761, when he died of typhoid fever at Hatchlands Park, in Surrey—a house which he is said to have built largely out of prize money. His sailors called him 'Old Dreadnought', because it is said that while captain of H.M.S. *Dreadnought* he was wakened one night by the officer of the watch, when the following conversation took place: 'Sir, there are two large ships, which look like Frenchmen, bearing down on us; what are we to do?' 'Do,' said the captain, running up on deck in his night-shirt, 'Do? damn 'em, fight 'em!'

a seaman. In 1729 he was made a lieutenant. Even then his promotion was not rapid. In 1735 he was commanding a ship, but after it was paid off he was four years on half-pay without employment (1735–9). The War of Jenkins's Ear gave him his chance. He was given command of a very unseaworthy ship for service in the West Indies, and he was employed till 1746; but in that year he was only saved from being retired from the service by the intervention of George II, who had a better judgement for capacity than most of his ministers. George had him promoted to be rear-admiral of the White.

In 1759 Hawke was commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the North Atlantic blockading Brest. In this work he made the blockading policy quite a science. For six months the fleet never quitted the waters outside Brest; the ships were carefully victualled, and the crews of two or three ships at a time were sent to Plymouth for a rest. When the Admiralty remonstrated with him for thus weakening his force, Hawke replied: 'It is a matter of indifference whether I fight the enemy, if they should come out, with an equal number, one ship more or less'. 'The refreshment of the ships' companies', he said, 'was more important than the ships.'

On November 9 (1759) a terrible westerly gale compelled Hawke to sail to Torbay to refit. On the 14th he heard that the French fleet had left Brest. He at once put to sea in the *Royal George*, with all his ships. On the 20th, one of the watching frigates announced that the fleet of the French admiral, Marshal de Conflans, had been sighted, and was making for Quiberon Bay, where they could station themselves behind dangerous rocks and shoals. Hawke gave chase, and, in a south-west gale, came up with and engaged Conflans's fleet before the French admiral could get into the bay. The engagement began at 2 p.m. on the 20th and went on till 5. One French ship, the *Formidable*, struck her colours; two were sunk. Next day, Conflans's flagship was forced to run ashore. Four more were wrecked. The whole French fleet



FLINTLOCK CARBINE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
A brass receptacle is screwed on the muzzle of the barrel for throwing grenades

was broken up as the result of this brilliant action in a storm. Two English ships, the *Resolute* and the *Essex*, suffered shipwreck.

The fight off Quiberon Bay, following upon that off Lagos, was the decisive battle of the war.[1] The French sea-power was practically destroyed. Boscawen, who commanded the fleet after Hawke went home for a rest, started a vegetable garden on a small island in the bay, to provide green food for the sailors. British merchantmen sailed the seas practically unmolested. Communications between France and India and Canada were broken. The fall of France's colonial empire was made inevitable by her losing command of the sea.

Minden (August 1, 1759). Pitt, in a famous sentence when speaking in the debate (1763) on the Treaty of Paris, said, 'we were winning America on the plains of Germany'. The statement was meant to emphasize the importance of the continental war. France's military strength was being exhausted on German battle-fields, while Britain was gaining the sea, and with the sea the French empire.

[1] Hawke's active career practically ended with his success at Quiberon. He was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1766 to 1771. The rest of his life was passed at Sudbury-on-Thames; he continued to take a close interest in the Navy, and helped officers with his advice. He died on October 18, 1781; his portrait may be seen in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, which is full of precious mementoes of our great naval history.

Near the town of Minden, a detached portion of the kingdom of Prussia, the greatest British battle of the Seven Years' War was fought. A large French army, at the beginning of 1759, had come up from the Rhine (where it had occupied Frankfort), and was threatening the Electorate of Hanover. Minden was taken; the French might cross to the right bank of the Weser, and invade the Electorate, if decisive action were not taken. Ferdinand of Brunswick, whose task it was to cover Hanover, had about 41,000 British and Hanoverian troops; the French Marshal Contades had 51,000.

Contades had a strong position behind marshes near the Weser river. Ferdinand managed, by exposing a weak spot (as it appeared) in his own lines, to induce the Marshal to leave his position and to attack. The battle began at 3 o'clock on the morning of August 1, 1759. For a time the fight was fairly even, the French striving to drive the Allied troops off the field, the Allies vigorously maintaining their position. Ferdinand had a fine column, for the most part British infantry, in reserve. It contained the 12th Foot (now called the Suffolk Regiment), the 20th Foot (Lancashire Regiment), the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), the 25th Foot (King's Own Scottish Borderers), the 37th Foot (Hampshire Regiment), and the 51st Foot (King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry). Besides these, there were three regiments of Hanoverians. An aide-de-camp was sent by Ferdinand, warning them to stand ready for an advance when the rest of the army was properly formed. To the surprise and consternation of the general, the column—one solid line of scarlet—started advancing by itself. Gallopers were at once sent to stop it. For a few minutes the column halted behind a thin belt of firs. Then, as soon as it had become compact again, to the amazement of the watching staff the drums began to roll, and again the column moved forward.

Soon it was beyond all supports, and exposed to the fire of 60 powerful French cannon. Over a distance of two hundred yards it calmly advanced through a storm of shot,

the ranks steadily closing together, as men were killed or fell out wounded. Then the whole mass of French cavalr came on at the charge, but the column, remaining quiet til the horses were only ten paces off, received them with a volley, and next with the bayonet. The cavalry were beaten off.

This was the critical moment. Ferdinand sent orders to the British cavalry—twenty-four squadrons of Blues, 1st and 3rd Dragoon Guards, 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), and 10th Dragoons (now 10th Hussars), under General Lord George Sackville. The order was given, but the general did not move. Once more the French cavalry charged upon the solitary British column, which met them with perfect coolness and determination, and again—this time finally—drove them off the field. Renewed orders were sent to Sackville, who refused to carry them out. By this time, however, the battle was won. The rest of the Allied infantry and the artillery had pushed forward to support the column, which had destroyed so great a part of the enemy's cavalry. The French army retreated to the defences of Minden; the line of the Weser was left intact in possession of Ferdinand, and the Electorate of Hanover was safe. The six famous regiments which composed the British column had lost 1,252 men out of 4,400.

The conduct of Lord George Sackville is inexplicable. He had shown ability and courage in his previous service. His mistake saved the French army from complete destruction, and cost him his military career. He was tried by court-martial and dismissed from the Army. Unfortunately for his country, he then went in for a political career, and rose to be Secretary-at-War during the American War of Independence.

The end of the war. On October 25, 1760, George II died. He was a strong-minded man, and stood loyally by any one to whom he had once given his confidence. He and Pitt, therefore, were in close accord during the war. The new king, George III, was of a different character, anxious above all to restore the royal authority, and to rest his power upon support

from the people, not from the great Whig families. The Seven Years' War, so far as Britain was engaged in it, was a Whig war. George III was a Tory, and the Tories had always advocated a policy of isolation, of non-interference on the Continent of Europe. Besides the war had done its work. The battle of Minden had saved Hanover; Lagos and Quiberon Bay had secured us command of the sea; the battles of Plassey (1757) and Wandiwash (1760) made the English predominant in India (pp. 628–30); and the glorious campaign of Wolfe in Quebec, in 1759 (p. 498), added Canada to the British Empire.

Accordingly, George III and his Tory advisers, especially the Scotsman, Lord Bute (who was made a Secretary of State), were ready to make peace; but Pitt was decidedly of opinion that the time for peace was not ripe. In 1761 France obtained the support of Spain, by the arrangement known as the Second Family Compact: the royal houses of Spain, Naples, and Parma (all being members of the Bourbon family) agreed to make war upon England along with France, if peace were not made before May 1762. Pitt urged that war should be at once declared on Spain. George III refused, and Pitt resigned (October 5, 1761). He was offered the position of Governor of Canada, the great country which his administration had added to the British Crown. He chose, however, to remain in political life in England.

In January 1762 his policy, after all, had to be adopted by Bute's Government. They declared war on Spain. It was, however, too late now, and Bute, having entered the Government with a view to peace, could not prosecute the war vigorously. He stopped the payment of the subsidy to Frederick of Prussia. The Duke of Newcastle now resigned, and Bute was left free to carry out the wishes of George III. Nevertheless, the last expeditions of the war—all planned by Pitt, though carried out under Bute—were not failures. The commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands station, Rear-Admiral Rodney (aged 44 at this time), captured Martinique, St. Lucia,

and Grenada. Havana was taken in the same year (1762). Yet Bute had begun negotiations before the news of these conquests arrived. By thus disclosing his determination to make peace at once, Bute gave the skilful French diplomatists the means of securing better terms than the naval and military situation justified. The final treaty was signed at Paris on February 10, 1763.

The Treaty of Paris. The Treaty of Paris ended the great Seven Years' War between England and France for overseas empire. Canada was recognized as wholly within the British Empire. The only land left to France, out of her great North American empire, were the tiny islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were restored by England, to be a resting-place for French fishermen. England retained the fine West Indian islands of Tobago, Dominica, Grenada; Martinique and St. Lucia were given back to France. Minorca was restored to England, who also received Florida [1] from Spain, but both Minorca and Florida were lost by England in the American War of Independence. France got back all her Indian trading-ports, though without the right to fortify them.

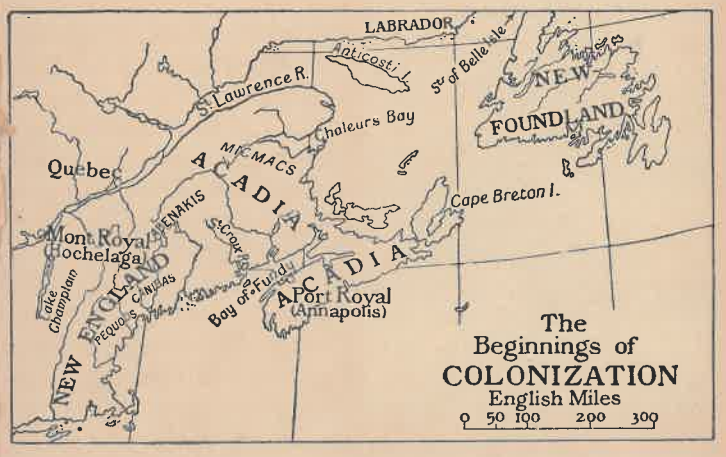
The Peace of Paris was violently denounced by Pitt, who, suffering severely from gout, struggled down to the House, and spoke for three hours and twenty-six minutes. After the magnificent successes of 1759, he had hoped to leave no colonies at all to France, and to secure the English position for ever in North America and India. The Peace of Paris, it is true, made Britain the greatest colonial power of the world, but it did not leave that empire secure. In the War of American Independence, and again in the Napoleonic Wars, France and England were to contest the predominance of the New World and of India.

[1] The British Government was anxious to annex Florida, because from there the Spaniards committed hostile acts against the neighbouring British colony of Georgia. Georgia was founded in 1732 by James Oglethorpe, a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and from the very start the colonists had to fight the Spanish.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA

Early History. The Conquest of Canada, already alluded to (p. 478) is a sufficiently important affair to merit a separate description. The Colony of Canada (an Indian name), or La Nouvelle France as the French called it, was founded as the result of voyages made in 1534 and 1535 by Jacques



Cartier, of St. Malo. A considerable number of French emigrated to New France in the seventeenth century, particularly in the reign of Louis XIV; Huguenots hoped there to escape from religious persecution, while younger sons of good Catholic families went for the sake of the good landed estates which they received from the Crown on easy terms. A kind of feudal system was established which endured to the middle of the nineteenth century, and of which traces exist at the present time.

English Possessions. The French, however, could not lay claim to the whole of the country. In 1670 Charles II granted to Prince Rupert and a Company of adventurers all the

territory watered by streams flowing into Hudson Bay. This vast tract was owned and governed by the Hudson's Bay Company till the year 1869. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht the British Empire obtained another province, the French ceding Acadie or Nova Scotia, which in previous years had been the scene of many fights with the New Englanders. The first settlement in it had been made by Sir William Alexander, a Scotsman (hence the name Nova Scotia), in 1621, but the French had possession of it from the year 1632. Newfoundland, which is closely associated with Canada, was English since the early years of the seventeenth century, but was formally ceded by the same treaty (1713) to England. Cape Breton Island and Île St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) remained French for fifty more years.



JACQUES CARTIER
The Discoverer of Canada, 1534–5

The Ohio Scheme. Under the French rule, Canada, although it was fairly prosperous, never had a large population; in the last years of the French period there were between 65,000 and 75,000 white inhabitants, at a time when the British North American Colonies had a combined population of two million. Yet although not strong in number, the French had spread far and wide over Canada and the territory to the west of the New England Colonies. As the English were already in possession of most of the coast, the French made settlements along the valleys of the great rivers, inland. In the reign of Louis XIV they occupied both banks of the St. Lawrence, the chief river of Canada, and held a stretch of land, 20–50 miles deep, on either side. In 1681 La Salle, having made his way

from the Great Lakes to the Ohio, sailed down the Mississippi and established French power in the large territory (on the north of the Gulf of Mexico), which became known as Louisiana. Between Louisiana and Canada the rivers provide a natural inland water-route, up the Mississippi—the largest of the North American rivers—and then up its great tributary the Ohio, and so (after some portage by land) by way of Lake



FIRST PICTURE OF NIAGARA FALLS, 1697

Erie into the valley of the St. Lawrence. If the French could occupy the chief points along this Louisiana–Canada water-route, they would shut in the British Colonies (Virginia, the New England colonies, and the rest), tap all their inland trade-routes, and prevent these from ever expanding westwards. In fact, the British North American Colonies, with a chain of French fortresses on one side, and the Atlantic on the other, would probably not be able to hold their own; the English flag would disappear from North America, or, at any rate, would never be seen to the west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The first Frenchman who, having seen this possibility, took definite steps to realize it, was the Marquis de la Galisonière, Governor of Canada from 1747 to 1749. In the latter year he sent one of his lieutenants, Celeron de Bienville, to establish posts in the Ohio valley. Celeron went down the Ohio and formally took possession of the land, by fixing tin-plates to trees, inscribed with the royal arms of France.



GENERAL BRADDOCK

Duquesne. In 1753 the Marquis Duquesne, another great French Governor, determined to complete the carrying through of the 'Ohio Scheme'. He sent out an expedition, which cut roads through the forests and built forts—rough but strong structures of logs—at important strategical points on the south side of Lake Erie and along the Ohio; the most important of these posts—Fort Duquesne—was on a narrow strip of land where the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers join together and form the Ohio.

Braddock. The English were quite alive to the dangers which threatened them; and two expeditions were sent out from Virginia to capture Fort Duquesne. The first expedition was led by George Washington, of Mount Vernon, a colonel in the Virginian militia; it failed, however, and Washington himself was captured, but soon afterwards was released (1754). Next year a distinguished regular officer, Major-General Braddock, of the Coldstream Guards, led another expedition: this consisted of the 44th and 48th Foot (now the 1st Battalions of the Essex and Northampton Regiments) and 650 militiamen from New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas. George Washington was again serving (this time on the staff of the general).

On July 9, 1755, the British forces were ambushed on the Monongahela river, and forced to retreat with terrible losses. Braddock, who had led his men with the greatest bravery in the fight, died in camp a few days afterwards. The expedition is described with great spirit in Thackeray's *Virginians*.

The Acadians. In the same year the English Government expelled from Nova Scotia all the French families who would not take the oath of allegiance to King George II—an incident of which the pathos has been immortalized in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. In 1756, a state of war, which, in spite of much fighting in America, had not been declared, was formally enacted; the Seven Years' War had begun. At first things did not go well with the English, for the Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded the French forces in Canada, was in every way worthy of his position, a man of the highest character and of great ability. In 1756 he captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and in 1757 took Fort William Henry, on Lake George, thirty miles south of Fort Ticonderoga. The capture of Fort William Henry is famous in the annals of colonial history, owing to the massacre of many of the men and women who were in it by Montcalm's Indian auxiliaries; the story of this has been told by Fenimore Cooper in *The Last of the Mohicans*.

Pitt. The year 1757 ended with the French being triumphant on the great rivers and lakes. Yet it was just at this time that their fortune began to decline. In June Pitt had been made Secretary of State, in the ministry of the Duke of Newcastle; and Pitt's strength of will, intellect, and imagination soon made themselves felt, even in far-away Canada. He at once saw where the critical points were, and devised a scheme to deal with them, a scheme which, if the British fleet should continue to command the sea, was sure, in the end to be successful.

There were in Canada about 20,000 French troops; of these 4,000 were regular regiments; the rest were chiefly local militia. They were not very well supplied with munitions,

and when the British fleet gained command of the sea, the could get little direct support from France. Pitt increas the British regular troops in Canada to about 20,000 m and to command them chose General Amherst, who wa forty-one years old, James Wolfe, who was brigadier unde Amherst, aged thirty-one, and General Abercromby, an ol soldier of great experience and skill; under Abercromby wa another young brigadier, Lord Howe, aged thirty-three, on of three brothers all of whom rose to high distinction in th navy or army.

Louisbourg and Ticonderoga. The first step in the Conques of Canada was to take Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breto Island, which commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence This town, which had been captured by a New Englano expedition in 1745 and subsequently (much to the disgust o the New Englanders) restored to the French in 1748 (see p. 468) was now taken once for all by a combined land and sea force in which Amherst led the army and Admiral Boscawen th fleet (June–July 1758). The fortifications were destroyed since then the town has greatly declined, its trade passing t Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia.

In the same year, June 4, 1758, General Abercromb advancing from Albany (the capital of New York State) o the Hudson river, by way of Lake George, attacked Ticon deroga. In a skirmish during the march Lord Howe wa killed, to the regret of every one, for he was considered th most promising officer in the British Army. In the attac on the Fort, which was held by Montcalm in person, Aber cromby's force was repulsed and forced to retreat. The Roya Highlanders (Black Watch) lost 500 men; the fight is cele brated in a magnificent ballad by Robert Louis Stevenson Abercromby after his repulse did not remain idle; a brillian success was scored in August by sending Colonel Bradstree with 3,600 men up the Mohawk river. Bradstreet crosse Lake Ontario, and captured Fort Frontenac. This succes interfered with the French communications down the Ohio

o that General Forbes, a very capable Scottish soldier who mmanded in Virginia, was able to bring up a force from the outh and to take Fort Duquesne. The place was renamed ort Pitt, and later Pittsburg.

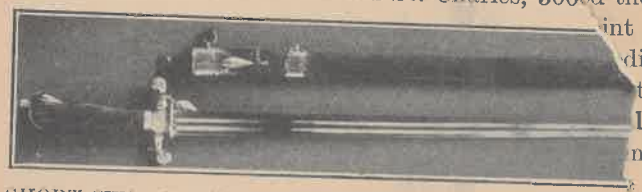
Amherst. The capture of Forts Frontenac and Duquesne n 1758 cut the St. Lawrence–Ohio line. In the two following ears the work was to be completed by the expulsion of the rench power from Canada. The command-in-chief of all he forces was given to Amherst, who planned three separate xpeditions, each of which in the end was successful. The rst, in July (1759) captured Fort Niagara, and so destroyed he last link in the St. Lawrence–Ohio line. Amherst himself ed the second force, which captured Ticonderoga and Crown oint commanding Lake Champlain (August). The third xpedition under Major-General Wolfe was directed against he city of Quebec itself.

Wolfe. The officer who had been specially chosen by Pitt o command the expedition against Quebec was, after Lord Howe (who fell near Ticonderoga), the most promising of he younger soldiers in the Army. He was the son of Lieu- enant-General Wolfe, and was born at Westerham in Kent, n January 2, 1727. After being sent to a private school, he ecame an ensign in the 12th Foot (now the Suffolk Regiment) hen he was fourteen years old, and next year he fought hroughout the campaign of Dettingen. At the battle itself e was acting-adjutant. He next served in the Duke of umberland's campaign of 1745, and fought at Culloden; nd at the age of 23 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the 20th Foot (Lancashire Fusiliers).

Wolfe was a man of the most attractive character. In private life he was gentle, courteous, kindly, fond of society nd of sport. In his profession he was the keenest of soldiers, employing all his spare time in reading and educating himself or his duties; to this end he read greatly in mathematics, nd taught himself Latin and French. He was also a great dmirer of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* and of Thucydides'

works (which he read in a French translation). In ... obtained leave to go to Paris for six months, to ... military studies. He was in fact the best type ... officer, enthusiastic for his profession, intellectual, ... vigorous, and high-spirited. His only disadvanta... his weak health; when offered a command in 1758 cut ... joyfully accepted it, yet said in a letter written ... time: 'I know the very passage threatens my ... my constitution must be utterly ruined and ... appearance he was tall and slightly built, ... contrary to the usual practice he wore no wig.

The Siege of Quebec. Quebec is situated near ... of the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, 300 ...



SHORT SWORD WORN BY WOLFE WHEN HE FELL AT ... ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1759

... the Gulf of St. Lawrence (i.e. from the west end of the ... of Anticosti), and 180 miles below Montreal. It sta... a steep, rocky promontory at the end of a long line ... which form the northern bank of the river above the ... On the opposite side of the river, which is under or... broad here, is another high promontory, Point Levis. ... below the harbour of Quebec is the island of Orleans, o... the French had erected batteries, and which contribu... the strength of the city.

The force with which Wolfe was to attack one ... strongest places in the world, held by 16,000 men (... regular troops, Canadian militia, and Indians) under ... the ablest commanders, numbered only 9,000. The op... leaders were finely matched; Montcalm—experi... scientific, cool; Wolfe—enthusiastic, daring, skilful.

... l luck at first attended the British expedition; after ... the St. Lawrence, some of the transports were ... an ...hore by a storm, on June 27 (1759). Wolfe, however, ... Pitt ... to occupy the island of Orleans and Point Levis, and ... ther... his batteries against the city.

... ext two and a half months, the siege, although ... with the greatest vigour, was unsuccessful, in ... lfe's hold on the left bank of the river. He ... ed posts on the north bank of the St. Law... low and above Quebec, but the attempts to ... itself by assault failed with great loss of life. ... of July the English forces suffered a bloody ... frontal attack on the French lines on the Mont...

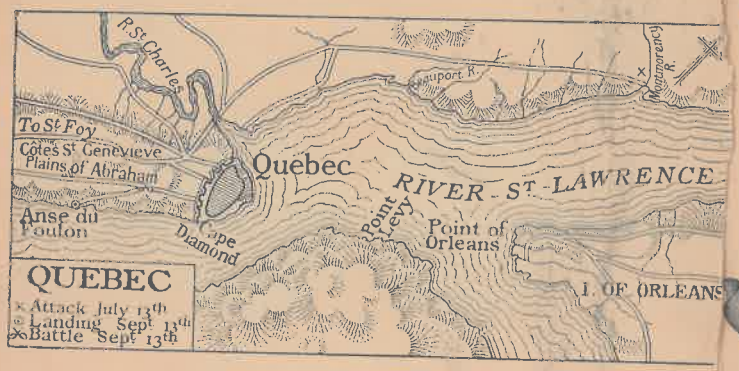


...L COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC AND DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE

... y river, just below Quebec. In the middle of August ... himself was prostrated by fever, and it appeared as if ... ole expedition must fail; he wrote to his mother that ... ld leave the Army, for he considered that his reputation ... ined and his career at an end. Yet he would not ... on the struggle till every conceivable resource had bee... On August 29, having recovered from the fev... ld a council of war with his brigadiers. They u... ally ... y recommended that a great effort should be ma... osition ... est side, above the city. ...cements

... Heights of Abraham. Accordingly, at the ... able lieu... ptember strong detachments were sent ... m Montreal ... to distract Montcalm's attention, mi... eral Murray at ... against Quebec itself. Wolfe, anx... (April 27). The

through a telescope the steep north bank of the St. Lawrenc
above the city, had noticed a path which ascended from a litt
cove, called l'Anse du Foulon, to the plateau above. At th
top of the path a French picket could be seen. Wolfe calcu
lated that a party of his men might land by night at the cov
ascend the path and surprise the picket. The way would the
be clear for more troops to come up to the plateau, whe
they would form a line of battle. The plan was clearly mo
risky; it was to be carried out by night, over unfamilia



ground; it required perfect training, organization, and disci-
pline; the smallest mistake might ruin it.

About 2 o'clock on the morning of September 13, boatloads
of soldiers (who had been concentrated upstream) were
moved down the river with the ebbing tide. Before starting
Wolfe issued an order:

'The officers and men will remember what their country
the ects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers
the capable of doing against five weak battalions, mingled
The disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive
strongest officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty.'

regular troops dropped down with the tide, in the silence and
the ablest of the night, he is said to have repeated the stately
leaders were Gray's *Elegy*:
scientific, cool;

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

About 4 a.m. they came to l'Anse du Foulon, now called
Wolfe's Cove, about a mile and half above the city. The first
boat to ground at the shore contained twenty-four men of
the 43rd Foot (Oxfordshire Light Infantry). Wolfe's boat
came next. The path up the steep wooded height was



QUEBEC IN 1680

successfully scaled, and the unwary picket surprised and
captured. Detachment after detachment followed; and
before six o'clock, when full daylight had come, 4,000 British
soldiers were marching towards Quebec. About a mile from
the city, Wolfe halted his men, and drew them up in line
battle. From their position on the Heights of Abraham
this part of the plateau, on which Quebec stands, is dually
they threatened the city, and Montcalm at last m position
out and fight. For the British, victory meant forcements
a defeat would sweep them off the cliff. s able lieu-

Montcalm had been out all night, for Admrom Montreal
who commanded the British ships, had beeneral Murray at
of landing in the meadows below Quebecle (April 27). The



NIRMALA COLLEGE
LIBRARY
4282

...e French general was riding towards the city, he heard that ...e British were on the Heights of Abraham. There was ...o time for delay, as Wolfe might bring up guns, and make ...uebec untenable. So Montcalm at once got his men together ...d marched forth with a force of 5,000 (the rest of his forces ...ere left to garrison the town and to hold the Beauport ...nes, which Admiral Saunders was threatening to attack). ...o artillery or cavalry were used on either side. It was ...purely infantry battle.

The fight began some time before ten o'clock. The French ...ne on to the attack. Wolfe reserved his fire till the enemy ...ere within forty yards; with admirable discipline the ...British waited for the word of command, and then discharged ...heir pieces with deadly effect. The French line was broken ...nd a series of charges by the British infantry completed ...he rout. It was when putting himself at the head of the ...ast charge that Wolfe received a fatal wound; Montcalm ...oo was shot, trying to get the remnant of his troops back ...o Quebec; he died in the city on the following morning. Wolfe died on the field of battle, having just heard that the ...ictory was won. In his life, as in his death, he seems to ...nticipate the career of Nelson; like Nelson he was delicate, ...studious, daring, and had a rare genius; the order which ...e issued before the battle is like Nelson's before Trafalgar, and he died in his great victory, at one of the historic moments of the world. His body was brought back to England and buried in the vault of Greenwich Parish Church, where his father had been buried only six months earlier.

The Fall of Canada. Quebec capitulated to Wolfe's second-in-command, General Murray, on September 18. Gradually the French forces elsewhere were reduced, their position being wellnigh hopeless, as they received no reinforcements from France. In the spring of 1760 Montcalm's able lieutenant, Levis, made a determined attempt from Montreal to retake Quebec, and actually defeated General Murray at St. Foy, close to the scene of Wolfe's battle (April 27). The

English were driven back into the city, and had to remain o
the defensive. On May 9 it was rumoured among both
besiegers and besieged that a fleet was coming up the St
Lawrence. Both sides waited in breathless expectation ;
it was a French fleet, then Quebec would fall to the French
but if it were English, the French hold upon Canada was finall
doomed. As the ships rounded Point Levis, the Englis

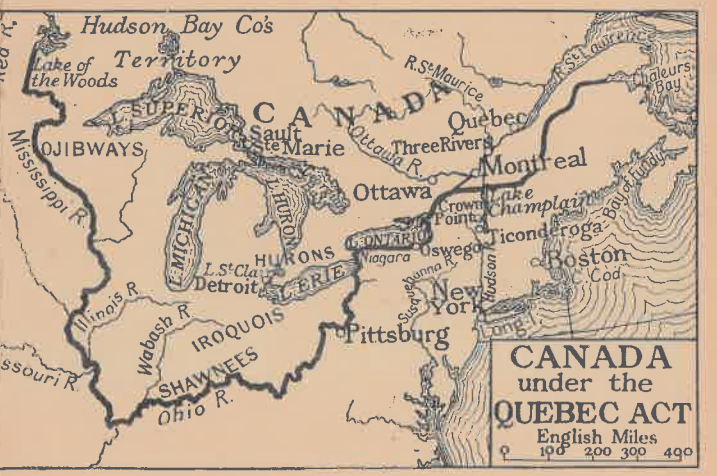


flag was hoisted at the mast-heads. General Levis retired from before Quebec.

Towards the end of summer (1760) a triple advance was successfully made against the last great French city, Montreal. General Murray sailed upstream from Quebec with 24,000 men, and after fighting with the French outposts took up a position below Montreal at the end of August. Colonel Haviland (known later as the conqueror of Havana) fought his way up from Crown Point on Lake Champlain ; and General Amherst himself, with Sir William Johnson, the famous governor of the Indians, sailed from Lake Ontario

wn the St. Lawrence, and arrived with his force of 10,000 n in front of Montreal on September 5. There were now 000 of British forces around the fated city against 2,400 ench troops. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the last French overnor of Canada, had no choice but to capitulate.

The Quebec Act. By the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 763, Canada passed from France to the British Empire. t the same time, the frontiers of Canada were defined by



royal proclamation. The territory thus incorporated in the British Empire was a strip, varying from 30 to 120 miles in breadth, along the river St. Lawrence ; Montreal was the most westerly point of any importance, and all the great lakes—Huron, Erie, Superior—were left outside the British sphere.

In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed through the British Parliament. By this, the frontiers of Canada were greatly extended. In particular all the West was included—the country lying *beyond* the sources of the rivers, which, from the west or north-west, fell into the Atlantic. This extension was made by the British Government with the deliberate object

of preventing settlement in the West, and of keeping it reserv
for the Indians—a policy which it was impossible to maintai
in practice. Further, a great extension of the province o
Quebec was made to the south, in the unappropriated terr
tories which later formed the States of Wisconsin ar
Michigan. This southern extension, however, was abandon
at the Peace of Versailles in 1783, at the end of the Americ
War of Independence.



LIFE ON THE HUDSON BAY RIVER. A DOG CARIOLE

After 1763 the conquered Canadians, who had fough
bravely for France, were well treated by their new Government
The Quebec Act of 1774 secured to them freedom for their
Roman Catholic worship. In the Courts of Justice, English
law was made the rule for criminal cases; the existing Frenc
law was maintained for civil cases. Under this system, the
French-Canadians went on living quietly on their lands, an
at the outbreak of the American War in 1775 showed n
inclination to revolt.

The Hudson's Bay Company. While Great Britain owes t
General Wolfe the conquest of Quebec and the valley of the
St. Lawrence she already had held dominion for nearly

undred years over the north-west of Canada. This was
ng to the work of *The Governor and Company of Adven-
rs of England trading into Hudson's Bay*. This Company,
ich was established for trading purposes, by Royal Charter,
1670, owned and governed all the land watered by the
ers which flowed into Hudson's Bay. It built forts, and
ded its stores—food and articles of European manu-
ture—for the Indians' furs. As furs were the chief com-



THE GOVERNOR OF THE RED RIVER IN A LIGHT CANOE

odity of the Company, it did not encourage immigration
to its territories, for immigration drives away the wild
ame. In other respects, the Company pursued a liberal
olicy: it never sold intoxicating drink, and was always
rusted and well liked by the Indians. At first the French
otly disputed its claims, but at the Peace of Utrecht, at the
d of the Spanish Succession War in 1713, they had to
knowledge completely the Company's rights in the north-
est. For the rest of the eighteenth century there was no
terruption to the development of the Fur Trade of the
Hudson's Bay Company.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The ascendancy of the Crown. George III, when he becar[ame] King, in 1760, was twenty-two years old. He was a thorou[gh] Englishman, proud of his country, fond of the people, goo[d]-natured, respectable, obstinate. Although the early part [of] his reign was a failure, and he had to pass through a period [of] unpopularity, he lived to be a popular figure in the count[ry]. The domestic life of the first two Georges had not been goo[d]. Neither was the life of his son, George IV. The third Geor[ge] was an upright man, living a simple life, not extravaga[nt], kindly, affable. He resided a great deal at Windsor Cast[le] and used to walk much in the Forest and in the roads ro[und] the town. He was a familiar figure to every one for mi[les] around, and was especially known to the schoolboys of Et[on], whom he would often stop at the roadside, pat on the he[ad] and ask kindly questions. Many stories, some true, so[me] made up, have gathered round his personality. It is s[aid] that, walking in the grounds of Windsor Castle, he stopped [to] ask a gardener's boy what he earned. The boy discontented[ly] said: 'Meat and drink, a bed, a fire, and a roof.' 'Wh[y], that 's all I get,' said the good-natured King, as he walke[d] away.

[A]d to George III himself, was for the King to get into [di]rect touch with the people; the prerogative of the King, [or] personal authority of the monarch, was to represent the [pe]ople, and to oust the 'ring' of families who ruled the [Sta]te. Thus, in order to give the people the power that was [the]irs by right over the State, the personal authority of the [Cro]wn must be restored.

Such was George's theory, and as soon as he came to the [thr]one, he began to put it into practice. Unfortunately, the [firs]t step in the pro-



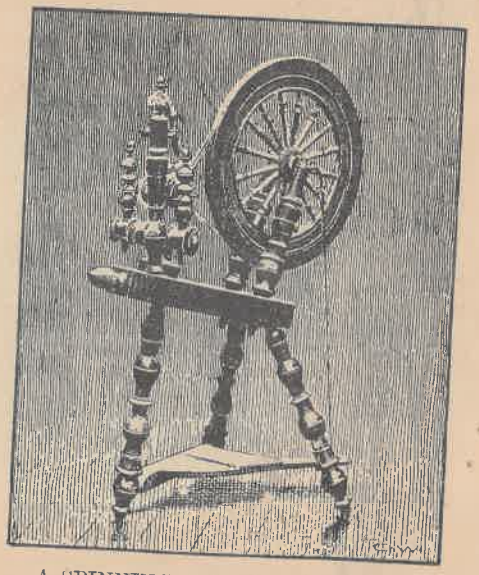
GEORGE III

[cess]—the assertion the King's perso-[nal] authority—could [on]ly be accomplished breaking up that [sys]tem of constitu-[tio]nal government [wh]ich, with all its [dis]advantages, is the [on]ly safeguard of our [lib]erty. To displace [the] 'Whig Oligarchy', [Geo]rge had to dismiss [min]isters who had [the] confidence of the [co]untry, and then had to use 'influence' to get a House of [Co]mmons favourable to his views. He had to form a party [of] 'King's Friends' in Parliament, who were pledged to vote [as] he wanted. Thus the people, the older members of [Par]liament, the Cabinet even, might have certain views on [gov]ernment; the King might have others; and through his [Fri]ends' the King might either get his own objects carried [out], or the objects of the official Cabinet and party frustrated. [The] danger of this system of government lies in the fact that [the] King is legally irresponsible; ministers can be outvoted [and] forced to resign, but if the King is really (as George for

Personal rule. George had studied *The Idea of a Patriot King*, by Bolingbroke, and arrived at the same theory of monarchy as Disraeli, from the same source, upheld later. George believed that the Revolution of 1688 had put this country into shackles: through changing the dynasty the great Whig families had established their power over the Crown; and through the ownership of parliamentary boroughs they had established their power over the people. Thus Britain had come to be ruled, it was said, by a close 'Venetian Oligarchy'.

The way out of this unfree system, according to Bolingbroke

a time was) the moving power in affairs, there is no means making him responsible, no way of making him change mind. This is the view put forward so clearly by Burke his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*. Geor personal intervention helped to produce the American Re lution; and if he had not at last found a minister,

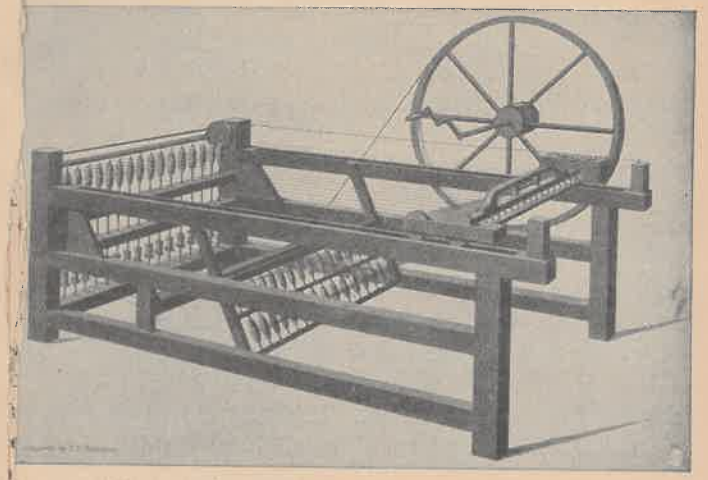


A SPINNING-WHEEL, OLD STYLE

younger Pitt, who pleased both King and country togethe there would have been a revolution in England too.

The great movements. The long reign of George III, fro 1760 to 1820, included some of the most momentous even in the history of the world. There was the American Rev lution, which produced a powerful, free, and high-minde nation on the other side of the Atlantic. In Europe the was the French Revolution, which, slowly working out effects, has changed the methods of government in ever country; there were also the Napoleonic Wars, which neces

ted a new map of Europe. At home there was the h 'Industrial Revolution', the establishing of factories steam-power which transformed England from an gricultural and trading nation into a great manufacturing with enormous towns and a huge industrial population. the problems of life so prominent to-day appeared in an te form during the Industrial Revolution—the problem of rcrowding in cities, acute discontent of labourers against



HARGREAVE'S SPINNING-JENNY, patented in 1764

h
ployers, the rise in prices, the problem of poor relief. The ion with Ireland, the first stage in the modern 'Irish uestion', was accomplished in 1800. Outside the island, in e 'larger air' of the Empire, vast tracts of India were being nexed, Australia was being settled, the South African Dutch ere being brought within the British rule, Canada was working t a 'way of life' between English and French.

The resurrection of the Tories. Since 1714 the Tories had en out of office, and had it not been for the genius of olingbroke they would not have remained a party at all. rom the time of his return from exile, in 1723, till his death,

in 1751, he gave the Tories, who had no representative
the Government, real power in the country, by his poli
writing. He stated the Tory views, and gave them a cohe
policy, the policy of 'popular monarchy', which Dis
eloquently preaches in his political novels.

The first step which George III had to take, in orde
restore the authority of the Crown, was to displace the Wh
from power, and to raise the Tories. Yet it required
years of struggle and intrigue (1760–70) before the King c
get a Cabinet and a Parliament predominantly Tory,
under the royal influence. Then followed twelve years
unsuccessful government (1770–82); then came an interl
of Whig rule; again the Tories got into office, but it w
Government no longer subject to the King, but depend
upon a Parliament which to a considerable extent deri
its authority from the people.

The period of struggle, 1760 to 1770. When, in 1761, Ge
induced Pitt to resign office, and made Lord Bute a Secret
of State, he had got one Tory into the Ministry, one who
completely in agreement with the King (p. 489). The D
of Newcastle, one of the most powerful Whigs in the la
resigned from office in 1762. Still the House of Comm
was mainly Whig, and so, although Lord Bute was a T
most of the ministers were Whigs of one or other of the fact
into which their party had split. Three Premiers follo
in quick succession—George Grenville, the Marquis
Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton (under whom Chatli
took office)—all Whigs. At last, in 1770, with the resignat
of the Duke of Grafton, the Whig party collapsed.

Lord North. The Prime Minister, the seventh in ten ye
whom George now promoted, was Frederick Lord North,
longing to an old Oxfordshire family, the Norths of Wr
ton Abbey, a house which they do not own, but hold
hereditary tenants from Trinity College, Oxford. North w
educated at Eton, and Trinity, Oxford, travelled abroad, h
a good knowledge of classical literature, and also of the Fren

man, and Italian tongues. He was entirely without am-
on, and simply took office in answer to an urgent appeal
e King.

'Jan. 23, 1770.

Lord Weymouth and Lord Gower will wait upon you this
ning to press you in the strongest manner to accept the
of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. My mind
ore and more strengthened in the rightness of the measure,
ch would prevent every other desertion. You must
ly see that if you do not accept I have no Peer at present
I would consent to place in the Duke of Grafton's employ-
t' (*The King to Lord North*).[1]

orth was trusted by the King, and, out of loyalty to the
wn, remained Prime Minister for twelve very difficult
rs. George worked hard to keep a majority for the
mier in Parliament; any one who voted against the
vernment received special marks of disfavour.

'March 14, 1772.

I wish a list to be prepared of those that went away, and
hose that deserted to the minority. That will be a rule
my conduct in the Drawing Room to-morrow' (*The King
Lord North*).[2]

North himself had excellent parliamentary gifts. He was
ood speaker, always talking sensibly and to the point.
nough attacked by the most brilliant men of the time—
ke, Fox, the younger Pitt—he never, in the most acri-
nious debate, allowed his temper to be ruffled. Placid,
ays good-humoured, blinking short-sightedly, awakened
the pushes of his colleagues from a short nap in his seat
the Treasury Bench, he would rise to answer his opponents
erfully and sensibly. He was the eldest son of the Earl
Guilford, and until his father's death, in 1790, sat in the
use of Commons. As a minister his only fault—it was
very grave one—was a certain want of energy. He was
lustrious and conscientious, but not strenuous or firm, and
ring his ministry certain departments, like the War Office,

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, v. 390. [2] Ibid. 392.

were incapably managed. In private life he was ent
estimable, and never happier than when living with
family in the country at Wroxton Abbey. His view
government were not those of to-day ; he believed in gover
the people, not in letting them govern. Just before beco
Prime Minister, he said he had voted against all the ' popu
measures of the last seven years. This showed the ab
of ambition in him, for, as he said, ' there is rarely an ambi
man who does not try to be popular '.

Wilkes. It was not so much Lord North, however, bu
master that was becoming unpopular. The feeling ag
the King's intervention in politics was increased by the act
of the famous Whig John Wilkes. This man was bor
1727, the son of a distiller in Clerkenwell. He rece
a good education at private schools, and became know
a young man for his wit, his literary taste and ability, and
for his fast living. He belonged to a famous drink
club called the *Monks of Medmenham* (an old abbey
Buckinghamshire), and none of the band was more jolly
reckless than he. He aspired, however, to be a statesma
well as a man of fashion, and in 1757 he obtained a sea
Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury ; at the same t
he was colonel of the Bucks. militia. The Ministry, howe
declined to admit him to office, and he consoled him
for a time, with journalism. In 1762 he began to proc
a weekly journal called the *North Briton*, in which he vi
ously criticized or rather attacked the North British states
Lord Bute. In Number 45 of the journal his criticism
the King's Speech amounted almost to giving the lie to
King, and accordingly the Home Secretary issued a Gen
Warrant for the apprehension of any one concerned in
article. It was out of the judicial proceedings which ens
that General Warrants were declared illegal—a very g
result, for no one would be safe from imprisonment if
police were authorized to arrest people in general on n
suspicion.



VIEW OF LUDGATE HILL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Causes of friction. It was not till after 1750 that discontent on the part of the Colonies with the Mother Country began to appear. In Walpole's time, quietness prevailed. An ex-Governor of Pennsylvania suggested to him a direct tax on the Colonies. This was after the failure of the Excise Bill (p. 451). The statesman replied: 'I have old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?'

The Navigation Acts were a source of a certain amount of friction. By these laws goods could only be shipped to or from the Colonies in British or Colonial ships. This rule prevented foreign shipping, from which large profits would have been made, from entering colonial ports. In addition, foreign goods could not be imported into the Colonies without being first landed in England, nor could goods be shipped to foreign countries from the Colonies without first being landed in England. These goods paid English customs dues, which were handed back if the goods were carried out of the country again. Walpole's Excise Bill, if it had passed, would have remedied this cumbrous system. His 'Rice Act' gave a certain amount of freedom to the Colonies to trade direct with foreign countries (p. 454). In 1750, however, the principles of government on which this wise statesman acted were set aside. A 'Colonial Manufactures Prohibition Act' was passed. Certain articles were named which were forbidden to be manufactured in the Colonies, and which therefore, had to be purchased from Great Britain. Thus, for instance, the Pennsylvanians might mine and export iron-ore, but they could not manufacture it into bar or pig iron.

The Stamp Act. Commercial restrictions, wherever they exist, are always a great cause of friction. In 1765 another cause was introduced, namely, direct taxation. Hitherto, the British Parliament had regulated the customs dues on imports; but it had never imposed a direct tax on the Colonies. In 1765, however, under the premiership of George Grenville—an industrious and efficient minister, but not a statesman of wide outlook—a Stamp Act was passed. This Act imposed a fee, varying from 3*d.* to £10, on all legal documents in the Colonies. The object of the tax was to supply £100,000, which was one-third of the sum required to pay the military forces in North America. Britain was to pay for the other two-thirds.

Up till 1765, each Colony, in its Legislative Assembly, had controlled its own direct taxes. Grenville, however, argued, with some reason, that it would be impossible to get each of the thirteen Colonies, in thirteen separate Assemblies, to vote the exact quota of the tax which they ought to pay. The Colonists, on the other hand, denied that they could be taxed directly by a Parliament, sitting thousands of miles away, in which they had no representation.

The true view was expressed by Burke in one of his great speeches on conciliation. The Stamp Act, he said, could not be called illegal, though direct taxation of Colonies by Parliament was against constitutional custom. But if not illegal, the decision to impose direct taxation was unwise, and made the amount of money to be got, in comparison with the loyal Colonies to be lost, not worth bothering about.

> Such is steadfastly my opinion of the absolute necessity of keeping up the concord of this empire by a unity of spirit, though in a diversity of operations, that, if I were sure the Colonists had, at their leaving this country, sealed a regular compact of servitude; that they had solemnly abjured all the right of citizens; that they had made a vow to renounce the ideas of liberty for them and their posterity to all generations; yet I should hold myself obliged to conform to the temper I found universally prevalent in my own day, and to govern two millions of men, impatient of servitude, on the principles of freedom. I am not determining a point of law; I am restoring tranquillity; and the general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them. That point nothing else can or ought to determine.
>
> My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield it matter of right, or grant as matter of favour, is *to admit*

the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution; and, by recording that admission in the journals of parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean for ever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.' [1]

This speech was delivered on March 22, 1775, less than a month before the battle of Lexington. In 1766 the Marquis of Rockingham, a Whig Premier of moderate views, had repealed the Stamp Act. Next year, however, the Duke of Grafton's Ministry, after Chatham had fallen ill and left it, passed an Act which (to assert the principle simply) imposed about £40,000 worth of duty on imports into the American Colonies.

In 1770 Lord North became Premier, as the friend of George III, prepared loyally to carry out his views. George believed that he must carry on the Old Colonial System as he had inherited it; the claim of the colonists to settle their own direct taxes meant a self-governing empire of a completely new kind. 'It would be better', wrote George to Lord North, 'to give up the empire, than to admit one particle of these principles.' So he insisted on North maintaining the right of the British Parliament to tax the Colonies.

Two months after Lord North had become Prime Minister, a riot occurred in Boston, the troops had to be called out, and three citizens were killed. This event was magnified in public opinion under the name of the 'Boston Massacre' (March 1770). Two years later one of the British revenue schooners, the *Gaspee*, was boarded and burned while it was lying at Providence in Rhode Island. The authors of this daring act were never discovered. In 1773 the British Government allowed the East India Company to export tea from its warehouses in London, without paying the English duty, to America. The colonists would thus be able to buy tea cheaply, for it would only have to pay the small duty at American ports. But when the tea-ships came to

[1] Burke, *Speech on Conciliation with America*.

Boston they were not allowed by the populace to land their cargoes; and before they could leave they were boarded by a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, and the tea was thrown into the sea. The Government punished the town for this 'Boston Tea-party' by closing the port to commerce, and at the same time (1774) they suppressed the popular charter of Massachusetts. The result was the outbreak of war in April 1775 and the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

Causes of the British failure. The desultory seven years' war which followed, honourably waged on both sides, was disastrous for England. Compared with the British people, the Colonists were inferior in numbers, wealth, and resources of every kind. Nor were they superior in leadership; there were good and bad leaders on both sides, but Clinton and Cornwallis were probably as good generals as Washington or any American. The Colonial officers knew the country better, and their knowledge and training gave them an advantage, such as the Boer leaders had over the English generals in the South African War. Broadly considered, however, the defeat of the Mother Country may be said to have been due to three things: to mismanagement at home, to the distance across the Atlantic, and to the vast and roadless spaces of the Colonies.

The administration at home was bad. George III's absorption in internal politics, the endless party intrigues, had withdrawn attention from the Navy and Army. Lord George Sackville had changed his name, for family reasons, to Germaine since the battle of Minden. He became Colonial Secretary under Lord North. At this time the administration of the War Office was part of the Colonial Secretariat. Lord George Germaine was able but unconscientious, and is said not to have troubled even to read the colonial and military dispatches.

The distance across the Atlantic made it difficult to send sufficient forces to America, and made sea-power more than

ever important. Unfortunately, the naval policy of the time was not good. After France joined the Americans, in 1778, the French fleet was thrown into the scale against England. Admiral Howe advised that the policy of the Admiralty of Pitt's time should be resorted to—that is, that the bulk of the fleet should stay in European waters and blockade the French ports (p. 481). Thus the French fleet would either be shut up, or it would come out against the blockade and probably be destroyed. This policy, however, was not adopted completely or consistently. The French fleet was allowed to sail in colonial waters, and in 1781 it obtained (for a short time) sufficient command of the sea to bring about the capitulation of General Lord Cornwallis in Yorktown—the decisive action of the war.

The vast extent of the country over which the English forces had to operate gave splendid opportunities to the mobile American Colonists to beset the red-coats, much as the French and Indians had beset Braddock's men near Fort Duquesne (p. 494). The unfortunate campaign of General Burgoyne in 1777, ending with the capitulation of Saratoga Springs, shows the dangers of operating without enormous resources in men, supplies, and transport among the forests and lakes of eastern Canada and New York State.

The operations of the war. The American Army was an untrained militia, but under Washington it gradually acquired discipline, and showed itself skilful in 'regular' operations, as well as in the more 'irregular' style of fighting which suited the trackless nature of much of the country.

The British commanders showed extraordinary slowness in following up the victories which they secured at the beginning of the war. They seem to have held back, in the hope that some peaceful settlement of the dispute might be arranged. The chief successes of the British in the early days were at Bunker's Hill, and against the American invasion of Canada.

Bunker's Hill. The battle of Bunker's Hill was fought on June 17, 1775. About 4,000 of the Colonists had seized this

hill and one other—Breed's Hill—commanding the town of Boston. The British soldiers, in number about 2,000, had to



take these positions, in the face of the fire of the strongly posted Americans. In this difficult task they succeeded, losing 800 men, killed by the American sharpshooters. The enemy in their retreat might have been entirely cut off by an energetic pursuit. So good a chance was not to occur

again ; after Bunker's Hill the American troops gained experience, and showed better fighting qualities.

In the winter of this year, 1775, the Americans invaded Canada, which they expected to rise in sympathy with them. There were practically no regular troops in the country, and the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Viscount Dorchester) could only raise a few thousand militiamen. Abandoning Montreal to the American General Montgomery, Carleton made an adventurous journey almost alone to Quebec, where he organized a brilliant defence (November 1775–May 1776). At first he had to deal only with the division which Benedict Arnold had brought by the Kennebec–Chaudière route ; but after Montgomery came down from Montreal he had to face the united American forces. These were defeated, however, in a battle on the Heights of Abraham (the third in seventeen years), and Montgomery was killed (December 31, 1775). In May Quebec was relieved by a British fleet, and the Americans were driven out of Canada.

The threefold scheme. There were three groups of British forces which did most of the fighting. The first was called the army of New York, the second that of Canada, the third that of the South. New York was actually in possession of the Americans, and the great object of the army of New York, under General Howe, was to take it. The British forces, which included Germans hired from the Landgrave of Hesse and Duke of Brunswick, were about equal in number to the American.

Howe's army at first gained considerable success. The battle of Brooklyn, fought on August 27, 1776, ended with the rout of Washington's army, which was only able to withdraw through Howe's dilatoriness in pursuit. New York was recovered. The British could have crossed the Delaware and pushed forward into Pennsylvania, which was a stronghold of the insurgent cause. Instead, however, Howe dispersed his army in winter quarters. On Christmas Day (1776) Washington suddenly crossed to the east of the Delaware, and captured the whole German garrison of Trenton.

In 1777 Howe did something to rectify his mistakes of the previous year, and after some operations, skilfully conceived and boldly carried out, he took Philadelphia. The failure of the army of Canada, however, made Howe's advanced positions in Pennsylvania insecure.

The army of Canada. The army of Canada was a force of about 7,000 British soldiers, under General Burgoyne, a capable soldier and a writer of plays. The plan which he was meant to carry into effect was a good one ; it was to advance from Lake Champlain south to New York, down the Hudson river. Forces from New York were to advance up the river under General Clinton, one of the most energetic and able soldiers in the British Army. This scheme, if executed successfully, would have given the British command of the fine valley of the Hudson, and would have cut off the New England States from the rest of the seceding Colonies. As might have been expected, however, the combined operations between troops separated by hundreds of miles of practically unknown country were a failure. Burgoyne had left Lake Champlain in June (1777). On October 9 the small army struggled into Saratoga village in the Hudson valley : 'the men', wrote Burgoyne, 'for the most part had not strength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather sought sleep in their wet clothes, upon the wet ground, under the continuing rain'. On the 17th the army capitulated to General Schuyler, who had 16,000 men. This notable success of the Americans revived their cause everywhere ; it put out of action a force of British soldiers who could not easily be replaced ; and—most important of all results—it decided the Government of France and—soon afterwards—that of Spain to join in the struggle against England. The war ceased to be a domestic contest in America ; it became European, and indeed world-wide. Britain, assailed on the sea, in America, and in India, found the strain too much. She could

only deal effectively with one assailant at a time; and so, with the intervention of France, the reconquest of the revolting colonies became almost impossible.

The army of the south. Generals Clinton and Cornwallis were the heroes of the war in the south. In 1780 Clinton took Charleston, and recovered a great portion of South and North Carolina. After a time he was recalled to New York, to meet fresh dangers there, and Lord Cornwallis was left behind with about 4,000 men. Under him was a younger soldier, Lord Rawdon (aged 26), as second-in-command. Both these men were to be known later, as among the finest of the Governors-General of India. As soldiers they showed great courage; Lord Cornwallis, who was 42 years old in 1780, was careful, punctual, and sound. Lord Rawdon was a soldier of the more dashing kind. By the battles of Camden and Guildford Court House, they struck severe blows at the American forces in the south; but the enemy always increased in number, while the British diminished. In 1781 Cornwallis decided to fight his way northwards, to join, if possible, with the army of New York. Collecting all the forces in the south, he allowed himself to commit a great strategical mistake by taking up what he must have known to be a dangerous position in Yorktown.

Yorktown. A peninsula, eight miles broad, juts out into the sea, with the River York on the north, and the River James on the south. The village of Yorktown is on the high southern bank of the York. Cornwallis had 7,000 men when Washington began to draw round it with 18,000 men, including a division of French under the Marquis of Lafayette (September 28, 1781). The village was not a good place for defence; and when it became clear that Sir Henry Clinton could not come to his relief by land, nor the Navy by sea, Cornwallis had nothing to do but to cut his way out, or to surrender. A gallant sortie was made, but failed in the face of overwhelming numbers. The enemy's batteries commanded the whole village and camp, and there was no choice between fruitless

destruction and capitulation. On October 18 the negotiations were concluded. The British forces were to march out with the honours of war, and then to remain prisoner:

'The scene which ensued is described by an eye-witness, a French chaplain of the Count de Rochambeau. The two lines of the Allied army, says Abbé Robin, were drawn out for upwards of a mile; the Americans having the right. The disproportion of heights and ages in their men, and their soiled and ragged clothing might be unfavourably contrasted with the neater and more soldierly appearance of the French. Yet, under such circumstances, the personal disadvantages of a raw Militia should rather be looked upon as an enhancement of the triumph they had gained. The Abbé was struck at seeing, from several indications, how much keener was at that time the animosity between the English and Americans than between the English and French. Thus, the English officers, when they laid down their arms, and were passing along the enemy's lines, courteously saluted every French officer, even of the lowest rank; a compliment which they withheld from every American, even of the highest.' [1]

It was the temporary loss of the command of the sea by the British Navy that caused the fall of Yorktown, the final disaster of the American War.

Naval operations. Some splendid actions were fought by the Navy, although unfortunately the command of the sea was not consistently maintained. The Americans, under the able Scottish sailor, Paul Jones, began the fine traditions of the United States Navy; but it was the advent of the French fleet on the American side which, for a short time, turned the scale against the British.

In 1780 Admiral Rodney, on his way to the West Indian Station, met the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Out of the enemy's twelve ships, four were sunk, four captured, and four escaped. Gibraltar, which the Spanish beleaguered as soon as they entered into the war (1778), was relieved. By the end of 1780 the Dutch had also joined the combination against Britain, angered by the drastic right of search which

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, vol. vii, ch. lxiv.

the Navy exercised over all neutral ships sailing in the Atlantic. The hostility with which maritime Powers regarded this right of search is seen in the formation of the Armed Neutrality (1780), a Convention by which Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Austria bound themselves to enforce the doctrine that 'neutral ships make neutral goods'.

In 1781 (Feb.) Rodney's fleet captured the little Dutch island of St. Eustatia, and found it to be one vast magazine of supplies for the Americans. This capture was so valuable that the Admiral delayed at the island to arrange for transporting the goods to England. It was not of himself he was thinking: 'The whole I have seized', he declared, 'for the King and the State, and I hope will go to the public revenue of my country. I do not look upon myself as entitled to one sixpence, neither do I deserve it.' The delay, however, was disastrous. He ought to have been following the simple old rule of Admiralty, to seek out the enemy's fleet, to destroy it.

In August, while Rodney was still at St. Eustatia, the French admiral, Comte de Grasse, appeared off the Chesapeake with eight-and-twenty sail. Admiral Graves and Sir Samuel Hood between them had only nineteen. On September 5 these two sailors led their small fleet to meet the French, to do what they could to destroy it. The task, however, was beyond their powers, and after a skilfully fought but rather desultory action, extending over several days, the fleets separated. Graves had to put back to New York (which was still in English hands); de Grasse sailed to Yorktown. For a few weeks the British Navy did not command the sea, and this was the reason why Yorktown could not be relieved, and why Cornwallis had to surrender with his brave men to Washington.

In May 1782 instructions were sent out to the West Indies for the recall of Admiral Rodney; before the letter was dispatched, he had won his greatest victory. On April 8, 1782, Comte de Grasse, with thirty-three sail of the line, and with five thousand troops, left Port Royal in Martinique to capture

the fine British island of Jamaica. Rodney's cruisers brought him word to St. Lucia, and within two hours he was sailing off to meet the French.

The object of the British admiral was to force the French to engage with him; the object of the French was to keep away till they could effect a junction with the Spanish fleet, which was off San Domingo. 'They kept an awful distance,' wrote Rodney; he meant that the French kept disappointingly far away. On April 11, however, Rodney's ships had drawn near to the French. The admiral was in the *Formidable*; Hood, in the *Barfleur*, with five other ships, had fallen behind in a calm. On the 12th, Rodney, with equal numbers, engaged the French. With the *Formidable* leading, the *Namur*, *Duke*, and *Canada* coming next, he bore straight down upon the French fleet and 'broke the line'. It was the first time in naval history that this manœuvre was put into practice with complete success. The old style of fighting was for each ship to try and lay itself alongside another, to sink it or board it. Rodney manœuvred his whole fleet like a solid regiment, and broke the enemy's line into two sections:

'In the act of doing so we passed within pistol-shot of the *Glorieux* of seventy-four guns, which was so roughly handled that she was shorn of all her masts, bow-sprit, and ensign-staff, but with the white flag[1] nailed to the stump of one of her masts, and breathing defiance as it were in her last moments. Thus become a motionless hulk, she presented a spectacle which struck our Admiral's fancy as not unlike the remains of a fallen hero: for being an indefatigable reader of Homer, he exclaimed that now was to be the contest for the body of Patroclus.'[2]

The French fleet, cut asunder, fell into confusion; after a long and hotly contested engagement, in which the French, though at a disadvantage, fought heroically, five ships were

[1] The white flag was the Royal Standard of France under the Bourbon kings.

[2] Quoted by Mahon, *History of England*, vol. vii, ch. lxvi (narrative of Dr. Blane).

taken, and one sunk; two others were captured by Hood when they had escaped from the main battle. The French admiral's ship, *Ville de Paris*, struck its flag when only three men were left alive on the upper deck, one of them being Admiral de Grasse himself. This fight has been called the battle of Saintes, after a small island in the vicinity.

Siege of Gibraltar. The news of Rodney's victory, which 'served to bring back to our arms their pristine lustre' (Mahon), restored the self-respect of the British people after the depressing days of the American War. The defence of Gibraltar was another glorious episode in Britain's history. Spain had joined in the war after Saratoga, and at once besieged Gibraltar. General Elliot, a veteran of the Seven Years' War, with five thousand soldiers, defended it with splendid bravery and constancy. Stores ran short, and thistles and dandelions had to be used for food. Rodney's victory off Cape St. Vincent in 1780 (p. 527) enabled the fleet to relieve and revictual the fortress, but afterwards it was closely besieged again. After another year, when stores had almost given out, Admiral Darby brought a second relief convoy safely into port (1781). The Spaniards maintained a bombardment of —till then—incredible intensity, firing from their cannon, in six weeks, 50,000 shot and 20,000 shell into the little town. Elliot was not content merely with manning the walls and repairing breaches. He organized successful sallies, and conducted a brilliant defence, with wonderfully small loss of life to the British. Early in 1782 the French captured Minorca, and then added their forces to those of the Spaniards in front of Gibraltar—in all there were 33,000 men, with 170 pieces of artillery, besieging 5,000 British soldiers and 2,000 marines and sailors on the Rock. The courteous French general, de Crillon, sent a present of fresh vegetables to General Elliot. Elliot received the present, but in civil terms requested that no more should be sent, as he made it a rule to share everything with his troops, and could accept nothing for his private use.

The great effort of the French and Spanish was made in September 1782. Ten huge rafts were constructed in the port of Algeciras. They were to carry 142 pieces of artillery, to blow the fortress to pieces. General Elliot learned the design, and prepared to meet the floating batteries with red-hot shot, which his soldiers called *roasted potatoes*. On September 13 the rafts were floated to within 600 yards of the British defences, and a lively cannonade ensued. The red-hot balls of the defenders were highly successful. Eight of the floating batteries were destroyed by fire; the blaze that came from them lit up the Rock (it was night-time) with a lurid glare. French and Spanish sailors and artillerymen could be seen flinging themselves into the water, and clinging to spars and wreckage. The Marine Brigade was sent down to help them, and by this means 300 of the enemy were saved from drowning.

The assault of the floating batteries was the last serious effort of the besiegers; the Rock remained British. Elliot was raised to the peerage as Lord Heathfield of Gibraltar.

The Peace of Versailles. The War of American Independence was now to be brought to an end. The intervention of France and Spain, though bringing disaster to those two countries, had made the reduction of the American Colonies impossible for England. The long administration of Lord North came to an end (March 1782). He no longer commanded a Tory majority in the House of Commons. On the evening of the final debate, he rose and thanked the House for their kindness during so many years, and intimated his resignation. Cheerful and dignified to the end, he left the House. Other members, mostly bitter opponents, stood round the door, waiting for their carriages; but, expecting a long debate, they had ordered their coachmen to come back late. 'You see, gentlemen,' said Lord North, as he stepped into his carriage, which was waiting, 'the advantage of being in the secret. Good night.'

A Whig administration was formed under Lord Rockingham, who, however, died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded as Premier by Lord Shelburne, later known as Marquis of Lans-

downe. Shelburne, though never very powerful in the country, was one of the sanest men of the time. He at once set about to conclude the long war, and had practically finished negotiations when his ministry fell in February 1783. On September 3, 1783, three simultaneous treaties were signed, with France, Spain, and the United States. The three treaties constitute the Peace of Versailles. By the treaty with France, Great Britain confirmed the right of the French to fish on and off the northern shore of Newfoundland (a privilege dating from the Peace of Utrecht), and restored Senegal in West Africa. The islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat were retained by Great Britain, but Tobago was ceded to France (and not recovered till 1814). Spain recovered Minorca and Florida. Peace was also made a little later with the Dutch (1784). The treaty with the United States recognized their full and complete independence.

End of the ascendancy of George III. The Peace of Versailles practically closes the period in which George had striven for and obtained personal power in the government of the country. The effort had brought disaster upon Britain, the loss of the American Colonies, and an increase of 100 millions in the National Debt. It had also brought grave danger to the Crown. In 1780 the Whig, John Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton) had carried a motion in the House: 'That the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.' This was a direct blow to George, and might have been the beginning of a movement which would leave little of royalty at all in the land. Fortunately, towards the end of the American War, there was coming to the front a young statesman who was to be equally influential with King and people. This was the younger Pitt. When George's minister was also the people's chosen minister, a conflict between King and people could not arise, and so Britain passed through the troubled period of the French Revolution without any serious breach in her system of government.

CHAPTER XXV

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The Coalition of Fox and North. Lord Shelburne's Ministry was defeated in February 1783, in a debate on the Peace of Versailles. Then an extraordinary thing happened. The Tory Lord North joined with the great opponent of his former administration, the Whig Charles James Fox, in a coalition Ministry.[1] North believed that Shelburne had made bad terms with the French and Americans, and therefore he opposed Shelburne; but no one can say why the Whig Fox joined with him, for Fox had spoken warmly in favour of the Americans. This coalition Ministry was intensely disliked by King George. In November of the same year (1783) the Ministry introduced an 'India Bill' into Parliament. In the course of the Seven Years' War the East India Company had become something more than a great trading concern; it had become the governing power of a great part of India. The object of Fox's India Bill was to vest this governing authority in a board of commissioners, sitting in London. Each commissioner was to hold office for four years. The first set of commissioners was to be appointed by Parliament; after their four years' term of office had expired, the next set was to be appointed by the Crown. The King objected to being excluded from appointing the commissioners during the first four years. When the Bill was being debated in the House of Lords, George III gave Earl Temple a written message to show to the Peers. The message of the King ran, 'whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy'. This act was probably George's greatest offence against the constitution. If he did not approve of his ministers, he ought to have dismissed them, but should not have intrigued against them. Nevertheless,

[1] The coalition had a nominal Prime Minister in the Duke of Portland a Rockingham Whig.

the King's message decided a sufficient number of peers to vote against the Bill, so as to secure its rejection in the House. Then, on December 18, George felt strong enough to dismiss the ministers. The position of Premier was offered to William Pitt.

William Pitt. This was the second son of the great Earl of Chatham. The younger Pitt is a rare instance of a youthful prodigy who proved to be a sustained success through life. He was born on May 28, 1759, the wonderful year of victories—Minden, Lagos, Quiberon Bay, Quebec. Unlike all the other great statesmen of the period, he never went to a public school. His health was very weak, and accordingly he was kept at home, and educated by a private tutor. At the age of seven he was able to talk about politics, and at the age of fourteen years he is said to have discussed questions with something of the wit and wisdom of the great Chatham. When fifteen years old, he was sent to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he resided for the next seven years. For the first two years at college he spent a perfectly retired life, reading diligently with his tutor, a young graduate named Pretyman.[1] He was strictly regular in his habits, attended the college chapel morning and evening, seldom went to parties, and by the end of his residence had mastered almost the whole of Greek and Latin literature. During his last year at Cambridge he made frequent visits to London, to listen to the debates in Parliament, and was present in the House of Lords on April 7, 1778, when his father made the great speech against granting independence to the Americans. Later in the debate Chatham had attempted a reply to the Opposition, but had fallen back in a swoon, which led to his death a month later, at the age of 70. The older son, John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham, was a soldier of only moderate ability; it was the younger, William, who inherited his father's genius.

In 1780 Pitt left Cambridge and went to the Bar. He also obtained, through family interest, a seat in Parliament for the

[1] George Pretyman, Fellow of Pembroke, and later Bishop of Lincoln. He became a lifelong friend of Pitt, and attended him on his death-bed.

'pocket' borough of Appleby. Although only twenty-one years of age, he spoke with perfect self-possession, and in an eloquent and lofty manner, which commanded the attention of his hearers. He prepared himself regularly for speaking in the House by reading through some pages of a Greek or Latin classic and translating them into English. In 1782 Lord Shelburne, who was a man of most original mind, offered Pitt, only twenty-three years old, the responsible post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Besides his eminent parliamentary gifts, Pitt possessed other qualifications; he had studied mathematics deeply at Cambridge, working especially hard at Newton's *Principia*. He was also one of the warmest appreciators of Adam Smith's classic work on political economy, *The Wealth of Nations* (published 1776). On Shelburne's fall, Pitt went out of office likewise; but when George dismissed Fox and North, in December 1783, to the astonishment of Parliament and the country, he offered the greatest position under the Crown, the post of Prime Minister of Great Britain, to Pitt, aged 24.

George's action was scarcely constitutional, for the young Premier had certainly not a majority in the House of Commons, and to take office without having the confidence of the House is against the principles of Responsible Government. It was the personal action of the King which made Pitt Prime Minister; but at last the King's personal wishes and the will of the people coincided. For three months (December 18, 1783, to March 25, 1784) Pitt held office in the face of adverse votes in the House of Commons. By the end of this time, the ability, eloquence, and obvious integrity of the young minister had won support for his measures even from the Opposition. Then the King dissolved Parliament; a general election was held. Pitt himself was elected member for Cambridge University; his party—the Tory party—obtained a large majority. The Prime Minister, now twenty-five years old, was the idol of the whole country. Henceforth, King and people equally trusted him, and the popularity of the Crown steadily increased.