PAG

Jethro Tull's Wheat Drill, 1733 (from *The Horse-hoing Husbandry*, by J. T., 1733) 5
Weaving in Early Eighteenth Century. From a wood-cut after Hogarth 5
Power-Loom Weaving in Early Nineteenth Century (from Baines, *op. cit.*) 5
Travel and Transport. A Travelling Coach, 1801 (from Felton's *Treatise of Carriages*, 1801) 54
George Stephenson's 'Puffing Billy', constructed 1814 . . 54
Pastimes. Skating in Hyde Park, 1790. Douce Collection . 5
The Younger Pitt. National Portrait Gallery 5
Battle of the Nile, August 1, 1798 5
Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805 5
Nelson 5
H.M.S. *Victory*. Bone model made by French prisoners in the hulks 57
A Martello Tower. Built as a defence against Napoleon . . 57
Medals struck in advance by Napoleon to commemorate the invasion of England 5
The Duke of Wellington 57
Spain and Portugal in the Peninsular War 58
Napoleon. The Bodleian Miniature 58
The Waterloo Campaign, 1815 58
The British Empire in 1815 59
Chippendale Furniture 59
Sheraton Furniture 59
Pastimes. An early game of Cricket. From a picture in the collection of Mr. Gaston 59
The Bank of Ireland. Formerly the Parliament House of Ireland (from Whitelaw and Walsh, *History of Dublin*) . . . 60
The Royal Exchange, now the City Hall, Dublin (from Whitelaw and Walsh, *History of Dublin*) 63
The Great Parliament of Ireland, elected 1790. After the picture by Wheatley 60
Ireland 61
Bombay Fort from the Sea, 1720. British Museum, No. 57164 (1) 62
Robert Clive 62
View in the Fort of Trichinopoly (from Daniell, *Oriental Scenery*) 62
Battle of Plassey gained by Colonel Clive, June 23, 1757 . 62
Warren Hastings as a Young Man 63
The Fort of Gwalior from the north-west (from Nolan, *History of the British Empire in India*) 63
Haidar Ali 6
An Early English Traveller. An Indian Portrait 63
Tippu Sultan 64
North-East View of Seringapatam (from Diron, *Narrative of the Campaign in India which terminated the war with Tippoo Sultan in* 1792) 64
India in 1795 64
The Marquess Wellesley 64
Māhādaji Sindia 64
Bhurtpore Fort 65

CHAPTER XX

WILLIAM AND MARY; QUEEN ANNE

The year 1688 begins a period of national unity. The Revolution was carried through by a combination of Whigs and Tories, who were united to uphold the Protestant religion in England. Henceforward, political parties in Great Britain opposed each other on the floor of Parliament and on public platforms, but never (for the Jacobites who rebelled were not a proper political party) by force of arms.

Foreign policy after 1688. The statesman Disraeli, in his interesting novel *Sybil*, says that the Revolution of 1688 gave England 'French wars and Dutch finance'—that is to say, it began a long period of war against France, which left England, it is true, a powerful widely-spread empire, but with a national debt so large as to hamper the industry of the nation.

Disraeli's statement is true. Charles II and James II had been under the influence of France. Had the foreign policy of the last two Stuart kings been continued, the French power would have been extended over Belgium and Holland, and England would have lost command of the seas, and with the means of her existence. William of Orange, who held the position of Stadtholder (chief magistrate of the United Netherlands), was determined to save Holland from France, and he employed the whole power of England in the struggle. Gradually the greater number of Englishmen also adopted the King's view. They came to believe that the free existence

of England depended upon keeping France out of the great ports of Antwerp and Rotterdam. Therefore the reigns of William III and Anne in foreign policy are the story of a struggle to defeat the designs of Louis XIV against the Dutch.

Constitutional progress. Internally, the history of the country is a chronicle of solid progress in every direction. The Reformation Settlement, which was begun by Henry VIII, completed by Elizabeth, and shaken by James II, was finally confirmed by the Revolution. The Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, declared that the sovereign must be a member of the Church of England. The Coronation Oath Act (1689) reinforced this, by providing that the King must swear to be faithful to the 'Protestant Reformed Religion established by law'. The Act of Settlement, 1701, contained the same condition; the Act of 1910 changed the form of the declaration into one less offensive to the Roman Catholic citizens of the Empire, but reaffirmed the King's position as a 'faithful Protestant'.



WILLIAM AND MARY

Proper measures were taken to ensure the discipline of the Army. Under Charles II and James II there were no military courts for soldiers, and all disciplinary offences had to come before the civil magistrates. As this process involved too much time and labour, the soldiers were in William's reign placed under special military discipline, enforced through military courts; this was done by the Mutiny Act (1689), which was thereafter passed annually through Parliament. It is now merged in the annual Army Act.

W[illia]m of Orange had been invited to become King of Eng[land] [to] save the country from absolute government, both

in Church and State. It was, therefore, natural that a certain increase of freedom should be the result. In particular, absolute government by the King was prevented by the ministers and Parliament being guaranteed a greater share in the government of the country than had been allowed under the Stuart system. In 1694 a Triennial Act was passed



CIVIL COSTUME OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

limiting the duration of any one Parliament to three years, at the end of which time a General Election must be held. Thus there was no longer the possibility of a king's keeping the same Parliament in being for seventeen years, as Charles II did. In 1716 the possible duration of each Parliament was extended to a period of seven years (Septennial Act), and in 1911 it was again reduced to five years (Parliament Act). But in the Great War a British Parliament, which was due to dissolve in 1915, was continued in existence by special Acts till the end of the year 1918. The Triennial Act of 1694 did not merely ensure that no Parliament should last longer than

three years; it stipulated, too (as did the Triennial Act of 1641), that a Parliament should be held at least once in three years. Owing to the growth of national expenditure, and the necessity of getting annual grants of money to meet this, there has been no difficulty in securing that Parliament should meet every three years. It has met every year.

The principle of constitutional government is that those who are qualified to vote elect the members of Parliament, and that the ministers of the King are chosen out of these members. Thus a certain correspondence is maintained between Crown, Ministry, Parliament, and the electors. As a rule, since 1688 at least, the bulk of the members of Parliament have taken sides, and arranged themselves in two parties, called Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative. This system is admirable for an assembly which exists for the thorough discussion of public affairs. But it would not do for a Ministry, or a 'Cabinet', as the Ministry has come to be called. If the Cabinet, like the Parliament, consisted of two parties, one party would always check the other, and united action would be impossible. It is therefore necessary that the Cabinet should consist of ministers who are members of the same party. In this way the ministers of the day can quickly agree what to do; and if they command a majority in Parliament, they can get their measures agreed to there.

If they have not a majority in Parliament, they must 'go to the country'—that is to say, the Parliament of the day must be dissolved, and a general election held, to see what the country really wants. Thus the correspondence between Ministry, Parliament, and country, is maintained.

This system, known as 'Cabinet Government', was beginning under William III; it grew further under Queen Anne, and became definitely established under George I. William, indeed, began by choosing his ministers from both Whig and Tory parties, hoping thus to secure support from every side. He found, however, that such a Ministry did not work harmoniously. So in 1694, acting on the advice of the sagacious

Earl of Sunderland, he appointed a Ministry who were all Whigs, at a time when the Whigs had a majority in Parliament. Cabinet government had begun.

Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland and Ireland the Revolution Settlement was seriously resisted. John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised a body of Highlanders to support the cause of James, but he was killed in battle with William's soldiers at the Pass of Killiecrankie in Perthshire (July 1689). At the same time the Irish had refused to join in the English Revolution; James II went over from France to Ireland to put himself at the head of the Catholic Irish. In the north the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen were held by Protestant Irish, and after a long siege were relieved by William's forces. The relief of Londonderry (July 30, 1689) is described by Lord Macaulay in a classic passage:

'It was the 30th of July. The sun had just set: the evening sermon in the Cathedral was over; and the heartbroken congregation had separated, when the sentinels on the tower saw the sails of three vessels coming up the Foyle. Soon there was a stir in the Irish camp. The besiegers were on the alert for miles along both shores. The ships were in extreme peril: for the river was low; and the only navigable channel ran very near to the left bank, where the head quarters of the enemy had been fixed and where the batteries were most numerous. Leake performed his duty with a skill and spirit worthy of his noble profession, exposed his frigate to cover the merchantmen, and used his guns with great effect. At length the little squadron came to the place of peril. Then the *Mountjoy* took the lead and went right at the boom. The huge barricade cracked and gave way: but the shock was such that the *Mountjoy* rebounded, and stuck in the mud. A yell of triumph rose from the banks: the Irish rushed to their boats and were preparing to board; but the *Dartmouth* poured on them a well directed broadside, which threw them into disorder. Just then the *Phœnix* dashed at the breach which the *Mountjoy* had made and was in a moment within the fence. Meantime the tide was rising fast. The *Mountjoy* began to move, and soon passed through the broken stakes and floating spars. But her brave master was no more

of England de
ports of Antw
William III a
a struggle to
Dutch.

Constitution
country is a
The Reformati
completed by
confirmed by



WILLIAM

sive to the R
affirmed the K

Proper me
the Army.
military court
to come befor
too much tim
placed under
military cour
which was t
It is now mer

William of
England to sa

A shot from one of the batteries had struck him; and he die
by the most enviable of all deaths, in sight of the city which
was his birth-place, which was his home, and which had just
been saved by his courage and self devotion from the most
frightful form of destruction. The night had closed in before
the conflict at the boom began; but the flash of the guns
was seen and the noise heard, by the lean and ghastly multi-
tude which covered the walls of the city. . . . Even after the
barricade had been passed there was a terrible half-hour of
suspense. It was ten
o'clock before the ships
arrived at the quay: the
whole population was
there to welcome them.
A screen made of casks
filled with earth was
hastily thrown up to pro-
tect the landing place
from the batteries on the
other side of the river;
and then the work of un-
loading began. First
were rolled on shore
barrels containing six
thousand bushels of meal.
Then came great cheeses,
casks of beef, flitches of
bacon, kegs of butter,
sacks of pease and bis-
cuits, ankers of brandy.
Not many hours before,
half a pound of tallow
and three quarters of a pound of salted hide had been
weighed out with niggardly care to every fighting man. . . .
The bonfires shone bright along the whole circuit of the ram-
parts. The Irish guns continued to roar all night; and all
night the bells of the rescued city made answer to the Irish
guns with a peal of joyous defiance. Through the whole of
the 31st of July the batteries of the enemy continued to
play. But soon after the sun had again gone down, flames
were seen arising from the camp; and when the first of August
dawned, a line of smoking ruins marked the site lately occupied
by the huts of the besiegers; and the citizens saw afar off



LOUIS XIV

a long column of pikes and standards retreating up the left
bank of the Foyle towards Strabane.' [1]

Aided by the French, the Irish maintained the struggle for
two years more. On July 1 (1690) William signally defeated
James's army at the Battle of the Boyne, near Drogheda.
On October 3, 1691, Limerick capitulated to General Ginkel,
one of William's Dutchmen. The Irish soldiers of the garrison



were allowed to go to France, to enlist under the French
crown.[2]

The French Wars. When William became King of England,
Holland (where he held the position of Stadtholder) and
the Empire were engaged in war against Louis XIV of
France. Louis was aiming at the annexation of Strasburg in
Alsace, so that France should have the famous 'Rhine
frontier' which has been so often fought for. The Empire was

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, iii. 235–7.
[2] For further particulars on Irish history, see ch. xxvii, pp. 598–615.

the confederation of the German States under an elected head, who for more than 200 years had been chosen from the rulers of Austria. The Emperor, Leopold I, fought strenuously against losing Strasburg. Holland, on the other hand, was chiefly interested in the 'Spanish Netherlands'. These consisted of the provinces which now make up the kingdom of Belgium. In the seventeenth century they were still under Spain, who had once held Holland too, though she lost that country by the year 1609. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish power had become very slight, and when Louis XIV set out to annex part of the Spanish Netherlands, Spain could not resist. Holland, however, and, under William III, England made common cause against France. Antwerp was the port of the Spanish Netherlands. It was believed that if a great naval and military Power like France held Antwerp, England and Holland would never for a moment be safe. Certainly if Louis XIV had defeated William III, the Revolution Settlement would have been undone, and James II would have been restored. Therefore this war has been called *the War of the English Succession.*

The campaign. From 1689 till 1697 England, along with Holland and the Empire, was fighting France. For the most part it was a continental war, fought upon the land, in Europe, and not upon the sea or in the New World. The Low Countries —Belgium—were the scene of the fighting, for it was the grand object of William to expel the French thence. The King personally commanded the British army abroad, for indeed he was the only man in England who was whole-heartedly for the war. The people did not realize how important for them was the question of Belgium and the port of Antwerp.

Of King William it may be said that he never won a battle and never lost an army. In those days armies were small, and it was impossible for them to entrench themselves along the whole extent of a country. The longest line that an army of 20,000 or 30,000 could dig could always be circumvented. In the most modern times, when the soldiers of armies are

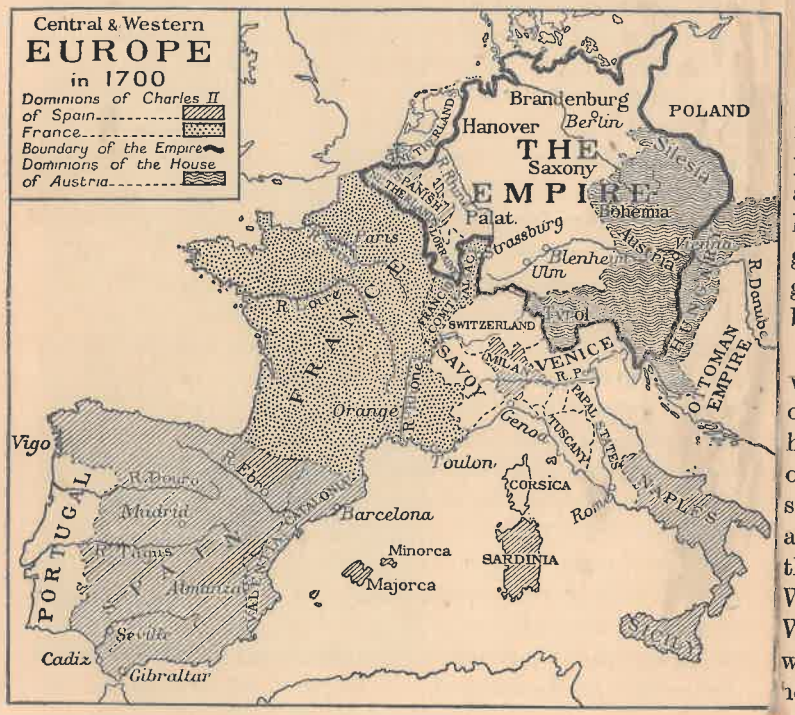
numbered by the million, warfare has become siege warfare. Trenches are dug and held almost from sea to sea, and can only be captured after prolonged siege operations. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries warfare was open. Incapable of entrenching across a hundred miles of country, each army sought out the other, to destroy it. The number of armies which any nation could put in the field was strictly limited. Therefore if, for instance, Louis XIV's army had destroyed William's, the war would have been at an end.



BANK OF ENGLAND
The early building

The skill of William III as a general lay in meeting his opponent, making a good fight, and getting away with the bulk of his army intact. Of such a kind was the battle of Steinkirk (1692), near Namur, and Landen (1693), both to be counted as victories for the French. Yet William, by saving his armies, prevented the war at least from being brought to a decisive conclusion. So it dragged on till finally every one felt that 'the last écu d'or', as Louis XIV said, would decide it. Yet though France was getting exhausted, England was feeling the strain too. The Bank of England was established, with a royal charter, in 1694, to attract money for financing the war. The English, however, grew impatient, for it takes a long time for a country to bleed to death; at the

end of eight years of warfare France was still fighting vigorously, while the national debt of England was growing ever higher. William himself felt that peace must be made, though he only meant to get ready for the next conflict with France, which he felt was coming. In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick was concluded,



each side restoring its conquests, except Strasburg, which was retained by France. The Spanish Netherlands were saved, and Antwerp remained outside French power. Thus England could breathe again. Yet no final settlement was reached, for France was still in a position to stretch out her hand and take Antwerp again. The spectre of another and greater war to come lay over Europe.

Death of William III. William died on March 8, 1702. About three weeks before, when riding at Hampton Court, his horse had stepped on a mole-hill, and thrown him down, so that his collar-bone was broken. His health was always bad, and his constitution did not survive the shock. He was a silent, dry Dutchman, deep in policy, heroic in his courage. His life was one long struggle against scheming politicians at home, and his great enemy, Louis XIV, abroad. He gave his whole time to affairs of State, taking part in no amusements whatever, except hunting, to which he was passionately addicted. He gave civil freedom to England, and, for a time at least, secured her safety from abroad. For these gifts England must thank this great statesman, who died unloved but respected by his people.



ANNE

The reign of Queen Anne. Anne was the daughter of James II and of Anne Hyde, his first wife. She had been brought up as a member of the Church of England, to which she remained a devoted adherent all her life. She had accepted the Revolution Settlement, and had lived since 1689 with William and Mary, who had no children. On the death of William she succeeded him, and, although herself a Stuart, was quite naturally accepted as a constitutional ruler. Under her the sovereign began to take less part in the Council of ministers, which came more and more to assume the character of the modern Cabinet.

Her reign presents one of the most brilliant periods of English history. It was, indeed, never free from war except in the last year, but the armies, as was customary at that time, absorbed only a tiny fraction of the male population, while the business of supplying them with munitions of war was not very great. The campaigns were fought in

the summer; the rest of the year was spent in garrison towns, among the allies abroad. Outside the campaigning season, officers could get leave for months at a time, to return to their homes in England—a system described by Thackeray in his novel of *Henry Esmond*.

Thus the war scarcely interrupted the fruitful works of peace. The ships of the East India Company, the fast-sailing 'East Indiamen', built at Deptford, sailed regularly to Bombay and Calcutta. Sugar, tobacco, and rice were brought from the southern colonies of America, furs from the country round Hudson Bay. England became expansive, imperial. In the coffee-houses, which began in the reign of Charles II, people met to talk as they do now in the clubs of Pall Mall and Piccadilly; printed news sheets were handed round, and the affairs of the world discussed. Men began to know something of the great lands overseas. The Army remained the fashionable service for gentlemen, but the Navy became the pride of the land, and the career of Cloudesley Shovell, who rose from being cabin-boy to admiral, was known to every one.

The love of letters increased and literature flourished. Twice or thrice a week in the *Spectator* men could read at breakfast time the melodious sentences of Addison and absorb his genial wisdom. Pope, brilliant in intellect a weak in body, wrote the *Essay on Criticism*, full of wit in perfectly formed verses. It was not till the next reig that Defoe wrote his great novel *Robinson Crusoe*, but his wonderful political pamphlets were supplying food for thought for the now eminently political Englishmen. Swift's satires were stinging the Whig Government to fury, though *Gulliver* was not to come till the reign of George I. The polished elegance of Bolingbroke swayed the Parliament; while the witty Congreve was still delighting with his comedies great audiences, whose minds were not revolted by the licentiousness that has since removed these plays from the stage. Englishmen learned to love letters, and every one took

to writing sensibly and smoothly. A moderate prosperity was over the country. Dutch methods had resulted in draining the land; new crops, roots especially, were being cultivated. The history of the Poor Law shows a decline in pauperism; learning, literature, agriculture, trade, pursued with moderation in a not too ambitious age, flourished together. The men of the early eighteenth century were satisfied with themselves. They were singularly free from mental and spiritual unrest. They accepted the world as they found it, and enjoyed it to the full.

The cause of the Spanish Succession War. The cause of the great war which lasted from 1702 to 1713 was the will of the King of Spain, Charles II. Charles was the last of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg House. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marriage alliances and blood relationship sometimes caused the transfer of a country from one Power to another. Charles II of Spain had no children; one sister had married Louis XIV, another had married the Emperor Leopold, the ruler of Austria. Both these monarchs claimed Spain as an inheritance from their brother-in-law.

The question of the Spanish Succession involved much more than the Spanish peninsula. The Empire of Spain included Milan, Naples, and Sicily in Italy, the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium), and the greater part of South America. William III had done all in his power to bring about an amicable settlement of the succession by arranging a division of the great Spanish inheritance among the chief claimants. The Second Partition Treaty[1] (1700) arranged that the Emperor's second son Charles should be King of Spain, with the Spanish colonial dominions under him; while France should get the Italian dominions of Spain—Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

[1] The *First* Partition Treaty came to nothing. It was concluded in October 1698 at the Hague between England, Holland, and France, and it arranged that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, Austria should have the Milanese, and France should have Naples and Guipuscoa (province on Bay of Biscay). But the Electoral Prince died next year (1699).

This division, it was believed, would leave France and the House of Austria vastly increased in power, but yet equal to one another—a careful 'balance of power' being considered necessary to preserve peace in Europe. England in the Partition Treaty asked nothing for herself; she was only interested in securing such a division of the Spanish dominions between Spain and the Empire as would prevent any one of them from becoming lord of all Europe.

Shortly after the signature of the Second Partition Treaty Charles II of Spain died, when it was found he had made a will leaving his inheritance (that is to say, Spain and the whole of her Empire) to Philip of Anjou, the second grandson of Louis XIV. Louis at once accepted the splendid gift for his grandson. France and Spain would now be ruled by members of the same house. 'The Pyrenees'; he said to the envoy who was to carry his letter of acceptance to Madrid, 'no longer exist.'

The interest of England in the Spanish Succession. The Spanish Succession affected the European balance of power; and in England interest in maintaining the balance was very real. If a French prince should acquire the whole Spanish Empire, England might, at some time or other, lie at France's mercy. All Europe would then be dominated by that Power, so that no other country would be able to settle its own affairs without the leave of France. Such a high position was almost attained by Napoleon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was nearly attained by Germany in the war of 1914. Such a European domination would have prevented the free action of any smaller State. England, for instance, after 1700, if France had been supreme in Europe, would not have been allowed to develop along her own lines of constitutional government. The Stuart family would have been restored to the throne. The Protestant Settlement would have been overturned. So much did England depend upon a balance of power in Europe.

In addition, however, to her vital interest in the balance of power in Europe, England had a particular interest in the Spanish Netherlands (or Belgium). If these, with their great port of Antwerp, had fallen into the power of a great naval and military State like France, England, as already explained (p. 403), would never have been safe. When William III died on March 8, 1702, he had arranged a Grand Alliance between England, the Dutch, and the Empire, to prevent the aggrandizement of France. The object of the Alliance was to make the Emperor's second son Charles King of Spain, with such a division of the Spanish Empire as would not unduly increase the power of any one country. Article VIII of the Grand Alliance (September 7, 1701) runs as follows:

'It shall not be permitted to either Party when the War is once begun, to treat of Peace with the Enemy, unless jointly and with the common advices of the other Partys; and no Peace shall be made unless an equitable and reasonable satisfaction for his Imperial Majesty, and the particular Security of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Dominions, Navigations and Commerce, for his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the States General, be first obtained; and unless care be taken by fitting security that the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* shall never come to be united under the same Government, nor that one and the same Person shall be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly that the French shall never get into the Possession of the Spanish Indies, neither shall they be permitted to sail thither on the account of Traffic directly or indirectly on any pretence whatsoever: and lastly, unless full liberty be granted unto the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain* and the States General, to exercise and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunitys and Franchises of Commerce by Sea and Land, in *Spain*, the *Mediterranean*, and all Lands and Places which the King of Spain last deceas'd did possess at the time of his Death, as well in Europe as elsewhere, which they us'd and enjoy'd, or which the Subjects of both or either of them by any Right acquir'd by Treatys, Agreements, Customs or any other way whatsoever, might have us'd and enjoy'd before the Death of the late King of Spain.'[1]

The campaigns. As far as England was concerned, the War of the Spanish Succession was fought in three 'theatres'.

[1] *A General Collection of Treaties* (1732), i. 419.

The first was in the Low Countries (with an extension in 1704 into Bavaria); the second was in Spain; the third was on the sea. The hero of the Low Countries war was the Duke of Marlborough, ably assisted by the great Imperialist general, Prince Eugène of Savoy. The hero of the Spanish war was the brilliant, though less solid, Earl of Peterborough. The heroes of the war at sea were Rooke and Shovell.

The Duke of Marlborough. John Churchill was one of the greatest and the weakest of mankind. A magnificent general, careful of his soldiers' lives, careful of the dignity of his country and the interests of his allies, he could yet stoop to deceit in order to make money, and would intrigue against an able fellow general, for fear of finding in him a rival. The character of this great man is described in *Henry Esmond*—his heroic qualities, his small jealousies, his secret intrigues with the exiled Stuarts.

John Churchill was born in 1650 at Ashe in Devonshire. His father was Sir Winston Churchill, belonging to an old Dorsetshire family. John went to St. Paul's School in the City of London, and was educated in Latin and Greek. He was never able to spell properly in English. On leaving school he became a page to James, Duke of York (James II), and at the age of 17 became an ensign—a subaltern—in the Foot Guards. He served in the garrison at Tangier, which had come into English possession as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza (it was abandoned in 1685). In 1672 he served with the English contingent which was helping the French in the war against the Dutch. The great Marshal Turenne mentioned him for gallantry. He was a most handsome young man and made friends easily. The Duchess of Cleveland, who liked his looks and sprightly conversation, gave him £5,000. Young Churchill at once bought an annuity of £500 a year, and so became a gentleman of independent means. After this he served with the forces in Scotland, when the Duke of York was governor, and was rewarded with a Scottish peerage. When the Duke became King James II, he sent

Churchillon a diplomatic mission, to get, if possible, an increase in the subsidy which Louis XIV was paying to the English Crown. The soldier carried out this delicate mission with the same skill as he showed in military affairs. At the battle of Sedgemoor (p. 395) he commanded under the Earl of Feversham. When William of Orange came over to England in 1688, Churchill went over to his side, and from this time his career was made. He held high positions under William III, and after the death of General Talmash in the expedition against Brest in 1694 there was no one to compare with him in the British Army. Throughout this time he maintained a correspondence with the exiled James II. Such was the man who on the opening of the Spanish Succession War was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces. Yet never had England a finer soldier, or one more strenuous in face of the enemy.

The Earl of Peterborough. Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, was one of the most brilliant men of a brilliant age. Born of a noble family in 1658, he was educated at Eton, and at Christ Church, which he entered at the age of 16. Next year (1675) he went to sea as a volunteer on H.M.S. *Cambridge*, which was commanded by his kinsman, Captain Arthur Herbert, later known as Admiral Lord Torrington. Although a young gallant of wealth and influence, he did not, like so many other favourites of fortune in the reign of Charles II, quit the sea; he served in one ship after another for five years. In 1680 he volunteered for land service at Tangier against the Moors. The period of James II's reign was passed by him mainly in political life (for he was a most active member of the House of Lords); in 1687 he commanded a squadron in the West Indies. In 1688 he went to Holland, and along with his intriguing friend Major Wildman (whom Disraeli in *Sybil* calls 'the soul of English politics in the most eventful period of this kingdom and one most interesting to this age, from 1640–1688') he took part in the negotiations for bringing over William of Orange. He became a close friend of William, and received a number of posts, including

a colonelcy of horse and the office of water-bailiff of the Severn river. He remained in political life throughout William's reign and was one of the leading men. He patronized men of letters, debated on philosophy with his eminent friend John Locke, went out continually into the fashionable world, dined in company, was known as a great wit, an eloquent speaker, and a delightful writer of letters. He looked like neither a sailor nor a soldier, for he was small and thin, elegant and well mannered, without any appearance of strength or vigour. Yet no man was so fertile in resource, or dashing in fight. In 1705 he was appointed to joint command with Cloudesley Shovell of a fleet which was sailing to Spain. It was not on the sea, however, that his fresh laurels were to be won: it was in arduous and wonderful campaigns on land.

Rooke. Sir George Rooke, Admiral of the Fleet, was born in 1650. In the seventeenth century there was no permanent naval service. Officers and men were engaged for a particular voyage or period, and at the end of their time were paid off. They then retired into private life, or entered the Army, or did what they pleased (often living in poverty and distress) till the King asked for sailors again.

The officers in the last half of the seventeenth century were of two kinds—gentlemen and 'tarpaulins'. The gentlemen sailors were men of good family, who obtained command of a ship by Court favour without having any particular experience:

'Any lad of noble birth, any dissolute courtier for whom one of the King's mistresses would speak a word, might hope that a ship of the line, and with it the honour of the country and the lives of hundreds of brave men, would be committed to his care. It mattered not that he had never in his life taken a voyage except on the Thames, that he could not keep his feet in a breeze, that he did not know the difference between latitude and longitude. No previous training was thought necessary; or, at most, he was sent to make a short trip in a man of war, where he was subjected to no discipline, where he was treated with marked respect, and where he lived in a round of revels and amusements. If, in the intervals of feasting, drinking and gambling, he succeeded in learning the meaning of a few technical phrases and the names of the points of the compass, he was fully qualified to take charge of a three-decker. This is no imaginary description.'[1]

Such sea-captains were of little use, and the occasional disasters of Charles II's Dutch wars were largely due to them. It must be remembered, however, that there were some of these amateur sailors who did magnificently. Blake himself had only been a colonel of horse; Prince Rupert and Monk and Pepys's chief, the Earl of Sandwich, were all landsmen, yet made splendid admirals.

The tarpaulins were real seamen, who started as cabin-boys or men before the mast, never left the sea, engaged on every ship that offered, and, when paid off, remained round the Admiralty or the dockyards till they got another 'berth'. The Navy was their father and mother, and they knew about ships and the sea, if they knew nothing else. Owing to the unfashionableness of the Navy, and the 'casualness' of its employment, the upper classes did not take to the sea in sufficient numbers to absorb all the high positions, and therefore common seamen not infrequently rose to high command.

It was not till the eighteenth century that service in the Navy became something like permanent and men of good family and education took to it for their career. When this happened, gentlemen and tarpaulins were combined, and the modern type of well-mannered, trained, efficient, widely interested naval officer was developed.

Rooke was one of the first of this type, born almost, as it were, before his time. He came of a good family—his father was Sir William Rooke, a Sheriff of Kent—and he took to the sea as a young man, volunteering for the second Dutch War (1672). He never left the sea; no sooner was one ship paid off than another was offered him; for there were few sailor-gentlemen like him, who never refused a commission. In succession he commanded the *Royal Prince*, the *Nonsuch*, the *Hampshire*, and ships with names still to be found in the Navy List. In 1690 he fought in the disastrous battle off

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 301.

Beachy Head against the French, and afterwards at the court-martial of his admiral (Earl of Torrington) stood up for him loyally and helped to secure his deserved acquittal. In 1691 he was vice-admiral of the Blue Squadron (the squadrons of the English Navy were then known by the colour of their admiral's ensign). In 1702 he was made commander-in-chief of the English fleet off Spain and in the Mediterranean.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell. Cloudesley Shovell was a tarpaulin. He did not come of poor parents, but from a respectable family hailing originally from Norwich. He went to sea as cabin-boy to Admiral Sir Christopher Myngs, and later sailed with Admiral Sir John Narborough. In a fight during the first Dutch War (1665–7) he swam from one ship to another, under fire, carrying dispatches. In 1673 he was made a second lieutenant. For the next thirteen years he saw much active service in the Mediterranean against the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He was speedily promoted to be a captain. In 1690 William III made him rear-admiral of the Blue. In the battle of La Hogue against the French (1692) he was second in command under Admiral Russell and 'broke the line' of the enemy's fleet. In 1702, at the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, he held the chief command under Rooke.

Shovell was drowned off the Scilly Islands in October 1707, on the way home after his successful operations in the Mediterranean. There is a fine portrait of him in the Painted Hall at Greenwich Naval College. He was a man who knew the sea perfectly, fought his ships with the highest skill and the utmost courage; and led them to victory in some of the hardest fights in our country's history.

Marlborough's campaigns. The great object entrusted to Marlborough was to secure the Spanish Netherlands, which had been easily occupied by France. English and Dutch troops were employed under him in 1702 and 1703 in operations on the line of the Meuse (Maas). In this quarter they were fairly successful, capturing Liége, Venloo, and other strong places. Most of the German States, including Brandenburg

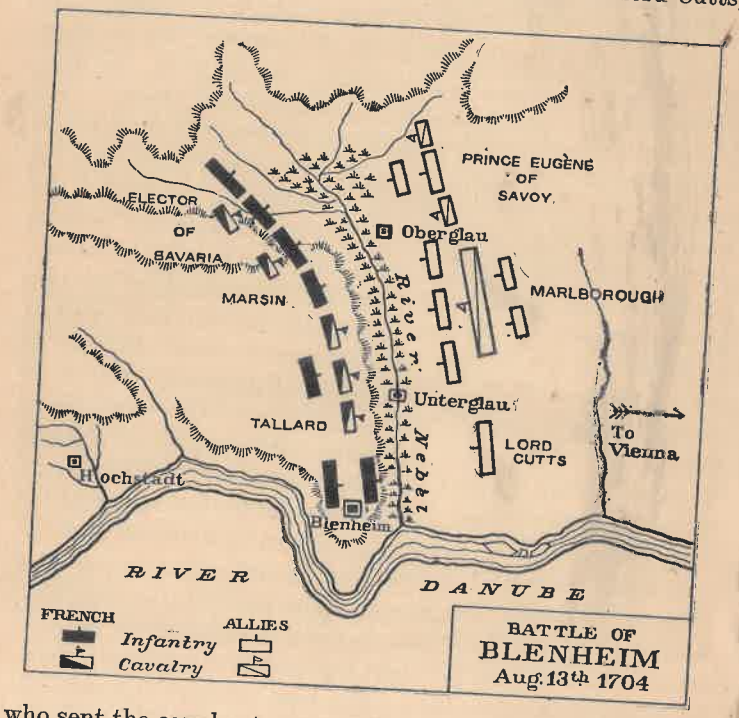
and Hanover, joined the Grand Alliance. Bavaria, however, sided with France, and opened the way for a French army advancing from Alsace towards Vienna. At the same time the Hungarians revolted against Habsburg rule, and the Austrian State, as has often happened since, was on the verge of ruin.

Blenheim. Marlborough formed a heroic resolution. He resolved to march into the south of Germany, and to meet the French in battle in the valley of the Danube. In May 1704 he began the great march up the Rhine. Most of the way was through friendly country, yet it required the greatest organizing skill to keep his army intact, and to ensure his supplies of food and munitions. Marlborough followed the road up the Rhine to Mainz, and then took to the Neckar valley. Near Mondelheim he met Prince Eugène of Savoy, the Imperialist general; it was the first meeting of the two greatest generals of the age. From that time they worked in close concert and friendship with each other. By way of the Neckar and the Pass of Geislingen, they reached the broad valley, or rather plain, of the Danube near Ulm. One sharp battle near Donauwerth gave the Allies control of most of Bavaria; as the Elector of Bavaria refused the Allies' terms, the whole country was, according to the brutal custom of the time, given over by Marlborough to be ravaged by the soldiery.

A French army of 25,000 men, joined by a considerable force of Bavarians, was meanwhile advancing from the west. Near the village of Blenheim, on the north bank of the Danube, Marshal Tallard fixed his lines, and prepared a strong position for defence. Marlborough either had to attack under great disadvantages, or retreat with every prospect of being cut off by the active French general.

The famous battle took place on August 13, 1704. The Grenadier Guards, the 10th Foot (now Lincolnshire Regiment), the 21st Foot (Royal Scots Fusiliers), the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), and the 24th Foot (South Wales Borderers) marched steadily to within thirty paces of the village of Blenheim; although received by a withering fire from the

French at this distance, they still advanced, without stopping to fire a shot, with their Brigadier, Row, on foot leading them, till they had scaled the palisades of the village. Their leader was mortally wounded, and the attack failed. This set-back, however, was rectified by the decision of General Lord Cutts,



who sent the cavalry to protect Row's brigade. On the right of the allied advance, Prince Eugène and the Austrians, by hard fighting, just held their own. Gradually Marlborough worked out his plan; the grand attack on Blenheim was delivered about three o'clock in the afternoon; the village was carried, and the French army routed:

'The first thing that meets my imagination is, the French army broken, routed, flying over the plains of Blenheim, and

choosing rather to throw themselves headlong into the Danube than face about upon their conqueror.'[1]

The gentle genius of Addison was roused to describe the greatness of the victory:

The rout begins, the Gallic squadrons run,
Compelled in crowds to meet the fate they shun.
Thousands of fiery steeds with wounds transfixed,
Floating in gore with their dead masters mixt,
With heaps of spears and standards driven around,
Lie in the Danube's bloody whirlpools drown'd.
Troops of bold youths born on the distant Soane,
Or sounding borders of the rapid Rhone,
Or where the Seine her flowery fields divides,
Or where the Loire through winding vineyards glides:
In heaps the rolling billows sweep away,
And into Scythian seas their bloated corps convey.[2]


DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

The result of Blenheim. The dull peasants of the harassed country, even the townspeople who saw the armies passing by on their return, had little conception of the causes of all this fighting, this marching and counter-marching, this perpetual menace of armed men, this continual violent interference with their peaceful pursuits. Their point of view is clearly put by Southey in his well-known poem:

'And everybody praised the Duke
Who this great fight did win.'
'But what good came of it at last?'
Quoth little Peterkin:—
'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,
'But 'twas a famous victory.'[3]

[1] Steele, *Crisis*, 1714. [2] Addison, *The Campaign*.
[3] Southey, 'After Blenheim'.

Yet the truth lies deeper. The Spanish Succession War was not a mere struggle of selfish Governments. The battle of Blenheim had prevented Louis from realizing his plan of controlling Western Europe. If this plan had been successful, Austria would have been partitioned, Holland annexed, and the overseas empire of Britain would not have existed.

The wars in the Low Countries. The rest of Marlborough's campaigns were fought in the Spanish Netherlands, on which the French, after the battle of Blenheim had saved Austria from them, retained a firm hold. In 1706 the Allied army met the French under Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies, and almost completely destroyed it. Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges then opened their gates to the great Marlborough. The victory of Oudenarde (1708) was followed by the invasion of France itself, and the capture by Marlborough of the great fortress of Lille, which Marshal Vauban had made so strong. The campaign of 1709 was memorable for the battle of Malplaquet, so bloody that neither side could claim a complete victory, although the French withdrew, and Marlborough accordingly captured Mons. The year 1710 was partly occupied by negotiations. In 1711 a change of government at home (see p. 430) caused the recall of Marlborough. In 1712 the English troops were nearly all withdrawn, so that the French, suddenly attacking Eugène, cleverly snatched a victory at Denain (July 1712).

The war in Spain. Marlborough's campaigns at least saved the Spanish Netherlands from coming into the hands of France. The campaigns in Spain were meant to expel French power from there, but, opening brilliantly, they ended in disaster.

In 1705 the Earl of Peterborough (p. 419), with about 5,000 men (including the Archduke Charles), having sailed by Lisbon and the Straits of Gibraltar, appeared off Barcelona in **Catalonia.** Then began a series of the most astonishing operations. A landing was effected; siege was laid to the city, which was defended by French and Spanish troops:

'At length, after three weeks of inaction, Peterborough announced his fixed determination to raise the siege. The heavy cannon were sent on board. Preparations were made for re-embarking the troops. Charles and the Prince of Hesse were furious, but most of the officers blamed their general for having delayed so long the measure which he had at last found it necessary to take. On the twelfth of September there were rejoicings and public entertainments in Barcelona for this great deliverance. On the following morning the English flag was flying on the ramparts of Monjuich. The genius and energy of one man had supplied the place of forty battalions.'[1]

Monjuich was the great fortress just outside, and commanded Barcelona. Peterborough had tempted the garrison out to a fight, rushed upon them, scattered them, and entered the gates with the fugitives. Skill, luck, and daring had given him Barcelona.

After this great success, Catalonia, the great eastern province of Spain, declared for the Allies. The rest of the kingdom had chosen the French side, and acknowledged Louis XIV's grandson Philip as king.

In 1706 Peterborough had to deal with a French force of 20,000 men, who came to retake Barcelona. He himself had only 3,000 regular troops, but with the help of some irregular levies, and of the small English fleet (of which he, too, held command), he foiled the French and compelled them to raise the siege. The rest of Peterborough's career, however, was less successful. He was fanciful, perverse, and essentially difficult to work with. There was an Allied army operating on the Portuguese frontier under Lord Galway. This force was enabled, through Peterborough's success in Catalonia, to advance towards Madrid. Peterborough would not co-operate. He was accordingly recalled by the home Government.

[1] Macaulay's *Essays, the War of the Succession in Spain.* Macaulay's narrative is drawn largely from the *Military Memoirs* of Captain George Carleton, published in 1728. These *Memoirs* have sometimes been attributed to Swift or to Defoe, but they are now believed to be genuine. Carleton was a volunteer in the English Fleet in the Dutch War of 1672; next he served under the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries, and in 1705 he served under Peterborough in Spain.

The value of Peterborough's work lay in raising Catalo
the important and populous maritime province of Spain, a
in drawing the bulk of the Franco-Spanish troops to th
region. Galway was therefore able to occupy Madrid.
found then, however, what Napoleon was to find later, t
to conquer the Spanish capital is not to conquer Spain.
people as a whole had adopted the French side, and loo
upon Philip of Anjou—Philip V—as their national ki
A 'guerrilla' warfare, a war of local bands, began in the p
vinces, and the Allies were to experience the truth of wh
the French king, Henry IV, had once said: 'If you inva
Spain with a large army, you are starved: if with a sm
army, you are beaten.'

The loss of Spain. Marlborough had arranged that in 17
a grand triple invasion of France should take place. He hi
self would invade it from the Low Countries. An imper
army was to come from Italy and besiege Toulon (as actua
happened). Galway was to invade France from Spain. G
way, however, was defeated by the French under the Duke
Berwick (a son of James II) at Almanza (April 1707). Th
and also the failure at Toulon, spoiled Marlborough's pl
of a triple invasion of France. In 1710 the Allies were aga
in Madrid, but were forced to retreat towards Catalon
On the way, General Stanhope was brought to battle
Brihuega (in Guadalajara) by the best French general, t
Duke of Vendôme, and defeated. Barcelona, under its bra
Catalans, held out till September 1714, but Spain had be
irretrievably lost for the Allies.

The Navy. The most striking operation of the Navy w
carried out by Rooke and Shovell in 1704. The fleet appear
off Gibraltar. The garrison, with incredible negligence, d
not guard the walls. 'A few English sailors climbed the rock
and the impregnable fortress passed under the English fla
The possession of this lonely rock on the coast of Spain
a great source of English strength. Since the cutting
the Suez Canal it is on the ocean-highway to India, and

ures our entrance to the Mediterranean. The sieges which
as since stood are among the finest episodes in the heroic
litions of the British Army.

he great work of the Navy was to transport men and
olies to the Low Countries and to Spain, in spite of
ormidable sea-power of France. Commerce, too, had to
protected against the most active privateering war which
French ships maintained. The English merchant-ships
taken in groups along the main sea-lanes, convoyed by
ates of the Royal Navy.

n the waters around the West Indies there was much
ting, without marked advantage to the English. The
mander-in-chief there was Admiral Benbow, the son of
hrewsbury tanner. In August 1702 he fought an action
Santa Marta against the French. His captains disobeyed
. Benbow's right leg was shot off, but he kept to his
arter-deck, and fought his ship successfully out of the
ion. He died of his wounds in Jamaica, two months later.
e heroic admiral has become a famous, almost a legendary,
ure in the traditions of the Royal Navy—a type of those
d-fighting, generous, loyal sailors who 'courted war like
mistress'.[1]

Peace Negotiations. The war had gone, on the whole, well
the Allies. The French were not beaten, but were suffering
ribly. The land of France was still safe, but its economic
dition was most serious, its supplies of men greatly dimi-
hed. The Allies, however, had missed the tide. In 1707
uis XIV had offered to give up the claim of his house on
in, if his grandson could get Milan and Naples (the Spanish
essions in Italy) as a kingdom. The Emperor and the
itish Government refused. Yet in 1713 the Government
s glad to accept worse terms. For by that time it had
en clearly shown that Spain could never be conquered, and
t France could not be overrun.

The Peace of Utrecht. A Whig Government was carrying

[1] See R. L. Stevenson, 'The English Admirals' (in *Virginibus puerisque*).

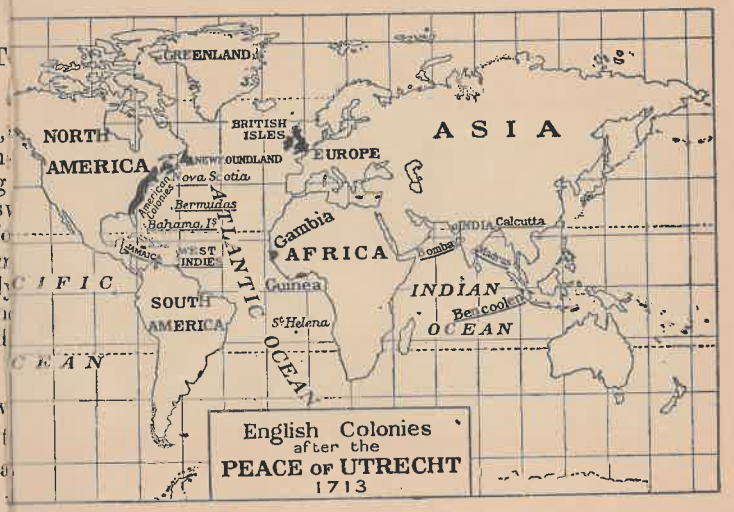
on the war. In 1710 Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a serm
in St. Paul's, upholding the old Tory principle of non-resista
—that is, the principle of perfect obedience to the Cro
The Whig Government then took the amazing step of
peaching him for attacking the 'Revolution Settlemen
The anger of the country at this most tyrannous and fu
procedure of the 'party of liberty' showed Queen Anne t
the Whigs had lost their hold on the country. She dissol
Parliament, and the Tories gained a large majority at
general election. They had never been enthusiastic for
war, as may be judged from Dean Swift's famous T
pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies* (1712).

'. . . Against all manner of prudence or common reason,
engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to h
acted only as auxiliaries. Secondly—we spent all our vig
in pursuing that part of the war, which could least ansv
the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no effo
at all, where we could have most weakened the comm
enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves. Lastly
we suffered each of our allies to break every article in th
treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and
lay the burden upon us.'

The Tory Government, in which the two chief men w
Harley and St. John, now resolved to make peace. In
they were right. They were in a good military position,
could get all necessary cessions and guarantees from
French, provided Philip of Anjou was left King of Spa
and the history of the war since 1707 showed that the Al
could not prevent this. The fault to be found with the T
peace is that it was made behind the back of the Emper
our ally. Article VIII of the Grand Alliance (p. 417)
obliged all the allies to negotiate for peace only in conc
Knowing, however, that the Emperor was determined to fi
on, Harley and St. John started separate negotiations w
the French, in which the Dutch Government also joined.

The Treaties concluded at Utrecht in 1713 guaranteed t
though Philip of Anjou should remain King of Spain, t

ntry should never be united under the same monarch
h France. Moreover, it separated the Spanish Netherlands
Milan from the Spanish Empire, and gave them to
tria. The Emperor would not recognize the satisfaction
s offered to him, until another year of ineffective fighting
vinced him that he could not fight on alone. The fortresses
the frontier of the Spanish (renamed the 'Austrian')
therlands towards France were to be garrisoned by the



tch, as a pledge that this 'barrier' should be respected.
nce ceded to England Newfoundland, Acadie (Nova
otia), and the French settlements round Hudson Bay.
braltar was retained from Spain, along with the island of
norca. An *Assiento* or contract included in the Utrecht
angements gave to Great Britain the exclusive right of
plying negro slaves to the Spanish-American colonies.
at Britain also acquired the privilege of sending one
ing-ship each year to Portobello on the Isthmus of
ama.

he war cannot be said to have been a failure. If the

succession of a French prince to the throne of Spain had
been prevented, at any rate French power in the Low Co
tries had been destroyed. There was no longer any cha
of a French fleet threatening the peace and safety of Engl
from Antwerp; the Dutch were safe too, for now the Austr
Netherlands intervened between them and France. Aust
though not treated frankly by the Allies in the peace ne
tiations, had not been neglected in her material interests;
Spanish Netherlands and Milan (with Naples and Sicily ad



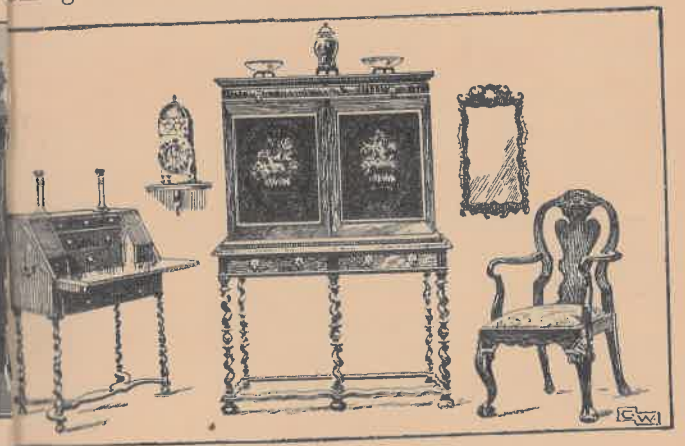
THE CLARENDON BUILDING, OXFORD, 1713–1830 the Printing house of the Clarendon Press. Designed by Sir John Vanbrugh

'Lie heavy on him earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.

soon after) formed a splendid prize. England might have gain
more, but put forward only moderate claims. Newfoun
land and Nova Scotia were great possessions, but the Fre
Empire on the St. Lawrence and Mississippi was still int

The death of Anne. The Queen's health was failing.
Act of Settlement, 1701, had fixed the succession, in the even
Anne dying without children, in the line of the Electress Sop
of Hanover. Sophia was a daughter of the Princess Elizab
and granddaughter of King James I. She was, like

her, a firm upholder of the Reformed Church in Germany;
son George had distinguished himself as a general in the
erial Army in the War of the Spanish Succession. Queen
e, however, was known to sympathize with the exiled
se of Stuart, of which she was a member. The chief
isters were in correspondence with the 'Old Pretender',[1]
son of James II. The people as a whole did not like the
of a German prince, who could not even speak English,
oming their sovereign. The minds of the ministers,



QUEEN ANNE FURNITURE

ever, were not quite made up. They knew the English
ld not easily acquiesce in a Roman Catholic king; and
the Pretender would not promise to give up his religion.
ley (created Earl of Oxford in 1711) and St. John (created
ount Bolingbroke in 1712) may have meant to proceed
tiously, to bring over George as king, on such terms as
ld safeguard the Tory party and their own power; or
ring over the Pretender, on such terms as would safeguard
Church of England. Most of the evidence seems to point

[1] The word Pretender applied to James III and his son is an English
lering, or rather mis-rendering, of the French word *prétendant*, a claimant.

to the conclusion that Bolingbroke at any rate was wo
to restore the House of Stuart. On July 27 he brought
the dismissal of Harley. Anne's death, however, took
by surprise. On July 30 she had a fit of apoplexy. He
decline was rapid. The party in the Government
favoured the Protestant Succession of the House of Han
led by the Duke of Shrewsbury, suddenly asserted thems
They obtained the admission of two powerful Whigs
Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Somerset, to the s
meeting of Privy Councillors. Anne died next day (Aug
1714), and George of Hanover was at once declared
of England:

'DEAR DEAN,
'The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday: the q
died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fo
banter us.' (St. John to Dean S

The Union with Scotland (1707). During the late Qu
reign a most notable act of peace had been accompli
Scotland and England were united under one Governm
Although joined under one crown, by the accession of Ja
to the English throne in 1603, the two countries had reta
their separate Governments—each had its own Council
Parliament. The Revolution of 1688 established cons
tional monarchy in each country; and, although the
sovereign ruled over both, he might have to accept one
of advice from the Government in England and another
the Government in Scotland. In the later years of Willia
and in the early years of Anne's reign, a great deal of fri
took place between the English and Scottish Governm
In 1698 the attempt of the Scots to found a colony on
Isthmus of Darien proved a disastrous failure, which
ascribed to lack of sympathy on the part of the En
Government. The English Navigation Acts bore very
upon the trade of the Scots, who were treated as belon
to a foreign country. In 1703 feeling ran so high that
Scottish Parliament passed an 'Act of Security'.

horized the Parliament, on the death of Anne, to choose
uccessor other than the one chosen in England. Anne,
a constitutional monarch, had to assent to the Act of
urity, although it seemed to foreshadow the break-up
her inheritance. It was clear, in fact, that either closer
on must come, or entire separation.

The English Government faced the situation boldly, and in
nerous spirit proposed a complete union between the two
ntries. The terms were arranged as a treaty between
land and England. Commissioners from either side met
London, and the terms were freely debated, and discussed
full length. Finally, a treaty was drawn up, and adopted,
r considerable opposition in each Parliament. This
aty, or Act of Union, agreed that the Scottish Council
Parliament should cease to exist, and that there should
ceforth be only one Government for the two countries.
Scots were to retain their own established Presbyterian
rch, and their own legal system with its venerable 'College
ustice' in Edinburgh. Trade between the two countries was
e free, and no legal difference was to be recognized between
tsmen and Englishmen throughout the British Empire.
United Kingdom was henceforth to be known as Great
tain (March 6, 1707).

Success of the Union. Although carried through for reasons
state, without any enthusiasm for it anywhere, the Union
proved a striking success. Admitted on free and equal
ms to participate in England and England's Empire,
Scots speedily made their way, and rose to high positions
rade and finance, at the Universities and in the Government,
the Navy, Army, and Imperial affairs. The Union, being
anged as a free treaty between the two peoples, left no
e of grievance behind it, no feeling of compulsion; and
h country has enormously gained by it—the Scots by the
at opportunities opened up to them outside their own small
ntry, the English by the work accomplished by this force-
people in every corner of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST TWO GEORGES

The character of George I. On the death of Queen A
George, the son of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, qu
succeeded to the throne. He was fifty-four years of
honest, well-meaning, and attentive to business. He
unable to speak English, and in any case had very l
to say. He knew little about the English people, and ha
particular sympathy with them. He tried to do his d



GEORGE I.
Medal struck to commemorate naval action off Cape Passaro, 171

however, and loyally carried out the understanding on wh
he had come to the throne—namely, that being really
foreigner he should not interfere too much in English aff
He therefore did not regularly attend the meetings of minist
and was the less tempted to do so owing to his inability
understand the language.

The Cabinet. 'Cabinet' Government, which had alre
taken form under Anne, was further developed. The Cabi
is a governing committee of ministers, meeting under
control of the chief or 'prime' minister, and respons

its actions to Parliament. The term 'prime minister'
scarcely used in the first half of the eighteenth century,
from 1721 Robert Walpole did in effect occupy this
tion.

ngland under the first two Georges. Under the first two
rges England was happy, prosperous, and, on the whole,
ressive. In each of the chief forms of national activity
real distinction was achieved.

politics the period is distinguished by its comparative
efulness. Between 1714 and 1739 there occurred a
bite Rebellion (1715) and a brief naval war with Spain
8). England was respected abroad. At home the country
well governed, orderly, and free. The laws against
onformity remained on the Statute book, but were not
ced by the Administration. The press was free, and
tained a keen interest in politics throughout the country.
level of ability in Parliament was high. Party discipline,
wever, was in a poor state. Men grouped themselves for
most part in one or other of the two historic parties of
gs or Tories; the Government was always Whig, and
ed to retain its supporters by a distribution of offices
pensions, and this was held, even in those easygoing
s, to be something of a public scandal. Walpole, though
onally incorruptible, had little scruple in dispensing this
of bribe to his supporters, and must be held responsible
some extent for passing on a tradition which has not
pletely disappeared from public life.

he Church of England was not in its most earnest con-
on. The bishops, being appointed by the Government,
mainly Whig; the lower clergy, being generally ap-
ted by country squires who owned the 'livings', were
ally Tory. The lack of preferment depressed the lower
gy, while the higher dignitaries were rather worldly and
ical. Yet the clergy, both high and low, were a respect-
body of men, well educated, not neglecting their duties,
ugh less strenuous than became their calling. A revival

of religious feeling, which left a permanent effect in Eng
and in America, was begun by the brothers Wesley a
the year 1730. With Wesley at first was associated Ge
Whitefield, an ordained clergyman of the Church of Eng



JOHN WESLEY, 1703–91
Founder of Methodism

whose preaching attained extraordinary popularity with
masses in the period of Walpole and Chatham. White
broke with the Church and spent the latter part of his li
clerical and philanthropic work in America.

In learning and literature the age was famous. Sir I
Newton, the greatest of English mathematicians, whose
life lasted from 1642 to 1727, was Master of the Mint. Ge
Berkeley, one of the most beautiful characters of this or
age, takes a high place as a philosopher and as a write
English, in a century which was one of the greatest both
thought and for prose style. From 1734 till his death in 1

as Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland. The last year of his life
spent in Oxford, where he died. His library is in Yale
versity in the United States. Daniel Defoe published
best-known works in the reign of George I; it was in



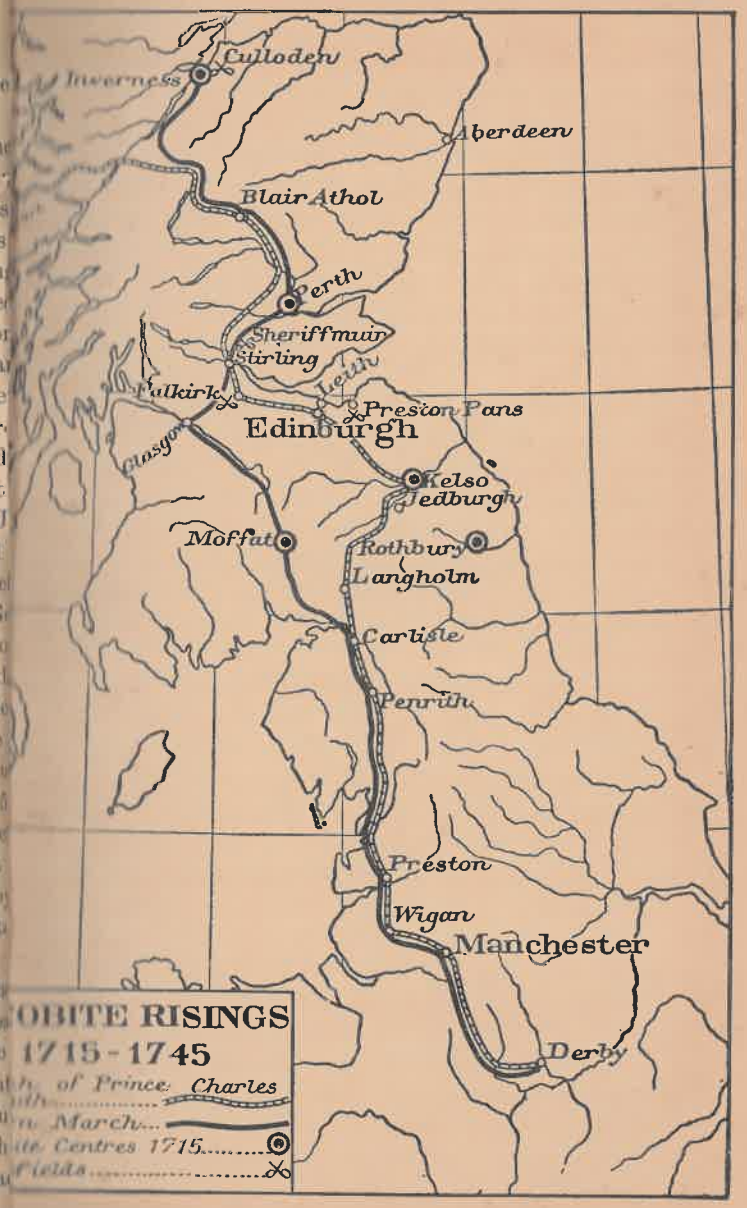
GEORGE WHITEFIELD
1714–70

that *Robinson Crusoe* appeared, to charm every British
since that time, to widen his interests, extend his outlook,
to give him the enthusiasm of adventure and romance.
1726 Swift published *Gulliver*; Pope's brilliant and incisive
, the *Essay on Man*, appeared in 1733; his friend,
John, Viscount Bolingbroke, produced the momentous
ical pamphlet, the *Idea of a Patriot King*, in 1738. At
University of Cambridge one of the very greatest of
ical scholars kept up England's position in the world of
ing. This was Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity,
died in 1742. His editions of Terence and Horace

were used in the learned societies of Europe for the re
the century.

The Rebellion of 1715. George I gave his confiden
Whig ministers from the first. When he had been
throne of England just a year, the adherents of James
'Old Pretender', raised a rebellion in the Highlands
in the south of Scotland, and in the north of En
(September 1715). The rising was badly organize
risings are bound to be when the Government is reaso
efficient and watchful. The Earl of Mar and his Highla
were checked on Sheriffmuir in Perthshire (Novembe
1715), and on the same day the insurgents of Lancashir
to capitulate at Preston. When the Old Pretender land
Peterhead, in January 1716, he found the rising pract
over, and had to get back to France as best he could. J
was a brave man, but with little else to recommend
and was not fit for the leadership of a desperate rebe
The chief result of the Rebellion of 1715 was to make G
determined never to trust a Tory Government, for he l
upon all Tories, with their romantic attachment to here
kingship, as being simply Jacobites. The apprehensi
revolution made the greater part of the country agree
him, so that for fifty years the majority of members re
to Parliament were Whig. When the Rebellion of 171
dying out, it was considered unwise to risk a G
Election, and accordingly the life of Parliament
prolonged from three to seven years (*supra*, p. 405) b
Septennial Act (April 1716), which remained on the St
Book till 1911.

The Peerage Bill. The Peace of Utrecht (p. 431), th
approved in a Tory House of Commons, had only been p
through the House of Lords by the help of the twelve
Tory peers who had been created in 1711. To prevent
use of the Royal Prerogative for party purposes in the fu
a Bill was introduced by the Whig Government (which
then led by Earls Stanhope and Sunderland) in 1719, ena



that the number of peers should never at any time be in
by the King by more than six. The number of
peers in 1719 was 178. The measure would have clo
House of Lords to new blood, and would have made it
caste, like the families whose names were inscribed
in the Golden Book of Venice. Walpole spoke aga
Bill, and induced the House of Commons to reject
different fate met a Bill to repeal the Occasional Co
Act. This Act, passed in 1711, debarred from pub
all men who merely occasionally conformed to the
of the Church of England. It was repealed in 1719.

Cape Passaro. Only one battle disturbed the pacific
policy of the Whigs from 1714 to 1739 (although a s
war, without any decisive action being fought, existed b
Great Britain and Spain in 1726–7). This battle w
naval battle off Cape Passaro in Sicily. After the
the Spanish Succession Spain had undergone a proc
reorganization, and had shown some small revival of vi
A plan was formed by the Spanish Government for reco
some of the portions of Italy which had been lost in th
war. Advantage was taken of the war which Austri
waging with the Turks. A Spanish army was landed in
An English fleet, under Admiral George Byng, was dispa
to the Mediterranean, and meeting the Spanish fleet off
Passaro destroyed it. Thus the settlement made
Peace of Utrecht was maintained through British sea
(August 1718). Next year two Spanish frigates
Lords Seaforth and Tullibardine, exiled Jacobite
300 Spanish soldiers, in Ross-shire; but this expeditio
easily defeated, and the leaders and men captured at Gle
(June 1719).

The South Sea Bubble. In 1720 a financial crisis occ
which showed the danger of abandoning the old ca
methods. In 1711 a Company of Merchants of Great Br
trading to the South Seas had been formed. The capital o
Company, that is to say, its permanent funds, amounted t

um of £10,000,000, all of which was lent to the Govern-
For this the Company received 8 per cent. interest.
one point of view, therefore, the Company might be
a 'Trust Company', with its funds invested in Govern-
stock. It had, however, another side to its activities:
a trading company. Under one of the treaties drawn
the Peace of Utrecht (1713) Great Britain had the
send one ship a year to the Spanish colonies for
trade, and also to supply negroes from Africa for
bour. These privileges the Government handed over
outh Sea Company.
720 the ideas of the Company directors had grown too
They offered to take over about £32,000,000 of the Na-
Debt: that is to say, this Company was to become the
of the public who had subscribed the Debt. The Govern-
was to be relieved of its responsibilities for the various
it had issued, and instead was to owe the whole com-
Debt to the Company, at a fixed rate of interest, namely
ent., instead of the 6 to 8 per cent. paid on the previous

Company hoped to induce all the private holders of
nment debt to exchange their stock for shares in the
any. The transaction was quite honest and successful
a point. The Government stock-holders exchanged
holdings into shares of the Company, and received
ends on those shares. The misfortunes came when
e, bidding for these shares, forced the price up, from
for one share to £1,000. A share of £100 was worth
when the dividend was 5 per cent.; but the same share
only worth £1,000 if the dividend was 50 per cent. As
dividend of the South Sea Company was only 7 or 8
ent., the people who bought at £1,000 were ruined.
alpole in power. The Company itself was quite sound. Its
ng of Government Stock, and its trade to the South Seas,
ght in a respectable revenue. It was the people who had
heir all into buying shares at an absurd price who suffered.

So many people were involved that the crisis was ... less than a national calamity: there was a panic in ... mercial circles, and widespread ruin threatened the ... Then the ministers thought of Walpole, the level-



THE COURT OF CHANCERY, held in Westminster Hall during the reign of George I. For Costume.

Norfolk squire, who in Parliament had warned the ... of the dangers of the scheme, after making a fortune ou... for himself. George I was advised to offer him the chief ... in the Ministry, and so Walpole became First Lord ... Treasury (the position which the Prime Minister has ... since held) in April 1721. He took what means could be ... adopted to relieve the distress; where the directors ...

...y were found to have misled the public (and there had ... great deal of bribery between the directors and certain ...rs), they were prosecuted, and their property was used ...ve the distress caused by the panic.

...Government took back part of its National Debt obliga- ...and the Company, with a reduced capital, went on ... legitimate functions in overseas trade. All through



NIRMALA COLLEGE LIBRARY 4282

ROBERT WALPOLE (seated). First Lord of the Treasury 1721–42

...risis its £100 shares had not fallen below £175, which ...its essential soundness. The slave trade, fortunately, ...not figure much in its annals. As an exporting and ...ting firm it continued to carry on a small trade with America till the year 1748. The saddest thing about ...risis had been the undoubted fact that English Ministers ...themselves been dealing in the stocks, and using their ...knowledge to make money from the credulity of the public.

...alpole. Robert Walpole was born in 1676. His father,

the squire of Houghton, in Norfolk, had nineteen children, and Robert, the fifth, was the eldest who survived. He went to school at Eton, as a Colleger maintained by the foundation; his portrait is to be seen in Eton College Hall. From Eton he went to King's College, Cambridge. When he was 24 years old he married, and when he was 25 his father died. Walpole thus became a country gentleman of independent means, his income from Houghton estate being £2,000 a year. The small borough of Castle Rising on the estate returned a member to Parliament; the squire himself became the member.

Walpole was always a Whig, and the Whigs were the most influential party for most of Queen Anne's reign. The chiefs of the party soon noticed his sterling sense, his industry. After showing his sound qualities in subordinate office, he was made Secretary-at-War in 1708. In 1712, after the Whigs had been displaced from office, he was impeached on a charge of corruptly receiving money while Secretary-at-War. He was sentenced to a short term of confinement in the Tower of London. There is no doubt, however, that he was personally quite honest, and that he never received any money from the country beyond his salary.

On the accession of George I the Whigs came into office, and remained there for nearly fifty years, the Tories being considered Jacobites, and therefore unfit to be in the confidence of either king or country. Walpole became Chancellor of the Exchequer. As Chancellor he had great difficulty in preventing the Hanoverian favourites of the King from getting corrupt grants of public money. In 1717 George I wished to declare war upon Russia. Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend, protested, and retired from the ministry. George I had a great belief in Walpole, and besought him, without effect, with tears in his eyes, to remain. He returned, at an almost unanimous call from the country, in 1721, and was Prime Minister, although he never called himself so, for the next twenty years.

The policy of Walpole. Walpole was a splendid administrator. His policy was peace abroad and prosperity at home: it is the policy which every statesman pursues, but which few have been able to achieve. How Walpole managed, no one can quite say. He was always genial, always sensible. Every one criticized him—one man wanted him to be more vigorous abroad, another wished him to enforce the penal laws against dissent at home. The contemporary verses are filled with outspoken remarks against him:

How happy a state did *Britain* once enjoy,
When no threats from foreign nations our peace could annoy;
Then *Spain* dared not invade
Our *English* merchants trade;
For we by law kept them in awe;
But now we are afraid
To speak for ourselves;
The times are grown so bad,
'Tis my belief that no relief
From peace is to be had;
Consider this my Friends,
If Spain *shou'd gain their ends,*
What will become of us at home,
Since all on Bob *depends?*[1]

Yet, though continually criticized, he was kept in office by the country for twenty years. Had the constituencies wished to get rid of him, they could have done so, as they had displaced the Whigs in 1710 (p. 430), or as they did after 1760. It was not altogether by corruption that Walpole kept his party together; the committee of his opponents, who, after his retirement, examined his administration, could prove nothing against him. No one could deny the good results of his administration. Taxes were low, the Press and the dissenters were left free, the National Debt was diminished, and the colonies carefully and sympathetically managed or, rather, left alone. The Prime Minister's straightforward, good-humoured speeches always appealed to the sense of the House. His affectation—for it was really such—of lack of sentiment was considered truly English. He had, indeed,

[1] *Walpole Ballads*, No. XLVI (edited by M. Percival, Oxford, 1916).

a real faith in his country, and a strong sense of duty. Yet he concealed his under a laughing face, and often under a rather coarse manner of speaking. But it is not fair to ascribe to him the lack of earnestness which then prevailed in England. It was a period of easy circumstances; the preachers and teachers of the day succumbed to a general apathy, which the troubled times prevailing in Europe since Walpole's death have successfully dispelled.

Opposition to Walpole. The great minister was never free from opposition in Parliament. In 1714 Bolingbroke (St. John) had fled to France and taken service under the Pretender, and most actively forwarded the Jacobite cause. The Jacobites were still dangerous. In 1722 a serious conspiracy to bring in Spanish troops was organized by Francis Atterbury, a former Dean of Christ Church, and at this time Bishop of Rochester, one of the most splendid and eloquent divines of the period. The conspiracy was discovered and suppressed. Atterbury died in exile. In 1723 Bolingbroke was allowed to return to England, but not to take his seat in the House of Lords. He therefore devoted his great talents to upholding Tory principles with his pen, and particularly to attacking Walpole in a number of brilliantly written works. The description which he gives of Walpole's administration in the preface to the *Patriot King* is an example of the way in which the great minister was censured; if the history of his administration, writes Bolingbroke, ever came down 'to blacken our annals', it would be laid as the greatest charge against Walpole that he did not pay off the National Debt. In point of fact Walpole reduced the debt from £50,000,000 in 1721 to £43,000,000 in 1741.

It was not, however, the Tories only who formed an opposition. There was a schism in Walpole's own party, the Whigs. One party held by William III's views, and advocated a vigorous policy on the continent of Europe. These 'Old Whigs' thought France still dangerous, and to be combated. Men with such views could not long remain in Walpole's



ST. MARY-LE-STRAND, LONDON. Designed by Gibbs, 1714–17

Cabinet. In 1724 the eminent Carteret, a Secretary of State whose knowledge of foreign politics was unrivalled, had to retire. Walpole got him the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but Carteret is thenceforth found among the Whig opposition.

The Drapier's Letters. In 1723 a contract for making copper coins for Ireland was given to an Englishman, Wood. The outcry got up against this contract, which was quite business-like, shows how unfairly many of Walpole's measures were treated. Dean Swift, cherishing at Dublin his spleen against mankind, vented his particular bad humour upon the Prime Minister:

'In short, these halfpence are like "the accursed thing which", as the Scripture tells us, "the children of Israel were forbidden to touch". They will run about like the plague, and destroy everyone who lays his hand upon them. I have heard scholars talk of a man who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a bull of brass with fire under it: but the prince put the projector first into his brazen bull, to make the experiment. This very much resembles the project of Mr. Wood; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. Wood's fate; that the brass he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last.' [1]

Swift gives a satirical account of the way the English regarded Ireland:

'There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico: farther than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish Papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea; for they have a tradition that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions passed upon them: "that the wild Irish were taken in toils; but that in some time they would

[1] Swift, *The Drapier's Letters*, I.

grow so tame as to eat out of your hands". I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants of Pepperharrow, "whether I had come from Ireland by sea?" and, upon the arrival of an Irishman to a country town, I have known crowds coming about him and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.' [1]

The obnoxious coinage was withdrawn by the Government.

The Excise Bill, 1733. Walpole, the most powerful of English premiers, passed comparatively few measures. Certain acts, like an annual indemnity Bill for Nonconformists, he was careful to see through the House. Others, good in themselves, he withdrew, rather than see the country plunged into agitation. Such was the fate of his Excise Bill. Excise is taxation levied *inside* the country upon various commodities. For instance, beer made in England pays excise. Customs are dues levied on goods coming into the country from abroad. In Great Britain, wine and tobacco, being imported from abroad, have always been subject to customs dues. Walpole proposed to change the customs dues, levied on wine and tobacco at their entrance into the country, into excise dues levied when they were taken out of bond. The object of this proposal was to defer the payment of the dues; tobacco and wine, shipped to England in order to be exported again to Europe, would not pay duty at all, and trade would be much facilitated. The Excise Bill, if carried into effect, would have lessened, at any rate, the mean and dishonest practice of smuggling, which cheated the revenue of so much money. Under Walpole's proposed system all goods could come freely into the ports, but every shop would have to satisfy the revenue officers concerning the excisable goods which it sold.

Against this Bill the opposition raised such a feeling among the people that Walpole withdrew it. There was, indeed, one great objection to the Bill. It would have involved the examination of shops by Government inspectors; and as it was often difficult to distinguish between a man's shop and

[1] Ibid., VI.

his private house, the Government inspectors would soon have been searching his private dwelling. Against the compulsory entry of officials into their private dwellings the English citizens have always shown the strongest objection.

Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, under the word 'Excise', takes the opportunity of making a hit at the great Whig, although long since dead: 'A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid.' [1]



DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE. Wanstead House, Essex, about 1720

Adam Smith, one of the earliest, and with his disciple, John Stuart Mill, the greatest of English economists, take a juster view:

'It was the object of the famous excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, to establish, with regard to wine and tobacco, a system not very unlike that which is here proposed.[2] But though the bill which was then brought into Parliament

[1] Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755).

[2] Adam Smith proposed (1776) that taxable goods coming from abroad should be kept in a 'bonded warehouse', and should pay no duty until they were taken out of the warehouse to be sold. This plan was put into effect by William Pitt, the younger.

comprehended those two commodities only, it was generally supposed to be meant as an introduction to a more extensive scheme of the same kind. Faction, combined with the interest of smuggling merchants, raised so violent though so unjust a clamour, against the bill, that the minister thought proper to drop it, and, from a dread of exciting a clamour of the same kind, none of his successors have dared to resume the project.' [1]



HATRED OF EXCISE. Cartoon showing the Lion and the Unicorn yoked to a beer-barrel

Colonial policy. With regard to the Colonies Walpole was an almost ideal minister. For he could not be accused of indifference; yet he never interfered too much. His industrious habits made it possible for him to attend to all sides of Government business, and to study the needs of those dependencies about which English statesmen in the eighteenth century often knew very little. The North American Colonies were left to rule themselves under the governors appointed

[1] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book V, ch. ii, art. iv.