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# OUR HANOYERIAN KINGS

A SHORT HISTORY OF

## THE FOUR GEOEGES

EMBKACING THE PERIOD, 1711—1830

BY

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## PREFACE.

THIS little book is not intended to throw any new light on a period which has already undergone considerable elucidation at the hands of other far abler writers. It is merely intended to supply a need which has long been felt, of some short history of the eighteenth century in England which should not be mainly composed of foreign policy and military campaigns. In fact, it may be as well to warn the reader who delights in nothing so much as blood and gunpowder, that he or she will find extremely little of both articles in the following pages. Those, however, who desire to trace out the development of our system of party government, and the "expansion of England" in the New World, will, I hope, with the aid of the tables at the beginning of the book, be able to follow their subject with sufficient ease and accuracy. It is almost inevitable from the nature of the work that there should be nothing exactly new about it, except as regards the arrangement and the actual descriptions. It may, in fact, be compared to a mosaic in which fragments of different colours are all ground down into one smooth surface, for practically it is a brief *resume* of the opinions of various more copious historians. I expect that I have even in many cases unconsciously quoted the exact words of some authors without proper acknowledgment. If this is so, it must be attributed to the vivid impression of peculiar expressiveness and appropriateness which the words themselves produced on me, and which caused them to live in my memory. At the same time I heartily apologize to all for any liberties of this kind which I may have unintentionally taken.

BRITIPFE C. SKOTTOWE,





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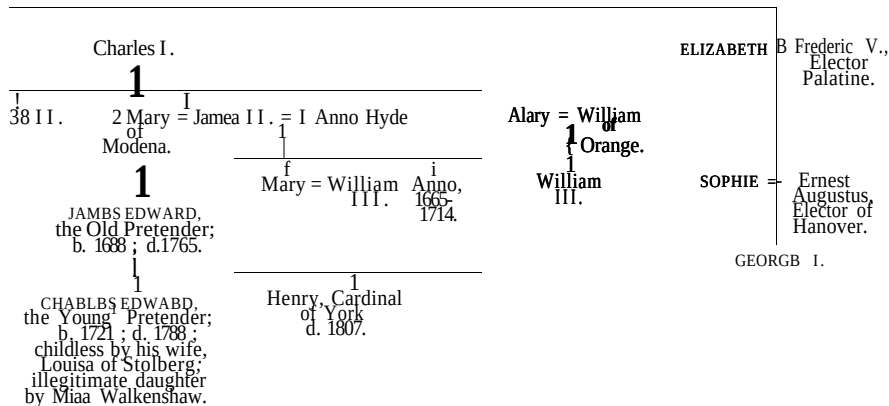
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# THE PROTESTANT SUCCESSION AND THE PRETENDERS.

## JAMES I.



## THE HANOVERIAN KINGS.

GEORGE L, Sophie of Brunswick.  
 b. 1660;  
 k. 1714;  
 d. 1727.

GEORGE II. ; = Caroline of Anspach.  
 b. 1683 ;  
 k. 1727;  
 d. 1760.

Sophie B Frederic William I.  
 I of Prussia.

Frederic II.

Frederic ; = Augusta  
 d. 1761. of Saxe-  
 Coburg.

William, Duke  
 of Cumberland;  
 d. 1766.

Anne — Prince  
 of Orange.

Henry = Land-  
 grave of  
 Hesse-Cassel.

Louisa — Frederic V.  
 of Denmark.

GEORGE III. ; = Charlotte Sophie  
 b. 1738; of Mecklenburg-  
 k. 1760; Strelitz.  
 d. 1820.

Edward, Duke of  
 York; d. 1767.

William, Duke of  
 Gloucester; d. 1805.

I  
 GEORGE IV. ; = Caroline of  
 b. 1762; j Brunswick.  
 k. 1820;  
 d. 1830.

Princess Charlotte;  
 d. 1817.

I  
 Frederic,  
 Duke of  
 York ;  
 d. 1827.

WILLIAM IV. ;  
 b. 1766;  
 k. 1830;  
 d. 1837.

Adelaide  
 of Saxe-  
 Meiningen.

Edward, = Victoria,  
 Duke of of Saxe-  
 Kent; Coburg.  
 d. 1820.

VICTORIA.

Ernest Augustus,  
 King of  
 Hanover;  
 d. 1851.

George,  
 King of Hanover,  
 1851-66.

Adolphus Frederic,  
 Duke of  
 Cambridge  
 d. 1850.

George,  
 Duke of Cambridge.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

|                 |                     |      |                       |
|-----------------|---------------------|------|-----------------------|
| <i>France.</i>  |                     | 1785 | Frederic William II.  |
| 1643            | Louis XIV.          | 1797 | Frederic William III. |
| 1715            | Louis XV.           |      |                       |
| 1774            | Louis XVI.          |      | <i>Russia.</i>        |
| 1793            | Republic.           | 1689 | Peter the Great.      |
| 1804            | Napoleon.           | 1725 | Catherine I.          |
| 1814            | Louis XVIII.        | 1727 | Peter II.             |
| 1824            | Charles X.          | 1780 | Anne.                 |
|                 |                     | 1740 | Ivan VI.              |
|                 |                     | 1741 | Elizabeth.            |
| <i>Germany.</i> |                     |      | Peter III.            |
| 1711            | Charles VI.         | 1762 | Catherine II.         |
| 1742            | Charles VII.        | 1796 | Paul I.               |
| 1745            | Francis I.          | 1801 | Alexander.            |
|                 | Marie Therese       | 1825 | Nicholas.             |
| 1765            | Joseph II.          |      |                       |
| 1790            | Leopold II.         |      | <i>Sweden.</i>        |
| 1792            | Francis II.         | 1697 | Charles XII.          |
|                 |                     |      | Frederic I.           |
| <i>Spain.</i>   |                     | 1720 | Ulrique.              |
| 1700            | Philippe V.         | 1751 | Adolf.                |
| 1746            | Ferdinand VI.       | 1771 | Gustavus III.         |
| 1739            | Charles III.        | 1792 | Gustavus IV.          |
| 1788            | Charles IV.         | 1809 | Charles XIII.         |
|                 | Ferdinand VII.      | 1818 | Charles XIV.          |
| 1808            | Interregnum.        |      |                       |
| 1813            | Ferdinand VII.      |      | <i>Denmark.</i>       |
|                 |                     | 1699 | Frederic IV.          |
| <i>Prussia.</i> |                     | 1730 | Christian VI.         |
| 1713            | Frederic William I. | 1746 | Frederic V.           |
| 1740            | Frederic II.        | 1766 | Christian VII.        |
|                 |                     | 1808 | Frederic VI.          |

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|      |                |      |              |
|------|----------------|------|--------------|
| 1700 | Clement XI.    | 1769 | Clement XIV. |
| 1721 | Innocent XIII. | 1775 | Pius VI.     |
| 1724 | Benedict XIII. | 1800 | Pius VII.    |
| 1730 | Clement XII.   | 1823 | Leo XII.     |
| 1740 | Benedict XIV.  | 1829 | Pius VIII.   |
| 1758 | Clement XIII.  |      |              |

### ARCHBISHOPS.

|      |          |      |                 |
|------|----------|------|-----------------|
| 1694 | Tenison. | 1758 | Seeker.         |
| 1715 | Wake.    | 1768 | Cornwallis.     |
| 1737 | Potter.  | 1783 | Moore.          |
| 1747 | Herring. | 1805 | Manners Sutton. |
| 1757 | Hutton.  | 1828 | Howley.         |

### CHANCELLORS.

|      |                  |      |                 |
|------|------------------|------|-----------------|
| 1714 | Cowper.          | 1778 | Thurlow.        |
| 1718 | Macclesfield.    | 1783 | { Loughborough. |
| 1725 | King.            |      | { Thurlow.      |
| 1733 | Talbot.          | 1793 | Loughborough.   |
| 1737 | Hardwicke.       | 1801 | Eldon.          |
| 1757 | Northington.     | 1806 | Erschine.       |
| 1766 | Camden.          | 1807 | Eldon.          |
| 1770 | { Charles Yorke. | 1827 | Lyndhurst.      |
|      | { In Commission. | 1830 | Brougham.       |
| 1771 | Bathurst.        |      |                 |

### FIRST LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

|      |               |      |                    |
|------|---------------|------|--------------------|
| 1714 | Halifax.      | 1770 | North.             |
| 1715 | { Carlisle.   | 1782 | { Rockingham.      |
|      | { R. Walpole. |      | { Shelburne.       |
| 1717 | Stanhope.     | 1783 | { Portland.        |
| 1718 | Sunderland.   |      | { W. Pitt.         |
| 1721 | R. Walpole.   | 1801 | Addington.         |
| 1742 | Wilmington.   | 1804 | W. Pitt.           |
| 1743 | H. Pelham.    | 1806 | Grenville.         |
| 1754 | Newcastle.    | 1807 | Portland.          |
| 1756 | Devonshire.   | 1809 | Perceva?           |
| 1757 | Newcastle.    | 1812 | Liverpool.         |
| 1762 | Bute.         | 1827 | { Canning.         |
| 1763 | G. Grenville. |      | { (Aug.) Goderich. |
| 1765 | Rockingham.   | 1828 | Wellington.        |
| 1766 | Grafton.      | 1830 | Grey.              |

## CHANCELLORS OF THE EXCHEQUER.

|      |               |      |                 |
|------|---------------|------|-----------------|
| 1715 | R. Walpole.   | 1782 | { Cavendish.    |
| 1717 | Stanhope.     |      | { W. Pitt.      |
| 1718 | Aislabie.     | 1783 | { Cavendish.    |
| 1721 | R. Walpole.   |      | { W. Pitt.      |
| 1742 | Sandys.       | 1801 | Addington.      |
| 1743 | H. Pelbam.    | 1804 | W. Pitt.        |
| 1754 | Legge.        | 1806 | Petty.          |
| 1755 | Lyttelton.    | 1807 | Perceval.       |
| 1756 | Legge.        | 1812 | Vansittart.     |
| 1761 | Barrington.   | 1823 | Robinson.       |
| 1762 | Dashwood.     | 1827 | { Canning.      |
| 1763 | G. Grenville. |      | { (Aug.) Hemes. |
| 1765 | Dowdeswell.   | 1828 | Goulburn.       |
| 1766 | C. Townshend. | 1830 | Althorp.        |
| 1767 | North.        |      |                 |

## SECRETARIES OF STATE.

(BY MR. A. B. BEAVEN, OF PRESTON.)

|                             |                                      |      |                                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------|
| <i>Northern Department.</i> |                                      | 1716 | Paul Methuen.                            |
| 1714                        | Viscount Townshend.                  | 1717 | Joseph Addison.                          |
| 1716                        | General (afterwards Karl)            | 1718 | James Craggs. <sup>1</sup>               |
|                             | Stanhope.                            | 1721 | Lord Carteret.                           |
| 1717                        | Earl of Sunderland.                  | 1724 | Duke of Newcastle.                       |
| 1718                        | Karl Stanhope. <sup>1</sup>          | 1718 | Duke of Bedford.                         |
| 1721                        | Viscount Townshend.                  | 1751 | Earl of Holderness.                      |
| 1730                        | Lord (afterwards Earl of)            | 1754 | Sir Thomas Robinson.                     |
|                             | Harrington.                          | 1755 | Henry Fox.                               |
| 1746                        | Earl of Chesterfield.                | 1756 | William Pitt.                            |
| 1748                        | Duke of Newcastle.                   | 1761 | Earl of Egremont. <sup>1</sup>           |
| 1754                        | Earl of Holderness.                  | 1763 | Earl of Sandwich.                        |
| 1761                        | Earl of Hnte.                        | 1705 | General Conway.                          |
| 1762                        | (May) George Grenville.              | 1766 | (May) Duke of Richmond                   |
| 1762                        | (Oct.) Earl of Halifax               | 1766 | (July) Earl of Shelburne.                |
| 1765                        | Duke of Grafton.                     | 1768 | (Oct.) Viscount Weymouth                 |
| 1766                        | General Conway.                      | 1770 | Earl of Rochford.                        |
| 1768                        | (Jan.) Viscount Weymouth.            | 1775 | Viscount Weymouth.                       |
| 1768                        | (Oct.) Earl of Rochford.             | 1779 | Earl of Hillsborough.                    |
| 1770                        | Earl of Sandwich.                    |      |                                          |
| 1771                        | (Jan.) Earl of Halifax. <sup>1</sup> |      | <i>American Department.</i> <sup>2</sup> |
| 1771                        | (June) Earl of Suffolk. <sup>1</sup> | 1768 | Earl of Hillsborough.                    |
| 1779                        | Viscount Stormont.                   | 1772 | Earl of Dartmouth.                       |
|                             |                                      | 1776 | Lord George Germaine.                    |
|                             |                                      | 1782 | (Feb.) William Ellis.                    |

*Southern Department.*  
1714 General Stanhope.

<sup>1</sup> Died in office.

a Office abolished, March, 1782.

The *Northern* Secretary attended to the affairs of Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Holland, Poland, Saxony, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and the Baltic.

The *Southern* Secretary's department included France, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, the Rarbarry States, and Turkey/,

The affairs of the Colonies from 1782 to 1801 were transacted at the *Home* Office; transferred to the War Office in 1801.

|                                                                          |                                                                                   |                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Home Secretaries.</i>                                                 |                                                                                   | 1791 Lord Grenville.  |
| 1782 (Mar.) Earl of Shelburne.                                           | 1801 Lord Hawkesbury.                                                             |                       |
| 1782 (July) Thomas Townshend<br>(afterwards Lord Sydney)                 | 1804 Lord Harrowby.                                                               |                       |
| 1783 (April) Lord North.                                                 | 1805 Lord Mulgrave.                                                               |                       |
| 1783 (Dec.) Lord Sydney.                                                 | 1806 (Feb.) Charles James Fox. <sup>1</sup>                                       |                       |
| 1789 William Grenville (after-<br>wards Lord Grenville).                 | 1806 (Sept.) Viscount Howick.                                                     |                       |
| 1791 Henry Dundas.                                                       | 1807 George Canning.                                                              |                       |
| 1794 Duke of Portland.                                                   | 1809 (Oct.) Earl Hatlmrst.                                                        |                       |
| 1801 Lord Pelham.                                                        | 1809 (Dec) Marquis Wellesley.                                                     |                       |
| 1803 Charles Yorke.                                                      | 1812 Viscount Castlereagh <sup>1</sup><br>(afterwards Marquis of<br>Londonderry). |                       |
| 1804 Lord Hawkesbury.                                                    | 1822 George Canning.                                                              |                       |
| 1806 Earl Spencer.                                                       | 1827 Earl Dudley.                                                                 |                       |
| 1807 Lord Hawkesbury (after-<br>wards Earl of Liverpool).                | 1828 Earl of Aberdeen.                                                            |                       |
| 1809 Richard Ryder.                                                      | 1830 Viscount Palmerston.                                                         |                       |
| 1812 Viscount Sid mouth.                                                 | <i>Secretary of Stain for War.</i>                                                |                       |
| 1822 Robert Peel.                                                        | 1794-1801 Henry Dundas.                                                           |                       |
| 1827 (April) William Sturges-<br>Bourne.                                 | <i>Secretaries of State for War and<br/>the Colonies.</i>                         |                       |
| 1827 (July) Marquis of Lans-<br>downe.                                   | 1801 LordHobart.                                                                  |                       |
| 1828 Robert Peel.                                                        | 1804 Earl Camden.                                                                 |                       |
| 1830 Yiscount Melbourne.                                                 | 1805 Viscount Castlereagh.                                                        |                       |
| <i>Foreign Secretaries.</i>                                              |                                                                                   | 1806 William Windham. |
| 1782 (Mar.) Charles James Fox.                                           | 1807 Viscount Castiereagh.                                                        |                       |
| 1782 (July) Lord Grantham,                                               | 1809 Earl of Liverpool.                                                           |                       |
| 1783 (April) Charles James Fox.                                          | 1812 Earl Batburnt.                                                               |                       |
| 1783 (Dec. 19) Earl Temple.                                              | 1827 (April) Viscount Goderich.                                                   |                       |
| 1783 (Dec. 23) Marquis of Car-<br>marthen (afterwards<br>Duke of Leeds). | 1827 (Aug.) William Huskisson.                                                    |                       |
|                                                                          | 1828 Sir George Murray.                                                           |                       |
|                                                                          | 1830 Viscount Goderich (after-<br>wards Earl of Ripon).                           |                       |

<sup>1</sup> Died in office.



## GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

The possessions of England in 1714 were:—

- In India . . . . . A small district in Bengal, the town and island of Bombay, Madras, and Fort St. David.
- In North America . . . The coastline from Florida to Nova Scotia, and extending inland to the Alleghany Mountains; Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay.
- In the West Indies. . . Jamaica, Earbadoes, Bahamas, Montserrat, Bermudas, St. Christopher, Antigua, Nevis, Anguilla, St. Kitis.
- In South America . . . Small colony in Guiana and Honduras.
- In Africa . . . . . Cape Coast Castle.
- In the Atlantic . . . St. Helena.
- In Europe . . . . . Gibraltar, *Minorca*.

## GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

### GAINS.

### LOSSES.

1763 ! Peace of Paris.

Upper and Lower Canada, ^  
Labrador, New Brunswick, Cape  
Breton Isle, Prince Edward's  
Isle, and *all the territory north of*  
*Louisiana and Mexico, and west*  
*of the Alleghanies.* N. America.

Bengal, Masulipatam, the  
Northern Circars, supremacy  
over Arcot. India.

Grenada, St. Vincent's, Do-  
minica, the Grenadines, *Guada-*  
*lovpe, Tobago.* W. Indies.

1765 Falkland Isles S. Atlantic.

1773 Australia and New Zealand . S. Pacific.

1778 British  
Colunjbia, Yancouver's" N. America.

Isle. Sandwich Isles N. Pacific.

1783 J Negapatam, supremacy over India.

Oude. \*

1787 Sierra Leone . . . . Africa.

New South Wales . . . . Australia.

1788 j Guntoor Circar India.

1783 | Peace of Versailles.

The New England and }  
Southern Colonies, and the > N. America.  
country extending to the Pacific.)

Minorca . . . . Europe.

Guadaloupe, Tobago W. Indies.



## NOTES

## A.

## THE BILL OF RIGHTS, 1688, 1689.

1. The power of suspending laws is illegal.
2. The power of dispensing laws as claimed by James II. is illegal (thus leaving the power of pardon untouched).
3. James II.'s Ecclesiastical Court and all courts like it are illegal.
4. Keeping a standing army in peace is illegal unless Parliament gives its consent. (From 1689 Parliament has usually given its consent annually in the Mutiny Act.)
5. Raising taxes without consent of Parliament is illegal. (Taxes from this time were usually voted annually, in order that Parliament might retain the control of them.)
6. Subjects have a right to petition the king.
7. Elections to Parliament ought to be conducted freely.
8. Nothing said in Parliament ought to be questioned out of Parliament.
9. Parliaments ought to be held frequently.
10. William and Mary are declared King and Queen of England. The crown is to go to their heirs, and then to Anne and her heirs.
11. No Papist or person married to a Papist can sit on the throne of England.

## . B.

## THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT, 1701.

1. The Crown was to pass on the death of Anne to the Electress Sophie of Hanover and her Protestant descendants.
2. The sovereign was not to leave England without the consent of Parliament (repealed 1716).
3. No foreigner was to hold office or receive grants from the Crown.
4. Public business was to be done only with the consent of the Privy Council, and all resolutions of the Privy Council were to be signed by those members who approved of them. (Intended to destroy Cabinet Government, and revive the power of the Privy Council. Repealed 4 Anne.)
5. England was not to be dragged into any war on account of the foreign dominions of her kings.
6. Judges were to receive fixed salaries, and were not to be removed from their offices except on conviction of some offence, or on the address of both Houses of Parliament.
7. No person holding any place of profit under the Crown shall

be able to retain his seat in Parliament. (Repealed 4 Anne. 6 Anne prescribed *that any member of Parliament accepting office under the Crown must seek re-election.*)

## C.

## SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE.

The old rule of succession to the Crown during the Anglo-Saxon period, was that the worthiest and fittest member of the royal family was selected by the Witan or National Council., Usually a regular form of election was gone through. This rule was preserved by the Normans. All the early Norman and Plantagenet kings were selected by the Witan,—in many cases with an utter disregard for the rule of hereditary right. On this principle Stephen, Henry IV., Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., were elected to the throne, though in no case were they the direct heirs of their predecessors. The election, therefore, of William III. by the Bill of Rights, and of the Hanoverian line by the Act of Settlement, was strictly in accordance with the regular custom. From 1701, however, the rule of succession in England, as by law established, is that of hereditary right in the Hanoverian family, limited only by the rule that the sovereign must conform to the Church of England.

## D.

## THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR.

In 1700 the King of Spain died childless, leaving all his territories to the Duke of Anjou, Philippe, the second grandson of Louis XIV. of France. The European Powers, considering that such a vast acquisition would dangerously aggrandize France, combined to wrest the greater part of them away from Philippe, to confer them on the Archduke Charles of Austria, brother of the Emperor Joseph I. Their success was so striking that they would probably have compelled Louis to order Philippe to surrender Spain. The accession of Charles to the empire on the death of his brother rendered it as dangerous to give him the whole Spanish dominions as to allow Philippe to keep them. A Tory Ministry, moreover, determined on peace, had succeeded the warlike Whig Ministry of the early years of Anne. Peace was therefore concluded at Utrecht, by which the Spanish dominions were divided between Charles and Philippe,—Philippe obtaining Spain itself.

## E.

## THE DARIEN SCHEME, 1698, 1699.

This was a scheme started by a Scotchman named Paterson

for the colonization of the Isthmus of Darien, with the view to establishing a short cut for the Eastern trade across the isthmus to Europe. A company was formed to carry this idea out. It was sure, however, to lead to complications with Spain and Holland, in which England would have to bear the burden of the war. The king therefore strongly disapproved. \* An attempt, however, was made to colonize Darien. The colonists speedily got embroiled with the Spaniards, and after suffering severely were obliged to abandon the settlement. The Scots attributed the whole disaster to the jealousy of England, and much ill-feeling was created between the two countries.

## F.

## IMPEACHMENT.

This is the prosecution of an offender by the Commons in Parliament before the Lords, who act as judges, the judicial power of Parliament having been declared to lie with the Upper House alone in 1399. The Commons first decide whether the offender shall be impeached, which question is debated and voted on by the whole House. They then deliver the accusation at the bar of the Lords, adducing evidence of the offender's guilt. Impeachment was usually reserved for great political offenders, whom it was difficult to attack otherwise.

## ATTAINDER.

A Bill of Attainder is a Bill passed by Parliament condemning any person to suffer death, forfeiture of his property, and corruption of blood, so that it was impossible for any one to inherit anything through him. Bills of Attainder were usually made use of to attack offenders whose guilt was notorious, but against whom it was impossible to procure legal evidence, for it was not necessary to adduce any evidence or hear any defence on a Bill of Attainder, though both those formalities were necessary to an impeachment.

## G.

## THE CIVIL LIST

was first established at the accession of William and Mary for the support of the royal household, the personal expenses of the king, and the payment of civil offices and pensions. It therefore comprised at once the personal expenditure of the king, and many other items which we should consider more properly belonged to the expenditure of the nation. It was defrayed partly by excise duties, and partly by the hereditary revenues of the Crown.

# OUR HANOVERIAN KINGS.

## Book I—STANHOPE, 1714—1721.

### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

##### *Section 1.—The End of Anne.*

THE last years of Anne were, unlike the earlier ones, devoted to peace and the settlement of the great question whether a Protestant or a Catholic dynasty should reign in England. The importance of this had been already felt when it became evident that William III. would not marry again, and when the death of the Duke of Gloucester, the last survivor of Anne's numerous children, destroyed the remaining hopes of the nation. It became necessary to look elsewhere for a Protestant heir, for the temper of the people was such at this time that no Catholic had the faintest chance of attaining the throne. The principle upon which Parliament proceeded was the old constitutional custom of succession, dating from the Anglo-Saxon monarchies, viz. the selection of the fittest member of the royal family. They passed over all the Catholics, and chose the nearest Protestant representative as the most suitable heir to the throne. This choice was embodied in the **Act of Settlement**, 1701, which declared that if the heirs of William and Anne should fail, the crown should descend to the **Electress Sophie of Hanover**, and through her to her heirs, provided they continued Protestants. None of the descendants of Charles I. possessed the necessary qualification; for besides James, the "Old Pretender," there were only the children of

the Catholic Duchess of Orleans, Henriette Marie, the youngest daughter of Charles. Parliament therefore was obliged to look still further back, and pick out among the immediate heirs of James I. a fresh stock from which to perpetuate the succession,

**Elizabeth** the third child of James I., had married in 1613, Frederic, Count Palatine of the Rhine. He was

**Elizabeth of the Palatinate.** that Frederic whose unfortunate ambition led him into accepting the crown of Bohemia in 1619, and thus exposed him to the vengeance of Ferdinand II. of Austria and the Empire who regarded it as the hereditary appanage of his own family. The realm of Bohemia proved only a winter-kingdom for the unfortunate prince, and early in the following year Frederic's hereditary dominions, the Palatinate, were overrun by his enemies and given to his deadliest foe, the Duke of Bavaria. From this time Elizabeth led a chequered career. She appears in the wars that followed like some beautiful and distressed princess of the old chivalrous days, for whose defence gallant knights and gentlemen nocked from the four winds of heaven, and accounted themselves amply rewarded for their toils and dangers if they received the smallest token of her favour from "the Queen of Hearts." The age of chivalry, however, had really gone by. Providence had begun to fight steadily "on the side of the big battalions." So the heroic champions of the Lady Elizabeth only wasted their gallantry and daring uselessly against the dark wiry infantry of Spain. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, it is true, restored a portion of the Palatinate to the heir of the unlucky Frederic; but this was not until the war had lost its early chivalrous and religious character, and degenerated into a struggle on the part of Sweden and France to enrich themselves at the expense of the Empire, and on the part of Austria to retain her pre-eminence in that body.

Frederic and Elizabeth were the progenitors of a large family, among whom the Princes Rupert and Maurice have left names famous in English history as Royalist cavalry officers in the Civil Wars. More important to us, however, was a certain

**Electress  
Sophie of  
Hanover.**

little sister of theirs, the twelfth in a family of thirteen, who eventually became the **Electress Sophie of Hanover**. She was born at the Hague in 1630; and was married to Ernest, titular Bishop of Osnabruck and Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg. The duke was created Elector of Hanover by the emperor for staunch



adherence to the House of Austria during the long wars with Louis XIV. of France. On his death he was succeeded by his son, George Louis, who later became our George I. Sophie inherited her mother's wonderful beauty, and was additionally endowed with an even temper and a capacity for the highest culture, which had been exercised to the utmost. She was equally well versed in English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian. She was far-sighted enough to see that it would be extremely difficult for a ruler, brought up in the absolutist principles of the Continent, to fulfil the position of an English king, from whom, it was beginning to be recognized even out of England, the chief thing required was a capacity for assimilating and acting on the views of others. At first, therefore, she was by no means eager for the English succession. She, however, made no difficulty in accepting the Act of Settlement, and later it even became her dearest wish that she might have "Queen of England" written after her name. This wish, however, was destined not to be gratified, for she died exactly eight weeks before the English throne fell vacant. Undoubtedly her decease was a fortunate thing for England, for had she survived Queen Anne, her reign, owing to her advanced age, could have been but short, and two successions coming so close together must have still further complicated the dangerous state of affairs which followed the death of Anne. Her peculiar philosophic and rather freethinking views, moreover, would have accorded ill with the orthodoxy of her subjects.

The last few days of Anne's reign were a period during which the fate of England seemed wavering in the balance. Of the two chiefs of the Tory Government which was then ruling England, **Lord Bolingbroke** had probably committed himself to the Jacobite cause to some extent, and was certainly bent on giving a preponderating influence in the country to the Tory and High Church interest. **Harley, Earl of Oxford**, whose inclination was towards the Low Church party and even the Dissenters, was unable to agree with the extensive views of his ambitious colleague, while he felt his own position hardly strong enough to dismiss him. **Bolingbroke's** vigorous intellect, however, could not endure the vacillating policy of Harley, and the difference between them came to a crisis over the Schism Act, which was intended to exclude Dissenters entirely from the teaching profession. This Harley was unwilling to consent to, and an angry

**Bolingbroke's**  
scheme\*.

dispute arose between the two Ministers. Bolingbroke, however, had entirely gained the ear of the queen, and, more important still, of her favourite, Lady Masham, by his High Church views, and the result was that the queen dismissed the Harley's fall.

Lord Treasurer, Harley, on the ground that he was unpunctual, untrustworthy, impolite, and frequently intoxicated. The last obstacle to Bolingbroke's schemes being thus removed, he prepared to form a Ministry wholly in the Jacobite interest. Determined to be no more overshadowed by the power of a Lord Treasurer, he decided to place that office in commission. Before, however, anything could be done, the queen was taken seriously ill, and from that illness she never really recovered. "And it is a remarkable proof," says Lord Mahon, "of the bad opinion commonly entertained of her Majesty's counsels, and of the revolutionary result anticipated from them, that the Funds rose considerably on the first tidings of her danger, and fell again on a report of her recovery."

The return of the Duke of Marlborough at this moment seemed to Bolingbroke fraught with omens of danger; for the cautious disposition of that great, though erring, man was too well known for it to be imagined that he would move in an uncertain cause. The treatment, moreover, which he had received from the Tories had been far too humiliating to leave any doubt that he would throw his great influence on the side of Hanover, and this would weigh heavily among the veterans. Bolingbroke and the Jacobites, stunned by this sudden crisis, were unable to act as the occasion required. The Whigs took advantage of their indecision to mature their own plans. Stanhope and Marlborough prepared the army, and stood in readiness to seize the Tower, arrest the principal Jacobites, and gain the outposts, on the demise of the queen. Violence, however, was rendered unnecessary by the prompt action of the Duke of Shrewsbury.

Henry Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, had been the leader of the Whigs of the Revolution of 1688; subsequently, in common with many of the great men of the time, he was convicted of treasonable correspondence with the Stuarts; later, he so far receded from his first political creed, as to assist Queen Anne in 1702 to rid herself of the Whigs and rule by means of the Tories. This, as may well be imagined, had given him the confidence of the Tories and a seat in the Ministry. Now, however, he regretted

the false step he had made, and determined to retrace it. He was sincerely attached to the Hanoverian succession, and he took advantage of his position in Bolingbroke's Ministry to thwart his leader's Jacobite plans. With this view he secretly concerted measures with the great Whig leaders, the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset. In consequence, these two peers suddenly appeared in the Privy Council, and, offering their assistance, proposed that Shrewsbury should be appointed Lord High Treasurer. Bolingbroke, with rage gnawing at his heart, did not dare refuse, and the will of the Council was confirmed by the dying queen. "Use it for the good of my people," were almost her last words, as she delivered the white staff of office into the hands of Shrewsbury. This made him master of the situation. A large fleet was put to sea; Portsmouth strongly garrisoned; bodies of troops assembled in London; and the Elector of Hanover was warned to hold himself in readiness to cross the sea at a moment's notice.

Then, on the 1st of August, 1714, the great event, which had been expected with such different hopes and fears, occurred—the queen died !

Death of  
Anne, Aug. 1,  
X714.

The decisive action of the Whig leaders, however, had averted all danger. Bolingbroke did not venture to move. The government was entrusted to the seven great officers named in the statute, and to eighteen other Whig lords nominated by the Elector, who were to form a Council of Regency, with the title Lords Justices. From this list the name of Marlborough was excluded, no doubt owing to the personal jealousy of George, who had become acquainted with Marlborough's commanding intellect during the Wars of the Spanish Succession, and perhaps feared in him a military Richelieu. All difficulties seemed now smoothed away. Parliament was to sit for six months longer. A Civil List of 700,000*l.* was voted without opposition. The new king was acknowledged by Louis XIV. himself in a personal letter to the Lords Justices. Lastly, on the 18th September, George himself and his eldest son arrived in England.

Accession of  
George I.

Section 2.—George I. and the Pretender.

**James Francis Edward**, the "**Old Pretender**," or the "Chevalier de St. George," was the son of James II. and Mary of Modena. He was born in 1688, under circumstances which gave rise to a suspicion that he was not the child of his supposed parents, but a spurious offspring, foisted on the people by the Catholic advisers of James, in order to perpetuate a Catholic dynasty. This legend, which seems to have no actual foundation, acquired a certain amount of colour owing to the fact that James had unwisely omitted to invite to the birth the high officers of Church and State, whose duty it is to be present at such an important event. Undoubtedly, however, it was the general dislike to the perpetuation of the Catholic reforms of James that caused this improbable story to be received with such credence. It was currently reported and believed that the child had been introduced into the palace in *a warming-pan*; and in consequence it became the fashion for all true Whigs to wear little farthing warming-pans suspended from their button-holes on the prince's birthday. This unfortunate young man, exiled from his very cradle, was recognized as King of England by Louis XIV. on the death of James II. The Peace of Utrecht, however, drove him from France, and forced him to seek a refuge in the territories of the Duke<sup>1</sup>, of Lorraine. At St. Gennains, the shelter granted to his family by Louis, he had been brought up as a Catholic, and educated on absolutist principles, which rendered him *totally unfitted to fulfil the role of an English king*, which all his life he had aspired to. In him was seen the same extraordinary inability to comprehend existing facts and adapt himself to them, which had proved the ruin of his father. He was unwilling to receive advice, and usually acted on the spur of the moment. His incapacity was shown by his trusting to the ambition of a man like Lord Mar in 1715, when Bolingbroke and the Duke of Berwick, the two ablest of his partisans, were opposed to any movement; his littleness of mind by his disgracing, for some trifling cause, Bolingbroke, the man who had done most for him of all his followers. His half-brother, Berwick, bears evidence to the lamentable weakness, which alone could have caused such an enormous blunder. James was perhaps brave, as most of the

Stuarts were, but his bravery was chiefly shown in fighting in the French ranks against his own countrymen at Oudenarde and Malplaquet.

Still James possessed many important advantages which were not shared by his opponent. He was an Englishman. He was the natural and legitimate heir. He was descended directly from the "Royal Martyr," for so the Tories regarded Charles I. He was invested with the superstitious reverence peculiar to the Stuarts, derived from their claim to the power of curing by their touch the terrible disease known as the "King's Evil." Moreover, a romantic interest attached itself to his chequered career, and men, who had never felt the real burden of Stuart misrule, condoned the offences which had produced the Revolution, and magnified the few virtues of the family. James, too, was little known in England. He had not as yet been tried in the furnace, and his real incapacity for management, or receiving advice, had not made itself apparent. The little that was known of him was at least favourable.

On the other hand, the little that was known of George was decidedly unfavourable. Even the Electress Sophie herself had privately expressed her opinion that her son was unfitted to adapt his despotic temperament to the position of an English Constitutional king, and that the best thing would be for the Pretender to change his religion, as Henry IV. of France had done, and receive the crown of England as the price of his conversion. This opinion, however, was expressed before 1701, and did not prevent her accepting the provisions of the Act of Settlement, when offered to her for confirmation. George himself was a man of more virtues than accomplishments, more vices than virtues. He was upright, honourable, benevolent, mindful of services, and, above all, brave. He was assiduous in his attention to public business. He loved his people as much as he could love anything. But he had been brought up in an extremely simple and unostentatious manner, suitable for the station to which he was born, but scarcely calculated to fit him for the position of an English Constitutional king, who is possessed of little power, but is required to be magnificent and dignified, as befitting the nominal head of the State. He possessed none of the family virtues, which were supposed to be the great attribute of the Stuarts.

His wife, Sophie Dorothee of Zell, had long been shut up in the dreary castle of Ahlden on a charge of unfaithfulness. Her place was filled by two ugly old German mistresses. His son, afterwards George II., he regarded with such hostility, that, when at last he obtained the English throne, he desired to exclude his heir-apparent from the Kegency in his absence, and quarrelled with his Ministers on the subject. His personal appearance was insignificant in the extreme. He had a heavy countenance,—an awkward address. He carried economy almost to stinginess ; narrow-mindedness and prejudice to excess. He had no acquaintance with the theory, much less the practice, of the British Constitution. He was incapable of speaking, or even understanding, the English language. It was impossible to hail his accession with any enthusiasm. It was impossible that such a king could satisfy the exaggerated feelings of loyalty, which had long been one of the chief traditions of the Tory party. One advantage, however, he did possess, and it gave him an almost immeasurable strength. He was a *Protestant*, and the Pretender was a bigoted Catholic.

There is no doubt that the majority of the English people did *not* desire a Catholic king, and would have looked with horror on any the remotest prospect of a Catholic restoration. It was this feeling which weakened the loyalty of the Tory party, and which had triumphed at the Revolution of 1688 over their first great doctrine of passive obedience. It was this feeling which obliged the chief men of that party to hide the real extent of their schemes, and proceed with the utmost caution. It was this feeling which was the strongest argument in favour of the Hanoverian, and rendered his personal unpopularity, his insignificant character, and his German predilections, really of little account. And, even later, when his defects were better known, when he had shown clearly that his interests were bound up in Hanover, when he had excluded the Tories from political life entirely, when he had lavished honours and pensions recklessly on his German favourites, still the mass of the people looked up to him, and supported him as their sole hope against a Catholic restoration;—much., as sailors will fashion a plug out of the oldest and most unsightly piece of wood to stop the leak through which rush the raging waters.

There can hardly be any doubt that if the Pretender had changed his religion, or had even held out any signs of a possible conversion, he would have been welcomed with national enthusiasm. But his very devotion to his religion, which ought, at any rate, to have commanded respect, supplied an additional argument against him. For it was one of the strongest tenets of all English Churchmen's creed, that devotion to the Catholic religion necessarily saps secular honour and faith. An irreligious man of the world like Charles II. would, by the irony of history, have been regarded with infinitely less suspicion.

True position  
of the Pre-  
tender.

### Section 3.—Whigs and Tories.

It almost seems that a series of isolated political occurrences, beginning with the sudden and unexpected death of Anne, and culminating with the assumption of the Regency by the Whig Duke of Shrewsbury, secured the throne to George; and that really he won the throne because he arrived in England before the Pretender. But a careful examination of the state of the two great political parties will show that, though the Tories were by far the most numerous, yet the Whigs were really the strongest, for they were infinitely superior to their rivals in energy, intelligence, concentration, and organization. The real strength of the Whig party lay in its elements. These included the aristocracy, the commercial classes, and the Nonconformists.

Whigs.

The English aristocracy, after the destruction or defeasance of the old feudal nobles, differed essentially from almost every similar class in Europe. It was in no sense a caste nobility. The new creations, since the time of Edward IV., had been naturally drawn entirely from the people, and the interests of both ends of the social scale were closely interwoven. Moreover, peerage was entirely personal; the sons of peers were commoners; the eldest sons even, though potentially peers themselves, and dignified with titles of courtesy, were really commoners, and in numerous cases sat in the House of Commons during the lifetime of their fathers. The Natural craving after rank, which has always been a prominent characteristic of the lower classes, greatly facilitated

(1) Aris-  
tocracy.

No oaste  
feeling.

the entrance of the younger scions of noble houses into Parliament; and, indeed, gave them an advantage, which the possession of the greatest riches hardly conferred on the untitled candidate. This absence of any legal distinction of caste was supplemented by the total absence of any of that class feeling which tended to make the French nobles so hateful to all other ranks of the nation. There was no sentimental impediment to intermarriage between the upper and lower classes. On the contrary, they were of frequent occurrence, and in this way bonds of sympathy of the strongest character were forged between the two orders. Moreover, the House of Lords itself was continually recruited by the introduction of great lawyers, illustrious statesmen, wealthy boroughmongers, whose claim to promotion was rarely founded on anything but some personal

No barrier to the king or Minister, while their birth might be of the humblest character. The President of the House of Lords.

House, the Lord Chancellor, was usually a successful lawyer, ennobled on his elevation to the woolsack. The peerage, in fact, was, in the words of Walpole on the Peerage Bill, 1719, "one of the strongest incentives to virtue," and, subject to a process of a survival of the fittest, lay within the reach of any man in the United Kingdom. The real power of the Lords consisted, not merely in their local influence and wealth, but chiefly in their aptitude and opportunities for office. The management of public business is not so much an affair of genius as of practice. The peers were brought up, as it were, in the midst of business; they had special facilities for obtaining

Active work of the Peers: a thorough knowledge of its details; their rank immediately marked them out for office if they desired it. There has always been, in consequence, a certain number of peers employed in the business of the government, and this active work in the management of the State has at once freed them from the reproach of uselessness, and has added largely to their power. This power, moreover, was usually used well. Not only is it a fact that from their ranks were drawn many of the most illustrious statesmen of the time, but they showed true greatness in supporting the many distinguished men who ruled the country from the House of Commons. Harley, St. John, Walpole, Pelham, the two Pitts, numbered many of the most powerful peers among their willing lieutenants. Thus the Upper House exercised



considerable influence on the country; and the firm support of the majority of the peers was a great gain to any party. Since the Revolution the weight of that majority had been thrown on the side of the Whigs; and their Whig impulses were greatly increased by the violent measure of the Tory Ministry in 1712 for forcing the Peace of Utrecht through the Lords by the creation of enough peers to constitute a Tory majority. In consequence, though in later years the Lords became the chief support of Tory despotism and personal government, yet during the early part of the eighteenth century they included a strong Whig majority of fairly liberal tendencies, who firmly maintained the principles of the Revolution, and opposed most strenuously the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience. The Whig Lords therefore must be reckoned as one of the most important elements of the Hanoverian party.

The commercial classes were naturally Whig. Commerce flourished most in the towns; and the towns had always been the most enlightened part of the community in politics and religion. This was partly owing to the greater facilities for the free circulation and discussion of ideas amid these crowded haunts of men, and partly because dissent had been to a great extent divorced from the land and compelled to take refuge therein. Moreover, religious persecutions abroad had driven many foreigners, chiefly of the industrial classes, over to England. As a rule they settled in the towns, bringing with them new industries, new ideas, and a spirit of resistance to dogma, which lent a great impulse to the spirit of rational inquiry already springing up. Commerce, too, was increasing in importance. Under the early Stuarts it had flourished and grown strong. With Charles II. it was almost a hobby.

Long internal peace had greatly assisted its progress. The chief manufactures were wool, iron, and hardware. The African trade and the Russian trade occupied a great amount of energy and capital. The East India trade was attaining such importance that two great companies were competing eagerly for this valuable traffic, and bid fair to ruin themselves in the attempt. The mercantile navy had increased in tonnage between 1698 and 1715 by over a million. The towns grew continually owing to the extinction of the yeoman class, which was one of the results of the difficulties attendant on the transfer of

their power  
used well.

(2) Commer-  
cial classes.

Increase of  
commerce.

land. The ordinary modes of conveyance were so intricate and expensive, and the fictitious importance conferred on its possessor rendered land so desirable, that little was brought into the market except by the small proprietors. The latter naturally sought fresh fields of industry in the towns. Of London, these, *London* was by far the most important.

Its growth at the beginning of the 17th century was so rapid that James I. considered it dangerous to his power, and issued proclamations forbidding the erection of houses round London. This repressive policy was continued by Charles I. He exacted large sums of money from the City, and even deprived it of its lands in Ireland. The result was that London became the main strength of the Parliamentary party during the Civil Wars. Clarendon counts it as a great advantage to the Parliament that they were possessed of London, which supplied them not only with large sums of money, but also whole armies of men. It was the London Trained Bands who defeated Rupert at Brentford, and raised the siege of Gloucester under Essex. In fact during the early periods of the war they played much the same part as Cromwell's Ironsides did later on. Under the later Stuarts London increased rapidly in size and wealth. The great calamity of the Fire was really productive of good, for it enabled the wasted quarters to be built anew on far superior principles. This great city had always been on the side of reform and resistance, and with it, as a rule, had marched all the commercial interest of England. The trading

Monied  
classes natu-  
rally Whig.

and monied classes were therefore Whig by tradition and by circumstance. But in addition, the two great Companies, the Bank of England and the New East India Company, were Whig creations; had bought privileges from the Whig Government. They naturally feared that a Jacobite Restoration would be followed by the cancelling of their privileges. The National Debt, moreover, was a result of the wars of William III. and Marlborough. The fear of its repudiation by the ally of Louis XIV. gave the whole monied interest a weighty reason for supporting the provisions of the Act of Settlement. The proof that this

Fear of  
repudiation.

dread of repudiation was a real working influence in England against the Stuarts is shown by a letter of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, a strong Jacobite, in which he declares that the acquisition by the South Sea Company of the Government Debt in 1719 was dangerous to the Jacobite

cause, because it rendered a large and wealthy body of men bound by interest to support the Hanoverian settlement.

The third element of the Whig party was the **Nonconformists**. Their politics were really dictated by their religion. They\* had everything to hope (3) Dissenters: from the Whigs. They could only look forward to oppression from the Tories. The Stuarts themselves were really more tolerant than their partisans. They had recognized that it was impossible to free the Catholics without allowing the Nonconformists to share in that freedom, and so they had wisely determined to include them. All such attempts, however, had failed before the obstinate bigotry of the Church; and the last effort of James II. directly led to the Revolution. The Whig king, William, hail then rewarded them with the Toleration Act, which practically freed dissent from freed by the Whigs; persecution; and in 1695 Quakers WERE afforded legal protection by the permission to substitute a solemn affirmation for an oath. The Jacobite Tories, on the contrary, were violently hostile to dissent, and their accession to power was marked by the Schism Act, 1714, which excluded any dissenter from exercising the office of schoolmaster or teacher, in addition to his already extensive political disabilities. A Jacobite Restoration, therefore, would mean in- persecuted by the Tories. creased persecution, and in consequence the accession of George I. was naturally welcomed as a deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, though these lofty expectations were destined to be considerably disappointed. Their numbers, too, made them a respectable element of the Whig party. In 1715 there were 1107 dissenting congregations in England and 43 in Wales. They reckoned in their body men like Baxter, Howe, and Bunyan, who would have done honour to any church. They had always been noted for sincerity and patriotism.

The distinction which Clarendon draws between the Independents and the Presbyterians in 1646-7 might be aptly applied to the Whigs and Tories of 1711-15. The Independents, he says, were united under one leader, were determined on effecting some great object, and subordinated all less important details to this one all-absorbing idea. The Presbyterians were divided into various parties with conflicting interests; they looked rather to individual details than one central point; and it was the difficulty of reconciling the various interests of each section with the general interest of the whole party- which rendered it

impossible to bring their full strength to bear on any given point, and which necessarily caused their defeat. Tories.

The Tories, like the Presbyterians, were disunited; and though the whole body were ardent supporters of passive obedience and divine right, yet they found it impossible to reconcile their religious with their political creed in the case of the Pretender. They were in consequence divided into three parties—the Jacobites or extreme Tories, the Tories proper, and the Hanoverian Tories, as they were later styled.

The Jacobites were desirous of a Stuart Restoration, undeterred by the fact that the Pretender was a Catholic. The Tories were desirous of a Stuart Restoration only on the condition that the Pretender should abandon the Catholic religion and embrace the doctrines of the Church of England. The Hanoverian Tories, who were led by Sir Thomas Hanmer, were strongly opposed to any negotiations with a Catholic prince, and were ready to acknowledge the Hanoverian succession provided a due share of political power were secured to them.

How far the Jacobites were committed to any plot on behalf of the Pretender is altogether uncertain; and it can never be exactly ascertained what were the real views of the leaders of the Tory party. The common view, and most probably the true one, is that Bolingbroke was wholly committed to the Pretender, and that he ejected the Earl of Oxford from the ministry because the latter would not go so far as to accept an unconditional Restoration. Bolingbroke's treason seems borne out both by his letters, by his conduct after his impeachment, and still more by the fact that the Elector had a personal objection to him for concluding the Peace of Utrecht, and therefore he knew there was no hope for him under the new dynasty. Jacobitism, therefore, was his only course. Harley, on the contrary, was certainly not a Jacobite, and his relations with the Dissenters and openly expressed contempt for the Jacobite creed of government would have rendered it impossible that he should have much sympathy with the Pretender. This is conclusively proved by the fact that the Jacobites themselves regarded him with unconcealed distrust, and that he has never been reckoned among their partisans by the Jacobite historians.

It was this very uncertainty and indecision, this impossibility of ascertaining how far each man\* was prepared to go, or what he was really contemplating, that constituted the chief weakness of the Tories, and threw all power into the hands of their enemies. Their leaders concealed their real designs from fear, and this concealment created distrust and disunion. It was impossible to get the Tories to work as a whole in any given direction, and still more impossible to do so when that direction was, or was suspected to be, a Stuart Restoration. Bolingbroke himself said in a confidential letter to Lord Strafford: "The Whigs pursue their plans with good order and in concert. The Tories stand at gaze, and expect that the Court should regulate their conduct, and lead them on, and the Court seems in a lethargy." But Bolingbroke did more than any man to disunite and ruin the Tory party. Whatever his real designs were, he contrived to turn the Tories to Jacobitism, and thus left the Whigs the only representatives of Revolution principles, constitutional liberty, and religious tolerance. The fear of a revolution in Church and State, of repudiation and national bankruptcy, turned half the Tories into Hanoverians and discredited the whole party. Their real unpopularity was shown by the fact that hardly fifty Tory members were elected for George I.'s first parliament.

This comparison of these two parties proves that it was no mere series of isolated political occurrences that secured the accession of George I., but that the general feeling of England was in favour, if not of the Hanoverian himself, at any rate of *those principles of monarchy which were embodied in the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement*

To George and his supporters, however, it seemed that the Tories wished to deprive him of the crown, and that the Whigs had secured it to him. The result was that he relied entirely on the Whig party, and his Cabinet was drawn solely from their ranks. This threw all power into their hands, and they ruled the country almost without a break down to the accession of George III. He can scarcely be blamed for trusting the men to whom he owed the crown, but had a certain amount of room been left for the Tories, they would not have been driven over to Jacobitism, and so many of the troubles of the reign might have been averted. The immediate result was that the power of the Ministers was increased greatly by union, and that they relied

Vacillation of the Tories.

Conclusion.

Rule of one party.

more on Parliamentary support and good government than on royal favour. Moreover, George's interests being Ministerial government. bound up mainly in those of Hanover, he interfered rarely in the management of affairs, and so from his accession the true period of Ministerial government may be said to begin. At the same time this must not be pressed too closely. The king still possessed great powers, and at times, when thoroughly roused, he could make use of them. The dismissal of Townshend for conduct personally displeasing to George I., the dismissal of Walpole by George II., and his reappointment, equally without constitutional reason, give striking instances of the fact that Ministers were not yet solely responsible to Parliament, but were still responsible to the monarch himself. The existence of the Pretender was really a good thing for the growth of the constitution. It compelled the king, naturally despotic in temper, to trust his Ministers more than he might otherwise have done, and thereby strengthened the Cabinet system.

The result of this purely Whig triumph was *apparently a total change in the principles of both parties*. The Apparent change in party politics. Tories had formerly been the ardent supporters of monarchy and legitimacy, of passive obedience, the English Church, and the divine right of kings. The Whigs had formed the opposition. They had brought in the Exclusion Bill; they had led the Revolution; they had always been the strenuous advocates of the Non-conformists. Now, however, the Whigs suddenly became the strong partisans of the monarchy, while the Tories developed into a virulent opposition, and in most cases drifted into Jacobitism and treason. The explanation, however, of this extraordinary transformation scene is extremely simple. Neither party had really changed its principles in the slightest. It was the circumstances that were entirely altered. The Tories still maintained their adhesion to the principles of legitimacy, divine right of kings, and the necessity of passive obedience to their will; but this reverential feeling centred round the Stuarts alone, and could not expend itself on the Elector, whom they regarded as an usurper whom it was a positive duty to resist. Their attachment to the Church was unchanged as well; but in their eyes the Latitudinarian Church of George I. was not the Church of England. To the Tories, therefore, resistance

Real continuity of party politics.

was the only means of remaining true to their old faith. The Whigs, on the other hand, now assumed the position of the supporters of monarchy. But it was the constitutional monarchy of the Revolution, of the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement, not the personal rule of the Stuarts. The Government was in their own hands, and was carried on on purely Whig principles. The obedience they advocated was constitutional, legal, orderly. Moreover, the Church had now taken a different position. Catholicism had been effectually excluded by the Act of Settlement and the Penal Laws. Church appointments became purely Latitudinarian, or Low Church. The rule of the bishops was a thing of the past. Convocation ceased to transact business after 1715, and Dissent, though still proscribed by law, was practically freed. The Whigs, therefore, in supporting the Monarchy and Church under the early Hanoverians were really staunchly maintaining their old principles, and it only required a Stuart Restoration to prove this.

## CHAPTEE II.

## STATE OF EUROPE.

*Section 1.—Results of the Peace of Utrecht.*

THE Peace of Utrecht, like all great treaties, had left a number of questions unsettled, which were sure to rise again sooner or later. The object of the war had been to uphold the balance of power and humiliate France. Circumstances had caused a complete change in the policy of some of the parties, and the result had been very different to what might have been expected from the victories of the allies and the exhaustion of France.

**England.** **England** had been the chief gainer. She had acquired large colonial possessions. She had obtained a guarantee of the Hanoverian succession, and the exclusion of the Pretender from France. She had taken a prominent position as the leader of Europe against Louis. She had lowered the pride of France by successfully insisting on the dismantling of Dunkirk and later of Mardyke as well.

**Holland.** **Holland** had been rendered comfortable by the Barrier Treaty. She had obtained the right of garrisoning with Dutch troops a line of frontier fortresses in the Netherlands which would secure her from sudden invasion. From this time, however, she diminishes in importance in Europe, partly because she was overshadowed by the growing power of England, partly because she entirely withdrew from European diplomacy, hoping thereby to avoid expense and danger.

**Spain.** **Spain** and the American Colonies were secured to Philippe V. (Philippe of Anjou), shorn of the Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, and the Milanese, which were given to Austria; Sicily, which was given to Savoy; and Gibraltar, which remained the prize of England.\* Really, **however, Spain gained by the loss of her distant provinces, which**



enabled her to concentrate her resources more easily and effectually.

**Austria** had gained nearly all that Spain had lost, hut she considered herself the lawful heir to all the Spanish dominions, and regarded with hatred Austria. alike the Frenchmen who had committed, and the English people who had agreed to the theft.

Two new kingdoms had risen in Europe, **Savoy** and Prussia, —the latter destined soon to play an important part in the affairs of Europe, owing to her well-filled treasury and large disciplined army. Savoy and Prussia.

**France** had come out of the struggle with the acquisition of Spain, but with the loss of her prestige, and at the price of the total exhaustion of the country. France.

*The questions that dill remained to be settled were:* (a) Should Spain or Austria obtain Italy 1 (b) Should Philippe of Orleans or Philippe\* of Spain succeed to the throne of France in the event of Louis X V. dying young and childless? (c) Should the Stuarts or the Guelphs reign in England? (d) Who should succeed to the Austrian dominions and the Empire on the death of Charles V I. if he should leave no male heirs ? Unsettled questions.

### *Section 2.—Frame after the Peace of Utrecht.*

The last years of Louis XIV. exhibit a startling contrast to the glory which shone on his early successes. No longer the haughty dictator of Europe, he found himself obliged to offer the most humiliating terms to his enemies as the price of peace, with the additional mortification of receiving a contemptuous refusal. But though ultimately dissensions among the allies, and party struggles in England, enabled him to emerge from the tremendous conflict with fewer losses than might have been anticipated ; yet his country was reduced almost to ruin by the war, the treasury was empty, the revenue forestalled for several years; the public debt had leapt to enormous dimensions; famine and pestilence had swept off the cultivators of the soil and still further impoverished the unhappy country ; misgovemment, mismanagement, and religious persecution had all lent their aid to cast a sombre shadow on the path of the aged monarch. What greater condemnation can be

Louis V.'s  
last years.

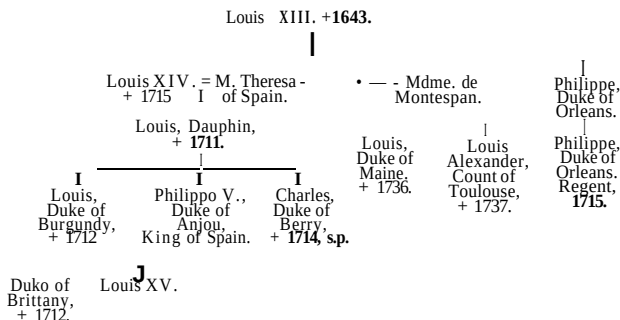
Ruined state  
of France.

passed upon his reign than to say that he left France powerless and exhausted, that he brought nothing but misery on his people, that he gave a terrible impetus to the forces which were to bring about the Revolution?

Nor did he himself escape. Trouble came heavily upon him, as it came upon all in France. Small-pox carried off his eldest son, the Dauphin. The latter's eldest son, the Deaths. dearly-loved Duke of Burgundy, and his wife, the handsome winning Duchess, fell victims to a malignant fever, and died almost within a week of each other. Their eldest son did not long survive his parents, and in two years more the unhappy monarch saw another of his grandsons, Charles, Duke of Berry, stricken by the grim destroyer. So of all the numerous descendants which had grown up around him there were left only a sickly child, Louis of Anjou, to inherit the crown, and Philippe V., the King of Spain.

Who then was to govern the country during the minority which seemed inevitable? Philippe was barred Regency question. by the stipulations of the Peace of Utrecht, which France was scarcely in a position to break as yet. The next nearest member of the royal family, Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was of villainous life, was tainted with the suspicion of having poisoned his own relations, and more justly of intriguing for his own personal interest with the enemies of his country during the War of the Spanish Succession. Louis, alarmed at the deaths in the royal family, legitimized his natural sons, the Count of Toulouse and the Duke of Maine. This, however, only added fresh complications by causing disputes between them and the dukes of France. At last, feeling his end approaching, he made the most elaborate arrangements for the Regency, so as to give Orleans as much nominal and as little real power as possible. There was to be a council of fourteen regents, of which the Duke was to be the head; the Duke of Maine was entrusted with the young king's education; Marshal Villeroi with the control of the household. Louis hoped, by thus multiplying the number of officials and subdividing the supreme power, to secure the young king against the designs of Orleans. It was all labour in vain, however. On the death of Louis all the discontented classes in France, the Parliament of Paris, Louis' death, 1715. the Jansenists, Huguenots, Freethinkers, and Constitutionalists, united to upset the king's will and commit

the government entirely into the hands of Orleans. The weak-minded Duke of Maine yielded without a struggle, and Orleans at once assumed the supreme management of the kingdom.



**Philippe, Duke of Orleans**, was a striking instance of the extraordinary combination of great qualities and degrading vices which is so remarkable in the Frenchmen of this unhappy 18th century. He was a man of unusual intelligence and foresight, an eloquent speaker, a ready and capable soldier. Yet his nature was so enslaved by the pleasures of the senses, that all that was good in him was stilled by the most disgusting debaucheries. He began his government well, working on the lines of regeneration traced out by the virtuous and earnest Duke of Burgundy, but his will was so vacillating, and his distaste for work so strong, that he soon grew weary of solid and unattractive schemes for the reform of the government, and especially the financial system, and surrendered himself easily to any project, however chimerical, provided it only dazzled with the prospect of great and immediate successes. But though he surrounded himself with unworthy creatures of both sexes who exercised an unfortunate influence over him, yet, to his credit it must be said, that among his manifold amours he never allowed his mistresses any influence in business.

His chief Minister was the Abbe, afterwards Cardinal! **Dubois**. This venerable ecclesiastic's moral character was as bad as that of his master. He was sunk in every kind of debauchery. He lied with such consummate power **and** unblushing audacity that he seemed to

**Cardinal**  
**Dubois.**

"exhale falsehood from every pore." He was ambitious, avaricious, and unscrupulous in the extreme. And he was the ablest statesman of his time. This man was the son of a small apothecary, and had risen by his own talents and suppleness to the post of tutor to the young Philippe of Orleans. In this capacity he acquired such a complete influence over his pupil that in after life the latter trusted him entirely. And it must be added that that trust was well repaid. Even before the death of Louis XIV., Dubois had arranged with the English ambassador, Lord Stair, a plot for dispossessing the Duke of Maine of the Regency by the help of English troops, if he found himself unable to do so by peaceful means. It was natural, therefore, that he should become the most prominent figure under the Regency of Orleans.

This period is usually described as being remarkable for an extraordinary and unwise change in the foreign Policy. policy of France, viz., the alliance with England. The explanation of this lies in the personal views of Orleans and the diplomacy of Dubois. The Peace of Utrecht had excluded Philippe of Spain from the succession to the crown of France. If that exclusion held good, Philippe of Orleans was the heir to the sickly child who at present occupied the throne. There seemed to be no doubt, however, that the King of Spain would not tamely submit to this disinherison, against which he had always protested, and it became necessary for Orleans to look round for an ally to aid him in the event of the succession falling vacant. Amongst the signatories of the Peace of Utrecht England seemed the most likely to agree with his views, for it had secured her large accessions of territory, and had guaranteed the throne to the Hanoverian dynasty. Therefore, in spite of the indignation which it had excited among large classes in England, she had gained too much by it to wish it overthrown. The interest of the new king, moreover, lay directly in supporting it. The Government of Orleans, therefore, while placing no obstacle in the way of the Jacobite exiles, was careful to lend them no assistance, thus providing for friendship with England whichever claimant to the throne should be ultimately successful.

*Section 3.—Northern Europe,*

During the War of the Spanish Succession a similar struggle had desolated the north of Europe. The kings of Poland, Denmark, and Russia, had hoped to take advantage of the minority of Charles XII. of Sweden to wrest from him his Continental possessions round the Baltic. The young king, however, was endowed with extraordinary genius and enterprise; he had at his command a well-filled treasury and disciplined army. He succeeded in turning the tables on his opponents with startling celerity. A rapid march enabled him to dictate peace to Denmark at Travendahl, 1700. Two crushing victories at Narva and Riga, 1701, freed him from all fear of the Russians for the time, and enabled him not only to wrest the crown of Poland from the Aveak grasp of Augustus of Saxony, but even to force humiliating terms of peace on him in the heart of his own country, and compel the unfortunate monarch to write a letter of congratulation to Stanislaus Leczinski, the rival whom Charles had nominated in his place, 1704. After this he remained some time in Saxony, tilling all Europe with terror as to what he would do next. At last the diplomatic talents of Marlborough succeeded in directing his superfluous energy against the Czar, whom he regarded, and rightly, as his true enemy.

He had now, however, to deal with a very different Russian army to the undisciplined mob of peasants who had permitted themselves to be slaughtered like sheep at Narva and Riga. Peter the Great had devoted his life to organizing his unwieldy empire. Not in the least disheartened by the total rout of the national levies, he had withdrawn into the heart of Russia, and, like Washington at Valley Forge, or our own Alfred at Athelney, devoted himself to the task of organizing and disciplining an army which could resist the furious onslaught of the Alexander of the North. He was determined to be no Darius, and, at the very moment when Charles was overrunning Poland and Saxony and giving law to Europe, Peter with his new troops invaded Livonia, seized the whole of the Swedish Baltic provinces, and laid the foundations of the maritime power of Russia. At his bidding St. Petersburg rose full-grown amid the marshes and streams of the Neva. A strong fortress sprang up on the rock of Cronslot to defend the

new capital. •Russian fleets covered the waters of the Gulf of Finland and the Lake Ladoga. And so when at last Charles sallied forth on his errand of vengeance, more like some reckless knight-errant of the old Crusading days than a modern general, without allies, communications, adequate forces, or even proper provisions, it seemed but the fitting denouement of the history of the two monarchs that Charles should fly routed and desperate

from the fatal field of Pultava, 1708. The strong man had at last broken his back beneath the weight of the huge mass that Peter had organized and hurled on him. The sun of Sweden's greatness set in a sullen and inglorious twilight.

From this time Charles, cut off from his own country, remained an exile in Turkey, an ungrateful pensioner of the Sultan, striving by every means, honourable or dishonourable, to embroil him with the Czar. At last his intrigues aroused the indignation of the Porte, and he was ordered to depart. He refused, and even resisted by violence an attempt to compel his obedience. When he was at length overpowered and made a prisoner, he feigned illness and took to his bed for some months.

Meanwhile in his absence, Augustus of Saxony renewed his alliance with Prussia and Denmark, and easily regained the throne of Poland. The Confederacy was strengthened by the accession of the Electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, all eager for the spoils of Sweden. The Emperor, anxious to prevent the war spreading into the Empire, tried to persuade Charles, who was still in Turkey, to consent to the neutrality of the Swedish provinces in Germany. This proposal, however, was scornfully rejected, and so the Confederates overran Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden, till nothing was left to Sweden but the strong town of Stralsund. This alarming news brought

Charles back from Turkey. When he arrived, his boots had to be cut off his swollen legs, for he had ridden all the way in sixteen days. What one man, or rather hero, could do to save Stralsund, that Charles did; but the armies of the allies closed round the devoted town more and more surely, until at last the hunted monarch could only escape by running the gauntlet of the fleets that covered the Baltic. He fled to Sweden, raging against his enemies, and especially the Elector of Hanover, who had entered into the Confederacy

solely with the view of acquiring Bremen and Verden to round off his Electorate. Any scheme of vengeance, however wild, was sure to find favour in his eyes.

At this moment he fell under the influence of **Baron Gortz**, an able and unscrupulous statesman, who had passed into his service from that of the Prince of Gotthorp. **Saron Gortz.** Gortz proposed to buy the alliance of the Czar by the permanent cession of the Baltic Provinces (Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia), and to support the Jacobites in an invasion of England. It was in pursuit of these schemes that he was brought into connection with Cardinal Alberoni, who was then the real ruler of Spain.

#### *Section 4.—Spain and Alberoni.*

**Cardinal Alberoni**, one of the most remarkable statesmen of the period, was an entirely self-made man. His father was a poor and very illiterate gardener at Placentia. **Cardinal Alberoni.** The son had picked up some education among the Jesuits, had ingratiated himself with them by his ready tact, and rose steadily in the subordinate ranks of the Church. In time he contrived to obtain the favour of the Duke de Vendome, who commanded the French army in Italy in 1702, and this laid the foundation of his future greatness. He accompanied Vendome to Spain, he was made ambassador of Parma at the court of Madrid, and he took a prominent part in securing the marriage of **Elizabeth Farnese** to Philippe V. on the death of his first wife. Naturally he acquired considerable influence over the queen, and in consequence became the real governor of the country. His language and habits were coarse, his character was patient, flexible, and intriguing; but he was also skilful, laborious, and devoted, and possessed in a very high degree a genius for organization and government. He projected the total reorganisation of the administrative system and the restoration of the prosperity of the country. It was a work of extraordinary difficulty, for Spain had been steadily declining since the days of Philippe II. However, he advanced surely if slowly. Abuses were hunted down and destroyed in all the departments of government. **Reforms.** The army was gradually re-established. A new and powerful navy was created. The chief strongholds were re-fortified and strongly garrisoned.

Trade was started afresh on a new and liberal basis. And Alberoni was at last able to boast that five years would see the complete rehabilitation of Spain. He intended to use this revived power to recover as much as possible of the lost provinces. He hoped to upset the whole Peace of Utrecht, or, at the very least, wrest Sicily from Savoy, and dispute the possession of Italy with Austria.

His designs were supported by Elizabeth Farnese, a daring and ambitious woman, who entered thoroughly into the national hatred of Austria, and longed to wrench from her grasp the Spanish provinces in Italy. She had, moreover, some claims on Parma and Placentia, for she was the niece of the last childless Duke, and others on Tuscany, which seemed likely to fall vacant as well, of a still more shadowy character. She hoped to secure the succession for her own son, Don Carlos, the third son of Philippe V. It was only too evident that the duchies would soon fall vacant, and then she intended to use all the newly revived powers of Spain to decide the succession in her favour.

War, therefore, was imminent between Spain and Austria, and that war Alberoni determined should end in the triumph of Spain. The question which troubled his mind therefore was, which side would the two great powers, England and France, take. He hoped to buy the alliance of England by granting her commercial advantages. France, he considered, would necessarily support her own creation, Spain. The personal interests of George and Orleans, however, outweighed what Alberoni saw were the obvious interests of their countries. They were determined to support the Peace of Utrecht; and so he was obliged to look farther afield for allies. *There was therefore this community of interest between him and Gortz, that their enemies were the same, France and England.*

#### CHILDREN OF PHILIPPE V.

Philippe V. m. (1) Marie Louise of Savoy j m. (2) Elizabeth Farnese + 1746.

Louis,  
ob. 1725.

Ferdinand VI.

Carlos III. Philippe,  
(Don Carlos of (Don Philip)  
Parma, and after- of Parma.  
wards of Naples.)



## CHAPTER III

## MINISTRY OF TOWNSHEND.

*Section 1.—Early Measures.*

THE Tories soon began to learn the truth of Bolingbroke's words on his own dismissal, that "the Tory party was gone." With the single exception of Nottingham, who had long been completely identified with the Whigs, the Ministry was drawn solely from the Whig party. Lord Townshend was made Prime Minister. His colleagues were Lord Halifax, General Stanhope, Lord Cowper, the Earl of Nottingham, and Sir Robert Walpole, the brother-in-law of Townshend. The Earl of Sunderland, the great Whig Minister under Anne, was practically dismissed from political life by being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and though the Duke of Marlborough was again entrusted with the offices of Commander-in-Chief and Master of the Ordnance, he was without a shadow of his old power and hardly any confidence.

The new Secretary of State, **Charles**, Viscount Townshend, was a man of an extremely amiable and benevolent disposition; but unfortunately he was also imperious and overbearing, impatient of contradiction, and extremely difficult to bend from his own opinion. His manner was coarse and rough, at times even to brutality. He had been engaged in political life since 1709, and had obtained a commanding position among the Whigs, which was greatly strengthened by his marriage with Sir Robert Walpole's sister. Perhaps the most that can be said to his credit is that no man was ever more honest in his Ministry, or more free from any taint of corruption.

The second Secretary, **James Stanhope**, was an accomplished scholar, an able general, and an active Stanhope.

politician. He had distinguished himself alike as a commander of the English forces in Spain during the late war, and also as one of the most prominent managers of the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, 1710. He carried into political life the same haughty and resolute spirit for which he had been remarkable as a general. Unfortunately, however, he had too little control over his temper, and this frequently led him into unseemly passions and precipitate decisions. He was also far too open in his proceedings, and, though he frequently deceived foreign Ministers by telling them the naked truth, which of course they did not believe, yet this line of policy was evidently dangerous, and, moreover, very liable to fail. He was no doubt ambitious, as most great men are, but, in spite of this, his disinterestedness was never sullied by the slightest stain of suspicion.

Such were the two men to whom the destinies of England were in turn committed during the first eight years of George I. Perhaps it was wisely done that no Tories were admitted to office. It had become necessary to read the supporters of Jacobitism a severe lesson, in order to convince them that no truckling with treason would be tolerated, and that there was no room for them under the new dynasty unless they were prepared to accept it without looking back. George was certainly not the kind of man to succeed in carrying out the scheme of comprehensive government, which had so signally failed already in the far abler hands of William III. and Marlborough. So on the whole it was a good thing that it was not attempted, for scenes of faction in the Government, such as had embittered the efforts of William, and baulked the triumphs of Marlborough, might have had fatal results now on the fortunes of the kingdom. Undoubtedly, however, the total exclusion of the Tories from public office had the inevitable effect of driving many of them over to Jacobitism, and exasperating the Jacobites into renewing the plot which had fallen through on the death of Anne.

In January, 1715, the Parliament, having sat for six months after the demise of the last sovereign, was dissolved, and the country was thrown into all the ferment of a general election. The Jacobites at once took advantage of the situation. On the same day violent riots broke out at Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Heading. Similar scenes soon occurred in almost every considerable town in the kingdom.

The Dissenters were treated with great violence. In London many of their ministers were burnt in effigy, and in numerous great towns their chapels and meeting-houses were totally wrecked. The popularity of old cavalier songs revived again. Men who sang—

The man in the moon may wear out his shoon  
By running after Charles' wain;  
But all to no end, for times will not mend,  
Till the king enjoys his own again—

applied the words to James III., as they had been applied to Charles II. in exile. Disloyal toasts in disguised forms came into fashion, such as: "Kit," or King James III.; "Job," or James, Orinond, and Bolingbroke; "Three pounds, fourteen, and livepence," or James III., Louis XIV., and Philippe V.; and perhaps the commonest form of drinking the health of the Pretender unobserved was by passing the wineglass over the water-decanter at the toast of "the king," thus transforming it into "the king over the water."

On the meeting of the new Parliament, however, in March, the Whigs had a large majority in the Lower House, and though the situation was undoubtedly for a long time very intricate, yet from this time the Whig ascendancy was secured. The Whigs at once proceeded to vengeance. A secret committee was appointed to examine the conduct of the late Ministers in negotiating the Peace of Utrecht, and their blunders were painted in the darkest colours. On receiving the report, the House at once resolved on the impeachment of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond. Bolingbroke, however, foreseeing his danger, had already fled to France. Ormond at first went to the opposite extreme. He put himself openly forward as the leader of the Jacobite party, and thereby drew upon himself the ban of the Ministry which he might otherwise have escaped. For there was no doubt that as a soldier he was bound to obey his orders, and as a statesman he had had no share in bringing about the Peace of Utrecht. Moreover, he was too powerful a man for them to rashly attack unless necessity impelled them. His bravado, however, did not last long. The news of his impeachment drove him to follow the example of Bolingbroke and seek security in exile. Oxford alone awaited his trial with firmness. He knew that, however much

**Impeachment  
of Boling-  
broke;**

**of Ormond;**

of Oxford; folly and shame might taint the negotiations at Utrecht, it would be impossible to twist them into a charge of treason. He pleaded that his acts had been done at the express command of the queen, and this, which appears to have been true, raised a question of peculiar difficulty at a time when the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility was not yet thoroughly understood. This undoubtedly had great weight with the Lords, and it is probable that they were additionally influenced by the consideration that it was not a very safe or constitutional course to found a charge of treason on the transactions of a peace, which had been sanctioned by two successive Parliaments. The result, therefore, was that when once vengeance had been satisfied by the attainder of Ormond and Bolingbroke, the proceedings against Oxford were after a while dropped.

Meanwhile, riots and outrages were increasing in various parts of the country, and it became necessary to provide some stringent means of dealing with them. The Riot Act, 1715. **Riot Act** was therefore brought forward and made perpetual. It provides that "if any twelve persons are unlawfully assembled to the disturbance of the peace, and any justice of the peace shall think proper to command them by proclamation to disperse, if they remain together for one hour afterwards, they shall be guilty of felony." By a subsequent clause the pulling down of chapels and buildings is made subject to the same penalty. This act, though seemingly harsh and arbitrary, proved a most efficacious way of suppressing disturbances which otherwise would either have been unpunishable, or else have been dealt with by some strained construction of the Law of Treason,—a proceeding somewhat akin to hunting a mad dog with horse artillery.

The Government did not increase in popularity by its foreign policy. One of its first acts was to quarrel with Sweden on the purely Hanoverian question of **Bremen and Verden**. These territories, which belonged to Sweden, had been sold by the King of Denmark to Hanover. George at once insisted on the despatch of an English fleet to the Baltic, and in this the Ministry acquiesced, alleging that these provinces command the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, the natural inlets of English trade into Germany, and therefore it was to the interest of England that they should be in the hands of a friendly power in case of war. There was

a great deal of truth in this argument; but there was still more truth in the reply of the opposition: that this remarkable view of British interests would never have occurred to the Ministry if the king had not been Elector of Hanover.

The result of these unpopular acts and severities was that the tide of discontent ran stronger and stronger in England. Jacobite outrages and plots were reported in all directions. It was confidentially asserted that an invasion was imminent, and would be supported by France. The danger of a rebellion became so serious, there was so much uncertainty as to where it would break out, that officers were hurrying from London to all parts—to Chester, to Dover, to Newcastle, to Portsmouth, to Berwick, to Plymouth, to Hull, to Carlisle,—east, west, south, and north, the messengers went flying from the capital to whatever point seemed likely to prove dangerous. One hundred thousand pounds were offered for the body of the Pretender, dead or alive, if taken in England.

Meanwhile, at tho Tory coffee-houses in London the portrait of the Chevalier was passed from hand to hand. Recruiting for his service steadily went on, even, it was reported, among tho king's own foot guards. The Whigs were scandalized to hear that a priest in Edinburgh had asked the prayers of his congregation for "*a young gentleman who either was, or soon would be, at sea on a hazardous enterprise.*" The papers, however, ridiculed all idea of danger. The stout-hearted king still preserved his dauntless demeanour.

Then, on Nov. 8th, expresses came galloping in post-haste from Edinburgh with the news of the raising of the Jacobite standard on the Braes of Mar, and the outbreak of the Rebellion.

## Section 2.—*The Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.*

Many causes combined to create discontent in Scotland. The whole system of clanship which formed the basis of society in the Highlands, was founded on the half-feudal tie existing between the clansmen and their hereditary chief. The feeling of loyalty, therefore, beginning with the lower\* steps of the social pyramid, gradually concentrated itself with the greatest fervour

Causes of  
Scotch  
discontent.

round the person of the hereditary king. Moreover, the hereditary king was a Scotchman himself, and it was gratifying to the national pride to consider that England was ruled by Scotland, however far from the actual truth this flattering theory might be. Secondly, a hereditary feudal quarrel had always raged between the powerful clan Campbell and the other clans who were jealous of its predominance. This quarrel coloured the politics of the two parties, and, as the Duke of Argyle, the head of the Campbells, had always been a staunch Whig, the rival clans were hotly Tory, not so much out of sympathy with the Stuarts as hatred of the MacCallum More. In the Lowlands the predominant influences were religious. The Presbyterians had long suffered a cruel persecution, for religion's sake, at the hands of the Episcopalians during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Their first act, therefore, after the deposition of James in 1688, had been the establishment of the Presbyterian religion, and destruction of the Episcopalian ascendancy. With old wounds rankling in their hearts, it was not likely that they would treat their persecutors with over-lenity in the hour of their triumph. The Episcopalians, therefore, and still more the Catholics, looked to the Stuarts as their champions, and dreamt of a Restoration both in Church and State. But—most important of all—there was a standing quarrel between England and Scotland as nations. The Scotch people had never forgiven the failure of the Darien Scheme, which they attributed solely to the selfishness of England; and they smarted under the yoke, which, they considered, had been forced on them by the Union. They were sharp enough to see that this Union really meant the gradual absorption of Scotland by England, and, however much this may have been to the advantage of the former country, all the elements of unreasoning patriotism were aroused against it. It is to this feeling that we owe the Jacobite song of the Thistle:—

The Thistle at length preferring the Rose  
 To all the gay flowers of the plain,  
 Throws off all her points, herself she anoints,  
 And soon are united the twain.  
 But one cold stormy day, when helpless she lay,  
 No longer could sorrow refrain,  
 She fetched a deep groan, with many Ohon!  
 " Oh, were I a Thistle again I \*\*

Everything English therefore was thoroughly unpopular, and the extreme Nationalists regarded any act of aggression on England as a righteous retaliation. With the exception, therefore, of the Campbells, the Presbyterians, and the commercial classes, who saw the real advantages of the Union, all Scotland was ready to hail the Restoration of the Stuarts, and quite a respectable number were willing to fight for the cause.

To the success of such a scheme, *Hirer thinys seemed essential* ; first, that the rising in England should take place simultaneously with that in Scotland ; secondly, that the Pretender himself should be present when his standard was first raised ; thirdly, that France should furnish some assistance. As it was, however, partly owing to mismanagement and incapacity, partly owing to unlucky circumstances, not one of these objects was exactly obtained. All the energies of Bolingbroke were directed, on his arrival in France, to extracting a distinct promise of assistance. The Ministers of Louis XIV., however, declared frankly that the maintenance of the peace with England was indispensable to the French nation in its then exhausted state, and that therefore no open support could be afforded, but that secret supplies of money, arms, and ammunition, should not be withheld. The truth was that Louis was disgusted with the conduct of the Whig Ministry, and especially with their insisting on the demolition of the port at Mardyke. Therefore he was willing to do them an ill turn as far as he dared. With this view he persuaded the King of Spain to supply a sum of money, and allowed a small squadron to be equipped at Havre at his own expense. The hopes of the Jacobites in this quarter were, however, dashed to the ground by the **death of Louis** in September. Orleans, as we have seen, was rather inclined to friendship with England. Anyhow, he was determined not to commit himself to the Pretender, and so all chance of foreign assistance was gone.

So far, then, the plot had been marked chiefly by ill-success. The flight of Ormond had given it the first blow. The death of Louis was a far heavier one. Under these circumstances Bolingbroke despatched a messenger to London to tell the Earl of Mar,—that he understood it to be his lordship's opinion that Scotland could do nothing effectual without England,—that England would not stir without assistance from abroad,—that

no assistance from abroad could be expected; and that his lordship would draw the obvious conclusion that the time for decisive action had not yet come.

This message arrived too late. The Pretender had recklessly hurried the matter on, and, without consulting Lord Mar.

Bolingbroke or Berwick, the two ablest men of his party, had entrusted the **Earl of Mar** with the duty of rousing the Highlands. Mar was a man of no capacity whatever, and to commit the expedition to his care was to ensure its failure. He now went to London, endeavoured to lull suspicion by an offer of service, and, finding it promptly rejected, galloped down Aldersgate Street next morning, and took the great north road that led to the Highlands. His chief influence was in Aberdeenshire, north of the Grampian Hills. There, at the end of

August, he assembled the chieftains of the Jacobite clans to the celebrated hunting-match at the clans.

Braemar. Thither came the Marquises of Tullibardine and Huntley, eldest sons of the Dukes of Athol and Gordon, the Earls of Southesk, Nithisdale, Marischal, Seaforth, Errol, Traquair, Carnwath, and Linlithgow, the Chiefs of Gengarry and Glendarule. He was joined later by Lord Panmure, the Mackintoshes, the Chieftain of Clan-Ranald, Hay of Kinnoull, and many other influential partisans. The Jacobite standard was formally raised. James III. was solemnly proclaimed, in the midst of the assembled clans, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the rebellion had begun in earnest. Evil omens, however, from the very first heralded the fate of the rising, for no sooner was the standard erected than the ornamental ball at the top fell off, much to the dismay of the superstitious Highlanders. The Pretender was now obliged to make some attempt to second his lieutenant. He left Lorraine, hurried across France, and reached St. Malo in safety. There he found Ormond preparing to invade the English coast with a small expedition. The winds, however, were contrary, and he was unable to move, until the

Failure of Ormond's invasion. presence of the English fleet rendered any movement likely to be fatal.

The English Government meanwhile acted with the greatest energy, promptitude, and severity. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the Riot Act used actively to suppress rioting; the principal Jacobites arrested; all available troops moved up at once to the West, where the real danger was supposed to lie;



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fresh regiments organized with all possible speed; and help demanded from Holland, in accordance with the clause in the Treaty of Utrecht to preserve the Protestant succession. Lastly, Argyle was sent to the north to put down the Rebellion in Scotland. The vigorous action of the Government had now really stamped out the flames which were breaking out with such fury, and, though some sparks still smouldered dangerously in the north, it was merely a question of time, and the conflagration would be at an end.

Measures of  
Government.

Meanwhile, Mar had succeeded in raising an army of 12,000 men, and partially arming them with equipments carried off from an English vessel in the Forth by the gallant young Master of Sinclair. He was desirous of carrying the war south as soon as possible, in order to join the Jacobites in England, who, he considered, would rise *en masse* as soon as the Scots crossed the Border. However, he found Argyle posted in front of him, with a much better army in point of weapons, if not of numbers. Argyle was prepared to defend the line of the Forth River to the utmost, in order, if possible, to shut the Rebellion up in the Highlands, and compel it to wear itself out in ineffectual efforts. Mar wasted a great deal of valuable time on the excuse of waiting for the Pretender, who was momentarily expected. But the necessity for action at last impressed itself on even his dull imagination. Brigadier Mackintosh was therefore entrusted with the command of a small force, with orders to cross the Firth of Forth, as best he could, and march straight into England. The dangerous passage was successfully accomplished in a fleet of open boats, and, after vainly attempting to surprise Edinburgh, Mackintosh, with his little army, struggled over the rough country of the Lammermuir to Kelso, and joined the Northumbrian insurrection.

Progress of  
the Rebellion.

Mar's in-  
action.

The Northumbrian rebels were more imposing as regards names than numbers. They consisted of many of the leading men of the counties, but they were unable to muster more than 300 followers, and in consequence Sir Walter Scott describes them contemptuously as "a handful of Northumbrian foxhunters." Their leaders were the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, and Mr. Forster. The chief command was given

English  
Rebellion.

to Mr. **Forster**, "not on account of his superior influence or station, still less from any supposed abilities or military knowledge,"—to quote the withering words of Lord Mahon,— "but simply because he was a Protestant, and because it was thought unwise to rouse the popular animosity by placing a Papist at their head." They were joined by a similar rising of country gentlemen and Catholic peers from the south-west of Scotland, headed by the Earls of Carnwath, Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Lord Kenmure. The combined forces, which did not amount to much more than 500 horse, commanded by Mr. Forster, marched to Kelso, which Mackintosh had appointed as the meeting-place. "Then there is report of irresolute hurrying here, and of equally irresolute wending elsewhere, of scares and scurries, of hurried saddlings of horses, leaving mangers full of corn, and of panics—which sent crowds of rebels pell-mell into rivers, which they forded at great peril—and all to avoid General Carpenter, who was supposed to be on their heels." It was long before the Scots would consent to cross the Border at all, and matters had almost come to an open quarrel between the two nationalities before the invasion of Lancashire was finally decided on. Never was an unlucky journey heralded by worse omens. They took the old western road, which passed by Solway Moss and Preston, through country which seemed to breathe of Scotch disasters. They received no assistance from the Catholics of Cumberland and Westmoreland. Though they picked up a large body of recruits in Lancashire, it was only in the shape of an ill-armed, undisciplined rabble, who were more an encumbrance than a succour. They were driven like sheep from pillar to post by Generals Carpenter and Wills. Finally, when they found themselves surrounded at

**Battle of Preston.** **Preston**, Mr. Forster insisted on retiring to bed, instead of preparing for battle. This, however, was too much. He was hunted out by his colleagues, and it was decided that the army should confine itself to defending the town, abandoning the bridge over the Kibble; which was much the same as if the garrison of a beleaguered fortress were to confine itself to defending the citadel, without attempting to dispute the outworks. A gallant resistance, however, was offered to General Wills' troops, when they assaulted the town, and they were compelled to retire. This shows what might have been effected with better generalship. Early next morning General Carpenter

arrived with his cavalry, and, though even then the king's troops did not exceed 2000 men, this was enough to frighten Mr. Forster into surrendering at discretion, November 13th. Thus ingloriously ended the English part of the insurrection.

The rebels in Scotland had not fared much better. Any man with the slightest pretensions to military knowledge would have been master of Scotland six weeks before. "With far less force," says Sir Walter Scott, "than Mar had at his disposal, Montrose gained eight victories and overran Scotland; with fewer numbers of Highlanders, Dundee gained the battle of Killiecrankie; with almost half 'the troops assembled in Perth, Charles Edward in 1745 marched as far as Derby, and gained two victories over regular troops. But in 1715, by one of those misfortunes which dogged the House of Stuart since the days of Robert II., they wanted a man of military talent just at the time when they possessed an unusual quantity of military means." Mar continued to linger at Perth, and by this senseless delay allowed Argyle to obtain a large reinforcement from Ireland. In

Battle of  
Sheriffmuir.

November he seemed to wake to an appreciation of the situation, and marched south towards Dumblane. Argyle, hearing of this, moved hastily forward, and the two armies met, November 13th, on the old parade-ground of the Menteith militia, which was called the Sheriffmuir. The battle was hotly contested. The superior generalship of Argyle enabled him to take the enemy's left in flank and drive them in precipitate disorder across the Allan River, three miles distant. But the Royalist left was unable to withstand the furious onslaught of the Highlanders commanded by Lord Mar and led by the veteran Chiefs of Clan-Ranald and Glengarry. In a few minutes they gave way, and fled tumultuously towards Stirling. The two armies were therefore now in a very singular situation. Each had defeated the other's left, and yet the peculiar curve of the ground prevented either of the victorious divisions being aware of the fate of their companions for some time. When, however, intelligence of Argyle's partial success was brought to Mar, his energy seems to have entirely deserted him, and without waiting to try the issue again with his triumphant clansmen, he quietly took the road to Dumblane. It was then that the indignant Highlanders gave vent to their thoughts in the celebrated exclamation, "Oh for an hour of Dundee!" The victory thus remained with the English, and the same day, November

13th, had proved equally fatal to both branches of the insurrection.

Argyle now returned to Stirling to mount guard over the passage of the Forth. Mar retired also to waste more time at Perth. His partisans began to desert him. The Whig clans, too, were harassing the country of their enemies, and this furnished a good pretext for fresh desertions. All hope of an

Pretender arrives; English Rebellion was at an end, and so when the Pretender landed, December 22nd, in the

ancient kingdom of his fathers, the Jacobite cause was at about as low an ebb as it could be. Both James and the

Scotch leaders were grievously disappointed,—he that their numbers were so miserably small; they that he came unaccompanied by an army. Bold and decided measures were at once agreed on; but it only needed the news that Argyle was once

more on the march for it all to end in a regular 1716; panic, which sent the insurgents helter-skelter off

to Dundee and thence to Montrose. Argyle's advance was due to orders received from headquarters. The Ministry, in spite of their low opinion of the Pretender, could not believe that he would have come to Scotland unless he were supported by a French force; and they considered immediate action the only way of stifling this fresh danger. As Argyle continued to advance, amid deep snow and the ashes of villages fired by the Jacobites, the Pretender took the mean determination

of deserting his friends and returning to France. deserts his friends.

Having therefore completely deceived them by sending forward his baggage with the main body of the army, he and Lord Mar slipped out of the back door the night of the 4th of February, and embarking on board a small French vessel, landed safely at Gravelines. He left a commission behind him appointing General Gordon commander-in-chief; but his own life was far too precious to risk any longer. Well might the scathing condemnation of Charles I. be applied to him: "*There is no man who would be false to his country, false to his friends, false to himself; except the king—except the king.*"

The suppression of the Rebellion was followed by the impeachment of the Lords Derwentwater, Kenmure, Nithisdale, Widdrington, Nairn, Carnwath, and Wintoun. The first six pleaded guilty, though some urged various pitiful pleas in extenuation. Lord Wintoun pleaded not guilty and sustained a trial. They were all condemned to death as evident traitors;

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and then every kind of influence was brought on the king to obtain a reprieve. The combined petitions of the Lords, the ladies at Court, and the wives of the condemned, succeeded in saving Widdrington, Carnwath, and Nairn. Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed; but Nithisdale succeeded in escaping from Newgate in woman's clothes brought to him by his devoted wife; and his escape was shortly followed by that of Wintoun, Mackintosh, and Forstor. Of the rest, many officers were hanged or shot; the common men were in some cases decimated and transported, in others punished lightly and released. Bills of Attainder were passed against Mar, Tullibardine, and others, in their absence. Derwentwater and Kenmure died like men at Tyburn, staunch to their opinions; but this terrible example served to frighten many into loyalty who had long played recklessly with secret treason. The consequence was that, though rioting prevailed for some time in London and the large towns, violence gradually abated, and the Jacobites were obliged once more to pursue their schemes in silence until a fitting opportunity should again arise for open action.

### *Section 3.—The Septennial Act, 1716.*

The immediate and most important consequence of the Rebellion was a change in the duration of Parliament. There is no doubt that at the time the constitutional advantages of seven over three years, great as they certainly are, were not of much weight. The measure was a purely temporary one, devised to meet a great and pressing danger of the moment which no partisan of the House of Hanover could contemplate without alarm. In accordance with the Triennial Bill of 1694, Parliament, having now sat for almost three years, was about to be dissolved, and the country given over to all the licence and disorder of a general election at a time when a rebellion was hardly quelled, when an invasion was still threatened, and when the Government was highly unpopular among a large section of the people. The Ministry, alarmed at the prospect of riots at the elections and the possible return of a Jacobite majority, determined to bring in a bill prolonging the sittings of Parliament to\* seven years. The **Septennial Act** was therefore proposed in the Lords by the Duke of Devonshire, and carried by a majority of thirty. It

Reasons for  
passing it.

<sup>c</sup>  
 was then sent down to the Commons, where, after a warm contest, it finally passed by an overwhelming majority. The importance of the constitutional results of this Act was so great, that a slight digression on the subject may well be excused.

*It really completed the work of the Revolution* by emancipating the House of Commons from the servile dependence in which it had been held by the Crown and Lords. In the then corrupt state of the representative system, a general election merely meant a fresh exercise of the influence of the Crown and Lords to secure members favourable to their views. These members, elected in this way, naturally became to a great extent mere mouthpieces of their patrons, and were held well in hand by the prospect of another election in three years, when their re-election could only be secured as the reward for unquestioning obedience. The county members contrived to preserve a certain amount of independence; but the representatives of the small corrupt boroughs, which existed in such numbers, were merely the nominees of the great landowners or the Crown. The result had been to give an undue importance to the Lords. Their seats were quite safe, and so they were guided in their political conduct solely by their own personal views; while, as a rule, each peer had a number of vassals in the Commons whom he could rely on to act as the exponents of his opinions. It naturally became of the highest importance to Ministers to stand well with the Lords; and so for the first twenty years after the

Revolution the government was carried on mainly from that body. The Prime Minister usually was a peer himself, or became one shortly after his accession to office. Nothing, in fact, is more surprising to our modern ideas in the annals of that time than the readiness with which Harley, St. John, Stanhope, and other great Ministers, were moved up to the Lords without any adequate motive, and without considering the gap which their departure would make in the Lower House. The Septennial Act went a long way to remove these anomalies. The Commons, having now a longer lease of life, began to act independently of their patrons, and, assuming a more senatorial character, were guided by their own opinions in legislation and action, instead of acting merely as the instruments of the Lords. The result was that the Commons gradually wrested the govern-

Dependence  
 of the  
 Commons.

Emancipation  
 of Commons.

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ment of the country from the hands of the latter, and though this fact was not definitely realized till the next century, yet from this time the Prime Minister was usually content with a seat in the Commons. Walpole, Pelham, and the younger Pitt, governed from the Lower House. So did the elder Pitt during his first great Ministry; nor was it till his powers were failing, and he was really unable any longer to cope with the turbulence of a popular assembly, that he retired to the Upper House, and thus prepared the way for the speedy downfall of his Government.

The immediate result, however, of the Septennial Act was undoubtedly to render possible the gigantic systems of bribery by which Walpole, Newcastle, and later George III., held in hand their docile majorities in the Commons. The removal of the slight check exercised on members by their patrons and constituencies, at a time when public opinion had little or no influence on the proceedings of Parliament, naturally rendered their support more valuable to Ministers, and themselves more open to corruption. It became customary, therefore, for Ministers to strengthen the attachment of doubtful allies and reward the devotion of sturdy partisans by considerations, sometimes in hard cash, sometimes in the equally acceptable form of office or pension. The only danger was that it might happen that a man of no virtue or honour might raise himself to the position of Prime Minister by dint of vast wealth which he had plundered from the nation, and maintain himself by the same means, regardless of the opposition of all the ancient families, all the men of sense, figure, and fortune in the nation. This danger was very eloquently painted by Sir William Windham, a prominent Tory, in a stirring speech advocating the Repeal of the Septennial Act, 1734. It was, however, undoubtedly considerably coloured by party malice, and the best answer to this argument is that the danger never did actually arise. The history of the eighteenth century proves that the people did possess a certain amount of influence in Parliament which made itself felt in times of real excitement nor could the most would-be-despotic king or Minister resist the progress of public opinion long.

The results of the Septennial Act were, in the long run, decidedly beneficial to the Constitution. The publicity of debates and the growth of parliamentary reporting since then has enabled the constituencies to keep a watchful eye on their

representatives, while the balance of public opinion is pretty faithfully indicated by the Press. Corruption has therefore died a natural death, and a Minister has to rely mainly on the value of his measures to obtain the support of Parliament, though it is impossible to entirely exclude the undesirable influence of other and meaner considerations.

The constitutional results are the great justification of the Act in the eyes of posterity. Its immediate advantages were undoubtedly its strongest recommendation to the Ministry.

Still the evils of the old triennial system were thoroughly appreciated and ably advanced by the Whigs. Sir Richard Steele drew a ludicrous picture of the proceedings of a Triennial Parliament. The first year was devoted to quarrelling over the elections. The second to quarrelling with the policy of their predecessors. The third in trying to carry out some policy of their own, until the approach of a fresh election terrified them into doing nothing at all for fear of offending their patrons. "Thus the state of England," he concluded, "has been like that of a vessel in distress at sea; the pilot and mariners have been wholly employed in keeping the ship from sinking; the art of navigation was useless, and they never pretended to make sail." Moreover, Lord Somers and Speaker Onslow, both very high authorities on constitutional matters, declared that the Septennial Act would be the greatest possible support to the liberty of the country. This foresight, however, must have been confined to a very few of the more thoughtful politicians.

Shortly after the passing of the Septennial Act, a bill was carried which disqualified for sitting in the House of Commons any person holding a pension from the Crown during pleasure or for a number of years. This indicates that the dependent state of the Commons and its causes were beginning to be realized.

#### *Section 4.—Schism in the Ministry, 1716.*

The king now determined to revisit his beloved Hanover. So in spite of the advice of his Ministers and the manifest inconvenience of his absence at such a period, he insisted on the



repeal of the restraining clause in the Act of Settlement. This motion was singularly enough passed in Parliament without a dissentient voice, and so the first obstacle to his departure was easily removed. The second, however, was of infinitely greater dimensions. It always was a peculiarity of the House of Hanover that the head for the time being could not get on with his Prince of Wales. Out of five Princes of Wales that have succeeded to the title since the death of Anne, four have gone into bitter opposition. George I. entertained the most invincible jealousy of his son. It had arisen originally in Hanover; it had been inflamed by an unsuccessful Tory proposal to allot the prince 100,000*l.* as a separate revenue; and now it stood in the way of the obvious constitutional course of appointing the Prince Regent during his father's absence.

Quarrel between king and Prince of Wales.

Townshend naturally took advantage of this to urge again his own objections to George's departure from England at all, and to insist that, if the king persevered in his determination, the ancient constitutional practice with regard to the Pegency should not be receded from. George therefore was obliged to give in, and the Prince was appointed guardian and lieutenant of the realm, an old title once conferred on the Black Prince, which seemed to imply less power than that of Regent. The opposition, however, offered by Lord Townshend to this outrageous wish of the king produced a coolness between them which George's Hanoverian favourites skilfully contrived to fan into a rooted distrust on the part of the king. These favourites were his two mistresses, created respectively Duchess of Kendal and Countess of Darlington, his chief advisers Bothmar and Bernsdorf, and his private secretary Eobethon. These worthy people were highly dissatisfied at their share of the English plunder, which fell far short of what they had expected. They hated Townshend, whom they regarded as their chief enemy, and they hoped and pined for a new and golden era under some Minister of their own choosing. It therefore was really extremely unfortunate for Townshend that Stanhope, a man of great ability and high in favour with the king, should have been selected to accompany him to Hanover\*.

Quarrel between king and Townshend.

"The Hanover tail."

Another difference shortly arose between the king and his Minister on the subject of **Mecklenburg**, which Russia had

invaded apparently with the intention of seizing it. George Mecklenburg insisted on war with Russia; Townshend maintained that war with Russia would free the hands of Sweden, and enable Gortz and his master to support the cause of the Stuarts, to which they seemed inclined. The matter was finally settled by the withdrawal of Russia, but the breach between George and Townshend was considerably widened.

They soon came to an open collision. George was desirous of an alliance with France to counteract the growing power of Spain and the uncertain attitude of Austria, who was too much irritated by the Treaty of Utrecht and the Barrier Treaty to be friendly towards England. Dubois and Orleans, after some haggling over the terms, agreed to give up the cause of the Stuarts on the condition that England would guarantee the exclusion of Philippe V. from the Crown of France. All that was necessary to conclude this alliance was the consent of the Dutch, and as the peculiarities of their constitution caused some delay, George impatiently insisted on signing the treaty without them. Townshend, however, refused to throw them over in this way; and this opposition brought the quarrel between king and Minister to such a crisis that it only needed a recommendation from the latter, that the Prince Kegent should be entrusted with additional powers, to cause his dismissal by the irritable king. The quarrel was afterwards patched up for a time ; only, however, to break out again with greater violence very shortly afterwards. The result was the final dismissal of Townshend and all his followers, including Walpole and Pulteney, from the Ministry.

Triple  
Alliance.

Dismissal of  
Townshend,  
1716.

## CHAPTER IV.

## MINISTRY OF STANHOPE, 1717-21.

*Section 1.—Gortz and Alberoni, 1717-21.*

THE result of the Ministerial crisis was that Stanhope became the head of the Government, as first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sunderland and Addison Secretaries of State, James Craggs Secretary at War, while the Duke of Newcastle brought his vast family and parliamentary influence into the Ministry as Lord Chamberlain. Lord Cowper retained his old post of Lord Chancellor. The Government had to contend against the vigorous and unscrupulous opposition of the followers of Walpole and Townshend.

**Ministry.**

The first act of the Ministry was to conclude **the Triple Alliance** with France and Holland, by which these three powers agreed to guarantee those clauses in the Peace of Utrecht which had reference to the Protestant succession in England, the succession of Orleans to the Crown of France, and the renunciation of Philippe V. It was the conclusion of this treaty which opened the eyes of Alberoni to the hopelessness of expecting the assistance of either England or France in his schemes against Austria. He therefore determined to act without them. It was at this time, when he was seeking for fresh allies, that he came into connection with Baron Gortz.

**Triple Alliance, 1717.**

**Gortz** had succeeded in persuading Charles XII. to ally himself with Russia in order to wreak vengeance on the Elector of Hanover. Peter the Great, who was irritated by George's high-handed interference in the Mecklenburg affair, entered willingly into the plot on condition that the Baltic Provinces, which he had conquered from

**Gorti's plot:**

Sweden, should be permanently ceded by that power. The design was that a body of 12,000 'Swedes should proceed to Scotland and be taken into the pay of the Pretender. This, it seemed, might be very easily effected, for no one had the slightest idea of the scheme, and with favourable winds Scotland and Sweden were not much more than forty-eight hours' passage apart. Gortz therefore went to the Hague, and carried on active communications with Count Gyllembourg and Baron Spaar, the Swedish ministers at the Courts of St. James and Versailles. He also opened negotiations with the Pretender, the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Maine, and—most important of all—Alberoni. The latter entered warmly into the scheme, and furnished a subsidy of one million livres. Gortz therefore •was able to elaborate the threads of his conspiracy, which included not only the invasion of Scotland by the Swedes, but also two simultaneous insurrections of the Jacobites in England and the adherents of the Duke of Maine in France.

Stanhope, however, had long suspected what was going on. Some letters, therefore, between Gyllembourg and Gortz were seized by the Government, and gave them a full clue to the whole conspiracy. Gyllembourg was arrested on the ground that he had violated the Law of Nations, and its failure. thereby lost his international character, by conspiring against the Government to which he was accredited. His papers were thoroughly examined, and fully confirmed the charges of the Ministry. This vigorous action was followed by the arrest of Gortz by the Dutch, which was far less justifiable, as Gortz was only conspiring against an ally of Holland, not against the Dutch Government itself. This removal of its head paralyzed the limbs of the conspiracy, while the conspirators were afraid to move now that the objects of their attacks were placed so thoroughly on their guard.

Alberoni was not yet ready for open war, and was therefore very unwilling to show his hand. He required time to perfect his reforms, and he was statesman enough to realize the danger of plunging recklessly into hostilities before his preparations were complete. The irritable pride of the king, however, took the matter out of his control, and forced him into war in spite of his openly expressed reluctance. The king was already furiously angry with Austria, whom he regarded as the spoiler of his fairest provinces. This feeling was thoroughly reciprocated by Austria. So when the

Austrian Government ordered the arrest of the Spanish Inquisitor-General on his walkthrough Lombardy, in order to get what information they could from his papers with regard to the designs of Spain, Philippe was so highly incensed at the deliberate insult that he insisted on declaring war at once.

War being inevitable, Alberoni was determined that it should be successful. An expedition was sent to conquer Sardinia, and thence to proceed to Sicily. Here, however, the Triple Alliance thought fit to interfere, and imperiously ordered Alberoni to give up all his designs on Italy, promising in return to secure the succession of Parma and Tuscany to Don Carlos. The emperor

War between  
Austria and  
Spain.

was to be induced to agree to these terms and to give up his ridiculous claims to the title of King of Spain, by being allowed to exchange his barren island of Sardinia for the more fertile and important Sicily. Alberoni, however, furious at the domineering tone of the powers, peremptorily refused to accede to their views, and determined to revive again in a more extended form the conspiracy which had fallen helplessly from the hands of Gortz. Dubois and Stanhope therefore entered into active communications with one another. Dubois even came to London to facilitate the despatch of business. The result of these negotiations was that England, France, Holland, and Austria, entered into a Quadruple Alliance, 1718, by which they agreed to compel Spain, if necessary, to abstain from interference in Italy, and to accept the terras offered her already by the Triple

Quadruple  
Alliance,  
1718.

Alliance. Undeterred by this threatening combination, Alberoni organized armaments at home and intrigued for help abroad with equal vigour. He artfully excited the indignation of the Duke of Savoy against the proposal of the powers to make him accept Sardinia instead of Sicily, and at the same time gratified his acquisitive propensities by promising him part of the Milanese. He encouraged the Turks to continue the war with Austria, though repeated thrashings had inspired them with a desire for peace. He roused up

Alberoni's  
plot.

Eagotski, the exiled prince of Transylvania, to attempt the recovery of his ancient principality from the House of Austria. He persuaded Charles X I I and Peter the Great to forget their old animosities and combine together for vengeance on George I. He arranged an invasion of Scotland, which was to be headed by the Duke of Ormond, with ships, troops, and

money, supplied by Spain. Lastly he incited all the discontented elements in France, the Protestants, the Jesuits, and the adherents of the Duke of Maine, to rise simultaneously and overthrow the Government of the Regent.

Bad luck, however, pursued the conspiracy from point to point; and it merely added one more to the extraordinary series of political bubbles for which the period of George I. is so remarkable. By judiciously, if not very generously, sacrificing the Venetians,

George was able to obtain the Peace of Passarowitz for Austria, which satisfactorily ended the Turkish War. Admiral Byng destroyed the Spanish fleet off Capo Pesaro, and thus put an end to any further notions of invading Italy. The Quadruple Alliance brought so much pressure to bear on the Duke of Savoy, that he repented of his dangerous bargain with Alberoni, and accepted the hard terms of the powers. Charles XII., impatient of the delay, and bent on war with some one, invaded Norway, which belonged to his old enemy, Denmark, and was

accidentally *shot* while prosecuting the siege of the frontier fortress of Friedrichshalle, a fitting end to his tempestuous career. Gortz was executed as a traitor on the death of his master, the kingdom was declared elective, a republican government was established, and the crown settled on Ulrique Eleonore, the youngest sister of Charles. From this time Sweden was entirely occupied with internal disputes and lost all importance in Europe. Peter the Great, seeing the failure of the conspiracy and the weakness of Sweden, gave up all idea of interfering in England or France, and continued the old war with his ancient enemy amid unvarying successes. The north was thus entirely neutralized, and all the outlying branches of Alberoni's plot cut off. There still remained, however, the two insurrections in England and France, and the Jacobite invasion, from which great things might still be expected. The French plan was to seize the Duke of Orleans at one of his pleasure parties, convoke the Estates-General, proclaim the King of Spain Regent of France, and the Duke of Maine his deputy. Intelligence that some such plot was on foot was sent to the Regent both by Stanhope and the French Ambassador at Madrid. The Government, however, bided its time. The stupidity and carelessness of Prince Cellamare, the Spanish agent, enabled Dubois to acquire documentary evidence of the

Death of Charles XII., 1718.

Failure of the French plot.

plot, and this was followed immediately by the arrest of the Duke and Duchess of Maine, Cardinal Polignac, M. de Pompadour, Prince Cellamare himself, and all the heads of the conspiracy. War at once ensued. The Duke of Berwick took the field with a French army of 30,000 men, and a series of successes soon amply revenged the intrigues of Alberoni. Meanwhile the Jacobite invasion had met with no better fortune. The stars in their courses seemed literally to light against the House of Stuart. A small armament, a duodecimo edition of the Spanish Armada, did actually start from Cadiz under the command of Ormond, but it was caught by a tremendous tempest in the Bay of Biscay, which handled it so roughly that only two frigates succeeded in reaching the coast of Scotland. The Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, and about 300 Spanish troops, landed and were joined by a few hundred Highlanders. They were easily suppressed, however. The Highlanders fled back to their caves and glens to mourn another defeat. The Spanish soldiers surrendered to the Royalist army and were sent to London, where they became quite the rage among the ultra-Tories. The unfortunate chiefs of the expedition succeeded eventually in escaping to Spain, after lurking in the Western Isles for some time till the ardour of pursuit had abated. In revenge for this aggression, an English squadron appeared off the Spanish coast, and, while the French army reduced the northern fortresses, the English fleet destroyed the arsenals, ships, and all the naval *materiel* which had been created with such difficulty for the new Spanish navy by Alberoni. Spain could not hold out in the face of these disasters. It became necessary to yield, and Alberoni made overtures for peace. Stanhope, however, was determined to insist on the dismissal of Alberoni himself as the first preliminary. This determination naturally produced a great effect at Madrid, where the Minister was beginning to be regarded, with the usual ingratitude of monarchs, as the author of the calamities of Spain. Moreover, he had always been unpopular, owing to his low birth and his genius. A combination of all the influential people took advantage of his ill-success to work on the unstable mind of Philippe, and the result was the ignominious dismissal of *certainly the greatest Spanish statesman between the periods of Olivarez and Aranda*. He retired to Italy, where, after

Failure of  
the Jacobite  
invasion,  
1719.

Fall and end  
of Alberoni.

narrowly missing the Papacy- on the death of Innocent XIII., he died Legate of Bologna, 1752.

After some attempts at haggling, which were foiled by the union and firmness of the four powers, Philippe agreed to accede to the Quadruple Alliance, January, 1719, thus making it Quintuple. Savoy therefore ceded Sicily to Austria, in exchange for Sardinia, receiving in addition the title of king of the latter country. The Spanish troops punctually evacuated Sicily and Sardinia within six months. Parma and Tuscany were guaranteed to Don Carlos, on the death of the present dukes. It was further arranged that a congress should meet to settle all outstanding questions to the general satisfaction.

Dubois and Stanhope now turned their attention to the north, where war was still raging. Sweden, in her weakened state, had been only too glad to conclude a treaty under George's mediation, yielding him in perpetuity the Duchies of Bremen and Verden; acknowledging Augustus of Saxony to be the rightful King of Poland; ceding Stettin and some pieces of Swedish Pomerania to Prussia. The Danes and Russians still remained obstinate, determined to totally ruin Sweden. Stanhope, therefore, resorted to coercion. A British fleet was sent to the Baltic, Denmark was forced at the point of the bayonet to accept a peace, and the Russian fleet was driven in inglorious flight from the Swedish coast. These three Treaties with England, Poland (in which Prussia was included), and Denmark, form the Treaty of Stockholm, 1719-20, which is also known as the Peace of Queen Ulrique.

Peace, however, was not concluded between Russia and Sweden till 1721, when, by the Treaty of Nystadt, it was agreed that Russia should retain Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, restoring Finland to Sweden.

The firmness, skill, and union of Stanhope and Dubois had therefore laid the foundations of peace for twelve years in Europe, though it was purchased at the expense of Venice, Sweden, and Spain.

## *Section 2.—Troubles at Home,*

All through this period Stanhope's Government had had to



deal with the virulent opposition of Walpole and his party, and the harpy-like rapacity of the king's German favourites. A charge of fraud and embezzlement was brought against Lord Cadogan, who had been concerned in the transport of the Dutch troops sent over to assist in putting down the Rebellion of 1715. The attack was led by the Jacobites, who really were disgusted at the zeal and ability he had shown in Scotland. To their astonishment, however, they were supported by Walpole and Pulteney, solely with the malicious desire of embarrassing the Government.

Impeachment  
of Cadogan.

Similar factiousness was displayed by this party with regard to the impeachment of Harley, Earl of Oxford, which had dawdled on now for nearly two years. Walpole and Townshend were determined to save their old enemy. Pure shame prevented their openly advocating his cause, but they artfully contrived to embroil the Houses of Lords and Commons on the subject. The Lords were induced to send a message to the Commons to the effect that they would not receive any evidence on the charge of misdemeanour until the accusation of treason had been argued out. It was well known, however, that the latter could not be substantiated, and this resolution was merely a blind, under which Harley was to escape. The Commons considered themselves insulted, and refused, in consequence, to proceed with the impeachment at all. As the managers did not therefore appear on the next day appointed for the continuance of the trial, the Lords, after going through the solemn farce of waiting for a quarter of an hour for those who they knew were not coming, declared the impeachment at an end. In 1719 Walpole's conduct became even less justifiable. Stanhope brought in a wise and enlightened measure for the Repeal of all the Penal Laws against the Dissenters, and mitigating the miserable position of the Roman Catholics. It is a remarkable fact that this Minister, whose foreign policy was so despotic, should have anticipated, by more than a hundred years, the great relieving measure of Lord John Russell. Obstacles, however, at once sprang up. The resistance of the Tories, the High Churchmen, the Walpole Whigs, was foreseen, and in consequence the bill was presented to Parliament in a very mutilated form, practically amounting to merely a Repeal of the Schism Act. In spite of all his previous pledges, Walpole

Failure of  
impeachment  
of Harley,  
1717.

Repeal of the  
Schism Act,  
1719.

and his party bitterly attacked the bill, and it only passed by a majority of forty-two. The smallness of this majority precluded any further attempt to relieve the Dissenters by legislation. Nor was it till the first year of George II. that the expedient was hit upon of passing a Bill of Indemnity for those who had entered municipal office without properly qualifying by taking the sacrament in the English form. This measure, which was repeated from that time almost annually, practically threw open nearly all offices to the Protestant Dissenters as fully as if the Test Acts had been repealed.

This same year, 1719, was also remarkable for the introduction of -the **Peerage Bill**. The object of this **Peerage Bill,** bill was partly to effectually shut up the entrance **1719;** of the House of Lords against the German favourites of George, partly to obviate any dangerous attempts on the part of the Prince of Wales, when he ascended the throne, to swamp the Whig majority in the Lords in his exasperation against his father's Ministers. The shadow of Harley still stalked darkly across the political horizon, and the memory of the creation of twelve peers to force the Peace of Utrecht through a hostile House was yet fresh in the minds of men. The king was easily induced to consent, and little opposition was expected from the Lords. The bill provided that the English peers should not be increased beyond six, except in the case of princes of the blood ; that for every extinction there might be a fresh peerage created; that the sixteen elective peers of Scotland should be transformed into twenty-five hereditary peers, whose numbers should be filled up, as occasion required, from the remainder. The bill was a purely party measure, and would have had very dangerous consequences to the Constitution. It would have shut the House of Lords against any reinforcements from the ranks below them, and thereby made them an exclusive body. Moreover, as they were entirely irresponsible, and had no fear of a general election dangling before their eyes, they would have been extremely difficult to influence, even when they were opposed to the general voice of the people. The present century has given repeated instances in which the Lords have found themselves in direct opposition to public opinion, and have only yielded after considerable pressure has been applied. It is easy to imagine that they would not have yielded at all, had it been impossible to apply such pressure, and that in consequence

many necessary and salutary measures must have been thrown out. It might well seem fraught with impending evil that such a body, irresponsible, permanent, drawn from a particular class only, and that class one which has by no means shown itself the most eager for political progress, should be entrusted with a general veto on legislation. Fortunately, however, public indignation was aroused against it. Steele employed all his wonderful talent in exposing the secret evils of the measure. Walpole, still in opposition, both spoke and wrote against it, and on this occasion his hostility to Stanhope was undoubtedly of great service to the country. The landowners were indignant that the House of Lords should be thus effectually closed against them, and that there should be no future possibility of obtaining that honour, "save through the winding-sheet of a decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." Therefore, though the measure passed easily in the Lords, it was thrown out in the Commons, after an animated debate, and the Constitution was saved.

To modern ideas it seems as though Stanhope ought to have resigned at once after a defeat on such an important Government measure. This view of the matter did not, however, occur to him, and nothing shows more clearly how little the true principles of party government were understood at the time. So far was the Ministry from being shaken by their failure, that they immediately received a new accession of strength. Walpole and his party, tired of languishing out in the cold of opposition, and despairing of producing any effect on the adamantine armour of the Government, came over in a body to their enemies, regardless of prejudice, principle, and personal rancour. Walpole became Paymaster of the Forces, and Townshend Lord President of the Council. Nothing can paint in more glaring colours the extraordinary political morality, or immorality, of the time than that the latter should, apparently for the sake of office solely, accept a subordinate position under his rival, in whose favour he had been ejected from the first place. And yet Townshend bears the highest possible character among the statesmen of his day.

Return of  
Walpole to  
Office.

*Section 3.—The South Sea Bubble, 1720-21.*

This strong Government, which seemed so invulnerable to its enemies, was, however, on the verge of a convulsion, which was to break it up entirely and destroy the men with whose names it was associated, leaving to Walpole the task of gathering together the fragments that remained, and building them up into a new and still more invincible Ministry.

The origin of the South Sea Scheme was the general alarm with which the increase of the **National Debt** was regarded. Under Queen Anne the public liabilities had gradually augmented to fifty-two millions, owing to the enormous expenses of the wars. It was popularly imagined—and this opinion was shared by the greatest statesmen—that the nation could not bear such an enormous sum, and that national bankruptcy must be the ultimate result. A certain amount of justification existed for this idea in the fact that at this time France was nearly ruined by the immense weight of her public debt, that twice during the century she was obliged to declare herself bankrupt, and that the grand difficulty which beset the ministers of Louis XVI. was to invent some plan for "choking the deficit," in other words, of equalizing expenditure and revenue. France, however, was in a very different position to England. Her whole financial system was radically bad. Only half the nation—and that the poorest half—contributed to the direct taxes at all. Moreover, the sum actually raised from the people at the end of Louis XIV. was really greater than the annual expenditure, but half of it never came into the coffers of the State, owing to the ruinous system of collection. France was steadily on the decline, and she sinks lower and lower during the century. The Mississippi Scheme nearly destroyed her, whereas England came out of the South Sea Scheme with wings but slightly singed. France, in fact, was a poor country. England, however, was in a very different condition. *The Peace of English Utrecht laid the foundation of her commercial prosperity,* and from this time her trade steadily grew. It was fostered by a peace of almost unexampled duration, and by a policy of free trade. The productiveness of the labour of the country was enormously augmented by the great mechanical inventions of Hargreaves, Crompton, Arkwright, Stevenson,

and Watt. The result was a vast increase of the wealth of the country, which enabled it to bear with ease a burden many times as heavy again as that which frightened financiers in the early days of the eighteenth century. It is true that a national debt is always a dead weight hanging round the neck of a nation, and that the heavy taxation necessary to pay the interest of the debt at once raises prices and reduces profits. But it is possible to recognize this, and yet at the same time comprehend that the danger which alarmed the contemporaries of Walpole was to a great extent imaginary in the circumstances of the country. The real prosperity may be illustrated by the fact that, though under William, Government borrowed money at seven or eight per cent., under Anne the rate was gradually reduced to five per cent., though much higher interest was paid on the old debt, consisting mainly of irredeemable annuities for long terms. Private persons, however, could borrow money on good security at four per cent.

The object of financiers at this time was to pay off as much as possible of the debt itself year by year, and lessen the rate of interest on the remainder. In this way a large annual saving would be effected. The most promising plan for this appeared to be to consolidate all the various portions of the debt into one fund and give it into the hands of a Company, who should receive much lower interest from Government, and should be empowered to make some satisfactory arrangement with the general mass of the Government creditors or fundholders. The Company which brought forward this proposal was the South Sea Company,

Scheme for  
paying  
National Debt.

It had been founded in 1711 by Harley, in order to provide for a floating debt of ten millions. A floating debt being one which is payable on demand by the creditor, the Government would have been threatened by the continual prospect of some creditor asking for repayment at a time when they might find it inconvenient to meet this liability. An arrangement therefore was made with a Company. The interest was secured by permanently setting aside a portion of the customs for its payment; the Company agreed not to demand the principal; and as a bribe they were given the monopoly of the trade of the South Seas, from which great things were expected. These golden aspirations were not, however, realized. The Peace of Utrecht gave England only the right of importing negro slaves into the Colonies (a right which was known as the *Assiento*), and of sending one ship of

Origin of the  
South Sea Co.

under 500 tons burden annually to the South Seas. This scanty concession had, however, been rudely interrupted by the war with Spain, and so not much had come of it. The Company, however, had other more fertile resources, and, backed up by the Government credit, it was in a very flourishing condition.

Sir John Blunt, the leading director, proposed in 1719 to take over the whole of the National Debt as part of the capital of the Company on the following terms.

The Company would endeavour to arrange with the creditors that they should either receive the value of their shares in the funds in shares of the Company, entitling them to a share in the dividends of the Company, which might be more or might be less than the interest given by Government, and would probably be a great deal more; or else they would pay them in full, if they preferred it, at the rate of eight years and a quarter purchase. So far, then, the scheme was perfectly honest, and offered considerable promise. So advantageous did it seem to the Company that the Bank of England entered into competition with it, and offered better terms. The result was, that after a struggle between the two Companies, the South Sea Company consented to pay seven and a half millions to Government as the price of the bargain, and so carried the day. The seven and a half millions were used to pay off the debt; those creditors, who were willing, exchanged their shares in the funds for shares in the Company; and thus the Company became sole Government creditor to the extent of sixteen millions, receiving only five per cent, till 1727, when they were to receive four. Most of the annuitants accepted the exchange, and so great was the credit of the Company that several large subscriptions of capital were filled up at once, thus supplying ready money for commercial speculations. The most exaggerated hopes were raised, owing to the extraordinary belief in the powers of credit, which almost approached an unreasoning superstition. Stories, too, were floated that the Government intended to exchange Gibraltar and Minorca for some mines in Peru. England had gone mad, and for the time believed anything.

Bubbles.

The result was that South Sea stock increased enormously in value, and in consequence went up steadily in price until at last it touched the astounding sum of 1000/. for the 100/. share. Walpole, who had invested some money in the Company, judiciously sold out at this high price, thereby realizing a handsome fortune, but the majority of the infatuated

speculators held on, hoping for enormous profits. It was gravely proposed that the yearly dividend should not be less than fifty per cent., and this incredible rate might in itself have warned the nation of the unstable ground they were walking on. A mania for speculation, however, had set in. All ranks, professions, and parties flocked to Change Alley, where stock-broking was carried on. The crowds were so great, that tables were set in the streets with clerks at them. Bubble companies of every kind sprang up to delude the unwary. The strangest possible schemes were gravely started; among others,—*for importing a number of large jackasses from Spam,—for transmuting of quicksilver into a fine malleable metal,—for a wheel for a perpetual motion,—and many more*, which all found eager support. One enterprising individual even advertised that he would receive a subscription of two guineas "*for an enterprise which shall in due time be revealed*" promising to give in exchange a share of one hundred in the project. One thousand of these subscriptions were actually paid in, but the projector was never seen again afterwards, and so the project was never revealed.

So far, however, the South Sea Company had violated no law of political economy; and though members of the Government and many others had received bribes of fictitious capital as an inducement to favour the Company, yet these transactions, disgraceful as they were, had nothing to do with the bursting of the bubble. The Company, however, had made the *mistake of supposing that credit is capital*. Credit is not capital. It lacks one essential property of capital, namely, intrinsic value, and therefore it is only a means of obtaining capital,—in fact, the power of borrowing. Matters therefore were all very well as long as the Company's credit remained good. But if by any chance it were shaken, if a panic were to set in and the creditors begin to demand payment *en masse*, how was the Company to pay off those sixteen millions of credit which it had taken on from Government, and which really did not exist at all in hard cash? This danger the Company did not see. Inspired by greed, they prosecuted the promoters of some other speculations, and thereby credit was generally shaken. Men began to realize their money hastily. At last a panic set in; the price of all shares fell enormously; by September the South Sea stock had fallen from 1000*l.* to 135*l.* for the 100*l.* share. This was

South Sea Co.'s  
mistake.

Panic.

high enough in itself, and it shows the real solidity of the Company, but it meant ruin to those who had bought in at 1000/. Then a storm arose against the Company. The misery and ruin was so wide-spread, and the exasperation of the country was so great, that, though the whole transaction between the Company and its creditors had been perfectly honest and legal, yet the Government was forced to yield to popular pressure.

A parliamentary inquiry was therefore instituted. Then it became evident that many members of the Government had received bribes from the Company, that fictitious shares had been given to the king's mistresses, that the hands of the directors were not perfectly clean. And so the tide of popular Vengeance. fury rose higher and higher at each fresh discovery, till it swept away alike the Company and the Ministry. Earl Stanhope himself died of a violent rush of blood to the head, consequent on a violent debate in which he was attacked with great acrimony by the Duke of Wharton. James Craggs the younger, fortunately for himself, died suddenly of small-pox. His father committed suicide, rather than face the result of his shame. Mr. Aislachie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was found guilty and expelled from the Commons. Charles Stanhope escaped censure by a majority of three only. Sunderland, though he was acquitted by a large majority, found himself so unpopular in consequence of his supposed delinquency, that he was obliged to resign all his offices.

The ground had now been almost miraculously cleared for Walpole, who, indeed, it was generally felt, was the only living financier capable of dealing with such a crisis. He proceeded to confiscate the property of the directors; the Government bribe was refunded; all just debts were paid; the sufferers were compensated as far as possible; and the remaining capital, amounting to about thirty-three and a half per cent., was divided among the proprietors. *There was not the slightest doubt that the directors had committed no crime known to the law*, and that, in the words of Gibbon, it was merely an act of popular vengeance, and totally contrary to justice. But national indignation against the "Cannibals of Change Alley," "the betrayers of their country," was so strongly exasperated, that Walpole was practically obliged to bring in the retrospective Act of Parliament to satisfy the popular desire for revenge.



The deaths of Stanhope and the two Craggs, and the expulsion of Aislabie, followed shortly after by the death of Sunderland, left Walpole without a rival in the field. Walpole. The electors of 1722 confirmed the ministerial majority, and **Walpole's long reign of twenty years set in.**

## Book II.—WALPOLE, 1721-42.

### CHAPTER I.

#### WALPOLE AND GEORGE I., 1721-27.

##### *Section 1.—Home Affairs.*

ROBERT WALPOLE was born in 1696. His father was a Norfolk squire, who sent him to Eton and educated him for the Church. His elder brother, however, died early in life and left him the heir to the family estate, which fell to him on the death of his father, 1700. He then selected a parliamentary career, and took his seat for the family borough of Castle Rising in the Whig interest. At first his oratory was anything but successful, and it was only by careful application that he was able to conquer the unfavourable impression created by his first failure. Once started, however, his fame as a debater gradually increased, and at the same time he rose steadily through the minor governmental offices. The accession of the Tory Ministry of Harley brought evil days on all the supporters of the late Government, and Walpole had to endure a condemnation for corruption, followed by expulsion from the House. Probably the charge was false. Anyhow, the temper of the House was such at that time that they would have believed an angel guilty of corruption if he had happened to be a Whig. The accession of George I. restored Walpole to office; and from that date, in office or in opposition, his fortunes are intimately connected with the history of his country until the day when the reins of power were wrenched from his tenacious grasp.

The popular excitement which followed the bursting of the South Sea Bubble revived the hopes of the Jacobites. They were additionally stimulated by the birth of the Young Pre-

tender, Charles Edward, or the Chevalier de St. George, at "was later styled. This inauspicious event took place on the last day of the year 1720. **Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester**, an able and ambitious prelate, hoped to take advantage of the general ferment to effect the Stuart Restoration, which all good Englishmen were supposed to be pining for. The usual fatality, however, befell this unlucky schemer which dogged the footsteps of all the abler partisans of the House of Stuart. He could not get the principal Jacobites to agree on any definite plan. He could not persuade them to select any of their number as chief. Dubois not only refused to assist them, but gave information to the British Ambassador, who very soon communicated the intelligence to his own Government. Then, while chaos was raging in the Jacobite camp, the strong arm of the law came down on the leaders of the conspiracy; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and the troops called out. The attaind and banishment of Atterbury, which followed, gave a mortal wound to Jacobitism, the effects of which lasted for more than twenty years; while the successful policy of Walpole at home and abroad, and his steady alliance with France, rendered any similar attempt utterly hopeless. Nothing more clearly showed the strength of the Government and the real hold which the Hanoverian settlement had obtained on the nation, than the fact that Walpole was able in a period of great popular ferment to deprive and banish the most brilliant and most popular Churchman of the day.

Atterbury's plot.

Attaind of Atterbury.

The year 1723 was marked by the **return of Bolingbroke**, who, disgusted with the ingratitude and the imbecility of the Pretender, had intrigued with the Court and Ministry to obtain a complete restoration. This Walpole was unwilling to consent to. A pardon was indeed allowed to pass the Great Seal, but the Act of Attainder was studiously *not* reversed, in order to exclude the ex-Jacobite from the House of Lords. His offers of service were contemptuously rejected, and Walpole showed most clearly that he had no intention of effecting any reconciliation with the Tories. This, no doubt, was in a great degree owing to the extraordinary thirst for uncontrolled power which was Walpole's besetting sin, and which was eventually to cause his ruin by driving every man of ability in the country into the bitterest opposition.

Return of Bolingbroke, 1723.

The rejection of Bolingbroke's overtures was shortly fol-

by the Dismissal of Carteret, 1724. dismissal of Lord Carteret, one of the Secretaries of State—Lord Townshend, the former Prime Minister, being the other. Carteret was a man of the most brilliant parts, and high in favour with the king. This predilection was the result of the Ministers profound acquaintance with continental politics, and his well-trained knowledge of the German language, which few of George's new subjects had taken the trouble to acquire, in spite of the fact that the king could converse in no other tongue. This favour excited the jealousy of Walpole, who could not endure the idea of a rival. He therefore took the earliest opportunity of practically dismissing Carteret from political life by requiring the king to confer on his favourite the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, a demand which George very unwillingly complied with, 1724.

Wood's halfpence, 1723-24. Ireland was at that time a prey to unreasonable and outrageous excitement. That unhappy country, ever prone to be led into violence by the artful denunciations of ambitious and designing men, had been lashed into a state of extraordinary madness by Swift's *Philippics* against **Wood's halfpence**. In 1722 Walpole had given Mr. William Wood, a retired ironmaster, a patent for manufacturing copper halfpence and farthings for Ireland to the value of 108,000*l*. The coinage in Ireland was in such a bad state that some influx of copper money was absolutely necessary, and this plan, after a careful inquiry by Sir Isaac Newton, the Master of the Mint, and by Walpole himself, was decided\* to be the best and fairest that had been proposed. The sole arguments that could be urged against it were that a heavy bribe had been paid to the Duchess of Kendal to obtain her countenance, that Wood himself would make a slight percentage on the transaction, and that he had very unwisely talked big about thrusting his halfpence down the throats of the Irish if they objected in the slightest. Unfortunately, however, the question was not to be judged on its own merits, as indeed few acts of the "*Saxon*" are in Ireland. Swift, smarting under enforced and distasteful inaction consequent on the accession of the Whigs to power, bent all the wonderful genius he possessed to falsify the facts of the case, and to hound the Irish people on against the English Government. In rapid succession he issued, one after another, the celebrated **Drapier's Letters**, in which a frightful picture of impending

misery was drawn in the most glaring colours. Common-place facts were moulded into the most startling fictions. The prosaic ironmaster was transformed into a monster battenning on the blood of a nation, while ever overhead gloomed the huge dark portentous shadow of Walpole gloating over the sufferings of his victims. But with such consummate ability was it done, and with such a thorough knowledge of his countrymen, that he soon had the whole mob of "savage old Irish," as he scornfully called them, howling at his heels for vengeance on Wood. This ferment Carteret found it impossible to quell. Further perseverance seemed likely to end in rebellion. Walpole therefore decided to withdraw the patent.

Drapier's  
Letters.

In the next year disturbances broke out in Scotland. The Scots had the strongest disinclination to pay their share of the burdens of the kingdom, and had resorted to every kind of shift to evade the payment of the **Malt Tax**. This tax was now commuted for a duty of threepence on every barrel of ale. A great commotion ensued in Edinburgh, and the brewers refused to brew. It was so obvious, however, that the chief persons who would suffer by this irrational proceeding would be themselves, that very shortly interest carried the day, and the brew-houses were soon hard at work again. The chief result of the ebullition was the abolition of the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, and Walpole now took the management of the affairs of that country into his own hands in order to hold it under closer control.

Scotch Malt  
Tax, 1725.

In 1725 Bolingbroke was restored in property and person, though not in peerage. Thus excluded from parliamentary life, he became the extra-parliamentary wire-puller of the Opposition. He found an unexpected and most powerful ally in Pulteney. Pulteney had long smarted under a sense of ill-requited merit in the subordinate post of *ex* Cofferer. At last he ventured on open rebellion in a debate on the Civil List. Walpole at once dismissed him into the cold of opposition and the arms of Bolingbroke. Between them they planned a remarkable paper, called the "**Craftsman**," which was devoted solely to attacking the Government policy root and branch, and everybody at all connected with it. They soon gathered round them a strong body of able writers and skilled statesmen,

Schemes of  
Bolingbroke.

The "Crafts-  
man."

including Windham, Shippen, and Carteret. A few heavy payments secured them the support of the Duchess of Kendal, who was always open to a bribe, and who indeed with considerable impartiality received pensions from both Ministry and Opposition. The result of this last accession to his following was that Bolingbroke concocted an elaborate plan for the overthrow of the Government. A paper containing a list of accusations against Walpole was to be given to George, and the Duchess was to request an interview for Bolingbroke that he might make further revelations. Unfortunately, however, for the hopes of the conspirators, George consulted Walpole himself, of all people in the world, as to what he should do. Walpole advised him to see Bolingbroke and hear what he had to say. The king was so delighted with the courageous advice that he received Bolingbroke, listened to his denunciations, inquired coldly "if that was all," and Bolingbroke. hearing that it was, turned on his heel and left the baffled schemer without another word. Once again had Bolingbroke heaved the Sisyphus' stone up the steep sides of the hill till he almost reached the top and. gazed upon the sun, and once again it had slipped from his grasp and bounded down crashing into the depths below, leaving nothing but a weary sense of wasted labour behind. The indefatigable Duchess, however, bravely supported her new friends, and kept Walpole in a continual state of uneasiness as to the effect of her schemes. He therefore found himself beset with dangers at a time when foreign policy, owing to fresh and extraordinary revolutions of the political wheel, was demanding his utmost attention. Nor was it till George died at Osnabruck in 1727, that the malign influence of the Duchess was completely removed from his path.

The period which has been sketched in the last pages was so extremely uneventful at home that the nation was Jacobitism. at last given an opportunity of settling steadily down under the new dynasty and once more cultivating the arts of peace. Jacobitism in consequence dwindled and drooped. A great seed-plot of sedition had been removed by the practical suspension of the powers of the Lower House of Convocation in 1717, which had always been the centre of Jacobite intrigues. This was in consequence of the controversy into which it had entered with Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor. Government wisely prorogued the Convocation prorogued, 1717.

angry ecclesiastics, and from that time down to 1850, though Convocation was regularly summoned, it was as regularly prorogued at once. Its chief focus being thus removed and its principal leaders alienated, Jacobitism lived chiefly on sentiment; nor was it till the outbreak of the great war on the deposition of Walpole that any opportunity was given to the exiled family to reassert their claims.

*Section 2.—Foreign Policy, 1721-35.*

Ever since the fall of Alberoni a **Congress** had been sitting at **Cambrai** with the ostensible object of arranging undecided matters between the Powers. "Most inane Congress ever known," says Carlyle disrespectfully of this august assembly; but in truth it effected nothing, and at last died of sheer inanition. The fall of Alberoni had been followed by a complete change in Spanish policy. The queen saw that by maintaining the closest friendship with England and France she would more easily attain her designs on the successions to Parma and Tuscany. A commercial treaty was therefore entered into with England, by which Spain guaranteed once more the right of the **Assiento**, and the right of sending one ship annually to the South Seas to trade with the Spanish colonies. A treaty was also concluded with France, by which it was arranged that Louis XV. should marry the infanta, who was then only four years old. The child was in consequence sent to France to be educated according to the manners and customs of her intended subjects.

Congress of  
Cambrai.

Meanwhile, the emperor had been playing fast and loose with the Allied Powers. He had persuaded the Pope to set up a ridiculous claim to Parma and Tuscany as fiefs of Holy Church. He had established a **trading Company at Ostend** with the object of breaking the monopoly of the India trade, which England and Holland still maintained. This Company was therefore very offensive to the Maritime Powers, and was moreover in direct contravention of the stipulations of the Peace of Utrecht. The natural result was insults on both sides. The English and Dutch seized some of the Ostend Company's ships. The emperor retaliated as far as he could by authorizing reprisals, which, however, were not very productive. Relations between **the** two courts were

The Em-  
peror's tricks.

therefore considerably strained, and the result was to draw closer the alliance between England, France, and Spain.

Unfortunately during the tedious delays, which the Congress dignified with the name of *deliberation* Elizabeth Farnese fell under the influence of a Dutch adventurer named **Baron Ripperda**.

**Ripperda**. He had all the ambition, with none of the ability, of Alberoni, and his chief claim to the confidence of the queen was his hostility to England. Under Eipperda's influence she gradually became inspired with the belief that she would obtain more by private negotiations with the emperor than by being made the catspaw of the Maritime Powers. Ripperda pointed out to her that Spain and Austria had hitherto only succeeded after years of war in weakening one another and aggrandizing France and England. Would it not be more expedient that they should reconcile their ancient hostility, concede mutual privileges to each other, and thus in the strength of that alliance arrange Europe as they wished in defiance of the Allied Powers? Spain should receive a promise of the Italian duchies for Don Carlos. Spain in return should recognize the Ostend Company, and—which the emperor still more ardently desired—should guarantee the **Pragmatic** Sanction, that is the deed by which he had entailed the succession to his extensive dominions on his daughter Marie Therese.

Circumstances certainly conspired in Ripperda's favour. In 1723 Philippe of Orleans died, and was succeeded by the Duke of Bourbon, a dissolute worthless descendant of the Great Conde who is described in most French histories as *Monsieur le Due*. Bourbon, who had no claims to the French throne, was only anxious that, if possible, the succession might be perpetuated in the family of Louis XV., not in that of Philippe of Spain. He therefore sent back with a very lame apology the child-wife which Spain had offered to Louis, and selected instead Marie Leczinska, the daughter of poor old Stanislaus Leczinski, Charles XII's unlucky Polish King. The chief qualifications which this lady possessed besides personal merit were that she was of marriageable age, and was not likely after years of hardship to be very overbearing as queen, or to interfere with the ascendancy of *Monsieur le Due*.

Philippe went simply wild with rage, and Elizabeth Farnese was furious at the insult. "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!"



she stormed out with more truth than, elegance;—"except you, of course, sire," she added, suddenly remembering her spouse's origin. The result was that, "whipt of the Furies," she threw herself into the arms of Austria, and Eipperda's triumph was complete. Spain and Austria now vied eagerly with each other in concessions. Spain agreed to guarantee the Ostend Company and the Pragmatic Sanction, and to renounce all claims on Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands. Austria to guarantee the Italian duchies to Don Carlos. Nor was this all. It was further arranged by a secret treaty that Don Carlos should marry Marie Therese and be secured the Imperial crown on the death of the emperor; that Austria and Spain should unite to reconquer Gibraltar and Minorca; that, if possible, the restoration of the Stuart dynasty should be effected. The secret treaty, however, was suspected at once by every one, owing to the magnitude of the concessions granted by Spain, without obtaining apparently anything like equivalent terms. It soon leaked out and justified the foresight of those who had looked behind the veil.

Treaty of  
Vienna, 1725.

This **Treaty of Vienna** was frightfully injudicious, and raised up a whole host of enemies who might have looked on complacently if the terms had been more moderate. As it was, the only state which showed the slightest favour towards the ill-matched couple was Russia, an ambitious, half-civilized power, which was guided solely by the caprice of a female despot; and the chief result of this acquisition was to throw Sweden and Denmark into opposition. The rest of Europe viewed this threatening treaty with considerable alarm. The German princes as a whole dreaded the idea of an emperor who should once more be supported by the united forces of Austria and Spain. Their new-born liberties would soon have paled before such a master, and the old days of Charles V. have returned again. Prussia, moreover, besides the general German grievance, had a special Prussian grievance. Frederic William saw pretty conclusively that the emperor did not intend to confer on him the succession to the duchies of Julich and Berg, to which he had well-founded claims, if they fell vacant, which at the time seemed imminent. He thought he might get them guaranteed elsewhere. The result of these general and special causes of discontent was that Townshend, Walpole's Foreign Secretary,

Treaty of  
Hanover,  
1726.

was able to build up a huge rival League of Hanover, which included not only England, Prance, and Holland, but Prussia as well, Sweden, Denmark, and most of the petty German princes. For the moment all Europe stood ranked in opposing armies, and the eagles swooped low in horrid expectation.

But the breath of war passed away as quickly as it had come. The emperor contrived to detach Frederic William of Prussia from the League by a half-promise of Julich and Berg, which could easily be repudiated later on, when the time came for fulfilment. This defection weakened the hands of the allies, and rendered them all ready to negotiate. Ripperda's triumph had been quickly followed by his fall. On his return to Spain he disgusted every one by his arrogance and boasting. The Austrian Ambassador found that the resources and intentions of Spain had been greatly overrated. The Spanish Queen was irritated at the failure of the Treaty of Vienna.

Fall of Rip-  
perda, 1726.

And so Ripperda was suddenly disgraced in 1726. To avoid his fate he lied to the English embassy, where he blabbed out all the stipulations of the secret Treaty of Vienna, thus confirming Walpole's suspicions and justifying the conclusion of the League of Hanover, which had been the object of the Opposition's bitterest attacks. The fall of Ripperda disposed Austria to peace. The emperor saw that he had overshot the mark, and that he was more likely to win a general guarantee for his Pragmatic Sanction by timely and graceful concession. Spain, however, held aloof for some time. The siege of Gibraltar was pushed on with as much vigour as the Spanish military system was capable of. And for a very short time the Spanish Ajax posed before Europe, ineffectually defying the Britannic lightning. Gibraltar, however, was found to be absolutely inexpugnable. British squadrons shot out threateningly in all directions. The Czarina died 1726, and a total reversal of Russian policy followed. Bourbon, it is true, was disgraced, but his successor, Fleury, drew still closer the alliance with England. The great arch-enemy of Spain, Walpok himself, after for a moment tottering unsteadily on the edge of a precipice on the death of George I., 1727, started on a fresh career of power with as much steadfastness of purpose as he had displayed before. Her last hopes being thus

**Act of the  
Pardo, 1728.**

baffled, the queen, afraid that Philippe might die before things were settled, at last sullenly agreed to the meeting of a Congress by the **Act of the Pardo, 1728.**

This **Congress of Soissons**, however, showed itself no abler for work than the Congress of Canibrai had done. The actual product of the wearisome haggling and quarrelling which went on there may be expressed by *zero*. The truth was, that the emperor, relying on his new<sup>0</sup> Prussian alliance, from which he expected great things, showed from the very first that he had no real desire to effect a settlement of outstanding questions. This disagreeable fact at last forced itself so distinctly on the consciousness of the impetuous Spanish queen that she determined to trust her enemies rather than her treacherous friend, and concluded the Treaty of Seville with England and France. By this treaty it was arranged that the commercial privileges granted to the emperor should be rescinded and transferred to England; that Parma and Tuscany should be guaranteed to Don Carlos, and that Leghorn, Placentia, and Porto Ecrajo, should be garrisoned by Spanish troops; while the question of Gibraltar, which at first seemed likely to prove an obstacle to peace, was passed over in total silence equivalent to a total renunciation.

The emperor therefore again found that he had overreached himself by his double-dealing, and merely irritated all parties. At first, however, he assumed a bold demeanour. He broke off all negotiations with Spain; turned a deaf ear to the threats of the Maritime Powers; poured an army into Italy, and on the death of the old Duke of Parma seized on the disputed territories. Every one, however, knew that he could be brought round at once by an united guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. The influence, too, of the old hero of the Spanish Succession War, Prince Eugene, was steadily on the side of peace. Wall-pole had now regained complete ascendancy in foreign affairs, owing to the withdrawal of Townshend from office, and was determined that Europe should not be plunged into war about such a paltry squabble. Negotiations were therefore once more opened with the emperor, who proved as tractable as had been expected. And so at last, in March, 1731, the **Second Treaty of Vienna** put an end to this strange political transformation scene. The Powers offered an united guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. The emperor agreed to abolish the Ostend Company. Spain confirmed to England the *Assiento* and the right of the annual ship to the South Seas. Lastly, Spanish troops took possession of Parina, Placentia, Leghorn, and Porto

Treaty of  
Seville, 1729.

Second Treaty  
of Vienna,  
1731.

Ferrajo, to secure the succession of the Italian duchies to Don Carlos.

The policy of Walpole, therefore, though not always dignified and consistent, was so far successful that it kept England out of foreign war and enabled her to work out undisturbed the political development which was slowly being accomplished during this period. It was with this view that Walpole steadily

refused to assist the emperor during the Polish Succession War, which broke out in 1733, alleging that England was not at all interested in Polish

elections, and was not bound to assist the emperor simply because he had got himself into trouble by interfering with them. There were in fact, however, two divisions of the war. The French one, in which Fleury took advantage of Austria's interference in Poland on behalf of the Russian candidate for the throne, Augustus of Saxony, to wrest from her the rich province of Lorraine, which France had so long coveted ; and to compel her to confer on Don

Carlos the kingdom of Naples and Sicily in exchange for Parma and Placentia. The Polish one, in which the question was whether a

Russian or French candidate should be King of Poland, which was almost immediately decided in favour of the former. With the Polish question England certainly had very little to do, for the ferocious ambition of Russia was not as yet understood, or indeed dangerous to Europe; but the aggrandizement of France was a point of considerable import to England, and stimulated the already keen desire existing in the hearts of most Frenchmen to avenge the disasters of the Spanish Succession War.

## CHAPTER II.

## MEN OF THE TIME, 1721-42.

## Section 1.—Walpole.

WALPOLE'S long career of office, extending over twenty years, cannot be divided by any arbitrary point of time, such as the death of George I. It was really one continuous period, marked solely by three definite events, by which for a moment his power seemed shaken to its foundation. These were the *death of George I.* in 1727, the *Excise Scheme* of 1733, and the *death of Queen Caroline* in 1737. On each of these occasions his enemies thought that the result, which they had so long toiled and struggled for, had at last arrived, and that they would mount to office over the prostrate body of the Minister. Far from this being the case, however, he contrived to gather new elements of strength after each of these events, as though the momentary contact with Mother Earth had re-inspired him with magical vigour; and rose again to pursue once more the same course of policy with greater determination than ever. His home policy was tame and uneventful, marked by very few incidents of importance. In consequence the Annalists of the period are driven to dilate at great length on the various shades of offence which caused the dismissal of one after the other of his supporters; and to draw out in wearisome detail the monotonous story of victories won again and again over the furious onslaughts of the Opposition by the solid phalanx of voting-power which ranked itself steadily night after night along the Government benches in the House of Commons. There is little to excite enthusiasm or interest in the period. Even the dim halo of romance, which had long lingered round the luckless descendant of the Stuart kings, now died away in an interminable fog of petty disputes and undignified recrimina-

tions. And yet there is much that should attract the careful study of all who would trace out the development of England during the 18th century. It was really a period of vast political transformation, during which the greatest care was necessary in the master-hand which superintended the slow uneasy working of the cumbrous machinery, which was to change the discontented Jacobite England of William III. and Anne into the enthusiastic nation which carried Pitt in triumph to the highest seat of power to execute the national policy.

Walpole's policy was eminently suited to his time. That, perhaps, is high praise, and it certainly is the highest that can be conceded to him. His faults, however, were glaring and repulsive. He was not an orator in the true sense of the word, though some of his speeches were masterpieces of successful defence. He instituted no great measures of reform,—nay, he rather checked and stilled at birth the faintest efforts in that direction. He studiously avoided the romantic glory which hovers round the brows of a successful war-miaister. He designedly insisted on a course of policy which can have no attraction to those who care for nothing but blood and gunpowder, who love to thrill with triumph over records of English victories, and with indignation at national disasters\* And yet Walpole was a great statesman in the highest sense of the word. He knew that his policy was the best adapted for the circumstances in which he found his country, and he carried it out unflinchingly, in the face of the greatest difficulties and the bitterest obloquy.

At his accession to office England was suffering all the evils which are the result of a disputed succession and an unpopular sovereign. Large classes were alienated from the dominant party. Deeply-rooted corruption and political immorality had long poisoned the atmosphere of political life, and fostered a monstrous growth of treachery and treason. The people were ignorant of the true advantages of the new constitution, were attracted by the supposed wrongs of the exiled family, or driven into opposition by the feeling of hostility which seems to naturally arise in most cases against constituted authorities simply because they *are* constituted authorities. The Jacobites were threatening the new settlement with war and secret treason. Many of the statesmen who headed the Opposition in the Houses of Parliament, and inveighed in constitutional language against the

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Hanoverian policy of the king and his Minister, were secret traitors, who, if they could have heard for certain that the Blue Bonnets were over the Border, would have proclaimed James III. at Charing Cross. And it is due solely to Walpole that they never got the opportunity. •

He saw that England required peace in order to accommodate herself to the great political development which was gradually coming over her; to enable the classes alienated from the Government to settle down once more into their accustomed places and old habits of loyalty to the powers that be; and to destroy the opportunity which foreign war was sure to give to the followers of the exiled family. Reform of any kind must have attacked the interests of some class or other, and the chief result therefore would have been to increase the hostility to the Government, without producing much immediate good to the people at large. Active legislation would have involved continual contests, and have supplied the Opposition with tangible grounds for the furious invective with which they endeavoured to arouse the enmity of the country against the invincible Minister. It was better, therefore, to leave reforms to quieter times, and devote himself mainly to the task of preserving peace, and of watching and guiding the nation along the path which lay open before it. It is, indeed, a maxim which statesmen would often do well to study, "Happy is the nation whose annals are a blank."

The difficulties which beset his path were enormous. George I. did not know a word of English, nor Walpole a word of German. Business, therefore, had to be discussed between them, so far as it was discussed, in *Dog-Latin*. The Duchess of Kendal, the king's favourite mistress, after a period of uncertain friendship, went over to the side of the Opposition; and, though she still condescended to receive the pension offered her by the Government, she exerted all her influence persistently against Walpole; nor was it till George had died at Osnabruck that he felt safe from her influence. But for the moment this was even a change for the worse. George II., as Prince of Wales, had been Walpole's bitter enemy. He had frequently described both Walpole and Newcastle as *rogues* and *rascals*. He had talked extremely big for such a little man as to what he would do when he came to the throne. What hope was there for Walpole under the new *regime* ? The king ordered him to go to Sir Spencer

Necessity for peace.

Walpole's difficulties;

Compton, a practical dismissal. The courtiers rat-like turned their backs on him. Only Lord Hervey remained faithful; only the queen recognized Lady Walpole now as "a friend." But in a few days Walpole was as supreme as ever. Compton with extraordinary imbecility allowed his rival to draw up the king's speech for him. The obliging "Walpole carried his kindness so far as not only to write out the speech, but let the queen know he had done so. Caroline's good common-sense enabled her to recognize the superiority of the one man to the other, and, as usual, she talked her little strutting husband over to her view of the case. When, therefore, Walpole outbid Compton with regard to the Civil List for the royal pair, there was nothing left but to give the latter a peerage. These royal and princely difficulties were bad enough; but in addition, chiefly through his own fault, Walpole had to contend with an Opposition which consisted of all the ablest men of the time, who were inspired solely by personal hatred of himself, who all cried out against his peace policy and his Hanoverian policy, and used every kind of influence with both kings to procure his dismissal, though it is true that these attempts were mainly productive of bad language on the part of these respectable monarchs. At their head was Bolingbroke, the ablest and most unscrupulous statesman of his day.

The policy which Walpole steadily pursued may be summed up in the words "*Quieta non movere*" He was his policy; determined not to arouse or even disturb sleeping lions, and he was always ready to make concessions on any point on which he and the country differed. His object was to conciliate all classes, and especially those who were at variance with the Government. He never ran counter to any popular prejudice. He gave up Wood's halfpence and the Excise Scheme as soon as he saw the country was resolute against them. He enlarged the National Debt rather than tax the people. He refused to tax America. He refused to repeal the Penal Laws against the Dissenters, though he granted them practical immunity by passing annual Acts of Indemnity for those who had taken municipal office without complying with the requisitions of the Test and Corporation Acts; while he administered the laws mildly, and diminished the differences and consequent rancour between the Church and the Dissenters by Latitudinarian (or Low Church) appointments. When he saw that he would incur odium by rejecting Bills intended to disqualify holders of pen\*



sions from sitting in Parliament, he allowed them to pass in the Commons, leaving to the Lords the burden of the refusal. Abroad he preserved the alliance with France, and maintained English commercial and maritime interests. At the same time he displayed little interest in points which did not seem to affect England directly. He allowed Spain to acquire Naples, France to get Lorraine. He steadily refused to interfere with regard to the Polish Succession, though he had rushed to the verge of war when Gibraltar was threatened.

The result of this policy was that the Hanoverian dynasty secured a firm hold on the feelings, and eventually the affections of the people. British credit, which had sunk so low, was completely restored. The tonnage of British shipping was almost doubled. The value of land went up considerably. The price of wheat fell. The taxes were appreciably lowered. The interest on the National Debt was successfully diminished. Partial free-trade was even introduced. England, in fact, grew in wealth and prosperity. Peace enabled her to recover from the exhaustion consequent on the long war with France. And it is mainly due to the policy of Walpole that she was able to make such stupendous efforts in the gigantic struggle which was yet to come. The great glory of his period was that he effected the union of the nation under the House of Hanover, and the reconciliation of all classes, even the Church and the country gentlemen, to the new settlement.

This moderation he reserved for classes. To his dependants he was absolutely tyrannical. The slightest insubordination was severely punished. He seems to have been inspired with a haunting fear of a rival, and a dread of all genius as dangerous to his ascendancy. One by one the greatest *men* in his Ministry were driven from his side. Carteret, Pulteney, Lyttleton, Chesterfield, all men whom most Ministers would have preferred as friends than as enemies, were forced into opposition by a reckless use of power. Even Townshend found it impossible to remain with his arbitrary brother-in-law. Newcastle, indeed, he retained ; but then Newcastle was an extremely mediocre person possessed of a dukedom and vast Parliamentary influence, who could be very useful, but was not likely to be dangerous to Walpole's ascendancy. But still Newcastle was snubbed and insulted at intervals to keep him in his proper place of subordination, until at last even

Newcastle turned sulky and plotted against his tyrant. "Sir Robert," said the shrewd old Duchess of Marlborough, "likes none but fools and such as have lost all credit." Harrington and Hervey remained as well : the one a diplomatist of moderate talent; the other a courtier who was also an honest man. But neither were likely to aim at the supremacy.

Relying, therefore, on the votes of his party, and not on the brilliance of his supporters, or the solidity of his measures, he was obliged to make use of that corruption for which his name has become a by-word. The morality of that corruption; time was different to our own. Men did not see any harm in receiving a gratuity in return for services. As a rule they would have voted just the same way anyhow. There are few instances of the direct purchase of hostile votes, for Walpole knew better than to place a premium on resistance. Moreover, the greatest statesmen and patriots in the last century had all been tainted with the suspicion of alien money. Cecil, Bacon, Pym, Shaftesbury, Sydney, had all taken money at different times with different objects. Danby had kept his party together by bribery. William III. had found it necessary to do the same. Pitt, later in the century, accepted the advantage of Newcastle's corrupt influence while pretending to disclaim and scorn it. He was the Minister of the people, it is true, in a certain sense; but he could not have carried a single measure in Parliament without Newcastle. Walpole, therefore, merely took up an instrument which he found ready to his hand, and which was still bright with recent use. He was not guilty of the fabrication of it, but he was guilty of grinding it to such a degree of sharpness that it would become dangerous in the hands of a dangerous man. He carried corruption to such perfection that he bequeathed to his successors a powerful engine, which George III. found as useful for bad government as Walpole had for good. The most shameless bribery of the century was certainly carried out by Bute and his royal pupil, but it was the perfection of Walpole's system which rendered this possible.

But he used his power well. He was only twice in direct opposition to public opinion. He was never accused of personal corruption himself. And he was extremely lenient to his political opponents. In fact, he began the moderation; new *rigime* which removed the dangerous side of party government. Ministers no longer found it necessary to resort to violent means to retain their power, for fear of

the violence of their enemies. There is only one instance during the rest of the century of the impeachment of a fallen Minister, and that—the case of Walpole himself—was a miserable *fiasco*.

His private character was extremely coarse. He lived in open adultery during his wife's lifetime, and married his mistress as soon as sweet handsome Lady Walpole was dead. The revels at Houghton, his country seat, are reported to have been so indecorous that they drove the austerer Townshend from his neighbouring estate, Rainham. His country life consisted in hunting all day and drinking all night; and there is no doubt that this form of life was more congenial to him than even the government of England. His acquaintance with mankind and their weaknesses made him cynical. He regarded them as tools, and was wholly unscrupulous as to the means by which he turned them to his purpose, or the object with which he employed them. He believed neither in man's honour nor woman's virtue. He recommended Queen Caroline to select Lady Tankerville as the king's mistress, because she was a "safe fool," though it does not appear that there were any grounds for supposing that she would consent to the arrangement. He laughed at the "Boy Patriots," and told them they would be wiser when they were older, meaning that it was only young and inexperienced men who would not vote as their interest should have dictated. Perhaps, however, the greatest blot on his career was his virulent opposition to Stanhope's Government; and Lord Mahon suggests that there is poetical justice in the fact that his own fall was due to attacks of an almost similar nature.

One of the most important results of Walpole's exclusive system of government was to break up the old lines of party politics by *destroying the meaning of parties*. It was no longer a question of Whig and Tory. It was not even a question of Jacobite and Hanoverian. Carteret was a staunch Hanoverian—more ultra-Hanoverian than Walpole himself. Cotton, Barnard, Windham were Jacobites of the most open type. Bolingbroke stood in the gap between the Whigs and Tories, ready to serve or revile either unscrupulously, as occasion offered. Disgraced by the Pretender, declined by Walpole, rejected equally by George I. and George II., nothing was left to him but to

private  
character.

Destruction  
of parties.

assume the leadership of the Opposition, just as the choice of every one of his followers lay practically between political nullity and hostility to the Government. In the ranks of the Government itself there was no great principle, good or bad, which marked them off from their opponents. The long rows of country gentlemen who voted for Walpole, supported him because they considered him the best man for the country, and because he gratified them with solid considerations. But Carteret, Bolingbroke, Pulteney, even Pitt, would have supported him equally if he would have gratified *them* in the way that *they* desired, namely, by giving them office. The war of principles, in fact, had died out. The war of the Walpoleans against the anti-Walpoleans had taken its place. And it was this total submergence of party politics and party cries for the time which facilitated the extinction of Jacobitism, and the rearrangement of the country into a new Tory party, and a new Whig party at the end of the reign of George II., whose principles, while reflecting faithfully the opinions from which they were originally sprung, gave token of that development which is so necessary to suit the needs of an advancing community.

### Section 2.—Walpole's Enemies.

The leader of the Opposition in Parliament was **William Pulteney**. This celebrated man was born in Pulteney; 1682. He was of good family and immense wealth. In early days Walpole and he had been on the most intimate terms. They had seceded from the Government in 1717. They had stood side by side in opposition to Stanhope. They had re-entered office again together in 1720. And so Pulteney imagined he had the strongest claims on Walpole, and expected a reward suitable to his merits and abilities when the sudden turn of the wheel placed his *confrere* at the head of affairs. And, indeed, his intellect and ability were such as rendered him eminently suited to fill any position character; in the Government. He was a skilled and powerful debater, occasionally rising to the highest flights of oratory. He had all the advantages which an orator could desire—a graceful person, imposing demeanour, and melodious

utterance. His mind he had cultivated to the highest pitch by close application. And while his great and varied knowledge rendered him capable of expressing, an opinion on almost any subject, his ready wit prevented his ever becoming tedious. It was, in fact, mainly due to his exertions that the *Craftsman*, which later he edited jointly with Bolingbroke, attained such a high degree of excellence. His rage and disappointment may therefore be imagined when, with the fullest consciousness of his own abilities, and the utmost thirst for power, he found himself treated by Walpole, not as an equal, but as an inferior, and one who was evidently regarded with suspicion. He was far too able to be entrusted with any important post in the Cabinet. Walpole knew well that his imperious spirit would not submit to the dictation which was intended to be the mainspring of the ministry. Pulteney, therefore, was offered a peerage; and the secretaryship, which he had expected, was given to Newcastle. The peerage he refused, but strangely enough accepted the inferior post of Cofferer of the Household. His haughty temper, however, was not likely to remain long shackled by this tiny chain, which was simply intended to hold him in subordination. He broke out into open mutiny, was at once dismissed, and passed into malicious and violent opposition. This is the period of his connection with Bolingbroke, the *Craftsman*, and the Duchess of Kendal. He took an active part in all the plots against Walpole; and he was the leader of the more regular hostilities in the House of Commons. Ho inveighed against the Hanoverian policy of the Minister, the corruption by which the Government ruled, and the maintenance of standing armies in time of peace. He lavished all the stores of his intellect in the vain attempt to unseat the man who had not properly recognized his merits; and in the pursuit of vengeance he stooped almost to the dust to conquer. And yet when the moment of triumph came, it was Pulteney only by the strange irony of fate who was not permitted to share it. In a moment of rash impulse, stung by the too true accusation that he was mainly prompted by personal views in his attacks on Walpole, he had pledged himself never to accept office; and now he kept his word. On the fall of his enemy he accepted a peerage, which he really obtained through the intercession of Walpole himself, who knew well that thereby he was repaying Pulteney with heavy interest for his own overthrow. The latter retired to the

House of Lords to find his influence entirely gone, his past popularity changed to hatred, and that his old rival had really scored the odd trick in the rubber after all. "The idol of the nation as William Pulteney, became their scorn as Earl of Bath; he tried often, but in vain, to recover his lost ground; and he passed his old age in that greatest of all curses which can befall the human mind—to find its aspirations higher than its powers!"

John, Lord Carteret, was one of the most remarkable and Carteret; most unsuccessful men of the century. He is an extraordinary instance of a highly cultivated intellect and a great capacity for business totally ruined and obscured by the pernicious habit of drinking, to which he was a slave. Two bottles of Burgundy would render him completely happy; and in the pursuit of this degrading vice he forgot the humiliations which chequered his political career. He had devoted a great deal of time to the study of ancient and modern character; languages. He was deeply versed in the history and politics of the Continent. He had an intimate acquaintance with the theories and facts of international law. He could therefore bring to the Foreign Office a profound capacity for the management of the extremely complicated lines of policy along which England vaguely drifted during the 18th century. He ought therefore to have made his mark as a Foreign Minister of unusual ability and power when the secretaryship was at last entrusted to him in 1742. And yet Carteret was a wholly unsuccessful man. His chief claim to the recognition of posterity is the evolution of a scheme of policy, which was opposed by the general voice of the nation, which was immediately rejected by his colleagues, and which is so far from having given him any high position in the Temple of Fame, that it is entirely omitted by some historians as an abortive detail in the purely Hanoverian policy of George II. This was the Agreement of Hanau, so celebrated in its time, by which Carteret intended to exalt Hanover to the headship of the German nation in the year 1744.

At the beginning of Walpole's Ministry Carteret was one of his Secretaries of State; and in this capacity his knowledge of German and foreign affairs soon brought him into history. high favour with the king: so high, in fact, that Walpole insisted on his transference to the political inaction which was dignified with the title of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

In 1730, however, he resigned this inferior post, and joined the ranks of the Opposition, of which he continued to be one of the foremost leaders, until the overthrow of Walpole in 1742 once more opened to him a prospect of exercising his great talents on a wider field. • Then he at once became a conspicuous failure. "As the Minister of a despotic sovereign he might have risen to great eminence; but he was not suited to the conditions of parliamentary government, and he usually inclined to unpopular opinions." His mind was too large, and his schemes too vast for him to trouble himself about the sordid details of parliamentary government; and while he aimed at "knocking the heads of the kings of Europe together," he was unable to get his measures passed in Parliament, and fell a victim to the intrigues of Newcastle. With his usual good temper he retired once more into political insignificance, from which he never really re-emerged; though to the end of George's life he filled some unimportant post, and was a trusted councillor of the king. During the latter years of his life he is usually referred to as Earl Granville, to which title he succeeded in 1744.

Pultoney and Carteret are both specimens of the "**Patriots**," or Hanoverian wing of the Opposition, namely, "**Patriots**." those Whigs who were really entirely at one in principle and policy with the Government, but were unable to endure the overbearing ascendancy of Walpole, and were therefore driven into opposition.

Among them must be included **Lord Chesterfield**. For though he was immeasurably inferior to either **Chesterfield**. of the two statesmen already referred to, his hostility to Walpole and Hanover was based on the purely personal question of his dismissal from office for his opposition to the Excise Scheme of 1733.

Next to these more important politicians came a group of younger men, whom Walpole used to scoff at as "**the Boys**." Their principal members were **George Grenville**, "**Boys**," **Lord Cobham**, **Lyttelton**, and **William Pitt**. They were all men of genius and ability. One of them, George Grenville, was destined to attain the highest honours in the race for power. Another, William Pitt, raised himself from obscurity to the loftiest pinnacle of fame, to be the wonder of his own and succeeding generations. In this wing of the Opposition, however, it is extremely difficult to discriminate

where youthful enthusiasm ends and self-interest "begins; for though Pitt and his comrades hounded Walpole and Carteret from office on account of their supposed leanings towards Hanover, Pitt himself in office became the warmest defender of the Hanoverian system. "Perish Hanover!" was the cry of the Opposition then as "Perish India!" has been in our own time. But words uttered by irresponsible lips have often to be swallowed wholesale when the end is accomplished and office obtained. If, then, it is necessary to draw a distinction between the Patriots and the Boys, it simply lies in the fact that the one party sought revenge, the other sought office. There was no hope of success for either, save over the body of Walpole.

The third wing of this disorganized militia was the **Tories** proper, headed by **Windham, Gower, Barnard,** Tories. who, while recognizing that Jacobitism had become an anachronism, preserved the old traditions of hostility to the reigning dynasty by severe and repeated strictures on the well-worn subjects of the Hanover subsidies, the standing army, the corruption of Parliament, the Septennial Act, and the Dis-senters. Considerable caution, however, is necessary in estimating this party simply by their own utterances. It must always be remembered that they made overtures to Walpole in 1723, which were resolutely and contemptuously declined, and that many of them showed no disinclination to accept office later under the ultra-Whig Henry Pelham and the arch-corrupter Newcastle, and to defend their far from anti-Hanoverian policy.

At the extreme edge of this division were ranked the few remnants of that party which felt no comfort even in the fall of Walpole while his master's throne remained secure. There was still a small number of staunch **Jacobites**, headed by Shippen, who looked to Italy for their anointed king, who drank to "*the king over the water*" and pined for the day when a Stuart should once more set foot in his ancestral dominions. Though it is very true that when that fated day did come in 1745, few of them were very eager to risk anything in the cause they had talked so much about.

The best of them was **Shippen**. If any man deserves the name of *consistent* at that time, it was this staunch Shippen. He was a consistent Jacobite, plotting sedition all his life, and taking the oath to the Hanoverian



dynasty solely in order that he might-lead the forlorn hope of the Stuarts in Parliament. He was for King James, as Walpole was for King George, and both despised with good hearty scorn the men "in long cravats," who only desired place under either, it did not much matter which. The honesty of the two leaders was about equal, but their singleness of purpose surrounds them with a faint halo amid the dull gloom of selfish intrigue and coarse immorality in which they moved and lived.

Of the men outside Parliament the most dangerous, because the ablest and most unscrupulous, was un- Bolingbroke. doubtedly Bolingbroke. His claws, however, had been carefully cut by Walpole, when the latter refused to reverse the Act of Attainder hanging over the ex-Minister's head. Therefore, though venomous as a deadly snake, he was not so potent for ill as if, in right of his splendid talents and consummate ability, he had led the Opposition in the House of Lords. At first, however, he appears to have hoped to be able to build up a grand confederation against Walpole, and crush him by sheer weight of numbers and genius. With these views he totally reversed his former policy. During his Ministry he had drawn hard and fast the line between the various political parties. Now, however, he maintained that the meaning of parties was practically at an end; that the new dynasty being firmly fixed on the throne, it was no longer a question between the House of Hanover and the House of Stuart; and that the Whig attempt to identify the Tories with Jacobitism was merely an excuse for excluding their opponents entirely from power. In spite, however, of the amount of talent which he was able to enlist on his side, Opposition to failure pursued his efforts with unvarying and Walpole; numbing persistency, till even the fierce flame of his inextinguishable hatred waxed faint against the impenetrable wall which resisted all attack. The fiery restless spirit of the ex-Jacobite pined and chafed under the irony of his position, which compelled him to will and scheme and advise, and leave the execution to other less able hands. Walpole could not have devised a more exquisite punishment had he been desirous of doing so than this of caging the wild beast within sight and spring of his enemy, and only that thin adamantine grating of the Attainder between them. Hopeless, yet ever hoping against hope, he toiled on till 1735, when, seeing clearly that even the great shock of the Excise Scheme had not shaken the Minister's

ascendency in the slightest degree, he retired to the delightful gardens of Chanteloup in Lorraine to enjoy the literary leisure which had been so long denied him. "Great but ill-regulated genius! Cicero could not write better—Clodius could not act worse!" Of his talents as a party-leader, Mr. Lecky says, "His genius and daring were incontestable, but his defects were scarcely less. No statesman was ever truer to the interests

of his party; but by a strange contradiction no **total failure.** one was ever less fitted to represent it." Perhaps the greatest stain on his political character is that he regarded politics merely as a career; principles as the outward garb which a man changes to suit the weather; honour, honesty, and enthusiasm, as "springes to catch woodcocks." Such a man could never be popular even with his own party. He quarrelled with Pulteney as he had quarrelled with Harley; and when he returned to England on the resignation of Walpole he found himself welcomed no more cordially by the new regime than he had been by the old.

His prominent position among the enemies of the Government brought him into close connection with **Frederic, Prince of Wales:** **Frederic, Prince of Wales.** This worthless, shallow princeling had learnt the lesson of filial ingratitude from his father, and executed it to the very letter. The quarrel between father and son began in the natural course of events on the subject of money; though, long before there was any open estrangement, the weak and treacherous young profligate had conducted himself on every occasion with the most insolent disregard of his parents' wishes. He was dissatisfied with the allowance which his father gave him out of the Civil List; and, like *Oliver Twist*, asked for "more," which in spite of all the efforts of his friends and fol-  
**quarrels with** lowers he did not obtain. In consequence He  
**George, 1737;** took the extraordinary and unfeeling revenge of dragging the poor little princess, in the very agonies of childbirth, off in a jolting coach from Hampton Court, where the Royal Family were staying, to Kensington, **solely** in order that he might pass a purposeless insult on his parents at the risk of killing wife and child. The result was **that** he was ordered to leave the Court, and the breach became irreconcilable. The leadership which Bolingbroke resigned **now fell into the hands of the prince, who was slowly drifting on his way to chaos.** The Opposition centred round him, not

because he possessed any of the talents which would have qualified him for the position of a party leader, but simply because he was the heir-apparent to the crown. Norfolk House became a second Cave of Adullam. All who were discontented, all who were in debt or discredit, flocked to the ragged banner of "*dissolute Fred*". Yet, strange as it may seem, this quarrel, disgraceful and ridiculous as it was, tended in no small degree to strengthen the hold which the dynasty had established on the people. The old Whigs flattered themselves that they would efface their former dishonest connection with the Jacobites by new-born enthusiasm for the heir of the House of Hanover. The Tories saw with pleasure a safe and easy road to power in the favour of Frederic, and began to look forward to George's death instead of his dethronement. The circle at Norfolk House became in consequence the most brilliant in the country, and far excelled the Court. Most of the young rising men of the day had places in the prince's household. Pitt was included in its numbers. All the literary genius of the country flocked to the ready patronage which Frederic extended to them, not so much from any true appreciation of talent as from a desire to seem possessed of it. Fortunately for England, however, he died young. There was nothing very strikingly attractive in any of the early specimens of our divinely appointed Act of Settlement monarchs ; but even homely, strutting, or mad Georges were better than such a Frederic. "Had he had one grain of merit at the bottom of his heart," says Lord Hervey, "one should have had compassion on him in the situation to which his miserable, poor head had reduced him; for his case, in short, was this : he had a father that abhorred him, a mother that despised him, a sister that betrayed him, a brother set up against him, a set of servants that neglected him," and the list might have been completed by a nation that was utterly indifferent to him.

The chief importance of the connection between Frederic and Bolingbroke lies in the influence which the latter in consequence exercised on the early training of George III. ; and there is no doubt that the latter's mock-despotic views were mainly derived from an education founded on the principles expressed in Bolingbroke's "Patriot King," which will be discussed later on.

Among the tag-rag of the Opposition must be included most

leader of the  
Opposition.

The "Patriot  
King."

of the great writers of the period—Swift, Gay, Pope, Glover, Literary men. Arbuthnot—who all lavished the stores of their intellect in criticizing, abusing, and satirizing the policy and person of Walpole. "Gulliver's Travels" veiled the bitterest sarcasm on English politics and politicians under the thin pretence of voyages into unknown lands and records of strange and alien customs. "The Beggar's Opera" is supposed to have been wholly directed against the Government. Many of Hogarth's inimitable caricatures are a bitter satire on the various measures of Walpole. The explanation was that Walpole saw no merit in talent except so far as it was devoted to his own interest. That alone he encouraged and rewarded. But the wilder, stronger plants, which scorned to grow along the lattices planted for them, were forced to rely wholly on their own vital energy for existence. The natural result was that the praises of the Government were sung by a few miserable pensioners only, and it was cried down by all the real literary talent of the country.

## CHAPTER III.

WALPOLE AND GEORGE II., 1727-42.

*Section 1.—George II. and his Queen.*

THIS period is called the reign of George II., but so long as Queen Caroline lived it was she who really reigned. Therefore it is perhaps more appropriate and more polite that she should take the precedence over her little husband to which ladies are always entitled.

Caroline of Brandenburg-Anspach, being left an orphan, was brought up at the Prussian Court, where the boorish youth, who afterwards became Frederic William I. of Prussia, fell in love with her, and followed her about like the Beast after Beauty. For Caroline in early days was a brilliant beauty with the sweetest of faces. Even to the last she retained that ineffable sweetness when she smiled; though years of trouble and anxiety had made fearful inroads on the face which had captivated both Frederic William and his hated cousin, "dapper early life; George" of Hanover. It is said that she even received an offer of marriage from the Archduke Charles;—that Archduke Charles, who was the English candidate for the Spanish throne during the War of the Spanish Succession, and who afterwards became so troublesome to England and the world at large under the name of Emperor Charles VI. of Germany and Austria. The fact remains that she refused him on the ground that she would not become a Catholic. It is difficult to imagine that the Caroline known to English History could ever have been a very strict Protestant; but her general strength and originality of character might well render it difficult for her to subject her will to the domination of the Romish Church. And so, after an interval of dumb bearish affection from Frederic William,

she married George and embarked on the stormy sea of English marriage; politics. Little is known of her early married life; and it was not till the quarrel broke out between her husband and his father that her individual career began. Leicester House became the centre of a younger Court as Norfolk House did again later on. All the talent, beauty, wit, of the country assembled round George and his Caroline; leaving the elder George to drink and smoke in the evening with his ancient favourites, and to discuss business during the day with "Walpole in Dog-Latin. Here even we catch a glimpse of the younger George's character which might foreshadow the character of the reign. He was always thoroughly under the control of his sensible wife; and yet governs her husband; he kept a mistress, not apparently through any natural inclination to depravity, but more because it was the regular and princely thing to do at the time. It was very much like the modern schoolboy, who in many cases takes to smoking not because it affords him any pleasure, but simply through a foolish idea that it is "*manly*" So little George bestowed the official title on Mrs. Howard; and was at the same time so subject to his wife's influence that apparently she had not the slightest fear of her rival, but rather regarded the whole thing with unmitigated contempt. Her extraordinary coarseness, however, showed itself in the fact that, even when Mrs. Howard was publicly recognized as George's mistress, she still retained this lady as a member coarseness; of her household. This coarseness is perhaps the most remarkable thing about Caroline's character. The age was coarse indeed; but the woman who could calmly read page after page of the long letters in which her husband recounted his own infidelity, and who could allow Walpole to discuss the question openly with her, must have had an extraordinary husband, an extraordinary Minister, and a still more extraordinary character. And yet it is a fact that her death was mainly due to a secret disease, which\* false modesty had prompted her to conceal till it was too late to remedy it. The point on which her character has suffered most obloquy is her unforgiving hatred of her son Frederic, which she retained even to the very last. But it must be remembered that from a very early age he had omitted no opportunity of insulting and outraging his parents in the most unpardonable and suicidal way, so as almost to

justify a suspicion of mental aberration. Though not very intellectual herself, the queen encouraged intellect in others and patronized genius to some extent. She obtained a recall from exile for the Jacobite historian, Carte, a pardon for the poet, Savage, when he was accused of murder, and a pension for the Arian translator of Josephus, Whiston. In spite of her efforts, however, literature sank very low, as it met with no general encouragement during this period.

If there was one thing that George II. prided himself on, it was that *he* governed the kingdom without being subject to anybody's influence as his predecessors had been. And this ridiculous little monarch even boasted publicly of the fact, till the most practised courtiers suffered agonies in attempts to restrain their laughter. The nation, however, knew better :—

You may strut, dapper George, but 'twill all be in vain ;  
We know 'tis Queen Caroline and not you who reign,

ran the popular rhyme. Lord Hervey, too, who was in constant attendance at Court in his capacity of Vice-Chamberlain, and had unrivalled opportunities for observing, has left a half-pitying, half-humorous account of the various shifts to which the queen was obliged to have recourse in order to hide from the conceited little monster the fact that everything he did had been previously drummed into his head quietly by her. " For though by a superiority of understanding she could work him by degrees to any point where she had a mind to drive him, yet she was forced to do it often by slow degrees and with great caution; for, as he was infinitely jealous of being governed, he was never to be led but by invisible reins; neither was it ever possible to make him adopt her opinion but by instilling her sentiments in such a manner as to make him think that they rose originally from himself? She always at first gave in to all his notions, though never so extravagant, and made him imagine that any change she wrought in them to be an afterthought of his own." Everything that was done in the country was really managed between the queen and Sir Robert Walpole privately ; after which she insinuated the idea into the king's mind. The farce was very often completed by the omnipotent ruler himself suggesting the idea again to Sir Robert as an emanation from his own wise head.

The Cabinet, who were well-drilled to submission, had little to do with the real government of the country, except to agree to all which the queen and Walpole had concerted between them. So thoroughly obedient was George really to the gentle pressure which the queen exercised over him, that she could persuade him to act in entire contradiction to his own views. This was shown most remarkably in his behaviour on the death of his father. He completely reversed all his former ideas. He restored Walpole to office again after a slight difficulty ; whimsical results ; he got over his dislike for the Minister; he even acquired such an affection for the latter that he positively wept when obliged to receive Walpole's resignation in 1742. He carried on his father's policy to the very letter. He pursued the very schemes which he had constantly abused in his father's lifetime. He broke with all his former friends, and took up with his ancient enemies. All this naturally excited the greatest astonishment at the time ; and no doubt George himself would have found it very hard to explain his conduct. But we, looking behind the veil which Lord Hervey has lifted for us, can see the figure of the queen standing ever behind him; bending him silently, gradually, imperceptibly to her purpose; inspiring and guiding his every action, and dictating his very words for him. There is extraordinary irony in the fact that in spite of this he went through life under the impression that a more independent, absolute ruler of men had never existed.

There was not much in George himself to admire. He was an avaricious, irreligious, ignorant, narrow-minded, insignificant, strutting little man. He had hardly any kingly quality except personal courage. That personal character. he had proved at Oudenarde, and would again at Dettingen. He would have made a fairly good clerk, for he was temperate, regular, and businesslike. His greatest infirmity was perhaps his best quality—namely, his entire acquiescence in his wife's guidance—for that enabled him to rule well. On the whole his reign was productive of great good to the nation; and he cannot be accused of over-exerting his prerogative. He showed that he could adapt himself to the growing needs of his subjects, and could subdue his own personal opinions where they clashed with those of the nation. The result was that he became popular at the end of his reign. He became identified with the national feeling, the national war, and the national



glory. He had the rare privilege of dying at the height of success and popularity, amid the dazzling lustre which the splendid genius of Pitt had shed o'er his declining years.

*Section 2.—Home Affairs, 1727-42.*

The first act of the new king was exactly what was expected of him. He received Walpole rudely and sulkily, and ordered him to go to Sir Spencer Compton,—a nonentity who was Speaker of the House of Commons. Walpole saw clearly that his day was over, and devoted himself to making himself agreeable to the favourite. Compton gorged the bait greedily, and at once availed himself of the proffered assistance with the most guileless and unstatesmanlike confidence. He had no acquaintance with his work. Would Walpole draw up the king's speech for him? *Would Walpole!*—Will a drowning man clutch at a life-belt when it is thrown to him? The result was that, as we have seen, Walpole, relying on the queen's favour and a Civil List amounting to the outrageous sum of 130,000\*. for the king and 100,000/. for the queen, returned to office more absolute than ever. By his conduct in this difficult crisis he completely won the heart of the queen; and from this time they governed the country between them. Compton's imbecility was all the more remarkable, for if, as Lord Hervey points out in his scathing way, "this precedent-monger had only turned to the old gazettes published at the beginning of former reigns, he might have copied as full a declaration from these records as any Sir Robert Walpole could give him."

This period is even more uneventful than the last. Abroad Walpole steadily preserved his peace policy, declining to break his strict neutrality, except where the interests of England were directly concerned. At home there are few incidents of sufficient importance to vary the dead level of parliamentary eloquence until the gradual rise of the Spanish Craze startled the nation into active and dangerous vitality. The Pretender had now quarrelled with his ablest supporters, and disgraced himself in the eyes of all thinking men by a series of meannesses unworthy of the descendant of a great house. It was only in the lives of his children that there was any reason for alarm, and they were as yet too young to head an

invasion. The main feature of the period therefore is the great struggle between Walpole and the Opposition, now fully formed under the leadership of Bolingbroke and Pulteney.

In 1730 Walpole quarrelled with his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, and compelled him to resign his post, thereby certainly depriving himself of the ablest man left in his Cabinet. The quarrel was really one of long standing, for the two brothers had never been exactly friends since the Treaty of Hanover. It was such a successful answer to the Treaty of Vienna, and so purely the work of Townshend,—for he had not even consulted Walpole on the subject—that Walpole at once felt all the jealousy which the fear of a possible rival always inspired him with. From that time a coolness sprang up between the two Ministers, which it required all the good offices of Lady Walpole to smoothe over. Her death broke the link which had connected them; and an unscrupulous act of Walpole's caused a complete rupture. In 1730 Mr. Sandys introduced a Bill disqualifying holders of pensions from sitting in Parliament. It was aimed at the corrupt influence of the Government, and was in itself apart from its promoters a good and wise measure. Walpole saw this; and yet it was necessary to the continuance of his power that it should not become law. He therefore allowed it to pass in the Commons, leaving to the Lords the odium of throwing it out. This conduct was highly resented by Townshend, the Whig leader in the Lords. He was a rough, imperious man, unaccustomed to dictation; and at a party given by Mrs. Selwyn he apparently remonstrated roughly and violently with the Prime Minister. Anyhow, they both lost their temper, and a disgraceful scene ensued. Old friends and brothers as they were, they seized each other by the throat and fought with all the *abandon* and freedom of utterance of a couple of costermongers in Old Drury Lane. They were separated with some difficulty by the horrified spectators. But never again did Townshend take his seat on the front Ministerial benches in the House of Lords. Greatly to his credit he did not join the Opposition. He retired from public life entirely and devoted himself to scientific farming, with results which were highly important to agriculture in general.

For a short time Walpole remained supreme, and was able in consequence to pay some slight attention to **law** Latin. domestic reforms. One of the most rational,

perhaps, of these was the substitution of English for the Do<sup><\*</sup>-Latin which was the delight of the lawyer and terror of the unfortunate litigant. In spite of a general legal outcry, it was decreed that for the future suitors were to have the privilege of understanding legal proceedings so far as they were capable of being understood by the ordinary layman.

A Committee was appointed to examine the state of the public prisons, the horrors of which, when brought into the strong light of parliamentary inquiry, simply exceeded belief. The report of the Select Committee is full of cases in which prisoners, who could not pay the heavy fines exacted by the wardens and gaolers, had been subjected to every kind of insult, oppression, and in some cases positive starvation. Gaol-fever carried off multitudes of unhappy creatures ; but the lot of those who survived was scarcely such as to render them the most envied. Much was done by the inquiry, but still more was left undone; and it is due solely to the benevolent exertions of Howard that our prisons gradually were transformed from dungeons, which the Spanish Inquisition would have found little to add to in point of horror, into receptacles fit for the incarceration of erring or impecunious man.

The second crisis in Walpole's life arose on a financial question. This was the celebrated Excise Scheme, which, strangely enough, was attacked not on the direct ground that it was levying taxation on the poor in order to conciliate the rich, but on the indirect and ridiculous ground that it would involve a violation of individual liberty. Walpole really wished simply to conciliate the country gentlemen by lessening the land-tax. With this view he proposed an excise on salt, which would enable him to diminish the land-tax by one-half, thus reducing it to one shilling. This tax was *not* originally intended as the beginning of a general excise ; but when Walpole found in 1733 that it did not produce enough to make lip the deficiency in the revenue caused by the reduction of the land-tax, he determined to extend the excise to wine and tobacco. Even here, however, the change was mainly with regard to *the mode of collection*. Customs had always been levied on wine and tobacco ; but such an extensive system of smuggling had been carried on with regard to those commodities, that the actual receipts of the revenue were exactly a fourth of what they ought to have been. Walpole hoped, by collecting these duties

Committee on  
Prisons.

Excise Bill,  
1733.

for the future in the form of an excise from the retailers, instead of as customs at the ports from the importers, to raise the amount of the receipts without increasing the rate of the tax. In fact he intended simply to compel many people who had hitherto illegally escaped payment of the customs by buying smuggled goods, to buy the taxed goods instead, or do without wine and tobacco altogether. So far, then, there was every possible recommendation for the scheme ; and the only people whom it injured were themselves violators of the law, and hardly deserved compassion. Walpole, in fact, according to Lord Hervey, expected to considerably increase his popularity by it. Instead of this, the country suddenly and most unaccountably went mad over it. "Everybody talked of the scheme as a general excise; they believed that food and raiment and all the necessaries of life were to be taxed; that armies of excise officers were to come into every house and at any time they pleased ; that our liberties were at an end, trade going to be ruined, Magna Charta overturned, all property destroyed, the Crown made absolute, &c, &c." Now-a-days when the unreasoning democracy are aroused by any cry, like a bull by a red rag, there are always demagogues found ready to hound the populace on to uncontrollable fury in order to help their own selfish views. So Pulteney, Carteret, Bolingbroke, at that time encouraged the rage of the mob against "the Mephistophelean Minister." The excitement at Court was simply tremendous. The queen was as much agitated as if it had been seriously proposed to re-export the dynasty to Hanover. On the night of the division every arrangement was made to suppress the fearful riot that was expected if the Bill passed. The Guards were put under arms. Magistrates with the Riot Act in their pockets and posses of constables at their heels were moving in all directions. In the evening all London was on foot. The mob came swarming down to the very doors of the House, yelling and hustling obnoxious members as they went in. All through the debate the dull threatening murmur of the mighty multitude could be heard outside rising and falling like the surge and swell of the great sea. Within, the debate ran hot and furious. Sharp words were interchanged on both sides. In his indignation at these outrageous measures for forcing the rejection of the Bill, Sir Robert lost his temper, and stigmatized the drowd outside as "*sturdy beggars*." The words flew like wild-

fire ; and the sturdy beggars very nearly made him pay dearly for the rash expression. When he came out with a majority in favour of the Bill, a rush was made ; some of them seized him by the cloak, and undoubtedly he would have received considerable injury had not his friends and a body of constables charged to the rescue. As it was, the Bill was carried only to be withdrawn ; for "Walpole saw conclusively that public opinion was greatly exasperated, and he would not run counter to it. The news of the dropping of the Bill was hailed through England with extraordinary delight. The Bill withdrawn.

"The Monument was illuminated in London; bonfires without number blazed throughout the country ; the Minister was in many places burnt in effigy amid loud acclamations of the mob ; any of his friends that came in their way were roughly handled ; and cockades were eagerly assumed with the inscription, "*Liberty, Property, and no Excise*" The intelligent foreigner—had he been present—would scarcely have imagined that all this enthusiasm arose simply out of the abandonment for the time of a particular form of taxation ; still less that many of the most unpopular clauses of the measure would shortly afterwards be passed without exciting comment, solely because the name was changed.

But though for a moment Walpole bent his head before the storm which his enemies had raised against him, there was no mercy for the traitors in his own camp who had tried to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Chesterfield, Clinton, Burlington, Montrose, Marchmont, Stair, were dismissed with ignominy. The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham were compelled to give up their commissions in the army, a stretch of arbitrary power which was certainly utterly unjustifiable, and which supplied the Opposition with food for bitter attack. But Walpole's maxim had always been to show no quarter to traitors. Better an open enemy than a treacherous friend. Punishment of mutineers.

In 1733 the **Polish Succession War** broke out. Walpole, true to his principles, refused to take the slightest interest in it. He suffered a great deal of obloquy for this ; but he certainly produced a speedy settlement of the question. For the emperor, finding that there was no hope of the subsidies which past Ministries had poured like water on the thirsty sand of the Austrian Exchequer with very little result, speedily accepted the Polish Succession War, 1733-35.

mediation of England. Even Bolingbroke, the arch-enemy of the Ministry, admitted that the terms of the Peace (Third Treaty of Vienna, 1735) were better than any one could have expected.

In 1734 a general election was approaching; and so the Opposition united all their powers for a grand series of attacks on Walpole in order to create an impression on those few electors who were capable of being impressed by anything but money or influence. The campaign led off with hotly contested skirmishes on foreign affairs and on the dismissal of officers of the army for political conduct. But the really decisive battle was fought on

the Repeal of the Septennial Act, moved by Mr. The Septennial Act. Bromley. Bolingbroke had experienced some difficulty in inducing those Whigs who had voted

for it in the good old days of Stanhope to clamour now for its repeal; but interest, as usual, carried the day. The debate was hot. Personalities were exchanged with considerable emphasis on both sides, but the palm must undoubtedly be awarded to Sir William Windham for the attack, and Sir Robert Walpole for the defence. Walpole, stung by the fierce invective of Windham, lashed out right and left, tearing down the flimsy veil with which the Whig deserters attempted to cover their tergiversation, and openly accused Bolingbroke of being the cause of the whole. "Let me suppose an anti-Minister who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts that he looks upon himself as the only person capable to conduct the public affairs:—suppose this fine gentleman lucky enough to

have gained over to his party some persons really Walpole's of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great attack on Bromley. Bolingbroke. fortunes; others from desperate views arising from disappointed and malicious hearts; all these gentlemen being moved by him solely, all they say being only a spitting out of that venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this anti-Minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by the effect of too much goodness and mercy, yet endeavouring with all his art to destroy the fountain from which that fountain flowed." How the fiery Opposition chieftain must have writhed in spirit at the bitter truth of his rival's taunts, and the more bitter truth that he could never reply!

The elections, in spite of all the exertions of his enemies, gave Walpole once more a steady majority, and the result was that Bolingbroke, who had openly quarrelled with Pulteney and was weary of heating the empty air, withdrew from public life to France.

General election, 1735.

Withdrawal of Bolingbroke.

The session of 1736 was remarkable for an attempt to remove the disabilities of the Dissenters, which difficult question Walpole had so long put off on the plea that it "was not yet time." There was not the slightest doubt that the Church would not hear of tolerance; and Walpole did not feel himself strong enough to quarrel with such an influential body. The Dissenters therefore once more went to the wall, and the Bill was rejected.

Dissenters, 1736.

The most serious event of the year 1730 was the celebrated Porteous Riots, the origin of which was singular. Two smugglers were imprisoned in the Tolbooth, the old Edinburgh prison, for some petty offence or other; one of the many for which men were hung by scores in the "good old times." They contrived to obtain a file, freed themselves from their irons, and cut through a bar of a window grating. Wilson, a big man, insisted on gojjig first; but got fixed in the aperture, so that he could neither advance nor extricate himself. Feeling with bitter self-reproach that but for him his companion, Robertson, would have escaped, he determined to do something to save him. Next Sunday, when church was over, he attacked his guards unexpectedly, crying to Robertson to escape; and during the confusion the latter jumped over the pews and disappeared. This generous conduct excited considerable sympathy for Wilson; and though his execution passed off quietly enough, yet after the body had been cut down the rabble began to attack the guards with stones. Captain Porteous, the commander, losing his temper, ordered his men to fire on the crowd, and in consequence several persons were wounded. For this Porteous was tried and condemned; but, in consideration of the provocation, was reprieved by the queen. The people were furious at this, and determined on revenge. There appears to be no doubt that this intention was communicated to the city authorities and to the general in command of the troops, and that yet nothing was done to prevent the outbreak. A little before ten o'clock a disorderly mob, armed with halberts and Lochaber

Porteous Riots, 1736.

axes snatched from the city guard-house, assembled before the Tolbooth, and, with cries of "Porteous, Porteous !" battered in the door, dragged the unhappy man from the chimney in which he was hiding, and hanged him on a barber's pole with all possible ceremony. It was only too clear from the regularity with which it was carried out that persons of the upper classes were connected with the crime. The queen was furious at the insult to her authority. The wildest plans were proposed. Scotland was to become a hunting-ground; the Charter of Edinburgh was to be abolished ; the provost was to be incapacitated from ever holding any office again. One almost smiles to think of fat, good-tempered Queen Caroline thus anticipating the deeds of North and Robespierre. Common sense, however, and the Scotch peers came to the rescue, and the matter ended in the infliction of a fine of 2000?. on the city and the disgrace of the provost.

The eyes of the nation, however, were shortly diverted from more serious matters to the disgraceful tragicomic squabble between George II. and "dis-solute Fred," which ended in the banishment of the latter from Court, 1737.

In this same year, 1737, occurred the third crisis in Walpole's long period of power—the Queen died! The Opposition fondly imagined that at last their hour had come, and that Walpole, deprived of his only support, must inevitably fall. Great, however, was their disappointment when they discovered that his ascendancy was apparently unshaken. It is said that she dilated on her death-bed on Walpole's services to the dynasty, and cordially recommended him to the king. The king in political matters always followed her advice, and moreover had a certain amount of sturdy common sense of his own which enabled him to estimate the true value of the men about him.

The Queen's death.

The result of these disappointments and the steady hostility of Walpole to great men of any kind was that the Opposition became desperate, and the contest rapidly drifted into a struggle between personal enemies, embittered and rendered more unscrupulous by an intense desire for office. They tried every means of hindering his measures. They inveighed against his peace policy, his standing army, corruption, anything. They even adopted the doubtful tactics of a temporary secession from parliamentary

The Opposition.



life, which was productive of little except unwelcome leisure for themselves and unexpected peace for Walpole.

However, though Walpole knew it not, inevitable war was looming in the distance, and this would be the opportunity of his enemies. The **Spanish question** was rising daily into greater importance, and was destined to be the rock on which his Ministry would split.

The Spanish question.

### Section 3.—*The Spanish Question.*

The English had recognized the right of Spain to regulate the trade with her colonies by several treaties, of which the most important were the **Treaties of Utrecht, 1713, and Seville, 1729.** The footing on which English commerce was placed was that England had the privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves (the *Assiento*) and of sending one merchant ship annually to the South Seas with as much of English goods as a ship of 500 tons could carry. All other commerce with the colonies was strictly forbidden. The natural result was that the treaty was systematically violated. The growing commerce of England found a vent in a vast illicit trade which sprang up with the Spanish colonies and caused the annual fair of Panama, which had been intended as the mart of South America, to be entirely deserted. This was effected in two ways: first, by open smuggling on various pretexts at the Spanish ports; secondly, by sending a fleet of tenders to hang oil' the coast, and refill the annual sloop again and again by night until it resembled a Fortunatus' purse, which could never be emptied. In consequence of these tricks the Spaniards retaliated, by searching all merchant ships cruising off the coast, and using violence and outrage to those found in suspicious circumstances. The result was that stories, more or less exaggerated, were brought home of Spanish severities to English sailors, which were received with great indignation by the English nation.

Causes of dispute.

The most celebrated of these was the story of **Jenkins' Ear**, which has given a derisive title to the war itself—a title, however, very pregnant of meaning. The story, as narrated by Carlyle, is that Captain Jenkins of the ship *Rebecca* left Jamaica for London in 1731. Not far off the coast of Havannah he was boarded by a Spanish revenue cutter. These people "broke in on Jenkins in an

" Jenkins\* Ear."

extraordinary manner; tore up his hatches—plunged down; not the least trace of contraband on board of Jenkins. They shook and rummaged him; they slashed the head of Jenkins, his left ear almost off; they hung him up to the yardarm," but let him down again half-choked. And then, at last, "the sun getting low, they made a last assault on Jenkins; clutched the bloody slit ear of him, tore it mercilessly off, flung it in his face, 'Carry that to your king and tell him of it.'" Then Jenkins, according to his own account, "commended his soul to God and his cause to his country," and, with his ear done up in cotton-wool, came back to demand vengeance. Another version, however, of the story is that Jenkins really lost his ear in the pillory, and that the tale of his encounter with the Spaniards was pure invention.

It is pretty certain, however, that whether Jenkins and his *Rebecca* were or were not treated in this way, very similar outrages were continually perpetrated by revenue ships on the Spanish main.

There were besides other causes of dispute. The Spaniards denied the English right to *cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy* and *collect salt in the Island of Tortvya*. There was also a fertile source of trouble in the *unsettled boundaries between Florida and Georgia*, which each nation naturally construed to their own advantage. The growing preponderance of English commerce excited the jealousy of France and Spain, and the result was the conclusion of a secret treaty in 1733 between them, the object of which was to limit English commerce as much as possible. The revenue officers on the Spanish main were therefore instructed to exercise the right of search to the utmost, and to punish all illicit trading with the greatest severity. The Spaniards saw that the moment had come when they must either maintain their monopoly by force or consent to give it tip. It is this which gives importance to the apparently purposeless "War of Jenkins' Ear," which seems to have begun owing to a whim of the English people, flattered by the Opposition for purely factious motives; and to have ended without any result at all, for the question of the *right of search* on which the war began was entirely passed over at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. It was, in truth, a war to decide whether Spain should any longer stride, like some huge Colossus, across America, and forbid the "ex-

Importance  
of the war.

pansion of England" in that continent. If England was to work out her mission in the world, the power of Spain must be broken ; the English flag must be supreme in both hemispheres; trade must be free. These questions were decided in favour of England by the war; but they were decided *tacitly*. The right of search was not mentioned at Aix-la-Chapelle for political reasons; but practically it had become impossible for Spain to enforce it. Practically it was settled that it was no longer possible for Spain to maintain the restrictions by which she had guarded her monopoly. The Spanish War, therefore, has an interest to England entirely apart from the Austrian Succession War; and for this reason it seems best to treat of them apart. The Austrian Succession may or may not have boon of importance to England; but the Spanish question touched her development as a commercial and colonizing power, which was to lead to such stupendous results.

The English people, therefore, insisting on war, and blindly believing in Jenkins, pilloried or not pilloried, were really treading the path ordained for them. The Opposition, blind, factious, and selfish, as their conduct really was, can claim the credit of leading the nation to world-wide Empire. And Walpole—closed his Ministerial career by steadily opposing the national cry for war as long as it was possible to do so ; and then—remained in office to carry out the policy of his opponents! And yet there were excuses to be urged for him, which could not be urged for any Minister now. **He knew** that the Opposition merely proposed war because he advocated peace ; that they attacked his measures for carrying on the war because they were **his**; and that they would follow out his policy to the letter if they once got into office.

Position of  
**Walpole.**

#### *Section 4.—The End of Walpole.*

This Spanish question, therefore, was the difficulty which Walpole had to face after the year 1737. At first he steadily refused to recognize it, or to break his peace policy, which had done so much for England. But a change had come over the face of affairs. He had undoubtedly lost his strongest support when the queen died. George himself was inspired with martial ardour, and was eager for war, under the mistaken impression that he was a heaven-sent commander. Even Newcastle had at last been snubbed into mutiny, and Newcastle hoped to rise by

encouraging the king's desire for war and ousting Walpole. And War declared so the tide ran stronger and stronger against peace, with Spain. and Walpole found himself obliged to declare war with Spain, 1739. This was received with as much excitement as the withdrawal of the Excise Scheme had been. "They are ringing the bells now, they will soon be wringing their hands," muttered the Minister when the City bells pealed out in joyful unison, and the red glow on the top of the Monument shed a lurid light over the dusky outline below. And yet both were right. Through the smoke and glare which hung over the city Walpole could see years of war, carnage, and heavy taxation, looming in the distance, and far to the north the dreaded *Spectre of Jacobitism* rising once more in arms over the Grampian Hills. Beyond he could not see; nor was it given to the man who had done so much for England to lift the veil which shadowed her future greatness.

War, however, had been declared, and though the fighting-apparatus was in a terrible state, something had to be done. Two expeditions were therefore sent out to America. Anson Failure. was to sail round the Horn, and do what he could in pillaging the rich Spanish ships and towns along the Pacific coast. Vernon was to destroy the strong fortress of Cartagena. Anson, after many adventures, returned home round the world, laden with plunder. Vernon failed ignominiously. The latter fact ought to have done Walpole good, for Vernon was the man of the Opposition. Cables of iron, however, could not have resisted the intolerable pressure which was brought to bear on him. War had broken out in Germany as well; and the country wanted a war Minister to carry it on with energy. And so when Walpole found himself only able to carry the Government candidate on the Chippenham Election Petition, 1742, by a very small majority, he knew his time had come. His resignation was regarded as the beginning of a political millennium, but he knew well that it really meant the total break up of his enemies, and the disappointment of the great majority of those who had been bitterest against him.

The result was much as he had expected. Pulteney retired to the Lords, thereby losing all popularity and influence. Eolingbroke, who had returned at the good news, learnt that there was no room for him in the new Ministry. result. Pitt, finding that his merits were not valued at

his own estimation, returned once more to bitter opposition. The real advantage was won by the deserter Newcastle. Carteret and a few others obtained office, and a Ministry, nominally headed by the Earl of Wilmington (formerly Sir Spencer Compton), and supported by Newcastle's corrupt influence, was formed. *Carteret, however, became the most important man in the Ministry, owing to the extraordinary prominence of foreign affairs.*

Walpole retired to the Lords as Earl of Orford, and though a vain attempt was made to impeach him, the influence of the Court was successfully exerted to screen him. Even in retirement he exercised considerable influence over the fortunes of his country owing to the extraordinary opinion which George had of his counsels. He died in March, 1745, just as the general European Avar, which he had so long striven to avert, was breaking out everywhere with renewed fury.

Death of  
Walpole.

### Book III.—PELHAM, 1742-54.

#### CHAPTER I.

THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION WAR, 1740-48.

*Section 1.—Austria and Bavaria, 1740-48.*

THE death of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740 threw open two questions of considerable importance to Europe in general. These were the succession to the Austrian dominions, and the succession to the Empire. Charles had left no male children; otherwise there would probably have been no difficulty at all. His heir was his daughter Marie Therese, a handsome young woman of about twenty-three, who had been lately married to Francis of Lorraine, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. So far as natural right and international good faith had anything to do with the subject, the claims of Marie Therese to the Austrian dominions seemed incontrovertible; for she was not only the lawful heir of Charles VI., but the Pragmatic Sanction, which declared her to be such, had been guaranteed over and over again by nearly all Europe at different periods. With regard to the Empire the question was undoubtedly an open one. The fact that the Austrian House had occupied the imperial throne since the fifteenth century was no doubt a very good foundation in Marie's eyes for a prescriptive right to it for the future. But it was equally likely to furnish the Electors with a desire to break that prescriptive title on the first possible opportunity. A favourable moment presented itself now for this. The question was—how would it be used?

How the matter would have ended if the parties concerned—namely, Austria and the Empire—had been allowed to settle it alone, it is impossible to say. But there was never the slightest chance of this; and so it is of little importance. France considered herself interested in the question; or rather, her war Minister, the Duke de Belleisle, hoped that France might extract some advantage by interfering. Natural right and international good faith were in his eyes excellent deities for other more thick-witted nations, but scarcely suited to his lively countrymen. Frenchmen, with the memory of Utrecht before them, were as willing to shout *a Vienne* in 1740 as a *Berlin*, in 1870. Belleisle, therefore, evolved the following sounding project. France should unite with the discontented German princes, and enable them to elect one of their own number to the imperial throne, thus excluding the Grand Duke Francis; should assist the various claimants to partition the Austrian succession, leaving only the kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies to Marie Therese. Thus Austria would be excluded from Germany; Germany itself would be split up into a number of small kingdoms dependent on France.

Plans of  
Belleisle.

This was the prospect which met the keen unscrupulous vision of Frederic II. of Prussia, a prince of the most unbounded ambition and reckless daring. The idea which at once occurred to him was that Marie's weakness, Belleisle's plan, and German grievances, were all so many points in his favour in any scheme for his own aggrandizement. It was quite clear that war was imminent between Austria and France. It was equally clear that England, after the due amount of blundering at the beginning, would come forward effectively to support the young queen. Which side should Frederic take? Or, in fact, with a fine disregard for sentimental considerations, which side would give him most? The obvious answer was that neither would give him more than they could help. He therefore determined to take advantage of the general confusion and obtain possession of a solid pledge which would enable him to dictate his own terms. Without any declaration of war he marched an army into Silesia, on the pretext of some really obsolete claims, occupied the chief towns, and routed the Austrian army of relief at Molwitz (April 10, 1741). He then offered to assist the queen, and support her husband's candidature for the Empire, in return

Designs of  
Frederic II.  
of Prussia.

for the cession of Lower Silesia. Marie, however, haughtily refused any accommodation. Frederic, therefore, concluded an alliance with France (June, 1741), which was quickly followed by an irruption of two French armies into Germany (August, 1741).

So far success was on the side of the allies. Walpole confined himself to promising money, and advising the queen to make terms with Frederic. The French seized Bohemia and the frontier fortresses of Austria. Hanover was in such peril that George concluded a convention for its neutrality. The Elector of Bavaria was elected to the imperial throne as Charles VII. A Spanish and Neapolitan army overran all Lombardy.

The tide, however, soon turned. Marie appealed to her Hungarians, and they rose *en masse* at her call. Despair drove her to conclude a verbal agreement at Klein-Schnellendorf with Frederic, of neutrality on his part, the cession of Lower Silesia on hers (October 9th, 1741). An Austrian army under Khevenhiiller overran Bavaria and drove out the French. So that the unfortunate Charles was really a homeless fugitive at the very moment when he had attained the highest earthly honour (February, 1742). Another Austrian army invaded Bohemia, and shut the French up in Prague, from which the latter were obliged eventually to retire with great loss (December, 1742). The elevation of the Bavarian excited jealousy among the other German princes; and this, coupled with the fear that France would obtain an overwhelming influence in the Empire, induced them to lean once more to an Austrian alliance. Frederic II., it is

Triumph of Austria. true, alarmed at the growing power of Austria, and desirous of securing all Silesia, broke out again; but a short and hotly-contested campaign inspired both parties with a sincere desire for peace, which was arranged at Breslau on the basis of the cession of Silesia and Glatz to Prussia (June, 1742). The King of Sardinia deserted his allies, and enabled the Austrians to drive the Spaniards out of North Italy. Commodore Martin, and an English squadron appeared in the Bay of Naples, and compelled Don Carlos to consent to neutrality. Admiral Matthews, in command of another squadron, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the French harbour of St. Tropez, to which it had fled for shelter. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all to Marie, Walpole was succeeded by **Carteret** (February, 1742), who was determined to



carry on the war with vigour on the Continent. The affairs of Austria therefore, owing to the valour of the Hungarians, the subsidies of England, and the change of feeling in Germany, were in a most prosperous condition at the commencement of the year 1743.

Carteret's first measures almost had been to increase the army and navy, obtain large subsidies for Austria, and form the nucleus of a British force in Flanders which he intended to use against France. Little, however, was done at first. The new Ministry were too much occupied in squabbling over the arrangement of places and the intended impeachment of Walpole to devote much attention to less interesting subjects. The Dutch were too undecided and callous to be easily aroused from the torpor into which they had sunk after Utrecht. The British forces therefore during the year 1742 remained idle in Flanders. The fleet, as we have seen, played a considerable part in the Mediterranean ; but the event of the year, as far as England was concerned, was the conclusion of the Treaty of Breslau, which removed Prussia and Poland (Saxony) from the war, and which was mainly due to the diplomacy of Carteret.

Carteret's  
measures.

The year 1743, however, marked the more decided entrance of England into the war on the Continent, though still in theory as a mere auxiliary of Austria. For it must be remembered that matters were in the ridiculous state that we were nominally, though not actually, at war with Spain, and nominally at peace with France, against whom we were straining every nerve to the uttermost. In February the British army, including a number of Hessians and Hanoverians, at last got on the march from Flanders under the command of the veteran Earl of Stair. On the road it was reinforced by a detachment of Austrians. After a combination of blunders on both sides rarely excelled, the English contrived to rout the army of the Duke de Noailles at **Dettingen**, at which George himself was present. It may be added that this is the last instance of an English monarch personally taking part in any battle. This victory was followed by the expulsion of the French from Bavaria, the capture of Munich, and the surrender of the few remaining French garrisons in Bohemia. Practically Germany was cleared; for what was left of the two great French armaments in North and South Germany was compelled to retire beyond the Rhine.

English vic-  
tory at Det-  
tingen, 1743.

As for the unfortunate Charles VII., he found himself obliged to surrender at discretion.

A grand series of negotiations now began. The bone of contention really was the unfortunate emperor, for Marie and George were agreed on every other point, except perhaps Silesia. Marie demanded that the election of Charles should be declared illegal, and hence null and void, and that Bavaria should be confiscated as a penalty for his presumption. George maintained that this would be an infringement of the rights of the German princes. Under these circumstances it was impossible for them to come to an agreement. Carteret therefore arranged a convention with the emperor by which George undertook to support the validity of the election, to insist on the restoration of Bavaria, and even to pay the impoverished creature a subsidy, on condition that he would entirely give up all connection with the

Agreement  
of Hanau,  
1743.

French and transfer all the fervour of his affection to England and Austria instead. This Agreement of Hanau would have enabled George to figure before the world as protector of the rights of the German princes. Hanover, in fact, would have assumed the position in Germany which Austria had held hitherto, and which eventually fell to Prussia.

Both Carteret and George, however, forgot that England had plunged into the war, not out of any special love to Austria, or desire to aggrandize Hanover. It was simply to settle the great commercial question with Spain. The war had arisen with France apparently on a purely German question ; but it was quite certain that France must anyhow have been included eventually in the commercial war, owing to her strong sympathy with Spain

Indignation  
of England.

and constant rivalry with England. The sea, therefore, in the eyes of the English people was far the most important basis of operations. They desired that as far as was possible it should become the only one. And yet hitherto, with the exception of Walpole's expeditions to the West, which had really failed entirely, and the exploits of the fleet in the Mediterranean, England might just as well have been at peace with Spain. Undoubtedly, too, there had been outrageous extravagance with regard to the public money. Subsidies had been lavished on Austria with little return but insolence. Hanoverian troops had been hired by the thousand at vast expense to wander aimlessly up and down the River Main. And now it was proposed to pay the expenses of the

emperor simply in order that Hanover might be able to boast of it. A great commotion ensued, which the rivals of Carteret in the Cabinet took advantage of. It is difficult to imagine that Newcastle could have been inspired by any very lofty sentiments at any time, but still it is probable that he was as patriotic as such a man could be. At any rate, he may well have objected to such an enormous waste of British treasure with absolutely no result for England or himself; though no doubt his patriotism was sharpened considerably by the desire to destroy the overwhelming influence of Carteret. Parliament in consequence—in which Newcastle's influence was limited only by his resources for corruption—refused to ratify the Agreement of Hanau; and Carteret was unpleasantly awakened from a very delusive dream.

Newcastle's  
views.

A **Treaty of Worms** had to be concluded instead. The Hanoverian projects and the emperor were etjually thrown over to the shame of both George and Carteret. A close alliance was concluded between England, Austria, Holland, Sardinia, Saxony (and Poland). The King of Sardinia undertook to defend the Austrian dominions in Italy in return for certain cessions in the Milanese. England and Austria agreed to invade France. This treaty was finally accepted by Parliament after the excision of certain obnoxious subsidiary clauses.

Treaty of  
Worms, 1743.

The position of affairs therefore at the end of the year 1743 was that the Allies of Worms undertook to carry out the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. against all opponents. Matters were really looking extremely black for France.

### *Section 2.—England and France, 1743-48.*

The year 1744, however, saw two very important changes. Prussia renewed the war on the Austrian flank and rear, thus paralyzing her efforts on the Rhine. England and France now really came forward as the principals in the war, sweeping aside the flimsy veil of auxiliary assistance under which they had hitherto veiled their belligerency.

Change.

Frederic, in fact, was extremely alarmed at the success of Austria and England, and the high-handed manner in which they proposed to deal with questions of such importance. He therefore tried to conclude a **League of Frankfurt** among the German princes to defend their rights against Austria. This, however, was a complete

League of  
Frankfurt,  
1744.

failure, for his selfishness was too well known for him to be trusted. He therefore concluded an alliance with France for a renewal of the war. France had endeavoured to negotiate a peace with Austria, but all overtures were contemptuously declined by Marie. The king, therefore, incited by the Duchess de Chateauroux, determined to carry on the war with greater vigour. The result was a regular declaration of war between England and France; and an irruption of a Prussian army into Saxony and Bohemia. Frederic's advance into Bohemia undoubtedly saved France for the time, but he met with no return in the shape of assistance. France devoted herself entirely to the war in Flanders and Italy, and thus ceased to exercise any influence on Germany. This enabled Austria to withdraw from the Rhine, and confine herself to the war on her flank and rear; leaving to England and Sardinia the thankless duty of defending her more distant territories in Italy and the Netherlands. The French victories of **Fontenoy** and **Basignano** over the English and Sardinians produced absolutely no effect on Austria, who, like France, was absolutely indifferent to the fate of her allies. The Jacobite Invasion, though it denuded Flanders of British troops and caused the greatest alarm in England, had about as much interest to Frederic as an invasion of Barataria. Therefore, though he remained uniformly victorious, and was able to destroy successively all the combinations of the Austrians, yet he was unable to prevent the election of the Grand Duke Francis to the imperial throne, or the gradual accession of all the German princes to the Austrian Confederation. Satisfied, therefore, with having accomplished his design of limiting the ascendancy of Austria and Hanover, and disgusted at being paid out in his own coin by the French, he determined once more to throw over his friends, Treaty of  
Dresden, 1745. and concluded a separate peace with Austria. This **Treaty of Dresden** (December, 1745) merely confirmed the cession of Silesia to Prussia.

The Jacobite Invasion of 1745-46 entirely paralyzed the English operations in Flanders. Marshal Saxe and his Frenchmen took advantage of this to overrun the whole of the Netherlands and invade Holland. Their success, however, was amply counterbalanced by the loss of their Prussian, Bavarian, and Spanish allies, and a monarchical revolution in Holland. The **Treaty of Fnessen** had proclaimed the adhesion of Bavaria to the Austrian alliance. The Treaty of Dresden secured the

neutrality of Prussia. The death of Philippe V., and the accession of **Ferdinand VI.** to the throne of Spain was followed by peace between that country and England. A great defeat at **Raucoux** roused the indignation of the Dutch against their republican rulers; and amid great popular ferment the Prince of Orange was proclaimed hereditary Stadtholder of Holland. Therefore, when the English were able to attend once more to the war in Flanders, matters were in a much more favourable condition. Unfortunately, however, in those days the English did not possess such a thing as an efficient general; and the various courageous, though utterly incapable warriors, who in turn took the command, were no match for the splendid genius of Saxe and Lowendahl. The result naturally was that the English army was hunted from pillar to post, and beaten in the most ignominious way at intervals; until at last the fall of the great fortress of **Bergen op Zoom**, the key of Holland, completed the humiliating roll of defeats.

War in  
Flanders.

The war in Italy, on the contrary, had been disastrous to France. The naval war had been a perpetual triumph to England. The French Colonial Empire had been violently broken into. Their fleet was almost totally destroyed. The capture of Cape Breton Island opened up the road to the St. Lawrence and Canada. In 1747 Admiral Anson defeated a French squadron near **Cape Finisterre**. This was shortly followed by another victory won off **Belleisle** by Admiral Hawke. In the same year as many as 644 prizes were taken, and the commerce of France was totally annihilated. These great successes amply compensated for the disasters in Flanders, and the victories of Saxe.

Naval and  
Colonial war.

All parties, however, began to be eager for peace. England, France, and Holland, were weary of war, and burdened with enormous debts. Success in one direction had been invariably balanced by defeat in another. Most of the questions on which war had arisen had practically settled themselves. Only Austria desired to continue the struggle, and Austria's warlike fervour was induced mainly by the astute reflection that she could not lose anything by using England and Sardinia as cat's-paws, and might gain some valuable acquisition to replace the loved and lost Silesia. The same idea, however, probably occurred to the cat's-paws themselves with dissimilar results; for, after the due amount of haggling, the

Negotiations.

mock-indignant protests of Austria were disregarded, and a Congress met at Aix-la-Chapelle to arrange the terms of peace.

As it "happened there were very few left to settle, which rendered the task of the diplomatists considerably lighter than usual. Austria alone offered objections; but Austria, finding herself alone, was compelled unwillingly to give in, and consent

to recognize once more the concessions which  
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, necessity had previously wrung from her. And  
April 20, 1748. so by April 20th, 1748, it was arranged that

all conquests should be mutually restored; that the fortifications of Dunkirk towards the east should be demolished; *that the Assiento Treaty should be confirmed for four years*; that the Pretender should be excluded from France; that the Imperial Election and the Pragmatic Sanction should be guaranteed by France; that the territories ceded by Austria to Prussia and Sardinia should be confirmed to them, with the exception of Placentia—which, together with Parma, was erected into a dukedom for Don Philip, the second son of Elizabeth Farnese.

As far as England was concerned this war of the Austrian Succession, or war of Jenkins' Ear, and the later Seven Years' War are really one long struggle,—broken in Europe by a hollow truce of eight years, but continuing almost uninterruptedly in the colonies in different ways. It is convenient, however, to stop here in order to consider the particular history of England, and to estimate her social and political development during the first half of the eighteenth century.

## CHAPTER II.

CARTERET AND PELHAM, 1742-54.

*Section 1.—Ministry of Carteret, 1742-44.*

As Pulteney very unwisely and very unpatriotically declined to accept the responsibility which he had brought upon himself, Walpole was able to contrive that his old colleague, Wilmington (Sir S. Compton) should become the nominal head of the new Ministry. Very few changes were really made. The two Pelhams remained—Newcastle as Secretary of State, Henry Pelham as Paymaster. The other Secretary was Lord Carteret. Pulteney had a seat in the Cabinet, though he refused to take any office. Lord Hardwicke continued Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Sandys, who had led the great attack on Walpole, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In spite of the furious onslaughts on "Walpole, and the bitter invective against the unparalleled corruption with which he was accused of ruining the country, very little evidence of direct bribery could be brought against him. It is true that all the influence of the Court was exerted to screen him, and that many important witnesses directly refused to say a word against him. Still the total failure of his enemies to substantiate any of their charges caused a considerable change in public opinion with regard to them. Moreover, it was still more startling to their supporters in general that they should pursue with unflinching vigour the very course of policy for which they had reviled Walpole, with exactly the same disregard for the feelings of the country. Most of Walpole's followers, who were certainly implicated in whatever offences he may have committed, remained in the Cabinet. Pulteney and Sandys now supported Hanoverian measures and Hanoverian subsidies in close alliance

The ministry.

No real change in policy.

with Newcastle and Pelham. Carteret became more strongly Hanoverian than even Walpole himself. The result naturally was that the hostility to Walpole was transferred to his successors. Pulteney had lost his popularity when he gained his peerage. Carteret became more hateful than Walpole had been. Pitt now lavished all the flowers of his rhetoric on Carteret, and recapitulated his former charges against the Government with the same unsparing invective.

Gradually, too, a schism arose in the ranks of the Ministry itself. The two dissimilar elements of which it was composed never exactly coalesced with one another. Newcastle, Pelham, Hardwicke, and Harrington, backed by the strong though secret influence of Orford (Walpole), really entered on a struggle for power with their old rivals, Carteret and Bath (Pulteney). The Pelhams were actually far the strongest. Newcastle's immense influence, which was based mainly on corruption, enabled him to sway at pleasure a large majority in Parliament. A house divided against itself. And though the Hanoverian measures of Carteret gave him an almost boundless influence over the king, the Pelhams could rely on the strong respect which George still entertained for Orford's opinion as a counteracting force. At first, however, they cowered beneath the storm which had overthrown the last Ministry, and waited till the popular resentment, directed against them as its representatives, should have died away. Coolly and cautiously they gathered fresh elements of strength from each mistake of their rivals, and circumstances played steadily into their hand.

The period during which Carteret managed the foreign affairs of this country was called the Drunken Administration, partly, no doubt, owing to his anti-temperance principles, but mainly owing to the extraordinarily reckless nature\* of his policy, and the amazing frivolity and levity which he displayed in dealing with the gravest matters. His strength lay in the unusual prominence of his own department at this time, and the high favour which he acquired with the king in consequence of his readiness to go all lengths in his Hanoverian measures. As it happened, this foundation was a very unsteady one to build OIL Even Pitt later on found himself unable to carry on the Government without parliamentary influence, though he was supported by the voice of the nation. Carteret, on the contrary, was gradually



alienating all; the people by his Hanoverian measures; Newcastle by his habitual insolence; pkce-hunters in general by his steady refusal to deal with such unimportant matters as patronage. It is obvious therefore that a collision between the two sections of the Cabinet was imminent as soon as Carteret's unpopularity should outweigh the timidity of Newcastle.

Undoubtedly the nation had considerable cause for their growing distrust of Carteret and his party. The latter had inveighed with the utmost fury against government by corruption; but they showed themselves only too ready to avail themselves of the power thus acquired. They had clamoured for the repeal of the Septennial Act; but they now had the effrontery to speak and vote against a measure to that effect. They had stigmatized with the utmost opprobrium the slightest leaning towards Hanover; but now English interests were entirely forgotten in those of Hanover; English money was wasted recklessly for Hanoverian objects; and England truly seemed as though it was considered only a province to a despicable Electorate. It was this feeling which the Pelham party gradually became the exponent of; and the first trial of strength between the two sections of the Cabinet arose on the death of Wilmington, 1743.

General discontent.

Carteret proposed his old leader, Bath, as "Wilmington's successor. The Pelham party put forward Henry Pelham as their representative. Both names were received with equal complacency by the king, who could not have been exactly charmed with either. Orford threw all his influence on the side of the latter. Carteret urged the claims of the former. The result was that Henry Pelham became Prime Minister; and from this time Carteret's power in the Cabinet steadily waned. The upset of his Agreement of Hanau and schemes for the partitioning of France showed him the mistake he had committed in entirely neglecting parliamentary support. It was, however, too late to rectify it, and the favour of George proved a poor defence against the hostility of his colleagues. Before the end of the year 1744 Carteret was compelled to leave the Ministry, and from that time Henry Pelham was supreme.

Pelham becomes Prime Minister, 1743.

Resignation of Carteret.

The king, however, was for a long time hostile. He really had some grounds for discontent. He had been thwarted in his German policy, deprived of Carteret, and compelled to

accept men whom he hated. He despised Newcastle ; hated Chesterfield and Pitt, whom Pelham continually insisted on including in the Ministry ; above all he detested Pitt for his uncomplimentary criticisms on Hanover. He therefore intrigued against his Ministers with Bath and Carteret. The result was that in February, 1746, while the Jacobite rebellion was raging in the north, a Ministerial crisis took place. The king definitely refused to admit Pitt to the Ministry, and made overtures to Carteret and Bath. The Ministers thereupon resigned in a body. Bath found himself unable to form a Government. The king was therefore, to his deep sorrow and disgust, obliged to reaccept the Pelhams on their own terms.

*Section 2.—The Jacobite Invasion, 1745-46.*

Charles Edward Louis Stuart, commonly called the young Pretender, or the Chevalier de St. George, was tho eldest son of tho old Pretender, by Clementina Maria, granddaughter of John Sobieski, King of Poland. Ho was born at Pome, December 20th, 1720, and resided in that city until the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession seemed to open to him a favourable opportunity for recovering the dominions of his ancestors. Of his early life almost nothing is known, except that continual reports of his excellence and promise reached England at intervals, much to tho alarm of the Whig Ministry. His education had been, however, greatly neglected; and this was attributed to the wiles of Walpole, who was supposed to have bribed his tutor. Whether this was actually true, or was merely owing to tho general inclination to see the hand of Walpole in almost everything which happened in Europe at the time, is of little importance. The fact remains that even the average school-girl of the present day would have been ashamed of the defective writing and spelling in which the young hero recorded his hopes and troubles.

His character was such as befitted a great prince. Kindly, generous, humane, courtly, courageous, and enduring; every-where he was distinguished for his gallantry, beloved for his winning manner, surrounded by a dazzling halo of popularity. "And when we remember," says Mr. Jesse, "the circumstances of his education—that he

had been confided to the charge of priests and bigots; and moreover that he had been nursed in the lap of luxury, and accustomed to the enervating pleasures and habits of a soft and luxurious climate,—we can only wonder that there should have been generated in such a quarter those powers of endurance, and that spirit to act,—those kindly and generous feelings, and those clear and excellent abilities which distinguished the gallant and warm-hearted prince in the early period of his career, and which were displayed by him under circumstances of difficulty and danger such as it has been the lot of few besides himself to encounter." And yet, in spite of his excellent character, his many and varied gifts, and the fewness of his defects, it was *utterly impossible and undesirable that he should ultimately succeed* in the desperate enterprise to which he had dedicated his life. From infancy he had been taught to regard the House of Hanover as usurpers; he had been educated in the lofty Stuart theories of prerogative; he had been brought up in the strictest principles of the Roman Catholic Church.

It was therefore natural that he should have the same horror of parliamentary government and constitutional restrictions, which had been the chief characteristic of his race; that he should regard the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement as so many sacrilegious attacks on the majesty of the royal power; and that he should unflinchingly look forward to the restoration of the ascendancy of the Catholic Church, even if he conceded some slight measure of toleration to the heretical communions. Circumstances and necessity induced him to bend his lofty crest, and assume a humbler tone; but convictions such as these were too firmly implanted in his mind not to spring up again with renewed vitality when once the pressure of misfortune was removed. England, on the other hand, had undoubtedly had quite enough of Stuart misrule; though she might at times delude herself with romantic visions of "martyred kings," *ami* imagine that the heroic, gallant young Chevalier would be far preferable to dull, commonplace, beer-drinking George. But England had now passed through fifty years of liberty and political development. A new generation had sprung up, who were accustomed to use their tongues and pens as freely as they pleased on everything and everybody, not excepting the king. They bewailed themselves at times as the most wretched, down-trodden nation in

Theories of  
government.

Ultimate  
success im-  
possible.

existence; but the very violence of their complaints proved the enviable freedom of their position. Louis XV. would have sent a French Pitt to the Bastille for life. Under James III. he would have been lucky if he had escaped with a sojourn in the Tower. A new Licensing Act would have soon checked the pungent invective which the *Craftsman* bestowed so liberally on the king and Government. The Dissenters would have found that the little finger of the Roman Catholic Church was thicker than the loins of the Establishment. And so, sooner or later, there must have been an explosion—perhaps a mere repetition of the peaceful Revolution of 1688, perhaps more nearly akin to the terrible convulsion of 1792.

But the enterprise was really hopeless from the very first; and it was only a combination of circumstances which prevented this being immediately apparent—producing in fact a *mirage* of delusive prosperity which completely veiled the barren, inhospitable sands to which the young prince was really travelling. The only part of Scotland on which he could rely was the Highlands, and they contained barely a twelfth of the whole population. Moreover, many of the Highland chieftains were bound closely to the Whig Government. The Highlanders themselves were not exactly the kind of troops which a general would select for a long and arduous campaign. Their courage was undoubted; and the irresistible fury with which they were wont to charge the enemy had carried them victorious through many a hard-fought field. But of the qualities which are perhaps even more important to an army than mere animal courage—such as subordination, patience, endurance, and single-mindedness—they possessed not the slightest vestige. The chiefs acknowledged no superior, and were in consequence unwilling to serve under one of their own number, even when the latter was fortified by a commission from the man whom all acknowledged as their rightful king. Disputes were therefore likely to arise between them, and the general safety likely to be risked for some petty punctilio, some unfortunate access of barbarian pride. The personal hostility, in fact, between various nobles formed one of the chief difficulties of the young Chevalier, and in many cases it was only his great personal address which could have restored harmony between such discordant elements. The common men, when flushed with success, were almost irresistible in their determined onset; but they were wholly devoid

State of the  
Highlands.

of discipline, and their chief object was plunder. They therefore usually dispersed in search of it long before the enemy was out of reach; and in consequence the latter were able in many cases to reform themselves undisturbed and even threaten the security of their conquerors. Defeat or ill-success entirely demoralized them. In a retreat they were liable to become a useless, panic-stricken mob, to which the name of army would be very inappropriately applied. It followed, therefore, that when once the young Chevalier had succeeded in composing the turmoil and discord of the Highlands sufficiently to enable him to raise a respectable body of followers, some immediate success was necessary to keep them together. Victory must follow hard on the heels of victory; delay was dangerous; *retreat was s- imply suicide*.

The High-landers.

The Lowlands were distinctly unfavourable. The majority of the people—canny, commercial, Presbyterians—hated the Stuarts both for their religious opinions and their religious persecution; and also because' invasion, war, revolution, must necessarily be prejudicial to trade in general and their own pockets in particular. The Episcopalians, it is true, had no love for the Presbyterians; but long experience had led them to dread the merciless forays of the Highlanders with a vivid terror far surpassing the fervour of theological antagonism. There was little to be expected from the Lowlands, and that little would have to be extracted by force. At the same time the cautious nature of the Lowlander precluded any chance of vigorous resistance as long as the invader should be fairly successful.

State of the Lowlands.

In England appearances were extremely deceptive. Pulteney and his friends had been accustomed to speak as though England was really sunk in the deepest gulf of misery and ruin, and that this was due to the iniquitous machinations of George and Walpole. If Carteret had been the Great Dragon of the Apocalypse maintaining ceaseless war on the whole human race, Pitt could scarcely have added very much to the scathing denunciations which he had heaped on him. Hanover had been the subject of more parliamentary eloquence than even Ireland at the present day. Honourable members had not scrupled to describe it as a "despicable electorate." Scribblers had suggested a comparison between the pale horse of Death and the white charger on the Hanover arms. The Tory country gentlemen were still accustomed to

State of England.

drink to the "king over the water," and to describe in more or less inferior lyrics the political and social millennium which would begin when the king should "enjoy his own again." The Oxford students shouted Jacobite songs in the street, and the Public Orator of the University introduced into his speech no very indistinct allusions to a Stuart Restoration. The intelligent observer, in fact, who is always a very superficial person, would have imagined that England was really ripe for rebellion; and that the rising in Scotland would be followed by an enthusiastic insurrection spreading all over England. But

Outward  
signs de-  
ceptive.

as a matter of fact nothing of the kind took place. There was not even so much enthusiasm as in 1715. No attempt was made to arrange any plan among the English Jacobites. Hardly any of them moved in the slightest during the Rebellion. Very little sympathy was shown with the cause of the young Chevalier. The Jacobites in the London taverns were no doubt in great excitement, and drained many a cup to the health of their champion. London, however, as a whole, and the London mob, had become converted to Whiggism. Many Tories were more willing to make the best of a foreign king who had ruled quite respectably than to risk their liberties under an incapable bigot like James. Their habits of drinking clashed with their politics. They toasted the "king over the water," but they had no desire to see him this side of the Channel. Pitt, Pulteney, and Chesterfield, had been mainly inspired by the spite of disappointed place-hunters. Their mouths were shut and their minds converted by the soothing prospect of office. Shebbeare might have explained the virulence of his pamphlet by the simple fact that so long as abuse is eagerly read by the multitude, so long will the writers be found ready to concoct it.

At the same time the mass of the people displayed extraordinary apathy during the Rebellion. They did not move for King James, it is true; but then no more did they for King George. They seem rather to have watched the struggle as though it really did not concern them, and as though they were indifferent as to the result. The explanation of this was that

Real apathy  
of the people.

the Revolution had not been at all a popular movement. It had been mainly the work of a number of Yorkshire noblemen and gentlemen. It had not transferred power to the people but to the Parliament; and Parliament was not in any sense a representative

body, nor was it in any way controlled by the people. The people therefore did not realize the blessings of the "glorious Involuntion of 1688." They found that they were taxed all the same ; and to individuals totally ignorant of constitutional law it did not make any very striking difference whether their hard-earned money was extracted by the king or the Parliament. The result was very much the same to them in the long run. The people, moreover, knew very little of the governing body at all. They were rarely consulted on policy, except when the Opposition occasionally desired to arouse a tempest against the Government; and then the language of the orators was scarcely calculated to inspire any very great accession of loyalty. *The people therefore, through sheer ignorance, did not really rare at all.* The class which had gained most by the Revolution was the middle class, and they are always the most difficult to move to action.

It was not therefore singular that when the people were indifferent, and the class which were really interested in the question were thoroughly apathetic, the Jacobites should be able by sheer noisiness to cover their real weakness and insincerity. At the same time there seems not the slightest doubt that this sluggish mass would have been speedily startled into sudden resistance had they once felt the unaccustomed pressure of Stuart misgovernment. Deceptive result.

It was in 1743 that Charles Edward first left Rome on an invitation from the Court of Versailles to join an expedition under Marshal Saxe which was intended for the invasion of England. The expedition was a total failure, and Charles had to spend many weary months at Paris vainly striving to pierce the dull ears of the French Government by importunate appeals for aid. Nor did he meet with any very great encouragement from Scotland. The Highland chieftains warned him that it would be utterly useless to cross unless he came attended by 6000 French soldiers. At last, almost hopeless, yet hoping against\*hope, he determined to risk oil on a single cast of the die, and, with what arms and munitions of war he could collect, set sail for the promised land Arrival of the Pretender: in a little brig called *La Doutelle*. He was accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been attainted in 1715, Sir Thomas Sheridan, his own tutor, Sir John Maedonald, Mr. Kelly, a clergyman, Mr. O'Sullivan, an Irish officer in the French army, Mr. Francis Strickland,

and Mr. Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris and brother of Macdonald of Kinloeh Moidart. After running the gauntlet of the English fleet, the forlorn hope of the Stuarts landed in one of the numerous islets of the western coast of Scotland. At first he was received with great hesitation by the heads of the Clan Macdonald; but the extraordinary fascination which he exercised over all who came in contact with him soon produced an outburst of loyalty and enthusiasm. The Macdonalds of Clanranald and Kinloeh Moidart joined him with all their followers. Cameron of Lochiel came with a doubting heart, but submitted at last to the persuasive eloquence of the prince. Macdonald of Keppoch, Macdonald his first fol- of Glengarry, Murray of Broughton, and other lowers. chieftains soon came flocking in. But the head of the Macleods and the head of the Macdonalds stood sullenly aloof—not from any love of the House of Hanover, but from fear of a disastrous termination to the gallant attempt. The northern clans also remained strictly neutral owing to the influence of Duncan Forbes, Lord President. Lord Lovat and the Frasers followed their example.

When therefore, after a preliminary skirmish with the English troops near Fort William,—an isolated military station at the southern end of the great valley through which the Caledonian Canal now runs,—the royal standard was raised with all ceremony in the lonely vale of Glenfinnan, August 19th, Charles found that he must rely for the present on the western clans, and trust to success and his good star to bring him reinforcements later on. The fortune of war set steadily in his favour. Extraordinary to relate, the authorities at Edinburgh did not hear of his arrival till three weeks after the event, though it was known almost directly to the Ministry in England. Mistakes of the authorities. Unfortunately, too, Sir John Cope, the English commander in Scotland, was a man whose gallantry was undoubted, but who was afraid of the responsibility vested in him. He rarely acted without a council of war, and in consequence he rarely acted decisively, and he often acted foolishly. He determined to march to the Highlands and crush the rebellion at once. This was in itself a thorough mistake. The country was extremely difficult for troops, and was either unfavourable or openly hostile. He had therefore to carry with him all his supplies. He ought to have beset the



line of the Forth River and shut the rebellion up in the Highlands, where it would soon have exhausted itself. As it was, he marched north towards Inverness. But instead of at once attacking the Highlanders and endeavouring to crush them, he stood aside and allowed them to pass him and push on through the celebrated Pass of Killiecrankie to **Perth**. Therefore, while Cope was fondly pluming himself on the idea that it was only his brilliant conduct which had preserved the northern clans in their allegiance, James **III**. was proclaimed at Perth King of Great Britain, and the Perth ladies donned their gayest dresses to dance with the young Chevalier. At Perth the prince was joined by several valuable adherents. Lord Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airlie, and his retainers; the Robertsons of Struan, Blairfitty, and Cushievale; and a large body of the men of Athole and Perth came trooping in to the standard. But the most valuable acquisition was Lord George Murray, the younger brother of the Duke of Athole, who was far the ablest of the Jacobite leaders. The march to **Edinburgh** resembled the flow of a river which is fed by innumerable tributaries all along its course. Macdonald of Glencoe, Macgregor of Glengyle, Lord Kilmarnock, and many others brought fresh accessions of strength to the Jacobite cause. Five days after the proclamation at Perth the dragoons of Gardiner, who had marched out of Edinburgh scoffing at the bare-legged rebels, ran away almost without striking a blow, and the road was open to the capital. Within all was indecision. The provost and magistrates would have defended the town, but their hands were forced by the inhabitants. On the 10th of June, James **III**. was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh amid the blare of trumpets and the shouts of the kilted Highlanders. The majority of the citizens were excited to the utmost enthusiasm, and, though a small minority of loyalists preserved a stubborn silence, the air was rent with the acclamations of the fickle mob. Five days later the Highland army attacked and utterly routed Sir John Cope at **Preston Pans**, just south-west of Edinburgh. The general had come south by water; and with an army hastily levied, and including the remnants of Gardiner's courageous dragoons, endeavoured to block the road to England. The dragoons behaved with their usual unaccountable cowardice; the terrible rush of the Highlanders carried the English artillery by storm; and a general *saïve qui*

March to  
Edinburgh.

Battle of  
Preston Pans.

pent followed. Cope himself rode off with such despatch that he earned the singular distinction of being the first general who had ever brought home the news of his own defeat.

The road to England was now open; and had Charles advanced at once, he would have found himself almost unopposed. The apathy of the country was such that, when he did enter England, men made up pleasure parties to see the Jacobites "march past." Marshal Wade was at Newcastle with a few troops; but the majority of the English army was still in Flanders, and, with the exception of the Eoyal Guards, and the trained bands, materials for an effective resistance were really totally wanting. Charles himself ardently desired to follow up his success at Preston Pans.

Charles Edward at Edinburgh. His followers, however, were unwilling; many of the Highland chiefs had not yet come in; and he hoped to receive in a short time munitions and troops from France, which would have contributed greatly to the success of the adventure. He therefore remained at Holyrood the darling of the Highlanders, the hero of the ladies. "He missed no opportunity of flattering the prejudices of the Scottish people," says Mr. Jesse, "and rendering himself the object of their love. He was either delighted, or pretended to be, with everything national in or peculiar to Scotland. At the balls at Holyrood he was careful to call alternately for Highland and Lowland tunes, taking care to give no particular preference to either. He accommodated himself indifferently to all ages and to all ranks. He could be gallant with the fair, lively with the young, and grave with the old. At one hour of the day he was seen conversing familiarly with the humblest of his Highland followers in his camp at Duddingstoun; at another he was engaged in deliberating in solemn council with his officers; and at night he was seen leading the dance, and dallying with the fair dames of Edinburgh in the old halls of Holyrood."

But while Charles was winning golden opinions at Edinburgh, the tide was rapidly turning against him in England.

Collection of troops in England. Wade had increased his army at Newcastle to 10,000 men. The Duke of Cumberland had formed another military centre in the Midland Counties, to which the Dutch and English troops were marched up as fast as they arrived from Flanders. A great camp was erected at Finchley to defend the capital, and there the trained bands of London and the Eoyal Guards took

up their quarters. In many counties the militia was called out, and new regiments promised, at their own expense, by several noblemen. Parliament voted liberal supplies, and consented to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. At the same time there is not the slightest doubt that only the regular\* troops could be depended upon for regular fighting, and that the people would not move at all for either party. The Jacobites were now masters of the greater portion of Scotland, with the exception of the extreme north, the Highland forts, and the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Reinforcements kept continually pouring in. Gordon of Glenbucket, Macpherson of Cluny, Lord Louis Gordon, Lord Balmerino, Lord Pitsligo (supposed to be the wisest man in all Scotland), and many others came down from their ancestral glens with all their vassals in their train. Macleod, however, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Lord Lovat, still held obstinately aloof, though the latter sent his son with some of the Frasers, hoping to keep in thereby with both parties. There is not the slightest doubt that the defection of these leaders turned the scale against the Jacobite cause. Charles, however, saw that the only way to retain Scotland was to invade England. Having therefore collected a considerable store of provisions and munitions of war, and received considerable accessions to his army, he overruled the captious objections of his chieftains; and in a short time the rebel army was rolling steadily towards the Border.

The necessity of turning Wade's position at Newcastle compelled them to take the old ill-omened road which ran by Sol way Moss and Preston. On the 15th of November they reached Carlisle. The 24th brought them to Lancaster. By the 28th they were at Manchester, where they picked up a few reinforcements. On the 4th of December they entered Derby, in numbers about 7000 men.

There was nothing now between them and London but the camp at Finchley, for they had eluded both the armies of Wade and Cumberland. If they had marched steadily onwards they might have been successful; for their advance might have encouraged the English Jacobites to rise and changed the general feeling in their favour. As it was, the news of the advance to Derby filled London with the wildest panic. The shops were shut; all business suspended; the king made every preparation for returning to Hanover. The Bank of England only escaped bank-

Panic in  
London.

ruptcy by paying in sixpences. The Duke of Newcastle, it is even asserted, thought seriously of declaring for the Pretender. Long afterwards the day on which the terrible news came in was remembered as the Black Friday.

Then amid the tumult and confusion, a post came riding in hot haste from the North with the glad tidings that the Jacobite army had broken up, and were now in full retreat for the Border. The anxiety which had been felt in London may be measured by the wild joy which prevailed when the welcome intelligence flashed from lip to lip through the length and breadth of the city. Fireworks and illuminations blazed from every coign of vantage. The king gladly postponed his flight to Hanover.

The retreat, however, had not been accomplished without violent dissensions among the Jacobite leaders. Lord George Murray and the principal Scotch commanders appear to have considered it impossible that they should be ultimately successful. They might by a rapid march enter and overawe London. But the armies of Wade and Cumberland were behind them, and amounted to 30,000 men. Sooner or later it must come to a battle, and to contend with such an overwhelming force seemed utterly hopeless. The slightest check on the road to London might compel them to fight under every disadvantage. Defeat would mean ruin, not merely to the individuals engaged, but to the whole Jacobite cause. The people, it was true, might rise if they were victorious; but it was by no means certain, and experience had as yet given little encouragement to the anticipation. It would be better to evacuate England and confine their exertions to Scotland. Defended by the strong and loyal arms of the Highlanders, Scotland would once more be free and independent under the descendant of her ancient kings. With these arguments therefore they assailed the unwilling ears of the prince, and announced their intention of retiring at once to their own country. The unfortunate young man was thunder-struck at the unwelcome intelligence. He saw more clearly than they did the true effect of this measure. *It meant the rain of all his hopes.* The promised kingdom faded faintly away before his eyes like the baseless fabric of a vision. He knew well that, with such an army as his, retreat would be fatal. The Highlanders, so irresistible in the charge, would become demoralized. The legions of Wade and Cumberland would

close steadily round them, and drive them back like sheep to their native glens, marking the way with corpses. Murray and the rest were, however, determined, and so, with rage and despair gnawing his heart, the prince was obliged to submit.

On the 6th of December the insurgents began their retreat. On the 19th, after a slight skirmish with Cumberland's advanced guard, they entered Carlisle. On the 20th they recrossed the Border, and in January the London prisons were full of rebels captured at Carlisle. The Scotch marched rapidly on to Glasgow, and thence to besiege Stirling, followed closely by General Hawley—a ferocious officer, who was nicknamed the "Lord Chief Justice" on account of his brutality. His contempt for the rebels was so great that he did not even take the ordinary precautions of war, but allowed himself to be surprised and thoroughly routed at **Falkirk**, January 17th, 1746 ; and once more a thrill of dismay ran through the heart of London.

1746.

Battle of  
Falkirk,  
Jan. 17, 1746.

Dissensions, however, of the most violent kind had broken out among the Jacobites. During the retreat Charles had held himself considerably aloof from his followers. He usually rode at the rear of the army. He had lost his careless, gallant, fascinating demeanour, and become morose and dejected. He received a few more reinforcements on entering Scotland ; but he quarrelled with the chiefs on almost every point of policy, and in many cases put himself distinctly in the wrong from a mistaken sense of the obligations of honour. After a vain attempt at besieging Stirling, the army broke up into two divisions, and marched north towards Inverness, hoping to be joined by the northern clans and some French reinforcements.

Dissensions.

The English Government, however, were now labouring zealously to end the Rebellion. The English fleet hung off the coast, and effectually prevented the arrival of any French ships with troops or provisions ; while at the same time every kind of stores could easily be landed for the benefit of the English army. Cumberland had been sent to supersede Hawley after the defeat of Falkirk ; and he followed up the pursuit with sleuth-hound tenacity. After a few indecisive skirmishes, the insurgents at last turned at bay on **Culloden Heath**, April 16th, 1746, and a desperate battle took place. The Highlanders fought with their

Battle of  
Culloden,  
April 16.

usual courage and ferocity; but their hopes were entirely ruined by the mutinous conduct of the Macdonalds, who, furious at being denied the place of honour, refused to charge the enemy, even though they saw Macdonald of Keppoch cut **down** before their very eyes. "My God, have the children of my tribe deserted me?" cried the dying chieftain, as the tide of war rolled hotly over him, and flung back the stubborn Macdonalds disgraced and broken into dishonourable flight. The game was really up, and the more prudent leaders forced Charles to **fly**. After unheard-of adventures and hair-breadth escapes, he succeeded in reaching the Western Isles, where he skulked for some time in every kind of disguise. His final escape was entirely due to the devotion of the celebrated Flora Macdonald, who brought him safely through his enemies, dressed as a lady's-maid, to Loch-na-Nuagh, where, accompanied by Lochiel and several of his followers, he took ship for France. Thus ended the last of the Civil Wars.

Victory was followed by vengeance, and that of the utmost brutality. Cumberland disgraced both himself and his country by the atrocious cruelty with which he treated the vanquished rebels and the conquered districts. Every kind of lawless violence was perpetrated. The flying and unresisting Highlanders were pistolled in cold blood by their remorseless pursuers. The wounded were left to die on the field amid the corpses of their companions. The pale figures of half-starved women and children were seen flitting like shadows among the holes and caves of the rocks; their husbands and brothers had been murdered, their homes burnt to the ground, they were dying a lingering death of starvation and cold. It is even asserted that at Fort Augustus the troops collected a number of young women, stripped them naked, set them astride on horses, and with blows and shouts of laughter compelled the unfortunate creatures to ride races for their amusement. General Hawley was foremost in every cruelty; his brutal nature rejoiced in such congenial employment. Cumberland had undoubtedly earned the title of "Saviour of his country;" but popular opinion fixed on him the unenviable nickname of "the Butcher."

The merciless inhumanities of military license were followed by more justifiable legal severities. The Earls of Cromartie and **Kilmarnock**, **Lord Balmerino**, Lord Lovat, and **Colonel Townley**,—who had defended Carlisle against Cumberland—were

executed with, all the barbarities characteristic of the punishment for high treason at the time. Many of the common prisoners died in their unwholesome dungeons. Some were shipped off to slavery at Barbadoes. In a few weeks, however, a general Act of Indemnity, with some exceptions, was passed, and was followed by various measures for securing peace in the Highlands, and destroying the feudal power of the chiefs. Laws were issued, forbidding the Highland dress to be worn; ordering the surrender of all arms; and depriving the chiefs of their rights of jurisdiction over the clans, which were vested in regular tribunals. A more decided impulse in favour of peace and loyalty was given by the enlistment later on of several regiments of Highlanders during the Seven Years' War. Thus these semi-barbarians were taught to use their strength and endurance in the defence of that very Government which they had so long hated and despised as alien and tyrannical.

The saddest part of this pathetic story remains yet to be told—the last scenes in the life of the Young Pretender. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle stipulated that he should be no longer allowed to reside in France. He refused, however, to withdraw on the invitation of the French Government. The latter therefore had him seized by force, bound hand and foot, hurried off in a coach and six, and deposited carefully outside the frontier, where he was left to his own devices. From this time his noble, generous nature gradually deteriorated. He became attached to a Miss Walkenshaw, who acquired an extraordinary influence over him. His marriage was unhappy, and ended shortly in a separation, after which he returned to Miss Walkenshaw with renewed affection. He became the slave of intoxication, which gradually robbed his mind of its brilliance, his character of its nobleness; until at last we find him in his premature and dishonoured old age a besotted drunkard, a peevish husband, a tyrannical master—his understanding debased, and his temper soured. How different to the gallant courtly host of Holy rood, the daring hero of Preston Pans. He died January 30th, 1788, leaving one illegitimate daughter by Miss Walkenshaw.

His brother, Henry, experienced yet more extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. Having become a cardinal, and thereby ruined his hopes of ever succeeding to the British throne, he was eventually forced by the outbreak of the French Revolu-

tion to take refuge in England. There the Ministry provided this venerable pillar of the Church with an ample pension. He died in 1807, certainly the most irreproachable of his line. The remains of his father, himself, and his brother, rest in St. Peter's at Rome *under a magnificent monument raised by the munificence of George IV*. On it is carved an inscription full of touching irony to the memory of James III., Charles III., and Henry IX., Kings of England. The most practical and prosaic of this commonplace generation may well feel their eyes grow dim with unaccustomed moisture at the sight of this lonely memorial of wasted lives and fruitless aspirations.

### *Section 3.—Ministry of Pelham, 1744-54.*

Though he was the heir of Walpole's policy, Pelham's views were in many points the exact opposite to those of his former chief. Walpole had despised the opposition of all the greatest men of the time—nay, deliberately provoked it—provided he could ensure the most thorough discipline in his own camp. Pelham, on the contrary—a nervous, cautious, mediocre man—dreaded the chance of any opposition to his Government, and did his best to conciliate all parties by including as many as possible of their leading men among the ranks of his place-holders. His Ministry therefore was called the Broad-Bottomed Ministry. This policy was strongly objected to by George, who found that Pelham wished to force on him all the men who had been most active in criticizing the measures of Walpole and Carteret, and showering oburgations on Hanover and all connected with it. To Pelham it only seemed natural that the more violent the opposition of any particular man had been, the greater should be his own eagerness to extinguish such a firebrand for the future by the soothing influence of office. To George, on the contrary, it seemed offering a direct premium to opposition in the future if it was to be rewarded in this way. Pelham, however, knew what he was about. He did not intend to silence the clamour of a single tongue merely by the doubtful medium of a bribe. That would have been nothing more than an encouragement to others to pursue the same path. As "Walpole would have said, that would have created fifty Patriots in a night. Pelham in-



tended to bribe *all* the leaders of the Opposition to silence, and then he knew he would be secure for the future.

The result was that his Ministry presented a very motley appearance. The representatives of the old Walpolo party were Pelham himself, his brother Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Harrington ; the three first retaining their places, and the latter succeeding Carteret as Secretary of State. The Duke of Devonshire, Walpole's consistent friend, was created Lord Steward. Pitt, Chesterfield, Lyttelton, and Grenville, on the contrary, were Whigs of the Opposition ;—Pitt in 1746 became Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and later Paymaster of the Forces; Chesterfield was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1746 succeeded Harrington as Secretary of State ; a lordship of the Treasury was conferred on Lyttelton; Grenville was put into the Admiralty. Henry Fox, who may be considered as representing the young and rising men of the Government Whigs, was appointed Secretary at War in 1746. The Tory, Lord Gower, was made Lord Privy Seal. The Jacobite, Sir John Hynde Cotton, was given the post of Treasurer of the Chamber till his death in 1746. The ministry also included the Dukes of Bedford and Grafton, Lord Sandwich, and many others. The result of this was almost entirely to suppress any opposition, except the scattered remnants of the old party which still clung round the Prince of Wales and Bubb Dodington. This, however, was very scanty and disorganized; and it was well known that Dodington himself could be conciliated at any time by the peerage he so ardently craved for. Moreover, on the death of the prince in 1751, the princess, a very sensible woman, determined to put an end to the unnatural hostilities which had always existed between the Hanoverian kings and their heirs-apparent. She therefore drew over her party to the side of the Court and Government, and all opposition ceased. Even Granville in that year joined the Ministry as President of the 'Council. Thus the debates in Parliament became gradually more and more uninteresting. There was hardly any criticism at all on important matters. The unimportant ones naturally provoked none. The business of the country therefore proceeded with a smoothness never known before or after. It must at the same time be confessed that extremely little was done. In this Pelham imitated Walpole. Any attempts at very sweeping legislation must have produced a ferment in

The Broad-  
Bottomed  
Ministry!

the country, and disruption of the Ministry. Such coalitions, in fact, can only exist at a period when by mutual consent all burning questions are being slurred over. As Pelham's difficulties. it was Pelham found at times that obstacles of all sorts bestrewed the road over which he hoped to drive so smoothly. First, the king had the strongest objection to admitting Pitt and Chesterfield at all. When this difficulty had been removed, George insisted that they should not be given any office which would bring them into personal intercourse with himself. The crisis of 1746, however, settled these questions definitely; and when Pelham returned once more to power, he did so with full authority to dispose of places at will. The result was to complete the change which Walpole had initiated in the relations of parties. Bolingbroke and Pulteney had been obliged to unite the most dissimilar elements, Whigs, Tories, Jacobites, in opposition to Walpole. Pelham built up his Coalition Ministry out of exactly the same materials. This made it only more obvious that the true meaning of party names and cries had entirely disappeared, and that the country was really passing through a transition period, when there were really no parties at all in the proper sense of the word, though personal and sectional enmities abounded. It was this total obliteration of all the old lines of party demarcation which facilitated the growth of a new Tory party, and a new Whig party in the next reign.

Pelham himself was a nervous, desponding, fretful little man, without much energy of intellect or character. Pelham's character. At the same time he was endowed with a very considerable amount of common sense, a great capacity for the management of business, and a thorough knowledge of finance. He was in no way qualified to shine as a "War Minister; but he had profound parliamentary experience, and he really appeared to advantage when dealing with the business which fell to him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time he was more useful and business-like than impressive; more likely to be respected by his contemporaries than revered by posterity. He was eminently suited to his time. No man of great talents could have endured to fill the chief post with such a slender measure of power; to be compelled to do so little, and to grant so much. Pelham had just the cautious, decorous mediocrity of character which enabled him to arrange such an uncomfortable couch for himself, and

successfully keep his seat on it. At the same time there is no doubt that he suffered considerably by having such a brother as Newcastle. The defects of the latter were reflected on the former; the fussy importance of the Secretary obscured the sterling good qualities of the Prime Minister.

Though Carteret had really been driven from office on the Hanoverian question, there was little change made in foreign policy by his successor. Pelharn was satisfied with invariably advancing British interests instead of those of Hanover as the motive of action. He maintained the army in Flanders, but at the same time he carried on the naval war with vigour and success. He kept also a more careful account of the subsidies paid to Marie Therese, and even went so far as to deduct numerous items of her bill for troops, on the ground that they had never been supplied at all. This certainly showed an accurate and financial mind, and served as a set-off against the large sums expended on German battalions as a whole; but it caused considerable ill-feeling between England and Austria. However, in spite of this inconsistency, his policy met with little or no criticism. On the contrary, all the talent of England was employed in defending it, and asserting that by subsidizing Germans they were really maintaining the war against France in the most effective manner, and carrying out the true interests of the nation. Pitt, with all the ardour of a convert, advocated the very policy which he had previously condemned. At the same time it must be confessed that there was a great difference between the principle of subsidizing troops to attack the French in the Netherlands while the English fleet carried on the war at sea, and that of lavishing huge sums of money solely in order to advance the interests of Hanover in Germany. The change in principle, in fact, was everything.

Not much  
change in  
foreign policy.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the Austrian Succession War, was extremely unpopular in England. \* First of all, because we restored Cape Breton to the French without receiving any real compensation. Secondly, because we gave hostages for its return. Thirdly, because there was absolutely no mention of the right of search on which the war had originally begun with Spain. At the same time there is not the slightest doubt that peace had become necessary to both England and Holland. It was not likely that Spain would consent to give up the right of

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle,  
1748.

search, for it would have meant the total abnegation of all power over the commerce of her colonies. Had we therefore insisted on this point the treaty must have fallen through. England, however, had obtained the supremacy of the seas in consequence of her great successes during the war. It would therefore be impossible for the Spaniards to continue their outrages on English sailors. As it happened, Spain was at this time friendly; there was every reason therefore for not needlessly wounding the susceptibility of that haughty nation. Under these circumstances the question could be easily dropped, for it was practically settled in favour of England.

An important consequence of the termination of the war was an extension given to our colonial system by the Settlement of Halifax. settlement of 4000 disbanded soldiers in Nova Scotia, where they built the town of Halifax, which gradually became the most important settlement in the colony.

The strength of Pelham's Ministry enabled him to carry a measure which excited strong opposition. Tins was the reduction of the interest on the National Debt. Under William III. the Government had been only able to borrow money at 8 per cent. This was reduced under Anne to 6 ; and, again, in the reign of George I. to 5 and 4 ; Pelham, in 1749, made an arrangement with the Government creditors which practically lowered the rate of interest to 3 per cent.

The death of the Prince of Wales, 1751, and the minority of Prince George, rendered it necessary to provide for a possible regency. The complete reconciliation between the Court and the princess was shown by the provisions of the Bill, which were to the effect that the princess should be guardian of the prince's person and Regent of the kingdom, but in the latter capacity acting under the advice of a council headed by the Duke of Cumberland.

The most important and successful measure of the Ministry was the alteration of the Calendar from Old to New Style. The errors of the Old Style had been originally corrected by Gregory XIII. His reformed Calendar had been adopted by most of the nations of Europe. England, however, long held out on the ground that it was a Popish invention. The absurdity of this was easily exposed by Lord Chesterfield, who brought in a

Alteration in  
the Calendar,  
1751.

measure for the Reform of the Calendar. His Bill proposed that the year should for the future begin on January 1st instead of March 25th ; and that in order to correct the error, eleven nominal days should be omitted after September 2nd, 1752, so that the day following it should be called September 14th instead of September 3rd. The old pay-days, however, were to be retained for the sake of convenience. This measure was at once necessary and salutary; and yet so unreasonable are the mob that at the next election one of the chief cries of the Opposition was, "Give us back our eleven days."

In 1753 Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act removed a great deal of disreputable romance from the social system. The old marriage law practically amounted to this,—the mere consent of the parties followed by cohabitation constituted a good marriage for some purposes. Moreover, a legal marriage could be celebrated by a priest at any time and any place without any necessity for registration, or even the consent of parents or guardians. Naturally abuses of the most infamous type had sprung up. Among them were the famous " Fleet Marriages." Fleet parsons were disreputable clergymen who were willing to unite any couple without license or question, without perhaps even knowing their names, provided the fee was duly paid. The name arose from the fact that the Fleet prison was the great resort of these worthy ecclesiastics. Not that their efforts were confined to this favoured precinct alone. On the contrary, almost every tavern rejoiced in the presence of a Fleet parson who openly touted for customers among the passers-by. The evils which were the result of this system were very great. Heirs and heiresses were carried off and married without the consent of their guardians. Young men out on the spree, and under the influence of intoxication, were entrapped into these dens and induced to go through the ceremony of marriage with some abandoned woman. The private registers of these parsons gave extraordinary revelations with regard to the large sums taken daily for the performance of these marriages. Lord Hardwicke therefore brought forward a Bill which provided that for the future, in order to enable a marriage to be celebrated, banns must be asked in the parish church for three successive Sundays preceding, or else that a special license must be obtained at a heavy fee from the archbishop. The marriage itself must be celebrated in the parish church. In order to give the clergyman

Lord Hard-  
wicke's  
Marriage  
Act, 1763.

a decided<sup>f</sup> interest in observing the law, it was ordained that any person who solemnized a marriage without these formalities should be liable to seven years' penal servitude. The Bill became law, and established the entirely new principle that marriage was a legal and not a purely theological institution.

In the same year a Bill for the naturalization of the Jews was passed, but it provoked so much opposition that it was repealed in the next session.

The next year saw the death of Henry Pelham himself, and the total break up of the heterogeneous Cabinet which  
Death of Pelham, 1754. he had so long held together. "Now I shall have no more peace," said George with considerable foresight which was justified by the event. The Ministry became totally unmanageable in the hands of Newcastle. A period of bitter sectional and personal quarrels succeeded the peaceful era of Pelham.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE CHURCH.

*Section 1.—The Church of England.*

THE period of the first two Hanoverian kings was remarkable for a general decline of the religious enthusiasm which had been such a marked characteristic of the reign of Anne. Very little interest was taken in religious questions at all; and in consequence even the growth of scepticism proceeded extremely slowly, owing to the total decadence of the theological spirit. The most conclusive evidence of this is the facility with which Walpole was able to deprive and banish **Atterbury**, the most brilliant and popular Churchman of his time, for the conspiracy of 1722. Very little excitement was aroused on the subject; and though attempts were made to stir up sympathies for him, they all signally failed. The rise of the **Bangorian Controversy** at first indeed seemed to presage a fresh outbreak of religious tumults. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, in a sermon on "The kingdom of Christ," maintained doctrines wholly subversive of the tenets of the High Church party. He was attacked with great bitterness and acrimony in consequence by the Lower House of Convocation; and the Ministry considered it advisable to end the ridiculous and unseemly exhibition by proroguing Convocation. This sweeping measure was received with the most perfect coolness by the country at large. No one really seemed to care; and the practical abolition of Convocation was effected with the greatest ease, 1717.

England was, in fact, rapidly becoming Latitudinarian, or Low Church; and the enthusiasm for High Church doctrines was slowly but surely dying away. The Court steadily encouraged Latitudinarianism.

Decline in  
religious  
feeling.

Latitudi-  
narianism.

tudinarianism, and persistently appointed Latitudinarians to the principal sees. Their protection and encouragement was extended to Hoadley, and the strongest expression of the favour of the Government towards his views lay in their treatment of Convocation. The people in consequence turned towards Latitudinarianism, and the High Church party steadily diminished in importance.

Undoubtedly this development was facilitated by the taint of Jacobitism which hung around the supporters of High Church views. Many clergymen were engaged in the Rebellion of 1715. Atterbury, the leader of the High Churchmen, was exiled for conspiracy; one non-juring priest suffered for treason at Tyburn. High Church therefore gradually became identified with Jacobitism, and sank more and more into disfavour.

The effect on theological life was distinctly unfortunate. The High Church party was undoubtedly the most active and intelligent. Their religious life, if obscured at times by useless or ridiculous controversies on points of wholly unimportant detail, was undoubtedly instinct with greater vitality than that of their rivals. Their ritual was more calculated to strike the imagination and impress the duller minds than the sombre decorum of the Low Church service. The result therefore was a steady decline in religious life. Sermons became longer, duller, less fitted for the capacity of the ordinary church-goer, more provocative of sleep. The history of theological literature is a record of slowly-developing decay until the new-born energy of the Revolutionary period startled the whole sluggish mass into unusual activity once more.

Three typical men of the century may be drawn from each of the three forms of religion included within the Church: **Atterbury** is the representative of the loftiest High Church views; **Sherlock** propounded a middle course between the two extremes; **Clarke** may be regarded as the prolocutor of the extreme Low Churchmen, who endeavoured to reduce the most indefinable subtleties of doctrine to the level of the plainest and prosiest explanation.

#### Section 2.—The Dissenters,

. There was still, however, enough of the spirit of the **past**



century left in the Church to preserve the old feeling of intolerance which had dictated the Test and Corporation Acts. These enactments precluded Dissenters from entering on any political or municipal office without previously taking the sacrament in the English form. The result was pernicious in the extreme. Conscientious Dissenters were altogether debarred from political life. The unconscientious could easily obtain the object of their ambition by profaning the holiest of the rites of the Church. Moreover, many men got to regard the ceremony of taking the sacrament merely as a form prescribed by bigotry, and were in the habit of conforming once a year to satisfy the requirements of the law. Attempts had been made to put a stop to this practice by the High Church party, but they had died out with the decline of the theological spirit.

Position of  
the Dis-  
senter.

The position of the Dissenter therefore during the reign of the first two Georges was that though he enjoyed complete freedom of worship, and his ministers were not liable to any penalty provided they took the Oath of Allegiance and subscribed most of the Thirty-nine Articles, yet legally he was totally excluded from political life by the provisions of the **Test and Corporation Acts**. The laws, however, were administered very mildly; many Dissenters contrived to evade them either by occasional conformity, or by boldly omitting to conform at all, while various attempts were made to relieve them altogether. This, however, the Church was strongly opposed to. Persecution she no longer thirsted for; but the humiliating badge of exclusion must still be preserved to mark off the Dissenters from the only true elect of the Church of England. In consequence all efforts to relieve them directly met with little success. Stanhope brought forward a motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1718; but the Bill was so cut down before it became law, that it entirely missed its object. Walpole was decidedly favourable to the Dissenters, and was indeed bound to them by the strongest ties of support asked and freely given. He was unwilling, however, to add the powerful interest of the Church to the list of his numerous enemies; and therefore, while promising relief in the future, he steadily opposed it in the present. The gates of political power were practically thrown open to the Dissenters after 1727 by the custom of passing Bills of Indemnity for those who

Test and  
Corporation  
Acts.

Modes of relief. had entered office without properly qualifying according to law. The Church, in fact, made no opposition to their obtaining the reality of power to some extent, but insisted that the stigma of illegality should still be indelibly branded on them; nor was it till the first years of George III. that dissent was recognized by the law. Public opinion was, in fact, still very sensitive on many points, though totally uninterested in shades of difference within the Church. Agitation accompanied all attempts at relieving the most harmless sectaries. The intolerant spirit of the nation was, perhaps, most strongly evinced by the riots which accompanied the progress of Pelham's Bill for the Naturalization of the Jews and which obliged the Ministry eventually to repeal it.

### Section 3.—The Catholics.

But though the general feeling with regard to the Dissenters was slowly drifting into a phase of contemptuous exclusion rather than active persecution, no effort had been made to ameliorate the position of the Roman Catholics. Miserable position of the Catholics; They were still regarded with virulent hatred, inspired by a thorough belief in their disaffection and disloyalty to the established dynasty and Church. There was little indeed to render them ultra-loyal. Not only were they totally excluded from all political and municipal office by the provisions of the **Test and Corporation Acts**; but they were utterly proscribed, their worship prohibited under heavy penalties, their very existence was a heinous crime.

The Revolution had brought them no relief. On the contrary, their disabilities had been frightfully increased by the ferocious Acts of William and Anne. The most important of these, passed in 1699, prescribed that any Catholic priest who should be convicted of performing mass or celebrating any rite of his Church, excepting only the chaplains of foreign ambassadors, should be liable to imprisonment for life. In order to induce persons to give evidence on the subject, a reward of 100l. was offered to any one who would furnish information leading to the discovery of such an offence, and additional rewards were offered at different periods whenever the alarm of some Jacobite plot re-aroused the slumbering spirit of religious and political anta-

gonism. Nor was the persecution confined to priests only. Every Catholic laboured under disabilities which were directly devised with a view to the gradual extirpation of that religion from England. The Act of 1699 required that all persons on attaining the age of eighteen years should take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and subscribe the declaration against Transubstantiation, which it was impossible for any sincere Catholic to do. All who refused became incapable of inheriting or purchasing land; and any land which they would otherwise have inherited passed to their Protestant next of kin. With regard to their education the statute devised a hideous dilemma. Papists were forbidden to keep schools or teach under penalty of perpetual imprisonment; it was also prohibited to send children abroad to be educated in the Catholic faith. Catholic parents had therefore practically to choose between allowing their children to be educated in Protestant schools, or to remain without proper education. It might be imagined that even religious hatred could not have invented a more complete code of disabilities. In the first year of George I., however, an additional statute was passed, pre-<sup>political</sup>scribing that all persons on entering any civil or <sup>disabilities.</sup>military office, all members of colleges, teachers, preachers, lawyers, must take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance and subscribe the declaration against Transubstantiation. Refusal to do so involved penalties, which reduced the victim to a state almost approaching servitude.

A certain distinction of principle, however, must be drawn between the legislation with regard to Protestant Dissenters and that affecting the Catholics, which will account for the difference of their treatment. It was fully recognized at the Revolution that dissent was no longer dangerous. The disabilities therefore imposed on the Dissenters were of a purely theological nature, sprung from theological intolerance, and perhaps some reminiscences of the humiliation of the Church during the Cromwellian period. The persecution of the Catholics, however, had a more distinctly political side. The attempt of James II. to restore Roman Catholicism was yet fresh in the memory of many; and it acquired terrible significance from the cruelties perpetrated by Louis XIV., James' ally, in the cause of Catholicism. In Spain, moreover, in Portugal, in Austria, in Hungary, Protestants were still

Political grounds of the Catholic disabilities.

exposed to all the horrors of burning, drowning, hanging, solely on account of their religion. A firm conviction in consequence existed in the minds of most Englishmen that the re-establishment of the Catholic religion necessarily involved the relighting of the fires of Smithfield under the direction of the Inquisition. This they were determined to prevent at all hazards; and with deliberate purpose provided for the gradual destruction of the dangerous sect. Nor can it be doubted that if the laws had been strictly enforced, they would have effected the will of their authors.

As a general rule, however, they were not enforced. The Government during the Hanoverian reigns frequently refused to put them in action against Catholic priests. Private worship was practically undisturbed. The laws against the purchase or inheriting of lands by Catholics were evaded with impunity. Every now and then some Jacobite scare was followed by severities against the Catholics, usually taking the form of some special tax laid on their property and a general arrest of their priests. But these were purely exceptional events, produced by a great public danger, and a necessary precaution against the well-known sympathy existing between the Catholics and the Pretenders.

#### *Section 4.—The Methodists.*

The decadence of religious life within the Church, the diminution of the old dissenting bodies, and the gradual defeasance of the lioman Catholics, led naturally to a religious revival of an extremely earnest and enthusiastic nature. This was **Methodism**—a name derived from a taunt flung by their fellow-collegians at the small religious society of Oxford students from which the movement originally sprang. This society flourished at Oxford between the years 1729 and 1735. Their leaders were **John** and **Charles Wesley**, **George Whitefield**, and **James Hervey**. Their rules required them to communicate regularly, to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays and during the greater part of Lent, to visit the sick and the wretched inhabitants of the town gaol.

**John Wesley** himself was a man whose future life was no doubt strongly coloured by the chequered events of his boyhood. He had been brought up by parents of unusual and ascetic piety. His religious impressions were early developed, and were tinged with a

large amount of superstitious credulity, which rendered him prone to discover supernatural causes for commonplace events. Early in life he was saved from destruction by a fire which consumed the paternal roof, and this event naturally contributed a strong impulse to his religious views. During his Oxford career he was troubled with doubts of every kind, which wore only gradually removed. His brother Charles originated the society at Oxford, of which John Wesley continued to be the guiding spirit until it broke up in 1735.

The two Wesleys started in that year to Georgia, which had been founded by General Oglethorpe as a refuge for all kinds of sectaries. During the voyage they became acquainted with the views of the Moravians, a religious body of peculiar asceticism ; and this intercourse coloured the whole of John Wesley's after career and teaching. ITo met Wesley in Georgia. His rule was far too strict and ritualistic for the freedom of that colony; he intermeddled too much in the private life of families; he even by extraordinary indiscretion exposed himself to a charge of doubtful behaviour with regard to a married woman of his congregation. The result of the latter circumstance was that he was obliged to return precipitately to England in 1737-38.

On his return the Oxford Society in a short time became a power in England. Whitefield and the two Wesleys were ordained and began to preach to the criminals in Newgate and in every place and pulpit where they could find an audience. The old Christian custom of love feasts was revived. The strictest self-examination and confession were prescribed and enforced with extraordinary rigour. A spiritual tyranny of the most singular kind was established Progress in England. and acquiesced in by all the members of the little band. Gradually, however, they grew in numbers ; they could scarcely increase in fervour and devotion. The leaders became missionaries, wandering round the most distant provinces; now preaching to the sailors at Bristol, now drawing iron tears from the hard eyes of the Kingswood colliers, now denouncing the terrors of hell and holding out the promise of eternal life to immense multitudes in Moorfields and on Kennington Common.

They soon excited the hostility of the Church and found themselves excluded from the pulpit. Nothing Hostility of the Church. daunted, however, they preached in fields, on hill-sides, or anywhere where there was room for the

crowds which came to hear them. It was long before Wesley was reconciled to this. With singular narrow-mindedness he would not for a long time believe that men could be saved except in a church. The persuasion and example of Whitefield, however, gradually produced an impression on him which was no doubt strengthened considerably by the fact that he must either preach in the fields or abandon what he firmly believed to be his divine mission.

Undoubtedly the Methodists produced an immense amount of *good* in the country. They did more to kindle anew the slumbering life of the Church than any of their contemporaries. They brought the Gospel message home to thousands who had never heard the name of God pronounced before except in blasphemy. Yet they were excluded from the Church, and, though we may blame the hostility of the clergy, we can hardly wonder at it. There was really no room for the Methodists in the Church. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, she made no provisions for enthusiasts. They must either submit or separate. Naturally the Methodists chose, though reluctantly, the latter course.

The movement in its later stages was troubled by schism and by persecution. Whitefield, the most extreme of the leaders, quarrelled with Wesley and withdrew, leaving the latter undisputed head. In the course of preaching the Methodists came into collision with the worst passions of the mob. They were at times beaten almost to death, drenched with filthy water, hunted with dogs, stoned, and dragged through the public kennels. In Cork they were presented by the grand jury as notorious disturbers of the public peace. However, in spite of all, their numbers steadily increased, until at Wesley's death they numbered nearly 110,000 in England and America.

Indirectly, too, their influence reacted on the Church by exciting a spirit of hostility and emulation which bid fair to re-arouse the dormant vitality of that body.

Effect on the  
Church.

## CHAPTER IV

### PARLIAMENT.

THE chief result of the Revolution had been to transfer the government of the country from the king to the Parliament ; though it was not until the accession of George I. that Parliament was really able to exercise this power by means of an united Cabinet. The work of the Revolution was completed by the {Septennial Act, which transferred the government from the Lords to the Commons ; and from that date the country was really ruled from the latter body. At the same time the Commons were not representative of the country in the slightest degree. They represented boroughs like Old Sarum, which had ceased to exist; corporations like Oxford, who sold themselves to the highest bidder ; great landowners like the Duke of Newcastle ; or lastly the Crown, as in the case of the members for the Cornish boroughs and the Cinque Ports. There had not been the slightest attempt to confer any power on the people, or to give them any control over their supposed representatives, except what little was bestowed by the Triennial Act. This small measure of control was, however, swept away by the Septennial Act, which rendered members of Parliament completely independent of their constituents or patrons. The result was to greatly increase the corruption already pervading political life. Members' votes were worth more; they could therefore command higher prices. The peculiarly exclusive policy of Walpole rendered the reduction of corruption to a science essential to his continuance in office. The enormous Crown patronage was therefore recklessly and unscrupulously used to create a majority in Parliament; and the influence of the Government was strained to the utmost to increase the numbers of that majority.

Transfer of  
power to the  
Commons.

In consequence all power was thrown into the hands of a regular governing class, the Whig Oligarchy, or the Great Whig Houses, as they were afterwards called, at the head of which were the Pelhams. *The country was therefore still governed by the aristocracy, though it was governed from the Commons and 'usually by a Commoner.* The vast parliamentary connection, however, which was represented by Newcastle, was practically indispensable to the security of any Government; though Newcastle himself was too miserable a creature to be capable of assuming the supreme power with any success. It was the defection of Newcastle which broke the strong majority of Walpole; the hostility of Newcastle which caused the overthrow of Carteret; the support of Newcastle which gave Henry Pelham the premiership; lastly, we shall see that even Pitt, the bitterest opponent of Newcastle's influence, found himself unable to form a stable Government without the assistance of the man he had reviled and despised. The period therefore between 1714 and 1760 is that of the supremacy of the Whig Oligarchy, which continued without a break or check down to the death of George II. It rested mainly on the disposition of the Crown patronage, which during the whole of this period was in the hands of Newcastle, and was used solely for his own ends. The total break up of the power of this governing class at the accession of George III. was mainly due to his resumption of the Crown patronage, which deprived the party of the link which had held it together.

The natural result was that during the first two Hanoverian reigns corruption was carried to an extraordinary extent. Ruined towns and extinct boroughs sent as many representatives to Parliament as whole counties; and these members were nominated and practically elected by the landowners. The Crown exercised almost proprietary rights over certain boroughs, and could command elections in many places by the votes of the revenue officers. In Scotland there is a ridiculous instance on record of a constituency which possessed only one elector, who at every general election went through the solemn farce of proposing, seconding, electing, and returning himself to Parliament, with the greatest regularity. A Parliament, constituted in such a manner, was scarcely likely to be representative of the people in any degree; and though at times of unusual popular excitement



Parliament gave way to the general feeling of the country, yet as a rule members regarded their votes in the light of capital, which should be productive of pensions, places, and rich emoluments of all kinds. In consequence great sums were spent by the governing class in buying up these votes; places and pensions were multiplied to an extraordinary extent for this purpose; peerages, ribbons, and orders were bestowed on those who preferred them. The most singular form of interference with the constitution of the representative body is to be found in the manipulation of election petitions for party purposes. This jurisdiction was vested in the House of Commons, and it became the custom during the eighteenth century to vote on them not according to the merits of the case but the principles of the candidates. It was easy therefore for the governing majority to increase their numbers by voting steadily for their own partisans on all disputed elections. No doubt in many cases petitions were presented against returns solely in order that the choice of the constituency might be overruled by Parliament. It is this fact which explains why Walpole resigned on the side issue, as it seems, of the Chippenham Election Petition. If there was any question on Election Petitions, which his party ought to have held by him, certainly they ought with regard to the increase of their own numbers. If, therefore, he was unable to carry such an important party measure as an election petition, it was clear that the time had come for him to resign. The corruption of Parliament was so well known that no attempt was made even to disguise it. During the excitement which was occasioned by the Excise Bill, Lord Stair had the effrontery to remonstrate with the queen, declaring that the Bill was entirely opposed to the interests of the constituencies and ought to be withdrawn. "*Do you pretend, my lord,*" she replied in honest disgust and indignation at such shameless hypocrisy, "*to talk of the opinion of the electors having any influence with the elected?*" I must ask you how you can have the assurance to talk to me of your thinking the sense of constituencies, their interests, or their instructions, any rule or measure for the conduct of their representatives in Parliament. Or do you believe I am so ignorant or so forgetful of past proceedings in Parliament as not to know that on the only occasion when these considerations should have biassed you, you set them at nought? Remember the Peerage Bill, my lord."

This corruption of Parliament formed such a frequent topic

for vituperation against Walpolo that it was only natural to imagine that when' the Opposition succeeded to Place Bills. power they would proceed to purify the Augean Stable. This, however, was very far from what they actually did. The influence of the Crown was now in their hands, and they found it useful. Therefore a very inadequate Bill was brought in in 1743, which disqualified a few inferior place-holders from sitting in Parliament, and there the matter dropped entirely. Nor was it till the extraordinary increase of corruption under George III., and the disasters of the American War, had roused a popular tumult against Lord North's Government, that the question was dealt with again.

During the eighteenth century it almost seemed that a tyranny of Parliament was about to succeed the tyranny of the king. On various points this body showed itself as arbitrary and unreasonable as the most high-flying of the Stuarts. Privileges of Parliament. Among other encroachments they assumed a regular censorship over the press; and prosecuted, fined, or imprisoned at discretion all printers and authors who incurred their wrath. Their privileges were largely extended. Their members claimed complete immunity from all actions at law, claims of creditors, and even hostile criticism out of Parliament. Ridiculous cases occurred in which the august protection of privilege was thrown around the rabbits, fish, trees, or footmen of members. They claimed indefinite rights of imprisoning men to the end of the session on their own authority solely. They sought to envelope their proceedings with complete secrecy by prohibiting reporting of any kind; and though the law was practically evaded at times, the House vented its indignation heavily on isolated offenders.

The growth of this very offence of reporting gradually lessened the danger arising from the tyrannical disposition of the House; for by exposing the proceedings of the House to the full glare of the day, it rendered individual members more likely to be influenced and deterred in their political conduct by the voice of public opinion. This growth, however, was slow in itself; its fruits were still slower in ripening to maturity.

## Book IV.—NEWCASTLE, 1754-56.

### CHAPTER I.

#### CAUSES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

##### *Section 1.—India, 1745-54.*

AT the beginning of the century the English possessions in India were divided into three distinct groups or Presidencies, all independent of one another, and owing obedience only to the supreme authority in Leadenhall Street. There was no attempt at unity; each were separate commercial stations for trading purposes only. The principal of these was the Bombay Presidency, including the town and island of that name, on the west or Malabar coast. On the east, <sup>The English settlements.</sup> or coast of Coromandel, were Ports St. George and St. David, with their respective towns of Madras and Tegnapatina. To the north was the new settlement of Port William, on the Hoogley mouth of the Ganges, round which the town of Calcutta was already springing up, which was destined to be the future capital of India. Each of these three stations was governed by a President and Council, and was guarded by a small force consisting of partly disciplined blacks who were called *Sepoys*—supposed to be a corruption of the Hindoo equivalent for "soldier." The English, however, had as yet no views of conquest or political interference. Their power was extremely weak, and they sought rather to secure their trade by cowering low before the storm and truckling slavishly to the native rulers.

Their chief rivals had been the Dutch and Portuguese. The strength of these nations, however, had considerably declined,

and with it the importance of their enmity. The English now had to deal with a new rival in the shape of the **French Company**. The settlements of the latter were Chandernagore on the Hoogley; Pondicherry, not far from Madras; and the Isles of France and Bourbon in the Indian Ocean. The latter were extremely wealthy and prosperous. On the whole, therefore, their settlement of Bombay gave the English most importance on the west coast; but they were unable to vie with the French Presidency of Chandernagore and Pondicherry on the Coast of Coromandel. The French settlements, moreover, rose to unusual importance during the first half of the eighteenth century, owing to the commanding genius of their Governors, Dupleix and Labourdonnais.

The state of India at this time was very peculiar. The Mogul Empire had broken up on the death of Aurungzebe. The scattered provinces fell to whoever was strong enough to seize and maintain them. New dynasties of rajahs, nabobs, and petty princes of every kind, suddenly sprang into existence and founded mushroom sovereignties amid the general scramble. The Mogul emperors still maintained a show of useless pomp at Delhi, which accorded ill with their real loss of power. Everywhere their authority was still recognized in theory; disregarded in actual fact. Many of the upstart princelings of the time sought a sanction for their usurpation in a commission from the Mogul, which was not really worth the paper it was written on. Many more acted entirely independently, disregarding the empty supremacy of the emperor. Some even directly defied him, and set up their usurped thrones heedless of Mogul candidates or commissions. Naturally the result was that there were numerous claimants for every province; and where neither had exactly any right at all, it would be difficult to decide which had the most. Civil war therefore raged perpetually all over India; and the people with striking versatility, born of long suffering, accepted with equal readiness whichever party should prove the stronger. Among the most important perhaps of the new dynasties which rose to empire on the ruin of the Moguls were the Mahrattas. They were a freebooting tribe who originally haunted the hill-country near the town of Poonah. Rising to importance under Sivaji, they long tasked even the enormous resources of Aurungzebe. The successors of Sivaji, however, amid

the general disruption which followed], founded a vast empire stretching over the greater portion of Central India. Predatory bands advanced plundering to the very walls of Calcutta, leaving a trace of their inroads in the "Mahratta ditch," which was dug to protect the town against them. Other bands rode down to the extreme south and founded a small kingdom, Tanjore, near the mouth of the Caverry. The general state of India, in fact, at this time was a striking exemplification of the saying with regard to an ancient people, "In those days there was no king in Israel, and every one did what was right in his own eyes."

It was into this sea of turmoil and anarchy that **Dupleix**, the French Governor of Pondicherry, determined to plunge, in order to acquire for his country a commanding influence in India, to the exclusion of the other European nations. The English had been content to remain a trading Company, without aspiring to political power. They would have lived peacefully side by side with their rivals. Such lowly thoughts, however, did not suit the imperious soul of Dupleix. France, and France only, must be mistress of India; England must surrender or perish. Dupleix's predecessors had greatly facilitated the success of his plans by carefully cultivating the friendship of the native princes. He now devoted himself to continuing their work with uncommon ardour. There can be no doubt that at this time the French were in the eyes of the natives by far the most considerable of the European powers in India; and that their successful defence of Pondicherry against the hitherto invincible Mahrattas had raised their *prust-hje* immensely. He therefore easily acquired an extraordinary influence among the petty princes of the peninsula.

At the same time he was entirely unsuccessful at first in his dealings with the Europeans. War broke out in 1745 between the English and French Companies before he was prepared for it; and it was only the timely assistance of Labourdonnais with a small squadron, which prevented Pondicherry from falling into the hands of the enemy, 1746. The capture of Madras, which he shortly effected, ought to have been a fresh starting-point for Dupleix's schemes. He was hampered, however, by the disinclination of his Directors to enter on any expensive adventures. He had no control over the fleet, which was vested in Labourdonnais. His army was composed of the sweepings of French prisons. The king, Louis XV., had views of his own which clashed with those of

Schemes of  
Dupleix;

ill-success,  
1745-48.

Dupleix. • The result was, that though the latter was able to ruin Labourdoimaïs, he was unable to prevent the restoration of Madras to England by the **Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle**, 1748.

From this time there was nominally peace between England and France, The dissensions, however, between the servants of the two Companies found expression in their interference with Indian politics, and the support given by them to the rival candidates for different thrones. The French avowedly designed thereby to effect the expulsion of the English from India. The English proceeded blindly, impressed with a dim idea that in some such way they could best frustrate the schemes of Dupleix. As it happened, there were two candidates for the Governorship of the Deccan,—a vague term, including sovereignty over the huge district between the Kistna and the Nerbudda, and feudal lordship over the Carnatic. The names of these two individuals were **Mirzapha Jung** and **Nazir Jung**. Similarly in the Carnatic a dispute had arisen between **Chunda Sahib** and **Anwar-ud-deen Khan**, who each claimed the throne. It would have been difficult to decide in each case which had the most irreproachable claim. Fortunately, however, that was a point which did not matter in the slightest. It was sufficient for the English that Dupleix favoured Mirzapha and Chunda; and in consequence their sympathy was most strongly excited on behalf of Nazir and Anwar-ud-deen.

Dupleix, however, acted at once with striking vigour. In close alliance with Mirzapha, he routed and killed Anwar-ud-deen ; caused Mirzapha to be installed at once with great pomp

as Soubahdar or Governor of the Deccan ; and persuaded him to confer the Carnatic on Chunda Sahib. Kewards without number were offered by

the grateful Soubahdar. Dupleix might have named his own terms. Nothing could have been too high for the man who had placed Mirzapha on the throne of the Deccan. He took the title of Governor of all India south of the Kistna with authority superior even to that of Chunda. He was presented with something like 200,000*l.* sterling. Unlimited power over thirty millions of people, and the command over enormous military and commercial resources were now in the hands of this adventurer, who had begun life as a clerk in the service of the French East India Company. His deep insight into Indian character, and his determination to impress the natives with a most exalted

idea of his own greatness was shown by the city which he built under the name of Dupleix-Futteh-abad (the city of the Victory of Dupleix), in the centre of which rose a lofty pillar bearing round its base a high-sounding inscription in four languages testifying to the greatness of his exploits. Success seemed indeed to have crowned his efforts. Almost the whole of the peninsula was ruled by himself or his nominees. Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-deen had atoned for their presumption by death. The English crouched within their settlements without venturing to interfere. One drop of bitterness, however, remained in the cup of triumph. Anwar's son, Mahomed AH. still held out against Chunda Sahib in the fortress of Trichinopoly, and was recognized by the English as the rightful nabob of the Carnatic. The siege of Trichinopoly was the turning-point in the victorious career of Dupleix, for it inspired the first military exploit of Clive.

Siege of  
Trichinopoly,  
1751.

**Robert Clive**, the true founder of the British Empire in India, was born in 1725 at Market Drayton. From his earliest boyhood he was known as a troublesome, idle, mischievous imp, who was equally likely to be found any morning climbing up the lofty church steeple, or to head the juveniles of the town in a general assault on shop-windows. Study he would not • and so his long-suffering parents at last procured him an underwritership in the East India Company, and packed him off to the general refuge for the destitute, India. There he seems to have been remarkable for his reckless daring, and for a development of melancholy which led him even to attempt his own life. It is said that after he had twice tried to blow his brains out, and the pistol had twice snapped in the pan though it had been carefully loaded, he decided to give up such thoughts, for it was clear to him that he was miraculously preserved for a great career.

Robert Clive.

It was this simple trading clerk of the East India Company who alone, with the instinctive genius of a heaven-born commander, perceived that the most effectual mode of relieving the distressed garrison of Trichinopoly would be to create a diversion in the rear of the French by seizing the important town of **Arcot**, which had been left almost unprotected. With only 200 English troops, 300 Sepoys, and eight officers, four of whom were volunteer clerks like himself, Clive dashed across the Carnatic, surprised the garrison of Arcot, and defended the place against all the forces of the

**The defence of  
Arcot, 1751.**

enemy, until the Sepoys were obliged to live on gruel in order that the rice might be reserved for the Europeans, who required more food than they did. There was no hesitation or wavering in the little force. They believed implicitly in their commander, and he trusted thoroughly in them. The Sepoys themselves had voluntarily proposed to limit their own sustenance for the benefit of their European comrades. Defended with such heroic resolution and devotion, the tottering walls of Arcot became an impregnable barrier to all the assaults of the besiegers. Then at last Rajah Sahib, who was in command, of the latter, heard that Morari Rao, a neighbouring Mahratta chieftain, was on the road to Arcot with 6000 horse-men in his train. Hitherto the wily Mahratta had remained neutral; but since Englishmen *could* fight he was ready to help them. And so after a grand assault, inspired by the mixed stimulants of religious fervour, intoxication, and military enthusiasm, and sustained with extraordinary courage and desperation for an hour, the troops of Rajah Sahib struck their tents and retired. The siege of Arcot was at an end.

Thus was struck the first blow at the French supremacy in the Carnatic; and from this time their hold steadily relaxed. Clive and Lawrence marched from victory to victory with surprising celerity. The road was strewn with the corpses of the enemy. The great pagoda of **Conjeveram** fell with the greatest facility. Rajah Sahib suffered another signal defeat at **Coverpauk**. **Dupleix-Futtehabad** and its pompous" pillar were razed to the ground. A defeat under the walls of **Trichinopoly** was followed by the total capitulation of the enemy in the island of **Seringham**; and the war in the Carnatic was practically at an end. The execution of Chunda Sahib by his rival Mahomed Ali put a finishing stroke to Dupleix's scheme of governing the Carnatic by means of a native ruler. His supremacy, however, was unshaken in the Deccan; and he determined on peace in order to onco more give full play to his diplomatic talents.

Peace was concluded between the two Companies; but it brought with it also the recall of Dupleix. The **Recall of Dupleix, 1754.** Directors of his Company were mere traders, whose mental vision extended solely to their dividends, and was unable to grasp the wide schemes of empire with which their great servant had dazzled and perplexed



them. Empire was good, they would have said, but then dividends were hotter; and the dividends had been sadly falling off of late. This they attributed to the expense of the war. They were therefore ready to lend a willing ear to the overtures of the English Company, who represented themselves as desirous of peace, provided the firebrand, Dupleix, was removed from India. The English, in fact, roundly declared that the sole cause of the war and the standing obstacle to peace was Dupleix alone,—perhaps the highest possible testimony to his greatness and merits. The French Directors, however, did not think so. They wanted peace; and as they heard that they could obtain their desire by a simple piece of folly and ingratitude, they issued the recall without the slightest compunction. Little did they suspect it; but when the order of recall received the assent of the governing body, they were practically signing away all their claims on India in favour of England. From that moment Franco lost all chance of ever effecting any permanent colonization in India.

Dupleix himself,—who had seen the mightiest heads in India stoop before him, who had played with crowns, and dreamt of empires,—now by an extraordinary freak of fortune was reduced to the lowest depth of poverty and misery. Persecuted by the English, and abandoned by his country, he died broken-hearted in 1763, a striking instance of French ingratitude towards her greatest sons.

Death of  
Dupleix, 1763.

### *Section 2.—America, 1713-55.*

The English colonies in North America at the beginning of the eighteenth century extended roughly from the 31st to the 44th parallel of North Latitude. Their western boundary was extremely undefined. In the early days of colonization it was considered that a settlement on a barbaric coast implied the possession of the whole, or at any rate the country from sea to sea. On this principle the French claimed the whole of Canada in right of their colony of Acadia; and in the same way the English vaguely maintained their sovereignty over the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific included between the 31st and 44th parallel. This assertion was distinctly put forward

The English  
colonies.

in the charters of some of the provinces. Actually, however, the western boundary during the first half of the eighteenth century was the Alleghany Mountains.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, France ceded to England Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia (or Nova Scotia); thus extending the English coastline still further north, and bringing the English colonists more directly in contact with their rivals. The English therefore from this date had possession of the greater portion of the Atlantic coast, with the exception of the strip between Nova Scotia and New Hampshire, and on the south the undefined district of Florida belonging to Spain.

The French settlements were called respectively Canada and Louisiana. Canada, in its widest extent, included the whole basin of the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes, and a vast district stretching from that line westward and northward to the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. Louisiana really comprehended simply the district round the mouths of the Mississippi, with New Orleans as its capital, and a number of scattered hunting and trapping stations along the valleys of the Mississippi and the Ohio. France, however, claimed under the name of Louisiana all the huge tract of country bounded to the north and south by Canada and Mexico, and extending vaguely from the Alleghany Mountains over leagues of forest, prairie, and mountain, to the distant Pacific coast.

There was a very striking difference in the character of the two sets of colonies, English and French, and their respective modes of government. The English Colonial Government was a very liberal one. The Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Puritans of New England, the descendants of the old Dutch settlers of New York, the Germans and other foreigners of Georgia, all had the same liberties and rights. And if intolerance prevailed in many of the provinces with the same rigour as in England, there were others in which every form of religious belief was allowed to exist unmolested. The majority of the early settlers were religious or political enthusiasts, who had sought in distant lands the freedom denied them at home. The Government, therefore, in all the colonies, even the proprietary ones (i.e. those districts which had been granted by the Crown specially to particular individuals, with

the privilege of regulating the process of settlement), partook of a democratic character. In all there was some form of a Provincial Assembly with legislative and taxing powers. The English colonies, moreover, were mainly *agricultural* in character. Their expansion was extremely slow, but at the same time it was sure. The English settlements advanced steadily and gradually westward, driving alike the forest, the prairie, the wild beast, and the savage Indian before them, and bringing with them their own institutions, their own customs, almost their own country. The forest and swamp gave place to fields of waving corn, or plantations of tobacco and sugar-cane. The Indian wigwam disappeared, and in its place arose ranks of solid log-houses. Where the chiefs of the Eive Nations had held councils and smoked the calumet, in time court-houses were built, and elected judges, sheriffs, juries, dispensed to all malefactors rude justice founded on the English Common Law. The peculiarity about the English system of colonization was the way in which they made the land entirely their own. The aborigines continually retired before them. Here and there parties of settlers were massacred and ruthlessly scalped; villages burnt to the ground; cornfields laid waste; outlying forts besieged. But the Indians never regained the ground that they had lost. They could not live where there were no forests and no hunting-grounds; and so they steadily retired westward before the white men, much as the Britons retreated before the irresistible advance of the Anglo-Saxons. Fresh villages were built on the ashes of the old ones. Fresh harvests effaced the record of the terrible devastation. The trappers, hunters, backwoodsmen, pushed out still further their posts of exploration and adventure, and carried the war of extermination deeper into the heart of the enemy's country. The English colonies were therefore English to the very core; though all along the border-land raged eternally an internecine strife if hideous atrocity on both sides. It is enough to say that both parties treated each other as wild beasts, and that no more quarter was given to an Indian than to a wolf.

The English conquest was an extermination.

The **French system of Government** in the colonies was merely a reproduction of the Home Government with all its errors. There was no local self-government at all. The Governors of the provinces were supreme ; but they possessed no right of initiative. They received their orders from the

Ministers at home, and by their orders they were strictly bound. Any departure from the letter of their instructions was executed at their own peril, and subject to the liability to severe punishment if the results were not satisfactory. They carried out the orders they received by means of lieutenants, who were responsible solely to them, but who laboured under the same restrictions and the same liability. There was therefore no idea of popular election, popular justice, or government by the people. Everything was for the people; nothing was by them. The paternal despotism of France was reproduced in its entirety in America, without any adaptation to suit the needs of varying communities. Instead, moreover, of the tolerance existing in most of the English colonies, in Canada the Roman Catholic religion was maintained with the same intolerant bigotry as in France. The priests had the same absolute sway over the souls and bodies of the colonists. And though it must be admitted that they devoted their lives unhesitatingly to the conversion of the Indians, yet the result was perhaps more gratifying to their vanity than productive of much benefit to the Indians themselves or to civilization in general. The character of the French settlements was also peculiar to themselves. Trade was in the hands of a privileged few. It was therefore impossible that it could flourish to any great extent. The genius of the French was not suited to agriculture, which therefore fell slowly away. On the other hand they took readily to the more exciting occupations of hunting and trapping. The romantic life of the backwoodsmen was exactly suited to their volatile temperament. They therefore spread up and down the valleys of the great rivers, conciliating the Indians, and joining in their savage pursuits and wild adventures. Their habitations were moveable. They became nomads like their new friends; in many cases adopting the dress and the customs of the aborigines, and even marrying Indian girls. The French therefore acquired a considerable hold on the feelings and affections of the native tribes; but, except in the few cases of the strong fortresses on the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and the settlements in Canada and Louisiana proper, *hardly any hold on the land*. The inhabitants of the French colonies were mainly hunters, trappers, and irregular soldiers. Most of the buildings and stations were

**Oppressive  
system of  
the French  
Government.**

**The French  
conquest was  
a military  
occupation.**

forts or hunting encampments. The French colonies, in fact, in most cases, never got beyond the stage of hunting or military settlements. There were roughly only 50,000 French, hunters, trappers, soldiers, in the two vast provinces of Canada and Louisiana; whereas in the narrow strip of coast between the Alleghanies and the sea there were over a million agriculturists and traders.

The hostility existing between the mother countries was naturally communicated to their children in America. But besides the general vague antipathy which sprang from half a century of war, there were two distinct causes of dispute which were quite enough in themselves to produce a perpetual irritation all along the frontier. These were *the undefined boundary of Nova Scotia and the equally undefined limits of the New England and Southern Colonies.*

Causes of the war between the colonies.

It was stipulated at the Peace of Utrecht, 1713, that Acadia should be ceded "according to its ancient limits;" and a quarrel had been going on ever since as to the meaning of this expression. The French maintained that it referred simply to the country east of the Bay of Fundy; and that the isthmus, washed by that arm of the sea and the estuary of the St. Lawrence, formed the boundary between Nova Scotia and Canada. The English, however, were unwilling to accept such a limited definition of their acquisition. France had undoubtedly usually used the term "Acadia" to signify a much wider tract of country, and at times even as a general name for the whole of Canada. Nothing, however, was done to settle the point satisfactorily; and, with many other questions important to England, it was entirely passed over at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. The French, however, built stockades along the isthmus; and it was pretty certain that any attempt at development westwards on the part of the Nova Scotians must lead to hostilities between the rival nations.

The boundary of Nova Scotia.

Similarly the French had extended the limits of Canada and Louisiana southward and northward till they met, and claimed all the country west of the Alleghanies, confining the English to the strip of coast to the east of the chain. No attempt had ever been made to arrange this irritating question.

The boundary of the New England colonies.

About the year **1748** the French Commandant received an

intimation from his Government to prevent the English from settling in the disputed territories for the future, and to eject all who might be already established there. This order naturally produced a great deal of ferment. In 1749 an impetus was given to the development of Nova Scotia by the foundation of the town of Halifax. Shortly afterwards private war broke out between the two nations along the debateable lands on the Nova Scotian frontier, and the French stockades were attacked and defended with considerable ferocity. Moreover, a Company was formed in Virginia to colonize the valley of the Ohio, and

Outbreak of  
war.

was incorporated under royal charter. The news of this induced La Gallisoniere, Governor of Detroit, to take more definite steps to carry out the instructions of his Government of the last year. Exploring parties were sent into the valley of the Ohio to affix the French arms to trees, and bury leaden plates bearing inscriptions asserting that the land belonged to France. Shortly afterwards a detachment of 500 men was sent to the Ohio with orders to resist any attempt on the part of the English at colonizing that district. The English, however, gave no sign till 1753, when the Government issued directions to the colonists to repel force by force. In 1754 a party of 150 men were at last despatched by the Ohio Company to build a fort where the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers unite into the Ohio. The result was that the long-expected collision at last ensued. Major George Washington, the English commander, was defeated at Great Meadows, not far from the junction of the two rivers. The triumphant French destroyed his stockade, and built Fort Duquesne on its site. This was intended to be the first of a great line of forts and military stations, which were to connect the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Ohio. War seemed imminent, but an attempt at reconciliation was still made. The English, however, demanded that the French should destroy their forts on the Ohio and Lake Champlain, and retire to a reasonable distance from the frontier of Nova Scotia. These terms were sternly refused, and the war at once broke out. The military nature of the French colonies made them far better adapted for carrying on the war successfully at first. The English colonists were disorganized and disunited, without any regular military force, or any regular mode of raising any. Moreover, the General whom Newcastle sent out to them, **Braddock**, was the usual type of English commander—brave

enough, but without knowledge or even discretion. The result naturally was that he marched blindly into an ambush, and the colonial army sustained a crushing defeat not far from Fort Duquesne, with the loss of their general, 1755.

Defeat of  
Braddock.

This disaster roused the greatest indignation in England, and was the immediate cause of an outbreak of naval war between England and France.

*Section 3.—Austria, France, and Russia, 1748-56. •*

For some time a coolness had been growing up between England and Austria. The persistence of England in insisting on the cession of Silesia to Frederic had begun this; though there is no doubt that nothing but timely concession on that point could have saved Austria from total ruin. Marie Therese had been further irritated by the Agreement of Hanau, which was avowedly intended to place a limit on her pretensions. But the crowning insult was the process adopted by Pelham of proportioning the payment of his subsidies to the number of troops supplied by the queen. Pelham was no doubt strictly in the right; and Marie was thoroughly and unreasonably in the wrong. But then she was a woman after all, and so it was natural. The result was that she had been in a state of half-suppressed fury with England ever since, and in consequence listened eagerly to the schemes of Count Kaunitz for the recovery of her dear Silesia without the assistance of England. The peculiarity of the situation was, that under the Austrian domination Silesia had been very badly governed, and indeed almost neglected as a distant and worthless country; but now that it was irretrievably lost, Marie talked of it as though she had been deprived of the most valuable portion of her dominions. Kaunitz proposed that the alliance with the Maritime Powers should be definitely given up, unless they would assist in the recovery of Silesia; and that a defensive and offensive alliance should be concluded with France instead. He pointed out that France and Austria had fought for centuries without benefiting themselves in the slightest, while all the advantages had accrued to the other states. It would be better that they should unite. Austria could buy the assistance of France by

Coolness  
between  
England and  
Austria.

cessions in the Netherlands. This would render her rear perfectly safe, and enable her to take vengeance on Frederic, not

Schemes of Kaunitz. merely by wresting Silesia from his robber-grasp, but compelling him in addition to cede some portion of his own territory as a war indemnity.

This plan was opposed by the emperor and by the council, who clung to the traditional policy of alliance with the Maritime Powers. The boldness of Kaunitz's views and the eloquence of his language, however, fascinated Marie, and in consequence he was sent as ambassador to the Court of Versailles with full licence to carry out his schemes if he could. The queen meanwhile wisely determined to introduce a number of very necessary reforms in the government, finance, and military system of her dominions. In this she was aided by experienced statesmen, and the result was to furnish her with a very respectable revenue, a far more efficient administrative system, and an army infinitely superior to that with which she had fought the Austrian Succession War. This revolution in organization was not really complete till 1753, and then Marie felt at last with a thrill of pleasure that she would be able to meet her old enemy with a far greater prospect of success than in the previous disastrous struggle. Her hatred was fanned by the ever-present thought of Silesia, by Frederic's reckless and scurrilous witticisms at her expense, and by womanly horror at his licentious life and irreligious views. He outraged her alike as a queen, as a woman, and as a pious and sincere Catholic. She therefore eagerly panted for the day when Kaunitz should inform her that she might rely on the alliance of France,

Views of Marie Therese. and could deliver her ultimatum to the Maritime Powers. At the same time she had no definite wish for a quarrel with England, nor even any special desire to break up the old alliance, provided England would assist her to recover Silesia. Allies, however, she must have ; and if England refused the *role*, it was as well to see if France would accept it. Therefore though the relations between England and Austria were considerably strained all through the peace, and this tension was considerably increased by the dictatorial conduct of England in purely German matters, yet there was no prospect of war between England and Austria, because their individual interests did not clash in any way. And though it seemed probable that Austria and France would eventually find themselves united in some sort of alliance, yet



the personal hatred existing between George and Frederic at first sight precluded ordinary civility, or even common honesty, in the relations between their two countries. War, however, was rising between England and France in America and India, and would eventually be transferred to Europe. Marie was moving heaven and earth to rouse a vast coalition of European Powers against Frederic. It was almost inevitable that the mutual isolation of England and Prussia should induce a community of interest. Frederic, moreover, could render George important services in protecting Hanover. George could supply Frederic in abundance with that necessary article, money.

The central point therefore of the somewhat confused maze of policy which follows is *the gradual change in relations between Austria and France, which rendered Austria careless of the English alliance, and obliged England to look elsewhere for a friend to defend Hanover from the French.* Central point.

Kaunitz while at Paris laboured assiduously to reconcile the differences between France and Austria, and to prejudice Louis against Frederic by pointing out the perfidy and selfishness of the latter, and especially by retailing the scurrilous and insulting jests which he had levelled against the far from immaculate character of the French king. Frederic, moreover, had made a bitter enemy in **Madame de Pompadour**, the king's mistress. He had refused to receive her messages of respect; declared that he did not know such a person and ordered his ambassador at Paris not to pay any court to her. The result was that "Petticoat the Second," as he derisively called her with reference to her predecessor, hated Frederic with all the intensity of feeling which inspires a woman when her power has been despised and her vanity humiliated. She laboured therefore zealously on the side of Kaunitz; and contrasted his delicate flattery and unremitting attention with the studied neglect shown by the Prussian, Herr Von Knyphausen, no doubt very unfavourably for the latter's master. It is a most extraordinary fact that a wary and unscrupulous monarch like Frederic—who could scarcely plead offended virtue as his excuse—should have ventured on such a dangerous course of action for no visible reason. *The influence of Pompadour has, however, been greatly overrated;* and though she was at his ear night and day with the same story, and though Kaunitz and his successor persevered with the utmost energy,

Louis still clung obstinately to the view which he had promulgated at first. He was quite willing to make a defensive alliance with Austria, but he would not make an offensive alliance against Prussia. In fact, to prevent mistakes on this head, he directly insisted that an article guaranteeing the integrity of the Prussian dominions should be inserted in the treaty. This was not at all what Marie had expected. Kaunitz, who was now Minister for Foreign Affairs, laboured hard, but in vain, to effect the desired impression on Louis, but the obstinate king would not budge an inch. He had made up his mind, not to go to war with Prussia, though he thoroughly appreciated the dark, perfidious character of Frederic. This was then the position of affairs at the end of the year 1755.

In Russia, however, whither Kaunitz also directed his diplomatic gaze, matters were much more favourable. The Czarina **Elizabeth's** character would hardly bear inspection. At the same time she was intensely susceptible of ridicule, and resented it with all the indignation of an irresponsible autocrat and a woman. Frederic, who positively enjoyed seeing his victims writhe under the stinging lash of his satire, could not resist such a delicious opportunity ; and he used it so well that the state of the Czarina's mind rapidly approached that of "a despotism i7E-tempered by epigrams." Naturally, she listened to the overtures and flattery of Kaunitz; and as Russian policy depended simply on the caprice of its ruler, Frederic found that he had to thank his malicious tongue for the addition of the enormous population of the Russian Empire to the list of his enemies. The idea of partitioning the Prussian dominions, which had been hatched during the Austrian Succession War, was revived, and the King of **Poland** and **Saxony** persuaded to join in the conspiracy. At the end of the year 1755, therefore, negotiations were nearly completed between Russia, Austria, Poland, Saxony, of a nature directly hostile to Prussia, • though they were not yet reduced to the definite language of a treaty.

"War meanwhile was breaking out between England and France in America and India. The defeat of **Braddock** in 1755 was followed by an extraordinary state in which, though war had not yet been formally declared, it practically existed between the two countries. The English ships preyed on French commerce. France threatened Hanover and England her-

self with invasion. England demanded help from Austria, which was flatly refused, except on condition that England would co-operate against Prussia. England therefore concluded various subsidy treaties with Hesse, Prussia, and other Powers, for the defence of Hanover. Among others, Frederic, who had no desire to see the French in Germany, entered into a treaty with England, called the Treaty of Westminster, by which he guaranteed the neutrality of Hanover, January 16th, 1756.

Alliance  
between  
England and  
Prussia.

This Treaty of Westminster was the turning-point in the relations between France and Austria. Hitherto Louis had insisted on remaining at peace with Frederic, in spite of the latter's treachery and the influence of Pompadour and Kaunitz. Put now it was only too evident that Frederic's alliance was worth nothing, and that war with him was inevitable, unless France wished Hanover to escape scot-free. The Austrian alliance had therefore become a necessity. France, in fact, was in great danger of being left entirely alone in Europe, for Frederic's conduct was, to say the least, unfriendly. Louis therefore gave rein to his resentment, and determined to gratify his Pompadour by a defensive and offensive alliance with Austria. The Treaty of Versailles, May 1st, 1756, crowned the success of Kaunitz's schemes.

Alliance  
between  
France and  
Austria.

A similar explosion was similarly preparing at the other end of Europe; for the Czarina Elizabeth no sooner heard of the Treaty of "Westminster than she insisted on breaking off the, subsidiary treaty with England, on the ground that she would not co-operate with Prussia. There was not the slightest doubt that Russia would soon join in the general onslaught on Prussia, for the Czarina had mobilized her army in Livonia for the express purpose of invading Prussia. It was only a question of time; for the Russian army was slowly getting into marching order, and Elizabeth now contemplated carrying out the partition of Prussia which had been arranged with Austria and Poland. The King of Sweden even, though he had married Frederic's sister, was lured into this "malignant confederacy" by the prospect of a share in the spoil.

Russia  
ready for  
war.

Frederic therefore would be attacked on all sides by an overwhelming force, and it seemed extremely probable that

Prussia would be blotted out of the list of the nations. Frederic, however, suspected What was going on, though he could get no definite assurance from Austria of peace or war. More certain information was, however, brought to him by the treachery of a Saxon Government clerk. He therefore drew closer his alliance with England; and determined to take the initiative, and invade Saxony, in order to obtain the advantage of striking the first blow, and perhaps capture in the archives of Dresden proofs of the designs of his enemies.

Having therefore once more demanded her intentions in vain from Marie Therese, he suddenly inundated Saxony with troops, and entered Dresden, September 9th, 1756. The Seven Years' War had begun.

## CHAPTER II

## SECTIONAL AND PERSONAL DISPUTES, 1754-57.

*Section 1.—Newcastle.*

THE result of Pelham's desire to include all prominent men in his Ministry had been to destroy the meaning of party politics. Party strife in the strict sense of the word died out entirely. The war of principles was succeeded by a war of persons and sections. 80 when the link which had united all these heterogeneous units of the Cabinet was once broken by the death of Pelham, a strange period of personal jealousies and sectional hatreds succeeded; in which it is extremely difficult to keep the wires, by which the puppets were guided, clear of one another—so strangely twisted and mingled together do they at times become. It is important, therefore, to bear constantly in memory the fact that all the men who were engaged in this vague political warfare were really men of exactly the same party, and almost the same general views of policy. They were, in fact, all Whigs. The Tories had not yet succeeded in overleaping the barriers which stood between them and political power. The points on which the Whigs differed were more points of detail than general principles. Both Newcastle and Pitt were equally determined to carry on the Seven Years' War with France; but Newcastle would have driven over it in a feeble, vacillating manner; whereas Pitt threw himself heart and soul into the struggle, and struck at the enemy with terrific force. Newcastle, again, had no very wide scheme in his mind. His object was to keep off invasion; protect Hanover from attack; the American colonists from extinction;—but that was all. Pitt's grander genius soared to far loftier heights. He designed to ruin France entirely by sea

Strange  
character of  
the period.

and land \* to wrest from her her whole colonial empire. Newcastle was not a War Minister of the slightest ability; though he showed considerable skill in the corruption of Parliament. Pitt was a War Minister of the most commanding type. It was therefore easy for them to unite in the long run on the condition that each should obtain the direction of that particular sphere of government to which he was more especially suited. These differences in policy, however, did not become immediately apparent. In fact there was really no policy at all to quarrel over in the year 1754. The motive power which kept the political world in perpetual motion was simply self-interest. One statesman was actually in possession of power; another wished to be. Or perhaps one Minister occupied an important office which another considered should have been conferred on himself. The discontented vented their spite in pungent invective and wilful obstruction. They opposed a particular measure, not because it was bad in itself, but because they hated or envied the man who had proposed it. In many cases we even find members of the Cabinet openly ridiculing and abusing their nominal leader, without taking the obvious course of resigning, and without the latter venturing to resent it.

In this political Witches-Sabbath, the presiding Demon, by the irony of Fate, was **Newcastle**, than whom no man was more unsuited to preside over anything earthly, except perhaps some clerk's desk in a Government office. Circumstances however, not personal genius, forced him into the foremost place. Most of the leaders of the preceding period were removed from the scene. Orford (Walpole) and Bolingbroke were dead. Pulteney (Bath) had lost all chance of power; Carteret (Granville) all desire for it. Chesterfield had been compelled by a sudden attack of deafness to retire from active political life. Pelham had now obtained the peace he had laboured so hard to secure on earth. Pitt, Fox, Murray, the rising men of the day, were too young and too uninfluential to have any chance as yet of governing the country. Fox, too, was ruined by his bad character, his impecuniosity, and his total lack of principle in political conduct. Murray was determined to devote himself to the legal profession with the Chancellorship in view. Pitt had absolutely no parliamentary influence, and without parliamentary influence it was impossible to govern. Newcastle, on the other hand, had had the control of the vast patronage of the Crown for a

long period of years. By a consistent and unscrupulous use of it for party purposes, he had built up such a powerful connection in both houses, that, though he was utterly incapable of ruling himself, he could effectually prevent any one else from doing so successfully. On the death of his brother he naturally therefore slipped into the first place, that of First Lord of the Treasury.

Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, born in 1694, was a nephew of the last Duke of the Holies family. Newcastle: He inherited their vast estates, which were worth more than 30,000/. a year. At a very early age he entered public life as a Whig in the Ministry of Townshend. From that time he remained in office under different leaders, without a single break, till 1756. He had all the virtues which would have made him respected and beloved in private life or in a subordinate position. He had also all the defects which render a man unfit to exercise power. He was warm-hearted, of strict morality and sincere piety; but his character; he was also an ambitious, incapable, peevish, fussy, ridiculous little man. He had no capacity as a legislator; none of the higher gifts of statesmanship; not even the most ordinary tact and method in the performance of business. In spite of this he had the most consuming thirst for power, and he held high office in the Government for no less than forty-five years. For ten years he was First Lord of the Treasury. He was, in fact, possessed of such vast parliamentary influence that no Minister could do without him long. His defection broke the strong majority of Walpole; he was able to throw out the measures of Carteret at the height of the latter's power and favour with the king. Pitt in vain tried to form a Ministry without him, and was obliged eventually to avail himself of the support he had despised. In fact, though his power; George II. declared that Newcastle was unfit to be even chamberlain to the pettiest principedom in Germany, yet the most powerful Minister found it impossible to dispense with him for very long; and it was only the resumption of the Crown patronage by George III. that could ever have broken up the strong phalanx of the "Whig houses." Newcastle was a constant subject of ridicule. Writers loved to depict him as always in a hurry, always bustling along as though he were running an errand, always talking so fast that his words seemed to tumble over one another; or else as rushing out, covered with soapsuds,

to embrace a foreign ambassador. His knowledge of geography and the British Empire was a frequent subject of his mistakes. satire. , "Annapolis," he is reported to have remarked ; "Annapolis ! certainly, Annapolis must be defended. Pray where is Annapolis ?" Or, again, at another time : "Cape Breton an island ! Wonderful! My dear sir, I must go and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island." Chesterfield said of him that "he was a compound of most human weaknesses, but untainted by any vice or crime;" his love of power, however, almost approached a vice, and his misuse of it in 1755-56 amounted to a crime. He was a steady upholder of the Hanoverian dynasty. He supported Walpole and Pitt firmly; and that certainly was the best and most patriotic thing he could do at the time. Horace Walpole's charge against him, that he behaved treacherously to Sir Robert Walpole, seems to be unfounded ; for nothing could have saved Walpole at the time, and Newcastle may well have thought that a War Minister was necessary to conduct the war. Similarly he may well have objected to the enormous sums lavished by Carteret on purely German interests ; and honestly desired that the war should be directed to the advantage of England, not the glory of Hanover. The timidity of his character was perhaps most conspicuously shown during his own Ministry of 1754-56, when he allowed himself frequently to be ridiculed and openly opposed by men who had actually posts in his own Cabinet, and were sitting for his own boroughs, and yet dared not dismiss them for fear of increasing their vindictive bitterness. There was something in Newcastle, however, that reminds one ludicrously of Walpole, and yet the likeness was but a caricature of the broadest type. Walpole had a horror of great men, fearing in each a possible rival. Newcastle similarly both hated and feared genius of any kind, and rejoiced meanly at heart when his degrading offers were rejected by Fox, and he found himself free to choose, as leader of the House of Commons, some incapable, abject wretch, from whom he had nothing to fear. But then Walpole was a statesman of consummate ability and shrewdness, who relied boldly on his own personality to carry on the Government. Newcastle was a miserable creature, who was "unfit to be the chamberlain of the smallest court in Germany."

And yet for some years the fate of the country was in his hands; and it must be confessed that it would be difficult to



find a period during which so much incapacity was possessed of so much power. The country drifted wildly, blindly, over the stormy sea of politics at the mercy of every wind and wave. Herrudder was gone ; the helmsman utter failure. could only sit and wring his hands; thick clouds of impending ruin were gathering blackly around. Then a burst of popular indignation overwhelmed the feeble pretensions of Newcastle to the first place, and compelled him to sink once more to the subordinate position to which he was suited, and to devote his influence no longer to the confusion of domestic politics, but to the steady support of the commanding genius of Pitt.

The darkest stain on his official career is undoubtedly the sacrifice of Admiral Byng, who was as much a victim to the want of decision in the Government as to any incapacity on his own part. At a time when the Admiralty left very much of their instructions to the imagination and discretion of their subordinates with the express view of avoiding responsibility, it is not singular that the latter at times shrank from the risk which their superiors endeavoured to cast on them. At the same time the country was violently excited against Byng; and it is probable that Newcastle could not have saved him if he had tried. Nothing, however, can excuse the inconsiderate haste with which he blurted out a promise that Byng should be hanged before the unfortunate officer had ever been brought to trial.

Like Walpole, Newcastle was pure himself, though the arch-corrupter of others. His hands were perfectly clean on that head. He even diminished his own fortune by his expenditure in office; and when he was practically ejected from office by Bute, he declined the usual retiring pension.

Sacrifice of  
Byng.

Personal  
purity of  
Newcastle.

## *Section 2.—Ministry of Newcastle, 1754-56.*

Such was the man to whom the fortunes of England were committed on the death of Pelham. He appointed Henry Legge his Chancellor of the Exchequer; Pitt was Paymaster; Fox, Secretary at War; Murray, Attorney-General. The question was to whom should the leadership of the House of Commons be committed. **Pitt** was hated by the king ; **Murray** preferred to pursue his profession; **Fox** would not accept Newcastle's terms, which

Sir Thomas  
Bobinson.

practically would have amounted to an entire submission to the latter's will. Newcastle therefore appointed **Sir Thomas Eobinson**, a harmless, dull diplomatist, who became the butt of Pitt and Fox. Pitt attacked and ridiculed him openly. Fox adopted the plan of apologizing hypocritically for his shortcomings on the insulting ground that his inexperience rendered them only natural. Neither Pitt nor Fox, however, took the honourable course of resigning, and Newcastle was afraid to dismiss them. At last it became necessary for Newcastle to dismiss Eobinson himself.

Overtures were again made to Fox, 1755; and, to the astonishment of all, he accepted Newcastle's terms now, though they were still more degrading than before. The explanation lies solely in the thirst for power and pecuniary emolument, which was the strongest characteristic of Henry Fox, and which entirely destroyed his principles. From this moment he began to decline in estimation and importance. He never recovered from his desertion of Pitt; he was never able to compete again on equal terms with his great rival; and from that time there arose a permanent estrangement between the two statesmen who had been so strangely united by the spite of disappointed place-hunters.

This same year 1755 saw the definite outbreak of war between France and England in America, which hitherto had been confined to hostilities between the two sets of colonists. The superior success of the French rendered it necessary for the English Government to take the question seriously up, and furnish some assistance to the colonies. The incapacity of the general, Braddock, who was given the command of the British forces, led to his being routed with considerable loss near a French fort on the Ohio. A very uneasy feeling arose in consequence between the two countries. It was suspected that France was sending large reinforcements to aid her garrison in

America. Newcastle wished to prevent this, and yet did not wish to declare war. He therefore adopted the rather doubtful intermediate course of sending Admiral Boscawen out with orders to

watch the French fleet, and at all hazards prevent its entering the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The consequence, of course, was that Boscawen, finding two French ships in what he considered suspicious circumstances off the American coast, attacked and captured them. The rest of the French fleet, however, escaped into the harbour of Louisburg, and Boscawen's expedi-

tion had practically failed. Similarly Newcastle was utterly-unable to decide what orders should be given to Admiral Sir Edward Hawke, who was in command of the Channel Squadron. The matter was referred to a Cabinet Council, who were divided on the question. The result was that, after a great deal of hesitation and the issuing of entirely contradictory instructions in succession, Hawke was empowered to seize all French ships, large and small, found between Cape Ortegal and Cape Clear; and so Well did he execute his commission, that in a short time over a hundred lucrative prizes were brought into the English ports. In order to realize the iniquity of this proceeding, we must bear carefully in mind the fact that England was still supposed to be at peace with France.

The French were naturally very indignant. But they were so determined to put England in the wrong, that they even ordered the release of an English vessel, which had been captured by their fleet. It was evident, however, that this show of moderation was intended to veil some secret design of vengeance; for it was impossible that a great nation should submit so tamely to such an outrageous insult. The king therefore began to fear for the safety of his beloved Hanover; Alarm in  
England. the people were filled with alarm at the prospect of an invasion. George began to contract subsidiary alliances for the defence of Hanover with Hesse, with Russia, with anybody who had empty pockets and troops for hire; and it was on the sunken rock of these treaties that Newcastle's Ministry finally split. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to sign them; Pitt inveighed against them with scathing invective; and Newcastle had no alternative but to discharge the mutineers from office. The most desperate efforts were made to obtain help. Assistance was demanded from Austria, and refused. Overtures were made to Russia, and even to Prussia. The conclusion of the Treaty of West- The Treaty of  
Westminster.minster, January, 1756, with the latter produced the rupture of the subsidiary alliance with Russia, and was the proximate cause of the Seven Years' War.

Then amid the general panic came like a thunder-clap on the nation the terrible news that Minorca was in the hands of the French; and that Admiral Byng, Loss of  
Minorca. the commander of the Mediterranean Squadron, had not done anything to save it. A storm of indignation at once arose against the unfortunate Admiral. There seems no reason to doubt that Byng was an honest, stupid sort of man,

the usual type of English officers of the day, who owed his position more to family influence than to personal merit. He had received no positive instructions from the Ministry, and he entirely shrank from the responsibility thus thrown on him. Finding that a superior French force lay between him and Minorca, he appealed to that usual resource of the incapable—a council of war. This august body decided that, as they were outnumbered by the enemy, they had better leave Minorca to its fate; which was accordingly done. There was therefore much in Byng's conduct to deserve the sharpest censure and instant removal from the service; but nothing worthy of the extreme punishment of death. Hanged, however, Newcastle promised he should be; nothing less than his execution would satisfy popular feeling; and so on the purely technical ground of insufficient performance of duty, he was condemned to be shot.

Unfair as the sentence undoubtedly was to the individual, Byng, it was perhaps on the whole fortunate for England that on this occasion she steeled herself against the promptings of mercy and justice. It was desirable to eradicate the notion that the first duty of English Admirals was to bring their ships off in safety from action; and to compel more decided action on their part in order to produce greater results. There was therefore an unexpected amount of truth in Voltaire's sarcastic remark, that in England they hang one Admiral *pour encourager les autres*. Byng's crime really consisted in not beating the French; and with the fear of his fate before their eyes English commanders were sure to risk all for victory in the future.

But before Byng atoned for his incapacity on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, the Ministry of Newcastle had crumbled away. Newcastle, alarmed at the popular ferment about the loss of Minorca, endeavoured to persuade Fox to bear the blame; but this Fox entirely refused to do, and shortly after resigned. The great Seven Years' War had now broken out all over Europe; and Newcastle's utter incapacity to deal with such an alarming crisis became daily more apparent. At last, therefore, finding it impossible to keep his Ministry together, he was compelled most unwillingly to resign, November 11, 1756.

Section 3.—*Political Changes*, Nov. 11, 1756—June 29, 1757.

A strange period of political revolutions and abortive Ministries followed. First a Coalition headed by the Duke of **Devonshire**,

and including **Pitt**, came into power. This Ministry sketched out a most vigorous scheme of policy." An embargo was laid on all shipping in the p6rts; strong reinforcements were sent to America; large additions were made to the forces, including several regiments enlisted in the Highlands; and a **Militia Bill** was brought in to render that branch of the service more effective. Pitt and Devonshire.

The king, however, detested his new Ministers, and by an extraordinary stretch of prerogative, dismissed them. It was impossible, however, to form a stable administration without Pitt; and so after a three weeks' interregnum, during which there was positively no Government at all, a Coalition was formed between Newcastle and Pitt, which united the commanding genius of the latter to the vast parliamentary influence of the former, June, 1757. Interregnum.

The most surprising fact was that Fox consented to take the subordinate post of Paymaster ; and here it seems a favourable opportunity to give a slight sketch of the career and character of this singular man.

#### *Section 4.—Henry Fox.*

Henry Fox was the eldest son of Sir Stephen Fox, and brother of the first Earl of Ilchester. He is supposed to have been born in 1705, but nothing is recorded of his early years but wild and reckless dissipation. He was a bold, bad man, who had been educated in the lax morality of the Walpolcan school, and had entirely lost all principle, patriotism, and consistency of character. He had great talents for business and intrigue. His social qualities were such as would endow him with considerable influence. But his appearance was so unprepossessing that it was a positive disadvantage to him ; while his lowering brow and thick-set figure gave him such a truculent appearance, that malicious enemies openly compared him to a convicted murderer. Though not an orator of a very high type, he possessed a very remarkable power of debating. He had great tact and common sense, was unusually gifted with courage, wit, and readiness. Character;

And yet he never rose above the rank of a political adventurer, so entirely destitute was he of those more solid characteristics which give the necessary weight and consistency to a really noble personality. He had the making in him of a great man; but Nature had spoilt her work in the moulding, and flung it aside half-finished in disgust. His early defects;

extravagance rendered him needy and eager for office. In fact his impecuniosity made an official salary necessary to him and entirely destroyed his principles.

He was Secretary at War under Pelham and under Newcastle. Later he formed one of that unscrupulous band of gadflies who stung Sir Thomas Robinson to political death, though they were his nominal subordinates in the Ministry. Fox, however, at last ruined his political hopes by the extraordinary and degrading junction with Newcastle in 1755 on terms which no one but the veriest place-hunter would have accepted. The finishing stroke to his reputation was his taking the subordinate post of Paymaster under Pitt and Newcastle in 1757, which did not involve even a seat in the Cabinet, but merely unusual opportunities for amassing money. This declension in a statesman who had aspired to lead the House of Commons, and had struggled with Pitt for the pre-eminence, was not easily forgotten or forgiven. He became gradually a political nullity, while Pitt was treading the loftiest paths of national glory. Bute's necessities, however, obliged him in 1763 to employ Fox to manage the dirty work of corruption in the House of Commons; and the ready compliance of the fallen statesman was rewarded eventually with a peerage. He went into the Upper House as Lord Holland, rich but degraded in public estimation; and from that time ceased to take any real part in public business till his death, 1774.

#### GENEALOGY OF THE FOX FAMILY.

Sir Stephen Fox, d. 1716.

Charles, d. 1713.

Stephen, created  
Earl of Ilchester.

HENRY,  
created  
Lord Holland,  
1705-74.

Stephen,  
2nd Lord Holland,  
d. 1774.

CHARLES JAMES FOX,  
of the  
" Unnatural Coalition "  
of 1783.

Henry,  
3rd Lord Holland,  
d. 1840.

## Book V.—PITT, 1757-61.

## CHAPTER I.

## THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-63.

## TABLE OF THE EVENTS OF 1756-57.

1755. July. Defeat of Braddock.  
 1756. Jan. 16. Treaty of Westminster (England and Prussia).  
       May 1. Treaty of Versailles (Austria and France).  
       May 17. English declaration of war with France.  
       June 9. French declaration of war with England.  
       June 27. Fall of Minorca.  
       Sept. 9. Frederic enters Dresden.  
       Nov. 11. Newcastle resigns.  
       Nov. Ministry of Devonshire and Pitt.  
 1757. Feb. 2. Treaty between Russia and Austria.  
       April 9. Pitt dismissed by the king.  
       May 1. Treaty of Versailles (partition of Prussia).  
       May 6. Battle of Prague.  
       June 18. Battle of Kolin.  
       June 29. Pitt and Newcastle unite to form a Ministry,  
       Sept. 9. Convention of Kloster-Seven.  
       Nov. 5. Battle of Rossbach.  
       Dec. 5. Battle of Leuthen.

*Campaign of 1756.*

THE wisdom of Frederic's bold advance into Saxony was immediately apparent. The Saxon army at once collapsed before him. In spite of all the efforts of the Queen of Poland to prevent it, documents of the most damnatory nature were found in Dresden, which enabled him to set himself right in the eyes of posterity, if not of his contemporaries. It was only too evident that

**Frederic In  
Saxony.**

he had merely anticipated the general onslaught of the united Powers. This sentimental triumph was the prelude to more substantial successes. Pima, a position of great strength in Saxon Switzerland, whither the Saxon army had retired, succumbed at last, after a vain attempt on the part of the Austrian General, Browne, to relieve it. This disastrous termination of the campaign on the part of Saxony gave Frederic full military possession of the whole country, and the power of making what use he could of its resources;—a privilege which he pushed to the utmost possible limit with the most malicious satisfaction.

The campaign, however, had been practically a failure, for it had not produced any impression on the iron ring of hostile nations which girdled him round. The capture of Saxony, in fact, only enraged the Czarina; and did not in the slightest affect Austria, who really cared very little what became of her allies. Austria, Russia, France, Sweden, Poland, only drew closer their alliances. Regular treaties were concluded between Austria and Russia, France and Austria, for the conquest and partition of the Prussian territories. With a population of 4,500,000, Frederic found himself opposed by an enormous aggregate of 90,000,000. His only ally was England, and at the opening of the war England could only stagger blindly to and fro without attempting any really vigorous action. It was impossible that she should be able to throw any weight into the scale during the miserable period of *no-government* which followed the resignation of Newcastle, November 11th, 1756.

Small results  
of the cam-  
paign.

### *Campaign of 1757.*

Early in the year 1757 Frederic invaded Bohemia in three columns; and, after a desperate struggle outside the walls of Prague, drew his lines of investment close round the devoted city. The fall of Prague would have enabled Frederic in Bohemia. him to march straight across Bohemia, and fight Count Daun, the Austrian Commander-in-chief, on the confines of Austria itself. The besieged, however, held out with obstinate gallantry, and enabled Daun to accomplish his long and weary march down the valley of the Moldau.



Frederic, at the news of his advance, drew out his forces to meet the Austrians at **Kolin**, where he received a crushing defeat. It was impossible to continue the siege of Prague in the face of his conquerors. Slowly therefore, and unwillingly, he evacuated Bohemia, and a general pæan of triumph resounded through the Courts of his enemies.

Meanwhile, the English had been behaving in a manner at once ridiculous and ignominious. A heterogeneous army of various nationalities had been formed to defend Hanover; and the command given to the Duke of Cumberland. Cumberland, with extraordinary folly, determined not to defend the line of the Rhine, and the strong Prussian fortress of Wesel; but to concentrate his forces on the Weser. The French under D'Estrees promptly occupied the Prussian Rhine territories, thus surrendered to them; and advanced to attack the line of the Weser.

Cumberland  
in North  
Germany.

Cumberland at once retreated; and, after a miserable *fiasco* of a battle at Hastenbeck, retreated steadily, until he got into a *cul-de-sac* between the mouth of the Elbe and the North Sea. The choice lay between fighting, surrendering, or retreating into the sea. Cumberland chose the middle course, and concluded the **Convention of Kloster-Seven** with the new French commander, the Duke de Richelieu, by which Hanover was given up to the French, and the so-called English army agreed not to serve against them during the remainder of the war.

An expedition against Rochefort, devised by Pitt, met with little better success. Hawke, the Admiral, in command, was a man of brilliant and daring genius; but Mordaunt, the military officer, was more anxious about bringing his troops off in safety, than winning a victory. The result was a quarrel between the two, and in consequence nothing was done; though young Wolfe volunteered to capture the town with 500 men. Mordaunt was acquitted by court-martial on his return; but Pitt never employed him again. Failure, too, had attended the English arms in America. So far, in fact, the proceedings of the English had not been very useful to Frederic, or glorious to themselves. Nowhere but in India had they met with success. There Clive had just won the brilliant victory of **Plassey**, which made the English masters of Bengal.

Naval ex-  
pedition to  
Rochefort.

It became necessary that Frederic should himself attend to

the French invasion of Germany, even at the risk of leaving his own dominions open to an attack from Frederic in Bohemia and Russia. He therefore marched North rapidly westward, and came in sight of the Germany. united forces of France and the Empire at Rossbach on the Saale, November 5th. There he completely outgeneralled the French and German commanders, and administered to them such a thorough thrashing that Prussia had nothing to fear from them for some time.

The Russians meanwhile had occupied the Duchy of Prussia; the Austrians had overrun all Silesia; the Swedes were preparing to invade Pomerania. Eight days, therefore, after Rossbach, Frederic started with 14,000 Frederic in Silesia. men, made a forced march of it the whole way, and on the morning of December 5th attacked and routed the united armies of Count Daun and Prince Charles of Lorraine at Leuthen, not far from the Schweidnitz Water in Silesia. So ended the year 1757, amid a halo of imperishable glory for Frederic. Single-handed he had saved his country from destruction.

The Russians retired, after plundering and ravaging the luckless Duchy of Prussia. The Swedes gasconaded about a groat deal of the summer with very little result, and then went back beyond the Peene River into winter-quarters.

### *Campaign of 1758,*

The year 1758 was remarkable for two important changes. The English, now directed by the master-genius of Pitt, began to take a more decided and effective part in the war on the Continent; while maintaining the stupendous struggle in the colonies and at sea with extraordinary vivacity. The Russians, too, got on the march earlier in the year; and Changes. contrived not only to harry the Duchy of Prussia in the usual way, but even to make themselves dangerously felt in the Mark of Brandenburg itself. With regard to the despicable Swedish War, which went on in a desultory manner all through, it may be dismissed in a few words. The Swedes never got across the Peene till late in the season. , When they had accomplished this, they seemed completely satisfied, and effected extremely little else. Usually, too, they retired as early as possible into winter-quarters.

Frederic began the campaign by an advance into Moravia to besiege Olmutz. His communications were, however, destroyed, and a large convoy of provisions carried off by the Austrian cavalry commanded by the active and daring General Loudon. He therefore retired rapidly from Moravia; and, marching with his usual celerity northwards, directed his attention to the Russians, who were straggling about, and committing every kind of atrocity in the valley of the Oder. A decisive beating at **Zomdorf**, however, sent these savages back to their own country rather quicker than they had come; and left Frederic free to deal with the Austrians under Daun and Loudon, who had invaded Saxony. He was, however, so unduly scornful of the military capacity of the enemy, that he did not even take ordinary precautions; but allowed himself to be surprised by night, and completely beaten at **Hochkirchen**. So extraordinary, however, was the genius of this remarkable man, that he managed his retreat with such skill that in a short time the Austrians were obliged themselves to evacuate Saxony and Silesia, completely generalised out of the country.

**Frederic in  
Moravia,  
Brandenburg,  
and Saxony.**

Meanwhile the English had not been idle. Pitt had repudiated the Convention of Kloster-Seven, and demanded an efficient General from Frederic to command the English army in North Germany. Frederic sent them **Prince Ferdinand** of Brunswick, a worthy disciple of his own, but free from the hideous blemishes which obscured the character of the king. Ferdinand with a mixed crew of subsidized Germans cleared Germany completely of the ragged brigands who composed the French army; and following them closely up to the Rhine, inflicted a severe defeat on them at **Crevelde**, June 23rd, 1758. Large reinforcements, however, enabled them to turn again; and Ferdinand, finding that there was some danger of his communications being broken, recrossed the Rhine, and retired into Westphalia, where he was greatly strengthened by the advent of 8,500 British troops.

**Ferdinand in  
North  
Germany.**

Much of Ferdinand's success was due to a diversion created by the fleet under Commodore Howe, who attacked the harbours of St. Malo and Cherbourg, and destroyed a vast deal of shipping and stores, thereby effectually preventing the French from sending **any** succours to Germany.

**Naval  
expedition.**

*Campaign of 1759.*

Fresh vigour was imparted into the proceedings of the French by the accession of the **Duke de Choiseul** to the War Office at the close of the preceding year. Every preparation was urged on with the greatest energy, and the treaties with Choiseul. Austria were remodelled on terms more favourable to France. An invasion of England was contemplated, and an enormous force was to be poured into Germany. It was too late, however. The English now had recovered from the craven terrors which had seized them at the beginning of the war; they had learnt the art of victory; they were commanded by a real General. They were therefore irresistible; and Choiseul's schemes all ended in a pitiable failure.

At first, however, success attended the French arms in Germany. Ferdinand, beaten by the Duke de Broglie at Bergen, was compelled to retire to the Weser; and a second occupation of Hanover seemed imminent. A stand, however, was made at **Minden**; and Ferdinand manoeuvred with such skill that he compelled the Frenchmen to fight, and that under circumstances of great disadvantage. The brunt of the battle fell on the English infantry, who behaved splendidly. The result was a brilliant victory; which would have ended in the total annihilation of the French, had Lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, charged the enemy when he was ordered to do so. The French, however, withdrew in disorder to Hesse Cassel, and were seen no more for that season.

This year was a complete triumph for England. In India, in Canada, on the sea, the British arms were everywhere irresistible. **Goree, Guadeloupe, Minden, Lagos, Quebec, Quiberon**, were all names which signified a crushing defeat to the French. Horace Walpole said that there were so many victories that one had to get up early to avoid missing any of them. France was so completely cowed, that Choiseul would gladly have concluded a separate peace with England, if Austria would have released him from his engagements.

Meanwhile the year, which proved so glorious for England in every part of the world, saw Frederic reduced to the lowest depths of misfortune and despair. A crushing defeat at **Kuners-**

dorf was followed by the capitulation of an entire Prussian army at Maxen, and the surrender of Dresden. Nothing but the inactivity of the enemy and the quarrels between their Generals could have saved Frederic. Prussian  
defeats. Several times he seriously contemplated suicide ; and indeed invariably carried about with him the means of ending his earthly troubles at any moment. The total ruin of Prussia seemed impending; but the iron determination of the king still enabled her to maintain the same resolute front as before.

### *Campaign of 1760.*

Frederic was now obliged to act purely on the defensive. His country was too worn out and exhausted for any extended efforts. His treasury was almost empty. Nothing but the British subsidies enabled him to pay his troops. It was only by an extraordinary system of recruiting that he could fill up the enormous gaps in his army. Prussian officers spread all over Europe, bribing, frightening, actually kidnapping, men to fight against the Austrians. The campaign was almost wholly in Silesia and Saxony ; and the two countries suffered horribly. Early in the year three Austrian armies and a Russian one assembled in Silesia, and gathered slowly round Frederic. The latter, however, with surprising celerity darted suddenly through the masses of the enemy, and, pouncing on the division of Loudon, routed him with great slaughter at Liegnitz, August 15th. The news of this sent the Russians off in full retreat, and thus Frederic had killed two birds with one stone. The armies of Daun and Lacy, however, still remained, while a detachment of Russians and Austrians plundered Berlin itself. At last, after a long series of intricate manoeuvres, Frederic came upon the Austrians strongly posted at Torgau in Saxony, and attacked them with the utmost fury. "It was a dreadful day of carnage ; on both sides blood flowed as water. The Prussians marched full on Daun's batteries of 400 cannon ; within half an hour 5000 grenadiers, the pride and strength of Frederic's army, lay dead or disabled on the ground." The thunder of the cannonade was so terrific that even the Prussian king—no stranger to the voice of artillery—was awed for the first time in his life. The victory lay with the

Frederic in  
Silesia and  
Saxony.

assailant?, but at a fearful price. So frightful was the butchery that both sides, as if by common consent, avoided any other pitched battle for the rest of the war.

Meanwhile, during the summer a French army of 100,000 men under the Duke de Broglie had crossed the Rhine, and Ferdinand. pushed on into Hesse. Ferdinand, with a very inferior force, succeeded in repulsing them at Warburg. He was, however, unable to check their steady advance into Hesse, where they took up their quarters for the winter.

The most important incident of the year to Frederic was undoubtedly the death of George I I . For George I I I . Death of George II. and his favourite, Bute, were determined to withdraw from the war as soon as they possibly could. Choiseul, too, was beginning to be anxious for peace; for the victories of Austria, however gratifying to the latter, were no compensation to France for her maritime and colonial losses.

#### *Campaign of 1761.*

The Prussian campaign of this year consisted of a series of marches and skirmishes up and down Silesia and Saxony without the occurrence of a single pitched battle. Both parties were too much exhausted to make any very extended Frederic. efforts. At the end of the year the Russians at last advanced into Pomerania. A mixed Russian and Austrian army lay all across Silesia. Frederic was practically shut up in the Mark of Brandenburg; and was at his wit's end to know how the men and money necessary to carry on the war were to be found for next year.

The English campaign was wholly indecisive. At the end of Ferdinand. the year Ferdinand and Broglie remained in much the same position as when they began it. The only result was to produce in Choiseul a sincere desire for peace, provided he could obtain respectable terms; if not, he had fabricated a new weapon with which he hoped to deal a crushing blow at the enemy. This was the Family Compact with Spain, by which the two Powers agreed to levy war together on England. Resignation of Pitt. Pitt, however, suspecting the existence of some such compact from the unusual interest shown by France in certain Spanish grievances, determined to include the younger branch of the House of Bourbon in the

ruin he had prepared for the elder. The Cabinet, however, under Bute's direction, refused to obey\*any longer the mandates of Pitt, and that great statesman at once resigned.

*Campaign of 1762.*

Fortunately for Frederic, the death of the Czarina Elizabeth in January removed Russia from the list of his enemies, and gave Sweden an opportunity of retiring from her purposeless share in the war. He was therefore better able to bear the loss of the English subsidy, when Bute declined to renew the subsidiary treaty between England and Prussia, which had expired in the preceding year. His prospects, however, were really greatly improved. He was able to drive the Austrians out of Silesia and Saxony, and to induce them to\* conclude a truce in anticipation of the general peace which seemed impending.

Early in the year, however, Pitt's foresight had been justified by the Spanish declaration of war. The chief result of this rash act was that Spain immediately lost a number of her principal colonies ; and that Choiseul, abandoning his bellicose views, entered heartily into the negotiations for a separate peace with England.

In Germany, Prince Ferdinand was able to drive the French completely out of Hesse ; and thus the continental campaign of the year ended decidedly favourably for England and Prussia.

The result of the general exhaustion of the Powers and the peaceful aspirations of Bute was the **Treaty of Paris**, February 10th, **1763**, between England and France ; which was shortly followed by the **Treaty of Hubertsburg** between Austria and Prussia, February 5th, **1763**.

So ended the stupendous struggle known as the Seven Years' War.

## CHAPTER II.

## WAR IN AMERICA, 1756-60.

*Campaign of 1756-57.*

IN North America the military nature of the French colonies gave them an immense advantage at the outset of the war, which was greatly increased by the incapacity of the English officers sent out to carry on the struggle against them. Braddock had been succeeded by the Earl of Loudon ; a man of the same type is Byng,—honest enough, but hopelessly undecided in character.

Failures of the English.      The Americans said that he was like St. George on the sign-posts, " always galloping, but never advancing an inch." An attack was planned on Louisburg, the capital of the French colony of Cape Breton, and Lord Loudon mustered about 12,000 men for the assault. But some exaggerated reports of the enemy's strength having come to his ear, this gallant commander gave the order to retreat. Similarly no attempt was made to prevent the destruction of Fort William Henry on the southern coast of Lake George, or to interfere with the French fleet which was cruising off Cape Breton. The English officers, in fact, were no match for an able and experienced veteran like the Marquis of Montcalm, the French Governor of Canada, and by the close of the year the French had very nearly made good their claim to the whole country west of the Alleghanies.

*Campaign of 1758.*

It was, however, the peculiar glory of Pitt that he was entirely undeterred by any apparent difficulties, which might interpose between him and victory. To him it appeared that under such circumstances there was merely additional cause for active and

Conquest of  
Louisburg.



vigorous action. He had no sooner secured his position at the Foreign Office on a firm foundation in 1757, than he at once determined on the conquest of Canada, in order to cut at the very roots of the French colonial empire. Early in 1758 the Earl of Loudon was recalled; and large reinforcements, commanded by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen, were sent out with instructions to capture Cape Breton Island, which was the seat of the French cod-fishery. Wolfe, whose spirited offer with regard to Roehampton had attracted the eagle eye of Pitt, was sent as second in command. Both Wolfe and Amherst were young men whose sole claim to distinction rested on their courage and talent. The selection of men who had positively no family influence to back them was contrary to all the traditions of the English service; but considerations of that kind rarely weighed very heavily with Pitt, and the event justified his choice. On June 2nd Boscawen anchored his fleet off Louisburg; and the boats laden with soldiers were soon racing through the surf in spite of the fire from the French ships and batteries. As the keels grated on the beach, the men, headed by Wolfe, dashed through the waves, and a desperate hand-to-hand battle ensued amid the spray and surf. The enemy resisted with the greatest vigour; but such a heavy fire was kept up on the town, that at last the garrison capitulated. Louisburg thus fell into the hands of the English. The whole of the island submitted on the fall of its capital; and this was followed by the surrender of the Island of St. John's, or, as it was afterwards called, Prince Edward's Island.

Meanwhile General Abercrombie, an officer of the old type, had become senior in command on the recall of Loudon. It was really a great mistake that the General was not recalled as well as the Earl; but, unfortunately, his blunders were still to come. When Amherst was commissioned to attack Cape Breton, Abercrombie received instructions to reduce the French forts on Lakes George and Champlain, and thus prepare a road for the invasion of Canada from the south. The grand object of the march was Ticonderoga,—a strong fort blocking the passage between Lakes George and Champlain, and therefore practically commanding the road to the important town of Montreal. Montcalm, however, had strengthened the place considerably with formidable stockades and breastworks. So when Abercrombie and his people came rushing blindly on to attack the fort, they were received with

Failure before  
Ticonderoga.

such an eruption of fire and shot that they fell back in great confusion and astonishment, and promptly retreated.

The English, however, gained one decided success on the Ohio. This was the capture of the old bone of contention, Fort Duquesne, which was re-christened by the name of Pittsburg. The outposts of Canada, therefore, on the north and south had been driven in, though as yet no impression whatever had been made on the centre of the defence.

### *Campaign of 1759.*

In 1759 a grand triple assault was organized on Canada itself. Amherst, who was now Commander-in-chief, was ordered to renew the attack on Ticonderoga from New England ; and then march straight down the St. Lawrence. Wolfe with a second army was to advance up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, the capital of Canada, where it was expected that he would find Amherst ready to co-operate in a joint attack on that town. Of these enterprises the second was really the most hazardous. Meanwhile a third army, consisting of a rather motley crew of colonists and friendly Indians, commanded by General Prideaux, would sally from New York, and attack Fort Niagara, which blocked the gap between Lakes Erie and Ontario. It was hoped that this third blow, struck at such a distant point, might create alarm at the French head-quarters, and draw off a considerable force from the defences of the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence.

The result of Prideaux's expedition was extremely satisfactory. They captured Fort Niagara, and thereby effectually cut the line of communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The plan of united co-operation between Amherst and Wolfe, however, failed completely, for though the latter successfully accomplished the difficult task of navigating up the St. Lawrence to within a short distance of Quebec, Amherst was unable to reduce the powerful fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point as quickly as he had expected. Therefore, though he carried out his instructions

eventually to the very letter, Wolfe was preparing to assault Quebec long before Amherst had reached the line of the St. Lawrence.

For several months the English, scattered about on the islands and banks of the St. Lawrence, wearily manoeuvred up and down, endeavouring to entice Montcalm out of his strongly entrenched camp on the heights to the *north-east* of the city. The cautious Frenchman, however, wisely remained on the defensive ; and provoked Wolfe eventually to exhaust his strength by an ineffectual assault, which was repulsed with considerable slaughter. In September, therefore, Wolfe determined to change the base of operations ; attack from the *western* side and storm the Heights of Abraham just above Quebec, which commanded the town. The troops were therefore transported by the fleet to a point a few miles up the river, and it was determined to try the effect of a night surprise. Therefore, while the fleet distracted Montcalm's attention by a furious cannonade on his camp, Wolfe and a body of picked men slipped out their boats into the river, and with muffled oars rowed steadily and silently down stream under the shadows of the grim beetling cliffs. Assault on Quebec. It is said that he recited in a low tone to his officers Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," and expressed admiration to an enthusiastic degree. "Next morning," says Carlyle, "Wolfe with his 5000 is found to have scrambled up by some woody neck in the heights which was not quite precipitous; has trailed one cannon with him, the seamen busy bringing up another; and by ten of the clock, stands ready ranked, ready at all points for Montcalm, but refusing to be over-ready." Montcalm at the first news came hurrying up in good order from his camp below the city. On either side of him and all round the heights he threw out skirmishers, Indians, sharpshooters of every kind, to worry the English, and perhaps provoke them to leave their strong position. But "Steady, boys, wait till they come within forty yards I " cried Wolfe; and then the dense phalanx of the French vanguard came rolling up the slope, preceded by jets of smoke and volleying thunder, but to their astonishment meeting with absolutely no response from the dark silent masses of the English. What could it mean? Had the ammunition failed? But ere the exultant thought was fully formed, a word of command rang sharply through the English ranks, and the whole line burst out into

a broad deadly sheet of flame, which, delivered at such close quarters, absolutely blew the French army to shivers. Then the English charged swiftly forward with the bayonet, and drove the scattered remnants of the enemy in hideous disorder headlong down the heights. Both the leaders of this desperate duel of the nations fell in the battle;—Wolfe cheering his men on to certain victory, Montcalm vainly endeavouring to rally the broken fugitives of his once proud army; the one happy in the knowledge of his country's triumph, the other glad to escape his own humiliation. Five days afterwards Quebec capitulated; and from that moment the ultimate reduction of all Canada was assured.

### *Campaign of 1760.*

The command now fell to Colonel Murray, who was left with 6000 men to maintain the English hold on Quebec; and to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the French Governor of Montreal, the second city of the colony. The Marquis determined to make an effort to recover Quebec, while the communication with the sea was cut off by the floating ice in the lower St. Lawrence. Attempt to recover Quebec  
Early, therefore, in the spring, a force of about 10,000 men, regulars and irregulars, dropped down the St. Lawrence from Montreal, and landed a few miles above Quebec. The English, presuming on their success of last year, marched out in very inferior numbers to attack the enemy; but received such a warm welcome, that they were obliged to retreat rapidly to the town. The French commander, M. de Levis, at once opened trenches, and the siege began. The besieging force was so superior in numbers, that, though the place was defended with extraordinary bravery, nothing but the arrival of reinforcements could save it. It was really a race against time. Great, therefore, was the joy of the English garrison when on May 11th the white sails of an English frigate were seen slowly ascending the\*St. Lawrence. In a few days a whole fleet lay off Quebec; and M. de Levis, with rage and despair, -was obliged to raise the siege.

The English now took the offensive. A triple attack was arranged on the great town of Montreal further up the St. Lawrence : one from Quebec, under General Murray; one from Crown Point, under General Haviland; one from Oswego, south

of Lake Ontario, under Amherst, the Commander-in-chief. The latter was by far the most difficult, as it involved crossing the lake in open boats, and then dropping down the upper St. Lawrence, the navigation of which is extremely dangerous, owing to the numerous rapids. However, so well did the various expeditions carry out their share of the campaign and surmount the obstacles in their path, that within twenty-four hours of each other the three commanders landed their troops on the Island of Montreal, and surrounded the town. The Marquis de Vaudreuil had neither the men nor the means for any prolonged resistance, to the overwhelming forces which now threatened his position. After a decent interval, therefore, he capitulated, and agreed to return home with his army under an engagement not to serve against the English during the remainder of the war. Thus the second city of Canada was in the hands of the English; and all that remained to the French of their huge colonial empire in America was the province of Louisiana round the mouths of the Mississippi. The triumph of the English was completed by the total destruction in the Bay of Chaleurs of a French fleet of twenty-two sail which had been sent too late to reinforce the army of Vaudreuil.

So ended the War between England and France in North America at the close of the year 1760.

### *Wolfe.*

The history of the conquest of Canada would not be complete without some slight sketch of its hero and martyr, James Wolfe. He was the son of a veteran, General Edward Wolfe, who had fought under Marlborough. The young Wolfe entered the army at an early age, and went through the campaigns of the Austrian Succession War in FlanTers and Germany. At the early age of twenty-two he was a lieutenant-colonel, and renowned for his skill and gallantry. He had all the virtues which adorn a noble character; all the physical disadvantages which tend to obscure it. He was upright, religious, humane, and courageous in the extreme. But his manner was reserved, almost repelling to strangers; and he never appeared to advantage in the common circumstances of life. His exterior, too, was unprepossessing, while

the lively red colour of his hair drew unnecessary attention to his outward defects.

His death was as honourable as his life had been illustrious. He fell in the act of leading his men to victory after having long stifled the intense agony of two severe wounds in order that no discouragement might spread through the ranks. Lord Mahon concludes his laboured panegyric on Wolfe by saying,

his death. " Mourning was worn for him by all classes—

rich and poor—high and low. When his remains arrived at Portsmouth, they were landed amid the highest honours : minute guns were fired; the flags waved half-mast high ; and an escort, with' arms reversed, stood ready to receive the coffin on shore." By the House of Commons a monument in Westminster Abbey at the public charge was voted on the motion of Pitt. A far grander monument, however, than any which human art could rear to perpetuate the memory of the glorious dead exists in the vast empire stretching across the breadth of America, which has sprung from the conquest of Quebec.

## CHAPTER III.

## NAVAL WAR,

EQUALLY extraordinary had been the success of the English at sea. The traditions of the service, however, at the beginning of the war were such as to scarcely warrant the prediction that the French would one day hide in their own harbours from the terrors of the British fleet. The failure of Byng to relieve Minorca in 1756 contains the key-note to the whole discord. Again and again do we find British Admirals declining to fight because the enemy were superior in numbers, or, to use the new phrase, "in weight of metal." Disasters.

It is the peculiar glory of Pitt to have destroyed the meaning of this phrase, and to have inspired his Admirals with such cool and daring gallantry, that they no longer sought to make sure of an acquittal by court-martial, but devoted all their energies to wresting victory from the enemy, however disproportionately large his armament might be. In consequence, the failures of Louisburg and Rochefort, with which the naval war began, were soon obliterated by the full tide of complete success which crowned the determined gallantry of Hawke, Boscawen, Pococke, Keppel, Saunders, and Rodney.

The first years of the war were marked with disaster; nor was it till Pitt's master-hand had grasped the helm that Fortune once more smiled on England. Then, indeed, the change was marvellous.

The year 1758 opened with an attack on the French West African settlements, planned by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a Quaker. A small squadron succeeded in capturing the Fort of St. Louis within the mouth of the Senegal River; but the important island of Goree, off the mouth of the Senegal, was not reduced till the end of the year by a squadron under Commodore Keppel.

In 1759 Choiseul began to make elaborate preparations for a

Invasion of England project. determined attempt to invade England. Flat-bottomed boats were collected in all the harbours along the coast of Normandy and Brittany; Brest, Toulon, and Dunkirk, were filled with ships of war. The plan included a simultaneous attack on the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

However, in order to execute this plan, it was necessary to get the armaments out to sea; and this was long found to be impossible owing to the vigilance of the English Admirals. Boscawen with the Mediterranean fleet cruised before the port of Toulon, where M. de la Clue was waiting eagerly for an opportunity to escape. The Brest division under M. de Conflans was blockaded by Sir Edward Hawke. Thurot and

The British fleets. his squadron were similarly prisoners in the harbour of Dunkirk. Still, in spite of these tremendous efforts, Pitt was able to despatch Admiral Saunders to the St. Lawrence with some frigates for the siege of Quebec; Admiral Pococke rode triumphant off the Coromandel Coast of India; Keppel and his blue-jackets effected the reduction of Goree; while a great expedition swooped into the West Indies and pounced on the valuable Island of Guadaloupe.

The events of the year, however, were undoubtedly the successes in European waters. In July, Admiral Rodney bombarded Havre. George **Bodney** anchored in the roads of Havre, and bombarded the town for fifty-two hours, till houses, churches, flat-bottomed boats, all rose in one huge sacrificial flame to the *manes* of Choiseufs projected invasion.

In the same month, Admiral **Boscawen** drew off his ships from before Toulon to refit and provision at Gibraltar. Out flew De la Clue, like a rat released from a trap, and ran for the Straits under cover of the African coast. He was sighted, however, off Gibraltar, and Boscawen at once gave chase. A desperate engagement ensued off **Lagos** on the coast of Portugal, August 18th, in which three French ships were taken and two burnt. De la Clue, with the fragments of his fleet, tied to Cadiz, where Boscawen continued the blockade with the same vigilance all through the winter.

M. de Conflans, after waiting the greater part of the year cooped up in Brest harbour, succeeded at last in putting to sea



with twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates. **Hawke**, who had been swept off the coast by a terrific storm, pursued at once, and met the Frenchman in **Quiberon Bay**. Conflans drew his ships into the mouth of the Vilaine—a dangerous coast, bristling with granite rocks and shallowing suddenly into shoals and quicksands. Hawke ordered his pilot to lay him alongside the French Admiral, though the sea was rolling mountains high, and the pilot himself shuddered at the frightful risk. The English ships advanced in no particular order amid a furious cannonade, each striving to get at the enemy. Many of them never got into action at all, and a few went aground among the shoals. The victory, however, was complete. Two French ships were sunk by the English guns; two more struck; many went aground and knocked their bottoms out on the rocks. Seven ships of the line and four frigates sank while flying up the Charente. The rest escaped; but Hawke was convinced that had not the sun gone down so soon on the battle he would have captured every one. So ended the great invasion scheme. For though Thurot got out of Dunkirk and cruised in 1760 off the north of Ireland, he was chased and caught by Captain Elliot off Carrickfergus, where he died fighting bravely to the last, and his three ships were taken captive to the Isle of Man.

Hawke's  
victory in.  
Quiberon  
Bay, 1759.

Thurot.

Important and glorious as were all the numerous victories of this extraordinary year, the great success of Quiberon was undoubtedly that which secured to England the supremacy of the seas which became her proudest boast. Hitherto France and Spain had disputed with her the mastery with humiliating success; and though a series of disasters during the Austrian Succession War had crippled both the French and Spanish marine, yet the daring energy of Choiseul had enabled them to fully recover from the decadence of that period. The fall of Minorca had struck terror to the hearts of all Englishmen. The threat of invasion, so often repeated, acquired a reality of form which produced a general cry for Hessians, Hanoverians, any sort of mercenaries, to save us from the savage Frenchmen. But from the day of Quiberon the ships of England have formed a solid bulwark, which no superiority of force on the part of the enemy could destroy. Rivalry of any kind slowly but surely ended in the ruin of the presumptuous nation that attempted it. And at

Naval su-  
premacY of  
England.

last when all Europe was desolated by the march of the Gallic invader and half the capitals of Europe had resounded with the loud tramp of Napoleon's legions, England alone had never felt the tread of a conqueror, England could proudly boast that the Emperor's power had never extended to the smallest fraction of the sea.

## CHAPTEE IV.

## WAR IN INDIA, 1756-60.

*Section 1.—Bengal and Clive, 1756-60.*

IN 1756 Clive returned from England as Governor of Fort St. David. It happened, by a remarkable coincidence, that the day he landed was rendered memorable by a deed of extraordinary atrocity, at the thought of which even now our blood runs cold. Surajah Dowlah, the Nabob of Bengal, was a miserable debauchee, whose youth had been spent in the torture of animals, and who now in the plenitude of power amused himself with the sufferings of human beings. He regarded the English with ignorant contempt, and openly expressed his opinion that there were not 10,000 men in all Europe. This ridiculous and ferocious despot took it extremely ill that the English presumed to fortify the town of Calcutta, while his cupidity was excited by the reports of their supposed riches. He therefore besieged and took Calcutta, in spite of a vigorous defence directed by Mr. Holwell, a Company's servant, who had assumed the command when the Governor deserted it. Very little treasure, however, was found; and, on the whole, the Nabob was very indignant. Still he promised the English captives that their lives should be spared. The guard, however, with reckless cruelty secured them in the prison, or **Black Hole** of the Fort—146 people in a cell intended to hold only six, and this amid the raging heat of the Indian summer solstice. The narratives of the night which followed are almost too horrible for reproduction. But the dreadful scenes of madness and suffocation were only received by the guard with shouts of fiendish laughter. In the morning twenty-three ghastly figures staggered out between two huge heaps of the dead. At the hideous news a

Surajah.  
Dowlah.

The Black  
Hole of  
Calcutta,  
1756.

general cry went up for vengeance on Surajah Dowlah. After some delay an expedition started for Bengal. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Watson, Nine hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred Sepoys formed the army of Clive. Having to make their way against adverse winds, they did not reach the mouth of the Hoogley till December. Once landed, however, the energy of Clive made up for everything. He routed the Hindoo garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked the native town of Hoogley. The Nabob, enraged at this act of defiance, marched his entire army towards Calcutta., A heavy repulse, however, frightened him so considerably, that he agreed to anything, and even Treaty between the Company and Surajah Dowlah. implored an alliance with England. Strangely enough the Presidency of Calcutta consented to this degrading transaction on the condition of recovering their stations and privileges, in spite of the indignant protests of Clive.

The face of affairs, however, quickly changed. War had broken out in Europe between England and France. Clive and Admiral Watson therefore directed their forces against the French colony of Chandernagore, and speedily reduced it. This infuriated Surajah Dowlah, for he had hoped to balance his obnoxious friends, the English, by the French. He therefore made overtures to Bussy, the French commander in the Deccan.

Treachery of  
Surajah  
Dowlah.

Unfortunately, however, for him, copies of his letters fell into the hands of the English, thus putting them on their guard against his treachery. Satisfied that there could be neither peace nor trade in Bengal until there was a change in the Government, Clive determined that the Nabob must be dethroned. He therefore entered into a plot with Meer Jaffier, the Nabob's General-in-chief, for the deposition of Surajah Dowlah. The latter was so unpopular that most of his principal officers readily joined in the conspiracy. At the very last, however, Omichund, a wealthy Bengalee, who had acted as agent between Meer Jaffier and Clive, took advantage of his position to demand extraordinary terms. He insisted that he should be given 300,000*l.* for his services, without which he would betray the plot to the Nabob, who would at once have sacrificed to his resentment all the conspirators he could lay hands on. The wily Bengalee, moreover, insisted that a stipu-

The plot  
against  
Surajah  
Dowlah.

lation to that effect should be inserted in the treaty with Meer Jaffier. Omichund, in fact, was a crafty, scheming villain, who played high for an enormous stake. Olive, however, met craft with craft; and though he thereby left a dark stain on his own reputation, he undoubtedly saved the lives of the English envoy and the native conspirators. Two treaties were drawn up—a real one on *white* paper, which said nothing about Omichund; and a false one on *retf* paper containing the required stipulation. Clive and the Fort William Government signed both treaties; but as Admiral Watson, with bluff, sailor honesty, declined to have anything to do with the fraudulent one, Clive forged his name. This has been vituperated at times as Clivo's crowning villainy, far surpassing even the iniquity of duping the miserable rascal with the fictitious treaty. But it must be remembered that Omichund was far too cunning a scoundrel not to notice the absence of such an important name. The false treaty itself may be condemned, but without the forgery it must have been a dismal failure.

Clive now, after defying the Nabob, and reproaching him with his faithlessness, marched straight on Moorshedabad, and inflicted on him a crushing defeat at **Plassey**, 1757, in spite of the enormous numerical superiority of the Native army. This victory secured the ascendancy of the English in India. From that day the Hindoos began to distrust their own strength, and tremble at the mysterious power of the great Company, which struck such terrific blows from such a distance. Hitherto the princes had regarded Europeans sometimes with ignorant contempt, sometimes merely with hatred. The day of Plassey gave birth to a new feeling—that of fear. In spite of the overwhelming numbers of the Nabob's army, his heavy train of artillery, his formidable cavalry, and his still more formidable elephants, a scanty band of Englishmen had driven the whole mass in hideous panic like sheep before them, had hurled the Nabob from his throne, and set up their own nominee in his place. Naturally the prestige of such a victory over the armies of Hindostan invested Englishmen for the future with a mysterious, almost superstitious, reverence in the eyes of the natives.

The immediate result of the battle was the assassination of Surajah Dowlah, and the investment of Meer Jaffier with the crowns of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. In return the grateful Nabob conferred on the Company the district round Calcutta;

and lavished vast sums on his benefactors, Clive and the Government of Calcutta.

Thus the English had at last obtained a secure footing in Bengal. Before Clive returned to England again in 1760, he had freed the Company from any future competition on the part of the Dutch by destroying a large expedition from Java, which was intended to restore the importance of their factory of Chinsurah in Bengal. This success was followed up by a complete victory over Shah Allum, the son of the Great Mogul, who had presumed to threaten the security of Meer Jaffier.

England  
supreme in  
Bengal.

#### *Section 2.—Madras and Coote, 1758-60.*

In 1758 the seat of war was transferred to the Carnatic, where the Count de Lally Tollendal, an officer of Irish extraction, arrived in April with large reinforcements. Had they come out in the preceding year they might have mastered the whole south of India, while Clive was occupied in Bengal. As it was, by June Lally had destroyed Fort St. David; and it was only a violent quarrel, which broke out between him and the Governor of Pondicherry, that saved Madras from falling into the hands of the French for the second time. Lally, in fact, was a man born out of due time. He did not understand India, or the Indians; still less did he understand the system of government pursued by the officers of the French Company. He enraged the natives by insulting their religious opinions, and disregarding their cherished distinctions of caste; he provoked a general official outcry against him by interfering with the lucrative jobs which crippled the administration; he vented his indignation in bitter sarcasms, which drew blood wherever they fell. The result was that he found himself balked and thwarted in every way; he could not obtain materials or provisions for an extended campaign; and he was obliged to waste his strength in beating the air.

Meanwhile the English drew their resources slowly together. Reinforcements and stores were sent from Bombay. So when Lally was at last able to open lines before Madras, the hour of success had really gone by, and the siege was a failure. Fresh troops,

Siege of  
Madras, 1759.

moreover, arrived under Colonel Eyre Coote; the English were soon strong enough to assume the offensive. And so, early in 1760, they marched out of their intrenchments, and a great battle took place along the base of the mountains of **WandewasL**. Though Lally displayed the utmost gallantry, the daring bravery of the English troops was irresistible; and the Sepoys had the opportunity of observing how Europeans behaved in action against one another. This victory was shortly followed by the reduction of Pondicherry, and the French power in India was practically at an end. Pondicherry was restored to the French at the peace, but it was dismantled, and the French gave up all right to any military establishment in India for the future. From this time, therefore, they were practically excluded from the country; and though again and again French adventurers commanded the armies of native princes, French fleets hung threateningly off the coast, and rumours of French invasion filled the air; yet *never agahi as a nation were they able to dispute the supremacy of India with the English*, For the future the wars of the English in India were waged with native princes only.

Conquest of  
the Carnatic.

### Section 3.—Clive's Later Years, 1760-74.

On his return Clive was raised to the Irish peerage, received with great distinction by George III., and publicly complimented by Ministers in the House of Commons. Nor was it beyond his deserts. Since the death of Wolfe, he was the only general of whom the English had any reason to be really proud; for though the triumphs of the fleet had been great and splendid, there had been very little done on land except by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick,—and he was a foreigner. The wealth of Clive was now so enormous, in consequence of the immense sums bestowed on him by Meer Jafner, that he was soon able to buy up a considerable interest in the India House, and the support of a large number of dependents in the House of Commons.

Clive in  
England.

In 1765, however, he was once again in Calcutta. Circum-

stances imperatively required his presence. The Government of Fort William had ruled extremely badly during his absence. They had ground down the natives with every kind of fiscal exaction in order to furnish fortunes for English adventurers. They had quarrelled with Meer Jaffier, deposed him, and exalted Meer Cossim in his place. They had then quarrelled with Meer Cossim, and the latter, after a hideous massacre of all the English in Patna (1763), had fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude to the North-West of Bengal. The country, in fact, was in a terrible state; war was breaking out on the frontier, insubordination was rife in the army, every kind of iniquity and excess disgraced the administration of the Company's servants. It was felt that Clive alone could restore order and prosperity; he was therefore sent out with full powers.

During the year and a half of his government he effected a most extensive and a salutary reform. He prohibited the practice of receiving presents from the natives. He rigidly put down the private trade of the Company's servants. At the same time he increased their salaries. Therefore, in spite of a general outcry, he put an end to the iniquitous practices, by which huge fortunes had been made in India; while at the same time he gave to every official of the Company in India the means of acquiring slowly, but surely, a decent competence. In the course of his retrenchments he had to deal with a determined mutiny among the officers of the native army. Clive, however, was equally determined to pursue his own course; the Sepoys remained faithful; and the mutineers were cowed into submission. To Clive, therefore, belongs the glory of having rescued the administration of Bengal from the lowest depth of corruption and infamy,—in fact, of having saved the English from themselves as he had saved them from Surajah Dowlah. This third visit of Clive formed the date when the power of the Company was placed on a more definite footing in Bengal. He obtained from the Great Mogul, the nominal Emperor of India, a document empowering the Company to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. From this time therefore the Company—though some descendant of Meer Jaffier continued to hold the title and draw the salary of the Nabob of Bengal—were the real rulers, having cast a thin veil of legality over their title by the commission of the Mogul.



On Clive's return to England in 1767 he attached himself to the party of George Grenville; and- thereby increased the number of his enemies, who were already numerous enough. Unfortunately the impulse towards reform which he had communicated to the administration in India did not last long, when his master-hand was removed. The abuses he had endeavoured to suppress, revived and flourished again in rank luxuriance. Hideous stories of oppression, cruelty, and famine, were dimly heard in England with shuddering horror. His enemies made use of them against Clive. He was charged with being the author of it all; he was taunted with having built up his huge fortune on a foundation of human bones. The very peasantry avoided his house in Surrey, and whispered under their breath that he had ordered the walls to be built so thick and so strong, that he might defy the Devil when he came to claim his own. Clive's unpopularity.

In 1772 matters had reached such a crisis in India that Ministerial interference was absolutely necessary. Clive's enemies took advantage of the general feeling to attack him openly in Parliament. An inquiry into his conduct was begun. It revealed much in his early career that was assailable on grounds of strict morality; but the general voice of posterity has confirmed the resolution of the House of Commons, " That Robert, Lord Clive, had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country." Attack on Clive;

Disease, however, inactivity, and the malignity of his enemies, all reacted with dangerous violence on his brain, and brought on again those fits of melancholy to which he had been so subject *in* early years. In 1774 he attempted his own life, for the third time, with fatal success. his suicide.

# TABLE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

|       | Europe.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | America.                                                                                                                                           | India.                                                                                 | Sea.                                           |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1756. | Frederic invades Saxony.<br>Occupies Dresden.<br>Reduces Pima.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Incapacity.                                                                                                                                        | Return of Clive to India.<br>Black Hole of Calcutta.                                   | Incapacity and disaster.                       |
| 1757. | Treaties between Austria, France,<br>and Russia.<br><br>Frederic, routed at Kolin, evacuates Bohemia.<br>Cumberland, beaten at Hastenbeck, retires to the sea, and concludes the Convention of Kloster-Seven.<br>Unsuccessful expedition to Rochefort.<br>Frederic's victories of Rossbach and Leuthen. | Loudon's failure before Louisburg.                                                                                                                 | Clive's victory of Plassey and conquest of Bengal.<br>Assassination of Surajah Dowlah. | Incapacity and disaster.                       |
| 1758. | Frederic's unsuccessful march to Olmitz.<br><br>Frederic beats the Russians at Zorndorf; is beaten by the Austrians at Hochkirchen.<br>Ferdinand's victory of Crevelde.<br>Expedition to St. Malo.                                                                                                      | Wolfe, Amherst, and Boscawen capture Louisburg and all Cape Breton.<br><br>Abercrombie repulsed from Ticonderoga.<br><br>Capture of Fort Duquesne. | Lally in the Carnatic; quarrels with the Government of Pondicherry and the natives.    | Attack on the French West African Settlements. |

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|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1759. | Choiseul becomes War Minister; plans invasion of England. Ferdinand's victory of Minden. Frederic's defeats at Kunersdorf, Maxec, and Dresden.                             | Treble expedition against Quebec. Prideaux takes Niagara. Amherst takes Ticonderoga. Wolfe takes Quebec. Death of Wolfe and Montcalm in the battle. | Lally besieges Madras; but is compelled to raise the siege.               | Rodney bombards Havre. Boscawen's victory of <i>Lagos</i> . Hawke's victory of Quiberon. 1 Conquest of Guadaloupe. i England supreme at sea. |
| 1760. | Frederic's victories of Liegnitz and Torgau clear Silesia and Saxony. Ferdinand's victory of Warburg produces little result* Death of George II.                           | Failure of French attempt to recover Quebec. Triple attack on and capture of Montreal end the war in Canada.                                        | 1 Battle of Wandewash secures the supremacy of England in the Carnatic. j | Death of Thurot off Carrickfergus.                                                                                                           |
| 1761. | Frederic driven into the Mark of Brandenburg. English campaign indecisive. The Family Compact. Resignation of Pitt.                                                        |                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                           | The English supreme at sea.                                                                                                                  |
| 1762. | Death of Elizabeth of Russia War between England and Spain. Bute cuts off the Prussian subsidy. Indecisive campaign of Ferdinand. Frederic successful by pure generalship. | English expeditions capture numerous Spanish colonies in 1 West Indies, Florida, &c.                                                                | English expedition captures Philippine Islands and Manilla, j             | The English supreme at sea.                                                                                                                  |
| 1763. | Peace of Paris between England, France and Spain. Peace of Hubertsburg between Austria and Prussia.                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                           |                                                                                                                                              |

## CHAPTER V.

## WILLIAM PITT THE ELDER, 1757-61.

WILLIAM PITT was born in November, 1708. His grandfather had made a large fortune by the sale of a diamond to the Regent Orleans, with which he had bought estates and rotten boroughs. Young Pitt was educated at Eton and Oxford, without exciting any particular notice among his companions or pedagogues. On the death of his father he entered the army as cornet in the Blues. In 1735 he took his seat for the family borough of Old Sarum, and soon became a prominent member of the Opposition. His attacks on Walpole determined the latter to "muzzle this terrible cornet of horse;" and he was dismissed the service. He was no loser, however. He became Groom of the Bedchamber to Frederic, Prince of Wales, who admired the open abuse which Pitt had lavished on Walpole's policy. From this time he formed part of the Opposition which attacked Walpole and Carteret, and is identified with all their acts, until Henry Pelham admitted him to the Broad-Bottomed Ministry in 1746.

There is hardly another instance in the annals of England where the united voice of posterity and contemporary history have combined so unanimously to recognize the real greatness of any statesman. And yet many have conferred as great benefits on their country; few have laboured under much greater errors and defects. But the genius of Pitt was of such a dazzling nature that it impressed and awed all that he came in contact with. His ascendancy over his contemporaries was so commanding, that at home no man could be found daring enough, to face the terrible force of his invective; abroad his name, like that of Coeur de Lion, was a spell to his oratory; conjure with. The most turbulent member of

the House of Commons quailed before the flash of his eye; the mere mention of his name would silence the most arrogant and boastful Frenchman. He was an orator of the highest order. And yet he was not strong in elaborate argument or accurate statement; he was not a great debater in the modern sense of the word; he did not rely on sarcasm, fancy, pathos, to catch the sympathy of his audience. He never made the slightest attempt at preparation or calculation of the effect of his words. Not till he was on his legs did he know as a rule what he was going to say, and then all that was in his mind came out. The secret of his success lay in his great knowledge of the nlt of controlling and swaying a great assembly. He could carry the most hostile House of Commons so completely along with him, that friends and enemies alike hung breathless on his utterance. No man ever took more liberties with his audience, and no man did it more successfully. He established a tyranny over the House the like of which has never been seen since. His strength lay in his terrible invective, and his commanding manner. He could wither any one, who presumed to oppose him, with a torrent of the most stinging denunciation; and he used his power without the slightest scruple. One cause of his success no doubt lay in the fact that he had every personal advantage that an orator could choose. His form was imposing and graceful; his voice clear and melodious; his eye, "like Mars", to threaten and command."

His greatest quality was his entire freedom from any suspicion of corruption. Though he was a poor man at a time when the general tone of political mo-  
hia purity;  
 rality was extremely low, no breath of slander over blurred his reputation in this respect. In Opposition, and in office, lie preserved his character free from this too common stain. His disinterestedness was most conclusively shown in 1746, when he became Paymaster of the Forces. There were certain regular perquisites attached to the office in war time, which were distinctly illegal, but had always been accepted by his predecessors, and rendered the position extremely lucrative. Pitt, though certainly a poorer man than any who had filled this post before, refused to continue a course which he considered illegal, and which undoubtedly was a veiled form of peculation of the public money. Nor would he under any pretext accept what every man in the kingdom would have considered him perfectly right in receiving. This extraordinary disinterested-

his popularity;      ness made him the idol of the people. In return he sympathized with the great unrepresented masses, and relied on public opinion for support, rather than any parliamentary connection. This at the time was really a mistake, for though the powerful tide of national indignation at the calamities which began the Seven Years' War, was sufficient to float him over all obstacles to the highest point of power, yet when the war was no longer necessary, when the wave of popular feeling had subsided, Pitt was left high and dry on the barren eminence without the slightest parliamentary support or connection to cling to, which might have enabled him to avoid being swept away by the rising influence of the Crown and the new Tory party. At the same time he never hesitated to place himself in opposition to national feeling when he considered that the nation was in the wrong. He earnestly pleaded for Byng; he defended the resistance of the Americans; he rebuked the national hostility towards the Scots, which was the result of the general hatred of Bute. This alone is a sufficient proof of his courage;

Perhaps no man, however, exhibited greater inconsistencies in his career than Pitt; and yet his defects are almost forgotten and his talents alone remembered. From the moment he entered Parliament down to 1746, when he took office under Pelham, he had devoted himself to censuring the measures of Walpole and Carteret. He denounced the whole Walpole policy, and thundered against the standing army. He inveighed against Hanover, Carteret, and the Hanoverian subsidies, and declared that England was being sacrificed to a miserable Electorate. He was one of the most prominent of the party who had driven England into the Spanish War, and had tried to force on the impeachment of Walpole. And yet when Pelham offered him the Paymastership he suddenly became converted. Root and branch he had condemned the Walpole policy. Root and branch he now accepted it. He advocated the maintenance of the standing army even after the termination of the war. He supported the Hanoverian subsidies. He defended the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the right of search was not even mentioned. When he assumed the management of affairs himself, he went still further. He carried the subsidy system to an extent which no Minister had ever dreamt of before. He enlisted whole regiments of Highlanders into the standing army. He waged war on the Continent on the most costly and unpre-

cedented scale. Inconsistencies like these would have ruined a smaller man; and yet the extraordinary part is that Pitt's explanation was perfectly good and consistent. He had advocated the abolition of the right of search in headstrong youth: maturer reflection had shown him that Spain never could and never would give it up, and that the question had practically been settled in favour of England. explanation  
of them; He had inveighed against Hanoverian' subsidies for such purely Hanoverian purposes as the support of the Emperor Charles VII.; the question, however, had become thoroughly English; Hanover was threatened on account of England; the war had developed into a vast struggle between England and France for the colonial and commercial supremacy of the world; the question was to be fought out in Germany, where France could be attacked at her most vital point. The Jacobite Insurrection had converted him to the necessity for a standing army, for he saw that a strong standing army would have prevented the humiliating and ridiculous march to Derby. These arguments are good and natural; and yet few men could have survived the suspicions which they laid him open to. Pitt's moral ascendancy, however, is not in the slightest shaken by them, so overpowering is the glamour with which true greatness invests a statesman. His character, too, was stained by reckless ingratitude to his benefactor, Newcastle, which could only have sprung from the disappointed bitterness of a baffled place-hunter. His insolence and servility to royalty were almost equal. He could criticize the king in terms which his defects; gentlemanly feeling, if nothing else, should have prevented him using; but at the *levee* he would bow so low that it was a common joke that the tip of his hooked nose could be seen through his legs. His arrogance was perfectly extraordinary. It was veiled at times by a mock affectation of humility, which was more offensive even than open insolence. This defect increased as years rolled on, and made it almost intolerable to have to serve with him. It was this, joined to disease, almost approaching madness, which caused the shipwreck of his second Ministry.

But with all his faults he was the greatest man of his time. He raised England from the depth of disaster and despair to a pitch of unprecedented glory and prosperity. The state of England in the year 1756 was positively pitiable. The people were in momentary dread of an invasion. Their only hope lay

his greatness; in hired regiments of Hessians and Hanoverians, whom they hated so much, that the poor wretches ran a narrow chance of being starved or frozen to death. The most patriotic statesmen despaired for England, and thought that the hour of her ruin had now come. "Whoever is in, or whoever is out," wrote Chesterfield, "I am sure we are undone both at home and abroad." But the disasters which began the war,—the loss of Minorca and Hanover, the disgrace of Hastenbeck and Kloster-Seven, the failures of Rochefort and Louisburg, the rout of Kolin and evacuation of Bohemia,—only served to thrust Pitt more prominently to the front; and the difficulties he had to deal with only brought more strongly into play all the resources of that transcendent genius. The details of the public service he left to his subordinates. The plans of campaign he entrusted entirely to his Generals. His part was to discover talent and resolution in the men he had to deal with, and to turn it to his purpose; to restore vigour to every branch of the decrepit administration, to revive the hopes and patriotism of the nation, and to inspire his instruments with his own determined confidence and daring. He introduced new ideas of British dignity, and making it his ideal that England must attain the position of complete supremacy in Europe, he gradually raised her to an unequalled pitch of power. He introduced new maxims of war, which the execution of Byng gave point to. Hitherto British commanders had devoted more attention to the safety of their own ships than the destruction of the enemy's. Now the corpse of the murdered Admiral dangled before their eyes, much as the guillotine floated darkly before the imagination of the French Revolutionary Generals. The country was determined to win great and brilliant successes; and, as nothing less would be accepted, every one from the Commodore to the cabin-boy devoted all his energies to attaining this glorious result. We have seen how in consequence the French marine was gradually driven off the seas by the heroic daring of Hawke and Boscawen; but it was the genius of Pitt which inspired them all. He introduced new principles into the administration. Hitherto men had relied on family and his en- Court influence or corruption for advancement. A lightened policy; bribe to a Minister, or a distant relationship to a Duke, produced twice the effect at the Horse Guards that any amount of glorious victories would do. Promotion went solely by seniority or influence, and the result had been that "never



before among the rational sons of Adam were armies sent out on such terms—namely, without a General, or with no General understanding the least of his business—soldiers led by a courageous Wooden Pole with a cocked hat on it." All this was changed by Pitt; merit began to be the only ground recognized for service or promotion. On this principle he employed young men like Amherst, Wolfe, Clive, who had nothing to recommend them but the fire of genius dwelling within them. On this principle he requested Frederic II. to provide him with a *General* to command the army in Germany, instead of the "courageous Royal Wooden Pole with a cocked hat on it," which had brought nothing but disgrace on the nation. How much true greatness of soul was involved in that one avowal that England could produce no General fit for the command, and must seek one from the upstart kingdom of Prussia. Few would have thought of it; fewer dared to do it.

War conducted in this way could not fail to be successful; and the English moved from victory to victory, till the year 1759 gave them not only India and America, but also the supremacy of the seas. result of his policy. The English exports increased annually; and in 1758, when France had declared herself bankrupt, and Prussia was practically so, the English exports were greater than at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Detractors of Pitt may, however, very justly urge that the war had in its later stages really become *unnecessary*. If Pitt had seriously desired peace, he could have obtained it easily, for France was reduced to the last extremity of ruin and distress. But he had no real desire for peace. He was not content with having annihilated the fleets and armies of France, but wished to deprive her of all her colonial empire and her share in the Newfoundland fisheries. The memory of the treaties of Utrecht and Aix still rankled in the minds of the people; for advantageous as they had been to England, they were regarded as national disasters, and so the whole nation\* supported him eagerly in his determination to throw France on her back, especially as the English victories, unlike the Prussian, had been very bloodless. The war at last unnecessary.

The result of his national and patriotic policy, and the general feeling that he was the only man who could manage the war, was to entirely destroy the strife of parties for the time, and to produce a complete unanimity, undisturbed even by Jacobitism,

**Extinction** which had died cut in England, arid in Scotland  
of parties. had been turned into national channels by the  
enlistment of the Jacobite clans for the American  
war. It appears to have been a settled policy of his to smooth  
over all party differences, After his resignation he said he was  
under great obligations to many Tory gentlemen who had sup-  
ported the Government with all the enthusiasm of the Whigs.  
In his militia appointments he entirely neglected all party  
distinctions ; and Horace Walpole alludes to this conduct as a  
well-known design for breaking up and uniting the remnants of  
the old parties. The principal events of Pitt's career of office  
have been narrated in the history of the war. At homo there  
was little to attract attention, owing to the extraordinary union  
of the Ministry. This was mainly the result of the tacit  
agreement between Pitt and Newcastle that the former should do  
everything, the latter give everything.

But the personal questions, which had superseded the party  
questions smoothed over by Pelham and crushed  
**All ready for** down by Pitt, still smouldered dangerously far  
**the explosion.** out of sight, and ready to break out again when  
the unusual pressure created by the war was removed. The  
appearance of affairs, therefore, at the end of the reign of George  
II. was deceptive. It was the calm which precedes the tornado.

### GENEALOGY OF THE GRENVILLES AND PITTS.

Hester, Countess Temple = Richard Grenville.

|                                                                                  |                                     |                                                                                                     |                     |                                                                                    |  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| W. PITT, * Hester<br>Earl of Grenville.<br>Chatham.                              |                                     | RICHARD,<br>E. Temple;<br>d. 1779.                                                                  |                     | GEORGE,<br>Prime Minister,<br>1763-65; d. 1770.                                    |  |
| I                                                                                |                                     | I                                                                                                   |                     | I                                                                                  |  |
| John, WILLUM,<br>Earl of Prime<br>Chatham. Minister,<br>1783-1801,<br>1804-1806. | Hester,<br>m. 3rd Earl<br>Stanhope. | GEORGE,<br>Earl Temple,<br>1779. (India Bill,<br>1783.) Marquis<br>of Buckingham, 1784;<br>d. 1818. | Thomas,<br>d. 1846. | WILLUM<br>WYNDHAM,<br>Lord (Grenville),<br>Prime<br>Minister,<br>1811/d-7; a 1834. |  |

# ISooFcFE—BREAK UP OF THE WHIG OLIGARCHY, 1760-70,

## CHAPTER I.

### PERIOD OF BUTE, 1760-65.

#### *Section 1.—George III.*

GEORGE III. was twenty-two years old when his grandfather died. He was an indolent boy of only respectable abilities ; scrupulous, dutiful, narrow-minded, and easily prejudiced against anything which did not fall in with his views. His education had been sadly neglected. Such as it was, it was scarcely adapted to fit him for the part he was destined to play, being founded mainly on the Jacobite theories of kingship which had become an anachronism. The most important person in the princess's household was the Earl of Bute, —an insignificant Scotchman with talents of the most mediocre character,—who had held an office under Frederic, Prince of Wales, and after a short interval of retirement on the latter's death, had returned to manage the household of the young Prince. The intimate and confidential relations of this man with the Princess gave rise to a good deal of scandal, which was probably all grossly untrue. In this atmosphere of mediocrity George gradually attained man's estate ; and under the guiding influence of Bute he acquired those theories of monarchy and the importance of his own position, which led him into such fatal errors later in life.

His private character was estimable and respectable. He was a good son, good husband, good father. His own life was scrupulously pure ; and under the strict character;

*regime* of the new reign the coarseness and open immorality, which had been the chief characteristic of the first two Hanoverian Courts, sank into fitting seclusion. He was honestly and sincerely pious. His courage-, moreover, was undoubted, and was exhibited on many occasions when danger had paralyzed his attendants.

But with all these good qualities he was one of the worst kings that England was ever afflicted with. His very virtues became baneful, for they blinded the eyes of **defects.** numbers to the evil which he really worked. He deliberately opposed himself to liberty wherever, and in whatever form he met it. He resisted all attempts to ameliorate the miserable position of the **Roman Catholics**. He strongly opposed any scheme for the better government of **Ireland**. He steadily refused to hear of **Parliamentary or Economical Reform**, solely on the ground that it would be prejudicial to the power of the monarchy. He supported and encouraged the proceedings against the **printers**, which were avowedly intended to place a considerable limitation on the freedom of the press. He strained all the powers of the executive in order to further the tyrannical persecution to which **Wilkes** was so long a victim. He drove **America** into revolt; and set himself to reconquer her to slavery by force of arms. Fortunately he succeeded in none of these cherished schemes for long; but his temporary success was in all cases productive of great harm to the development of England.

There is singular irony in the fact that his succession was hailed with universal rejoicing. The dynastic struggle which had troubled the reigns of the first two Hanoverian kings, was now at an end. The Pretender, sunk in low debauchery and constant intoxication, had lost all hold on England, all respect in other countries. George was, as he himself said, an Englishman. He understood the English language. It was believed that he had been thoroughly instructed as to the **Early hopes.** nature of the English Constitution. He had also a certain amount of hereditary right to the crown, for it had come to him by descent through three ancestors. The Tory party therefore readily transferred to him the old sentiments of loyalty which had so long clung round the exiled family. It was imagined that once more the king would select the ablest men of both parties, and form an united Ministry including all **the** talent of the country. The extraordinary hopes which

centred round the new king are in striking analogy to\* the enthusiasm, with which the accession of Louis X V I . was hailed in France as the beginning of a new and golden era. They were destined to be little justified by the results.

George had been indoctrinated by his Jacobite tutors with the theory of monarchy set forth in Bolingbroke's " Patriot King." This little treatise professes to enunciate the true ideal of beneficent monarchy, in which the king—a paternal despot of the most exalted character—governs solely in the interests of his subjects, not because he is obliged to by any constitutional restrictions, but simply because it is his good pleasure so to do! It was this ideal which George always had before his eyes, singularly enough, even when perpetrating his most arbitrary acts. The explanation of this extraordinary paradox lies in the fact that he regarded Wilkes, Liberty, America, Toleration, as so many obstacles which lay between him and the realization of his ideal, and which therefore must be swept ruthlessly away. For in George's eyes the end which he aimed at was sufficiently lofty and enlightened to ennoble the means, however base and degraded. The object, however, for which he plotted and worked all through his life, was practically the *re-edablishment of the personal authority of the Crown*, which had so long been under an eclipse. He designed to scatter the shadows which obscured this bright luminary, so that it might once more shine forth beneficent on the nation. He attributed all the evils of party struggles which had fallen on the country to the diminution of the royal power. This had prevented the Crown from acting as mediator between the various parties and governing by means of the ablest men of each. He did not see that personal government had become an anachronism. He did not realize that the petty mounds, which he set himself to level, concealed behind them range on range of granite cliffs, and that it was only his own feeble stature which removed the latter from his view.

George's  
theory of  
kingship;

With this theory in his mind, his first object was naturally to break up the strong phalanx of the great Whig Houses, which had so long held the king in leading-strings. Pitt's Ministry must fall; Pitt himself be driven from office; and a new Government formed in which every member was to be to a certain extent dependent on the Crown. He designed to avail himself of the personal policy.

rivalry already existing between his Ministers in order to disunite the Cabinet; and, by holding out hopes of supremacy to all who should be submissive, to produce a general subservience to his will. Working thus on the general thirst for office which was the common attribute of most of the prominent statesmen of the time, he intended to form a Ministry of the most heterogeneous materials, which should contain in itself the seeds of disunion and weakness. When he had effectually discredited the chief leaders of the Whig party by exhibiting them repeatedly in the light of mere place-hungers, and when he had destroyed their power by pitting the various sections against one another in the general scramble for office, he would seize the opportunity to commit the government to some mediocre statesman who would be thoroughly obedient to his authority, and who would rely, not so much on the solidity of his measures, or on any Parliamentary influence of his own, but simply on the steady support of the king. In order to secure this dependence, George resumed the Crown patronage, which had been so long monopolized by Ministers, and employed it solely with the view of attaching members of Parliament to himself by the hope of obtaining those lucrative posts and pensions which had hitherto lain in the gift of the Prime Minister. In this way he at last succeeded in forming a party which was entirely devoted to him. Strict discipline was enforced, and the most unquestioning obedience exacted. The command of this troop of "King's Friends" gave the king to a certain extent the control of the House. At least he could ensure that no measure obnoxious to him should be carried, unless all the various scattered sections of the Whig party united in support of it. Naturally this gave him, too, a certain control over his Ministers. For it is obvious that, unless a Minister possessed a very large majority, the transfer of fifty or sixty votes on an important question from one side to the other would be quite enough to produce a decisive effect on the division. The result was that Ministers felt themselves in a great measure dependent on the support of the king; and were rather apt to shirk or suppress all legislation to which it was well known that he was distinctly opposed. It was this system which George was determined to create, and which, after a ten years' struggle with the House of Commons, he succeeded in firmly establishing. From the year 1770, with a few exceptions, his will became paramount. His

opposition was enough to throw out any Bill, however necessary and salutary. His ill-will proved too much for the enormous strength of the Coalition Ministry of 1783. His personal rule overbore even the strong individuality of the younger Pitt and compelled him to accommodate his principles of government to those of the king. On three occasions, however, George found himself at fault. A junction of parties enabled his opponents to outvote the King's Friends and force the king to receive a Ministry whose principles were odious to him as being directly hostile to his ascendancy. In 1782 the **Second Rockingham Ministry**; in 1783 the **Great Coalition Ministry**; and in 1806 the Ministry of **All the Talents**, represent the temporary failure of George's policy. Even then, however, the influence of the king was so strong that he was able to obtain a voice in the formation of the Cabinet, and thereby introduce elements of discord which were sure to lead eventually to disruption. While his facilities for corruption were so enormous that he soon recovered the authority, which he had temporarily lost, over the rank and file of the House of Commons, and ruled with more absolute sway than ever. It must be remarked that, for the sake of convenience, the latter part of the reign, during which the government was really carried on by the Prince Regent on account of his father's madness, may practically be regarded as part of the reign of George III., for the prince pursued precisely the same policy with regard to the management of the Houses of Parliament as that which his father had inaugurated. The most conclusive proof of this lies in the fact that the personal influence of George IV. was quite enough to stave off Parliamentary Reform until the accession of his brother.

It must be premised that *George III.'s plan was not carried out exactly* on the lines drawn up by its author. His intention, it must be remembered, was to break the power of party and then to rule despotically but well. It took him ten years, and cost him many humiliations to effect the first part of his scheme; and with regard to the latter, it is enough to say that after 1770 he ruled despotically but not well. He thought that he had to deal solely with the prescriptive tenure of office which the Whig Lords had acquired by long undisturbed possession during the first two Hanoverian reigns; and he did not see behind them the Constitutional Barriers which had been the work of centuries of Parliamentary opposition. The people, however, were as much deceived as to

George's false position.

his intentions as he was with regard to their views. During the early years of his reign their sympathy was wholly with him, because they thought he only designed to destroy the power of the Whig Houses, and did not suspect his more dangerous plot against the Constitution itself. Even Junius in his early letters refers to the king as the essence of all goodness who is misled by malignant Ministers. But during the Ministry of the Duke of Grafton there was a general awakening from this delusive dream; and from this time the conflict between the king and Constitution was so palpable, that nothing but the excesses of the French Revolution could have once again cast a decent veil of loyalty over the abnegation of principle involved in the position of the younger Pitt. The true hostility between the theories of George III. and the principle of constitutional government may be roughly estimated by a comparison of the advantages which he possessed for the execution of his scheme and the slender measure of success which he really obtained.

The advantages which he possessed at the beginning of his reign were simply immense. The eighteenth century had witnessed the gradual extinction of the old political parties. Walpole had united Whigs and Tories in opposition, until at last the sole party distinction was that of the Walpoleans against the Anti-Walpoleans. Pelham and Pitt had included in their Ministries men who were nominally of every shade of opinion.

Disunion of  
the Whig  
party.

It was therefore evident that the old meaning attached to the words Whig, Tory, Jacobite, was entirely lost sight of. Personal questions had taken the place of political theories. Granville and Newcastle equally, though for different reasons, smarted under the ascendancy of Pitt. Every statesman aspired to the highest place, or at any rate a step higher than the one he already occupied. Sections and knots of men were formed within the Government which had seemed so united during the last years of George II.; and each little group desired to break the supremacy of Pitt—not because they objected to his policy, but because they hated his dictatorial manner, and hoped to make their own advantage in the general disruption. The Whig party was therefore in a condition which rendered it an easy prey to the tactics of George III. It did not require much breaking up. It was already so disintegrated that with a little dexterous handling it would fall to pieces of itself in the most natural manner. The personal views of the leaders,



too, and their eager thirst for place, enabled George to use them as he liked,—to discredit them by forcing them into "unnatural coalitions" of every kind and thus exhibiting their sordid motives in the strongest light; until all that was left of the great Whig party, once so gloriously united, was a number of little groups, owing allegiance each to a different leader, and distinguishable as a rule in principle,—or rather lack of principle,—solely by the fact that the one was more ready perhaps to accept office on any terms than another.

On the other side the beginning of the reign marks the **revival of the Tory party**. The Tories proper had long suffered a total eclipse under the shadow of the Whig ascendancy, which was the result of Tory tamperings with Jacobitism. They had gained admission to the Cabinets of Pitt and Pelham, but at the price of a sacrifice of the principles for which they had suffered proscription. Jacobitism, however, was now practically dead. The Stuarts were utterly disgraced by the conduct of their last representative. And so the Tories transferred their allegiance readily to George III., a king exactly after their own heart, who had, moreover, a certain amount of hereditary right, sufficient to enable them to invest him with the attributes of divine authority and passive obedience which had hitherto been reserved exclusively for the Stuarts. This new-born loyalty of the Tories supplied George with a nucleus for the foundation of that party of "**King's Friends**," which was one of the main branches of his policy for restoring the personal ascendancy of the Crown. He therefore found that he could rely on the consistent support of a small but united party from the first; that there was nothing to oppose him but a very weak disintegrated party; and that he might expect the advent of a considerable number of recruits in the shape of deserters. He had, moreover, the sympathy of the people, who felt that, now that the significance of the old watchwords was destroyed, no man of ability ought to be excluded any longer from power simply because he was a Tory.

If, therefore, the king had made use of the popularity, which centred round him on his accession, and selected the most eminent men of all parties as his Ministers, the general feeling of the country would have gone steadily with him. Unfortunately, however, his somewhat narrow intellect and restricted education made him unable to take a liberal view of his position, filled him with a violent prejudice against the whole Whig

party, and made him rest for support on a second-rate man, who was unpopular, both on account of his Northern nationality, and his supposed connection with the Princess of Wales.

*Section 2.—Pitt and Newcastle, 1760—May, 1762.*

The king inaugurated his reign by an extremely popular measure. The judges, in accordance with the clause in the Act of Settlement, had held their offices under the two first Hanoverian kings during good behaviour, being removable only on petition by both Houses of Parliament. The highest legal authorities, however, held that all royal commissions terminated at the demise of the Crown. George therefore requested that a statute should be passed as soon as possible declaring that for the future the judges should hold their offices for life during good behaviour, undisturbed by the demise of the Crown. This measure excited a great deal of enthusiasm, and was quoted as a proof of the goodness of the king; but after all it could only affect his successor, and was rather a barring of the rights of his posterity than a limitation of his own.

For the first few days the English language—to borrow from the *Memoirs of the Cardinal de Ketz*—might have been reduced to five words, "The king is so good." But this comprehensive vocabulary expanded with extraordinary rapidity.

There were no great changes effected at first, though a few indications were given that a new era had set in.

First, Bute was admitted to the Cabinet as Secretary of State. Secondly, the king's speech was drawn up without the help of the Ministry; and Pitt had the greatest difficulty in procuring a modification of a reference to the war which implied that it had become unnecessary. Thirdly, Newcastle found that the Crown patronage, which he had so long dispensed for his own ends, was removed entirely from his control, and disposed of without his advice or even knowledge.

The campaign of 1761 was very indecisive. France, now tottering on the verge of bankruptcy, was eager for peace. Choiseul therefore proposed that a Congress should assemble at Augsburg to settle the points in dispute between Austria, Russia, Prussia, and secretly made overtures to Pitt for a separate peace between England and France. The terms which he offered were really very reasonable, namely, that the English

should keep all their conquests except Belleisle, but should pay compensation for the ships which had been seized before war had been declared. Unfortunately, however, he listened to the insinuations of the Ministers of Charles **III.** of Spain (formerly Don Carlos of Naples), who still retained a bitter grudge against the English for their conduct to him during the Austrian Succession War. Charles proposed that a **Family Compact** should be concluded between the different branches of the House of Bourbon, and that they should direct their united policy to the

The Family Compact,  
Aug., 1761.

laudable task of reducing the pride and pretension of the common enemy, England. Choiseul therefore became less disposed towards a reconciliation with England; and the result was that a demand was presented by the French envoy, simultaneously with the terms of his own Government, that justice should be done to certain claims of the King of Spain,—without, however, as yet even hinting at the Family Compact. Pitt was extremely indignant. He lectured the French Government on the impropriety of their interference between England and Spain; he totally rejected all idea of a separate peace, compensation, or restoration of any conquests; and, scenting the Family Compact afar off, he determined on war with Spain. He was resolved not to conclude a peace without Prussia; and he meditated a gigantic scheme for wresting all her colonies from France, which a premature peace would interfere with. The introduction of Spain into the contest he regarded

Pitt's views.

as a fortunate circumstance, which would enable him to include both branches of the House of Bourbon in the ruin which he had prepared for the elder. So great was his contempt for the Spanish Government, that he intended to begin the attack on their colonies and commerce without troubling himself about any such formality as a declaration of war. This scheme, however, was really *too vast* for the power and prestige of England, enormous though they both were at the time. Franco would never have acquiesced in her disgrace for long; and such an important addition to the wealth and territories of England would have excited irreconcilable enmities on the Continent. Peace, therefore, would have been but the shadow of a name; and England must have stood for ever on the watch to guard her threatened acquisitions. The cost of the war, too, was immense. The total sum granted by Parliament in 1761 was more than nineteen millions. The debt was rapidly increasing and the burden

was "beginning to be heavily felt. A peace, therefore, was decidedly desirable; though the unparalleled success of England gave her a right to expect unusually favourable terms.

Pitt, however, so far from contemplating peace, proposed that, in addition to the regular charges for the year, three expeditions should be sent against Spain. One of these was intended to secure the Plate Fleet, which would have effectually prevented Spain taking any part in the war for that season at least. Bute, however, and the Cabinet, were determined on peace. They may have honestly considered that to declare war with Spain solely on the ground that a Family Compact was suspected, would be unjustifiable and unreasonable. Or they may have been merely inspired with a keen desire to get rid

of the man who had tyrannized with unusual arrogance over all ranks of the Government. Be this as it may, the Cabinet refused to endorse Pitt's views, and the great Minister at once resigned. After events, however, justified the foresight of Pitt, and covered the Cabinet with a measure of obloquy which would certainly be undeserved were the honesty of their motives beyond dispute.

Every effort was made to lighten Pitt's fall. Honours and pensions were offered to him in full. He had practically, *carte blanche*, to name his own reward. This was inevitable, owing to the important services which Pitt had rendered the State during his career of power; but undoubtedly behind the liberal

offers of the king lurked an insidious hope of partially undermining the popularity of the great leader. A small amount of success did actually attend this plan. Pitt accepted a barony for his wife, and a pension of 3000/. a year for three lives; and for a short time a storm of reproach was aroused against him in consequence. This torrent of popular indignation was, however, soon exhausted, and Pitt became more thoroughly at one with the people than ever.

The retirement of Pitt made Bute practically supreme "in the Cabinet, though Newcastle still remained the nominal head but with greatly diminished influence. Lord Egremont, an avowed Tory, became Secretary of State in the place of the fallen Minister. Bute at once began to act as Prime Minister, totally disregarding the feeble efforts of Newcastle to retain some control over the Government, and devoted all his energies to concluding peace. This, however, was no longer so simple

a matter as it had been. The Plate Fleet had been allowed to reach the harbours of Spain, carrying with it the revenue of the current year. Spain, therefore,—sure now of the sinews of war, and fully recognizing the important change in the position of England produced by the fall of Pitt,—assumed a more belligerent tone. Bute found himself, after all, obliged to declare war in January, 1762, and to follow out, as far as he could, the plans which his rival had devised for the humiliation of Spain. Fortunately, however, the extraordinary vigour which Pitt had infused into every department of the public service, survived him, and enabled Bute to carry on the war afresh with surprising success. The important island of Martinique fell an easy prey in February. This was followed by the capture of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. In August, Havannah, the rich and prosperous capital of Cuba, capitulated after a siege of two months. In October, Manilla and the Philippine Islands were added to the long list of conquests. All this success was, however, attributed to Pitt, who had planned and rendered it possible; Bute's name was mentioned only with execration. It was openly said that Pitt would have done even more; and that the number of rich Spanish prizes would have been far greater if he were still at the helm.

"War with  
Spain, Jan.,  
1762.

Meanwhile an important revolution occurred in the position of the Continental Powers. Early in the year the Czarina, Elizabeth of Russia, died, and was succeeded by Peter III. The latter was a warm admirer of Frederic and everything Prussian. The Russian army, which had been co-operating with the Austrians against Frederic, now received orders to co-operate with the Austrians. This unlooked-for turn of the wheel really saved Frederic at a time of imminent danger. Bute took the opportunity in April to cut off the Prussian subsidy, alleging that we had merely assisted Frederic for our own ends, and not with any view of benefiting him; that, therefore, as the time agreed on for the subsidy was up, we could discontinue it whenever we liked. The treacherous and malignant character of Frederic left no doubt that he would have unhesitatingly sacrificed any ally, or any number of allies, if he could have derived the slightest advantage from it. There was therefore every possible justification for cutting off the subsidy

Revolutions  
in Russia.

Withdrawal  
of the  
Prussian  
subsidy.

as the position of Prussia had been so much improved by the accession of Peter III. But it is extremely improbable that Bute was influenced by any other consideration than a determination to force on the peace; and it was an extremely dangerous experiment to imitate the penny-wise pound-foolish policy of the Prussian king himself in dealing with our only ally. The result was to completely isolate England from the Continent; so that, when amid the American difficulties later on she looked round for assistance, there was hardly a single Power which did not place some obstacle in her way, if they did not openly rejoice in the success of the Americans, and array themselves in arms on their side.

The chief immediate result of the withdrawal of the Prussian subsidy was the resignation of Newcastle, who had long smarted under the insults and humiliations to which he was daily subjected. Finding that his opinion was totally disregarded on this important question, he took the opportunity to retire, May, 1762.

### *Section 3.—Bute, May, 1702—April, 1763.*

The Cabinet was remodelled as follows. Bute became First Lord of the Treasury. Granville remained President of the Council. Sir Francis Dashwood was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Egremont and George Grenville divided the Secretaryships. The office of Paymaster was given to Henry Fox. Halifax, Bedford, Sandys, and others occupied the remaining posts.

The negotiations for the peace were hurried rapidly on, and the Ministry, in their eagerness to conclude a treaty, found themselves rather embarrassed than otherwise by the success which attended their arms at the close of the year. The **Peace of Paris** was, however, fully arranged by November, 1762; though it was not actually signed till the following February, 1763, owing to some outstanding questions which still presented a few difficulties. Among these must be included the latest English conquests,—Havannah and Manilla. Bute would willingly have given them up rather than delay peace in any way; but better counsels prevailed, and they were exchanged for **Florida, All America**,—including Canada and the basins of the Ohio and Mississippi,—was ceded to England, with the exception of

New Orleans and Louisiana west of the Mississippi, which were given to Spain. Louisiana therefore,—which had once included all the country between the Great Lakes, the Alleghanies, and the Gulf of Mexico, and stretched vaguely across the continent to the Pacific,—was now cut down to very moderate limits. The French scheme of a vast Franco-American dominion extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean had failed. The Colonial Empire they had gloried in, had departed from them. All, in fact, that was left to France in America was the right of fishing off the Newfoundland Bank and in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence; and two small islands—St. Pierre and Miquelon—which were given them as a shelter for their fishermen. Of their West Indian conquests, the English retained **Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago, Dominique, St. Vincent's**; restoring Martinique, St. Lucia, and Havannah. In Africa, they retained **Senegal**, restoring Goree. In Hindostan, there was a mutual restitution of all conquests made since 1749; but the French were obliged to give up all *military establishment* in Bengal, and to acknowledge the English nominees in the Peccan and Carnatic. In Europe, **Minorca** was restored to England in exchange for Belleisle; and the French promised once more to dismantle the fortifications of Dunkirk. The news of the conquest of Manilla arrived too late for the Ministry to trouble about it; and so it was restored without equivalent, and without even exacting payment of the bills which had been given as a ransom for private property on the island, and which of course were dishonoured.

This peace really settled two questions—that England should be the great colonizing power of Modern History, not France; that America and India should belong to England, not to France. French influence was entirely excluded from America by the treaty itself; and it was so effectually crippled in India, that all efforts to revive it were unsuccessful. From this time the tremendous struggle between England and France for the supremacy of the seas and colonies was practically at an end, or was *decided in favour of England*. It is true that Vergennes during the American Rebellion, and Napoleon during the great wars which followed the French Revolution, endeavoured to renew the struggle in the vain hope of restoring France to an equality with England, if not to supremacy. These attempts were so far successful that they frightened the English thoroughly, and created France

**Results of  
the peace.**

into a bugbear, to which the Russophobia of the present day is the only modern equivalent. But they were also hopeless from the very first; and their total ill-success, in spite of every possible advantage at the time, proved the utter impossibility of ever reversing the verdict of history.

The peace was thus decidedly favourable to England. And yet, like the Peace of Utrecht, it was decidedly unpopular, because we did not gain as much as we might have done, considering the wonderful success which had attended the arms of England during the war. Feeling against the peace. Undoubtedly with a little more firmness in negotiation we might have obtained much 'better terms. This fact, coupled with the previous unpopular dismissal of Pitt, rendered Bute so detested by the people, that the very name of Scot became a word of reproach, because it was that nation which had produced the hated favourite.

The Peace of Paris was shortly followed by the **Treaty of Hubertsburg**, which ended the continental war, and left Prussia bankrupt and almost ruined by the enormous burdens she had sustained, but without the loss of a single acre of territory, and with the assured position of a first-rate power in Europe.

The rest of Bute's Ministry was a series of mistakes which soon led up to the inevitable end. **Fox** was made leader of the House of Commons. All who had opposed the peace were at once dismissed from all their honours and offices; and while discipline was enforced in this way, the old corrupt system of Walpole and Newcastle was revived to secure the obedience of the supporters of Government. For forty-five years the Tories had inveighed against corruption, and had clamoured for economical reform. Now the first use they made of power was not to restore purity to Parliament, but to establish a system of open bribery, which far exceeded even the views of Newcastle, that master of corruption. A regular mart was opened at the Paymaster's office, where votes were bought and sold with unblushing effrontery. And yet this was the only way by which the Government could be carried on. Bute was no financier or debater. There was no one in his Cabinet of sufficient ability to compensate for their leader's inefficiency. Fox had lost all credit. Dashwood was more renowned for the profligacy of his life than the soundness of his budget. **Bute** was so unpopular that he hired an escort



of boxers and butchers to protect his life in the streets. Such a Ministry could not last long, and the **Cider Tax** gave it its death-blow.

Dashwood proposed raising a revenue on cider. This alone raised a storm of indignation in the city, and strongly exasperated the cider counties. Pitt, Beckford, Lyttelton, Hardwicke, Temple, all thundered against the injustice of the tax. The partisanship of George Grenville was more unfortunate for the Bill than anything else, for it covered it with ridicule as well as opprobrium. The celebrated John Wilkes devoted all the vinegar of his pen to satirizing the Bill and its promoters. In many places Bute was burned in effigy under the emblem of a "Jack Boot"—a punning reference to his name and title ; and usually a petticoat was thrown into the flames as well, as an uncomplimentary allusion to the Princess of Wales.

The result was that Bute—a quiet, harmless man, with none of the stuff from which despots are made—could not endure the storm which he had aroused, and which he found himself totally unable to rule. He was moreover on bad terms with his colleagues, and could hardly rely on the support or votes of any of them with any degree of certainty. On April 7th, therefore, he resigned. His Ministry had, indeed, been big with a portentous growth. Lord Mahon, who is decidedly favourable to him, says, " Seldom, indeed, has any Minister, with so short a tenure of power and so little of guilt in his intentions, been the cause of so great evils. *Within a year and a half he had lost the king his popularity and the kingdom its allies*" and yet the utmost that can be imputed to him is incapacity and imprudence. He had snatched the reins from the hands of the Sun-god, but had left the whip behind. What wonder, therefore, if the team were prancing all abroad among the constellations, and the luckless Phaethon fell headlong from the tossing chariot into the sea of private obscurity below.

With Bute retired Dashwood and Fox, who were both raised to the Upper House as Lords Le Despencer and Holland. From this time Fox ceased to take any real part in public business till his death in 1774. He was a remarkable instance of a man who started in life as an able and popular statesman, but was so weighed down in the race for power by his bad character, that, though he once attained the highest place, he was obliged at the end of his life to accept

a dependent position under, and do dirty work for, a man whose sole claim to distinction was unmerited royal favour.

*Section 4.—George Grenville, April, 1763—July, 1765.*

George Grenville now became First Lord of the Treasury, with Lords Halifax and Egremont as Secretaries of State. This Ministry was known as the Triumvirate.

Bute had named Grenville as his successor, considering him an insignificant but able man, who could carry on the Government in a steady, plodding way, but would be Bute's' thoroughly amenable to his own secret influence. mistake.

There is no doubt, in fact, that the favourite intended to rule behind the scenes by means of the puppet Grenville. Unfortunately the puppet refused to dance as he was bidden; and, breaking loose from his master, started on a career of his own, which, for the singularity and importance of its final results, has certainly never had a counterpart in history,

Grenville,—a solid, steady "speaker spoilt,"—was really too haughty and dictatorial a man to fall into the position which Bute designed for him. The latter found he had made a mistake, and that his influence was almost gone. George III., too, was at first similarly deceived by Grenville's manner, and imagined that he was just the sort of drudge who would do to execute unquestionably any orders he might receive. His connection with Bute, his great business talents, his

Character of Grenville. economy, his utter contempt for popularity, and his disagreement with Pitt and Temple, all formed additional points of recommendation.

But very soon both parties found they had made a mistake; Grenville was determined not to be a mere catspaw, and he resented the idea as depreciatory of his abilities. The king found that he had got a hard task-master, who lectured him with extraordinary effrontery and callousness on every subject of disagreement; who bored him with wordy orations of several hours' duration; and who was always prating in the most offensive manner about "the underhand influence of Bute." It is no wonder that the king in time got to hate him, and intrigued to get rid of the incubus thus fastened on his breast. But all the same, Grenville was in the right, and the king wrong. The latter should either have dismissed Grenville out

and out, or else should have given him his entire confidence. Nor is it to be wondered that Grenville's manner became more and more dictatorial and unpleasant when he found that he was merely a makeshift, and that the king retained him solely because he was unable to build up any other Government.

The Whigs were now divided into four parties. First, there was the Bedford party, consisting of the Duke of Bedford and his followers, Lords Gower, Sandwich, Weymouth, and Mr. Kigby, who were known as the *Bloomsbury Gang*,—a name derived from the Duke's residence in London. The Rockingham Whigs were the representatives of the old Whig Houses, and included the Dukes of Newcastle, Grafton, Devonshire, the Marquis of Rockingham, General Conway, and later, Mr. Edmund Burke. The Grenville Whigs were the narrowest and most oligarchical section of the Whigs, and reckoned among their numbers George Grenville, Lords Halifax, Holland, Lyttelton, Suffolk, Mr. Dowdeswell, and a few others, Pitt had only a few personal followers, such as Earl Temple, his brother-in-law, and Alderman Beckford, who, however, represented the great support of the city. The difference between these parties was at this time extremely slight, and is extremely difficult to define. The chief difference really was personal adherence to different leaders. But the Grenville Whigs were certainly the narrowest in view, and the party who leant most distinctly on the king's support, though not realizing to the full his plans. The Bedford Whigs were the most unprincipled place-hunters of the time, and were willing to join with any Government as a whole, or in sections, for the sake of office. The Rockingham party were the most liberal and large-minded of all, with the exception, perhaps, of Pitt. Pitt, however, was intractable, owing to his hatred of party; and though his natural position would have been the leader of the Rockingham Whigs, he preferred to stand alone, rather than be identified with any definite party.<sup>1</sup> His sympathies, in fact, were really with the king in the latter's struggle to break the power of party, because he thought that this was only preparatory to the formation of a strong united Ministry, consisting of all the talent of the country. At this time, too, Pitt was under the influence of his brother-in-law, Earl Temple, who projected an united Grenville Ministry to include all the family, and who therefore steadily encouraged Pitt in his aversion to forming any party connections.

Sections of  
the Whigs.

Grenville's supporters consisted, at first, of his own party and some Tories and "King's Friends." Towards the end of the year, however, the weakness of this Ministry rendered some reinforcement necessary; Pitt declined all offers. The Bedford Ministry. A union, therefore, was effected with the Bedford section of the Whigs, and a coalition, known as the **Bedford Ministry**, was formed, which included Grenville himself as Prime Minister, Bedford as President of the Council, and a number of the followers of each, among whom the remaining places were divided.

The three chief measures of this Ministry were the **Stamp Act** for America, the proceedings against **Wilkes**, and the **Regency Bill**. It is difficult to say in which they showed most imprudence and lack of judgment.

**John Wilkes** was the son of a rich distiller, who, growing weary of his business, turned to a parliamentary life, and entered Parliament as member for Aylesbury. He was extraordinarily ugly, but so witty and insinuating in conversation that, to use his own words, "he only wanted half an hour's start to make him even with the handsomest man in England." His life was as profligate as his appearance was unprepossessing. For some time he reigned the chosen oracle of green-rooms, and the leading spirit of a dissolute club which Sir Francis Dashwood and some other kindred souls had established at Medmenham Abbey, in a lovely riverside spot near Marlow. The "North Briton." In 1762, however, he began a periodical called the "**North Briton**," in which he attacked Lord Bute and the whole Scotch nation in the most exhaustive strain of vituperation. The *North Briton*^ however, though it on one occasion provoked a challenge from a victim, did not attain any real importance till the 23rd of April, 1763, when the celebrated No. 45 was issued. The king's speech had referred to the Peace of Paris as an honourable termination of the struggle. Wilkes took advantage of the constitutional principle that all the king's acts and speeches are the work of his Ministers, to lavish all the flowers of his bitter and scurrilous pen on the inadequacy of the peace, the promotion of Scotchmen and Jacobites, the iniquity of the Cider Tax, and the unparalleled effrontery of the Ministers who had ventured so to misrepresent their royal master. Constitutionally Wilkes was perfectly justified in attacking the speech, which had always been held to be the work of Ministers. George, however, was determined

that this theory should cease, and that the acts of the Crown should be regarded as emanating from the Crown solely. He therefore saw in the attack of the *North Briton* nothing but insolent and seditious abuse of himself under the thin veil of criticism of his Ministers. It was determined, therefore, to crush the audacious journalist; and the Court recklessly plunged into an undignified contest, which at once transformed Wilkes into a popular martyr. Whereas silent contempt would have been the surest way of depriving him of what little influence he might have acquired.

A **General Warrant** (that is, one in which no name is inserted, but power is given to the officers to arrest practically any one they may select) was issued, signed by Lord Halifax, and under it no less than forty-nine persons were arrested. The publisher, having then acknowledged that Wilkes was the author, the latter was also seized under the general warrant, and imprisoned in the Tower. He at once applied for a *Habeas Corpus*, and was in consequence released by Chief Justice Pratt, on the ground of privilege as a member of Parliament. On his release the popular rejoicings were so great that they might have warned a statesman less obstinate than Grenville. In many districts the jack-boot and petticoat were burnt, as usual; and in some places a figure of a Scotchman with a blue ribbon was drawn round the town, leading a *crowned ass* by the nose. Wilkes, moreover, at once set on foot actions against Lord Halifax and the messengers who had effected the arrest.

In November, however, a new weapon was found to attack him with. On the meeting of Parliament he rose to complain of the breach of privilege which had been committed by his arrest. Grenville, however, produced a royal message calling the House's attention to the alleged libel in the *North Briton*. The House proceeded at once to decide that No. 45 was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, though the case was at the time pending before the law courts. At the same time Lord Sandwich, a former associate of Wilkes' debauchery, produced in the House of Lords an obscene poem written by Wilkes, and called the "**Essay on Woman.**" The "**Essay on Woman.**" This was a parody on Pope's "*Essay on Man*," and was dedicated to Sandwich himself. Bishop Warburton Also complained of a breach of privilege, because Wilkes had appended burlesque notes to his poem in ridicule of the com-

mentary in the Bishop's edition of Pope; and, to add to the insult, these notes purported to be by the Right Reverend Bishop of Gloucester himself. Now there is not the slightest doubt that the author of such a poem richly deserved a severe punishment; but this cannot excuse the illegality of the proceedings. The Essay had never been published at all. It had been privately printed for private circulation, and only a few copies had been struck off. The Lords therefore had no right to take any cognizance of it; and it certainly was not in any sense a breach of privilege.

The amenities interchanged between Wilkes and his opponents ended in a duel, in which Wilkes was wounded. His wound produced some delay; but though he withdrew for safety to France, the Commons, inspired with vindictive ardour, proceeded rapidly with his case. After a night spent in stormy debate, they expelled him with the greatest unanimity.

The result of this persecution was that a feeling of sympathy arose for Wilkes, as it very often does for men who suffer a punishment wholly disproportionate to the offence. It was felt that in character there was very little to choose between the righteous Lord Sandwich and Mr. Wilkes himself; and that the means by which the copy of the "Essay on Woman" had been obtained were wholly unjustifiable. Popular excitement. Popular feeling found a vent in the nickname "Jemmy Twitcher," applied to Lord Sandwich, which was borrowed from a highwayman in the *Beggars' Opera*, who betrays his companion in guilt, Macheath. Unfortunately, however, popular feeling also found a vent in riots and disorder, which the sheriffs of London declared were encouraged by gentlemen from balconies and windows.

Meanwhile Wilkes had obtained a verdict of 1000*l.* damages against the Under Secretary of State, who had issued the general warrant. But as he did not appear to defend the indictment for libel and blasphemy, he was outlawed by the courts. So far the Government had apparently triumphed. And yet this triumph was only apparent. The whole proceedings had been outrageously illegal. This persecution caused Wilkes to be regarded as the victim of tyrannical oppression instead of a scurrilous hack-writer. The illegality of general warrants had been declared unhesitatingly by the courts; and though Parliament refused to confirm this decision, it would be impossible to issue them again. At the

same time there was *little sympathy with Wilkes personally*, and he was very far as yet from the height of popularity he attained later.

The result, however, of the unpopularity of the Court and Government was that the Duke of Cumberland, "the Butcher of '45," became suddenly a public favourite. It was declared that he had done good service, and that it was only a pity that he had left so many "beggarly Scots" to suck the life out of England now.

Popularity of  
Cumberland.

In their dealings with **America**, the Ministry acted equally injudiciously. Grenville proposed to raise a permanent Army to defend the colonies for the future against any enemy, and to pay it by means of a stamp tax levied on the colonies themselves. The colonies, however, were already suffering under some grievances imposed by Grenville's Government. The laws against smuggling

Commercial  
measures.

into the Spanish colonies were more strictly and harshly enforced, thus cutting off the most profitable branch of the Americans' trade and causing some distress. In 1764 duties were laid on several articles of commerce; and it was plainly asserted that England had a right to tax the colonies. The duties, moreover, had to be paid in hard cash at a time when the diminution of trade had decreased the supply of cash in the country; and the injuries of the colonists were completed by an Act prohibiting paper-money in America. It was at this time, when the Americans were both distressed and discontented, that Grenville proposed his further scheme of a **Stamp Act**. The merits of the case will be discussed later. The management of it was simply

The Stamp  
Act, 1765.

execrable. He deferred the imposition of the tax until he had got the written opinions of the colonial assemblies on the subject; and when he had ascertained for certain that they would not hear of it at any price, and were violently exasperated against it, he brought forward the measure in Parliament, and it slipped through almost unnoticed. The Americans received the news with the greatest indignation. The orators in the provincial assemblies thundered against the iniquity of the measure till the governors were at their wits' end to know what to do. The idea of federation and united resistance was even started. Riots and disorders followed. It was perfectly impossible to carry out the provisions of the Stamp Act. A serious injury was dealt to English trade by the formation of a society which refused to buy

Popular  
excitement.

any English goods, and which soon included the majority of the colonists. The Stamp Act, in fact, was the first blow of the axe, which, in the hands of reckless and obstinate men, was destined to cut the fairest and largest bough away from the mother-trunk.

Hitherto the Ministry had only excited the indignation of the people and the colonies. Not satisfied with the number of their enemies, they now proceeded to quarrel openly with the king. In 1765 the first signs of the illness, to which George afterwards fell a victim, appeared ; and as soon as he recovered he proposed, with wonderful firmness, that a Regency Bill should be brought in, limiting the king's choice of a Regent to the members of the Royal Family.

Regency Act,  
1765.

The Ministers, however, in alarm at the prospect of a new Bute Ministry, persuaded the king that there was no hope of the Princess's name being accepted, and that it had better be left out of the Bill. The king unwisely consented to this unparalleled insult on his parent, apparently through lack of consideration. Parliament, however, insisted on inserting the Princess's name by a large majority, and thus exposed the trick of his Ministers. This the king never forgave. They had been for some time obnoxious to him, and now he determined to get rid of them.

With this view he induced the Duke of Cumberland to make overtures to Chatham, offering almost any terms. But Pitt was still bound to Temple, and Temple still hoped for a Grenville Ministry. There was therefore nothing for it but for the king to return once more to his hated Ministers, and George intrigues against Grenville. listen to the strictures on his double-dealing which they meted out to him with the greatest frankness. He was obliged to consent to dismiss Bute and all Bute's following. He was obliged to promise that he would use no underhand influence for the future. Life, in fact, became a burden to him under George Grenville's domination, and he determined to dismiss him, even at the cost of accepting the Whig Houses, whom he had pledged himself never to employ again. Pitt and Temple still proving obdurate, Cumberland opened negotiations with the Rockingham Whigs, and the Grenville Ministry was at an end. The extent to which the king's feelings had been outraged by Grenville's conduct may be measured by the fact that George refused ever to employ him again, and openly said that he would " rather see the devil in his closet than George Grenville."



## CHAPTER II.

## THE ROCKINGHAM MINISTRY.

*July, 1765—July, 1766. ,*

THE new Ministry was composed as follows: Rockingham became First Lord of the Treasury; Powdeswell, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Newcastle, Privy Seal; Northington, Lord Chancellor. The remaining offices were distributed among the Dukes of Portland, Rutland, and Grafton, the Marquis of Granby, Lord Egmont, General Conway, Charles Townshend, and some others.

Their leader **Rockingham** was a man of sound sense, but no power of language or government. His silence in Parliament was so remarkable that he was nick-named by his enemies the "poor dumb animal." In fact he was far more calculated to shine as a Master of Foxhounds than as a First Lord of the Treasury. To his credit it must be added that he was totally free from any suspicion of corruption. In fact there was more honesty than talent in the Ministry altogether. The leaders were all inferior men, and the back-bone of the party was removed by the refusal of Pitt to co-operate. **Burke** was undoubtedly the ablest man among them, but his time was not yet come. Such a Ministry, it was recognized even by its own members, could not last long. However, it had come in to effect certain necessary legislation, and it certainly so far accomplished the end of its being. It repealed the Stamp Act, which had caused so much indignation among the Americans; and at the same time passed a law securing the dependence of the colonies. It abolished the unpopular cider tax. It condemned the use of general warrants, and the removal of military officers from their posts for their votes in Parliament. It endeavoured to foster again the once

so prosperous trade with America, and even went the length of making Jamaica and Dominique free ports.

The king, however, made no secret of his hostility to his Ministers. He hated them as a purely party Ministry; and in many cases permitted or even instructed his *friends* to vote against them. The Ministry therefore was tottering, and only its weakness. existed until the king could form another. Tho conduct of Pitt in refusing to join them was a decided mistake, and more. He was really at one with them on most points. Most of their acts were in accordance with his views. But he was determined not to join a purely party Ministry, though he could have done so practically on whatever terms he pleased.

In 1766, however, he consented to form a coalition, in which were included men of the most opposite views—"King's Friends," Rockingham Whigs, and the few personal followers of Pitt. Rockingham refused to take any office, and retired to the more congenial occupation of following the hounds.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE GRAFTON MINISTRY.

*July, 1766-70.**Section 1.—Chatham, July, 1766—Decemher, 1767.*

THE nominal Prime Minister of this Cabinet was the Duke of Grafton, for Pitt refused the leadership, and retired to the House of Lords as Lord Chatham. Charles Townshend became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord North, the leader of the "King's Friends," was Paymaster. The Ministry included Shelburne, Barré, Conway, Northington, Barrington, Camden, Granby—all men of the most opposite views. But Temple had no place in it. He asked for too much influence and power, and so Chatham at last broke loose from him. To his great discredit he went at once into virulent opposition.

This second Ministry of Pitt was a *mistake* from the very first. He lost all his popularity by taking a peerage, and his colleagues considered that thereby they suffered a great diminution of strength. No doubt it was well earned; and Chatham's bad health might make him dread the clamour and violence of the Lower House. But the Government really relied mainly on the support which his name and influence brought to them. Without him it must have fallen to pieces owing to the heterogeneous elements of which it was composed. It was therefore of the utmost importance that he should still continue to be the guiding spirit of the House of Commons. As a peer and Lord Privy Seal he found himself in an uncongenial atmosphere, and an assembly to which his impassioned utterances seemed turgid and bombastic, and who were not under the influence of long years of his ascendancy. So he could not rule the Commons from the Lords; and he had no control over the Lords themselves. His name, too, had lost a great deal of its power abroad. "Pitt"

had, indeed, been a word to conjure with; but there were no associations of defeat and humiliation connected with the name of "Chatham." The general consent of his contemporaries and of posterity has stigmatized this act of his as a decided error, which eventually caused the final shipwreck of the administration. There were other difficulties, however, as well. His *arrogance* had increased, and it was so much intensified by irritating *gout*, that it became almost impossible to serve with him. His disease later almost approached madness, and at times absolutely prevented the carrying on of public business, or at least rendered it necessary to carry it on without consulting the real head of the Cabinet; for Chatham, when the fit was on him, could only shed tears at the very name of business, and protest that it would kill him to discuss it. There were besides almost fatal elements of disunion and weakness in the Ministry itself. Kockingham declined to join it. Bedford demanded too high a price for his alliance. It was therefore necessary to admit a number of Tories, and this enraged the Whigs. *There was no unity of opinion on any one topic.* It was well known that Charles Townshend was strongly in favour of taxing America. Lord North was one of the steadiest supporters of the Court policy on the Wilkes' case and with regard to America. Lord Camden was, on the contrary, identified with the exactly opposite view on these identical questions. When, therefore, the only bond which united them, namely, the influence of Chatham, was removed by his illness, the Ministry naturally fell to pieces entirely.

The policy of the great Minister was as spirited as ever. He proposed that a Great Northern Alliance of England, Russia, and Prussia should unite to resist the growing power of the House of Bourbon, consolidated and strengthened by the Family Compact. Frederic II., however, still preserved a vindictive remembrance of his desertion by Bute, and both the Powers were really intent on the iniquitous scheme for dismembering Poland, which was later carried into execution. The idea therefore proved abortive.

Chatham also designed to introduce a Bill for the better government of **Ireland**; and another for the arrangement of the affairs of the **East India Company** on a more satisfactory footing; but his illness nipped these projects in the bud.

From this time the Ministry drifted helplessly about at the

mercy of each wind and wave of opinion like a water-logged ship; and it was only the utter want of union among the Opposition which prevented its sinking entirely. As it was, they contrived to renew the breach with **America**, which had been almost entirely healed by Kockingham's repeal of the Stamp Act. Break-up.

Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was by far the ablest man left in the Cabinet, and he rapidly assumed the most prominent position. He had always been in favour of taxing America. American Tea Tax, 1767. He now brought forward a plan for raising a revenue from tea, glass, and paper, by way of import duty at the American ports. The sum intended to be raised was very small, only amounting to 40,000/., which would have been spent in America entirely; but there was not the slightest hope that the Americans would submit, and the only result was to provoke another furious quarrel. This wild measure was followed shortly by the death of its author in September; and then the weakness of the Ministry became so obvious that, as Chatham still continued incapable, some fresh reinforcement was absolutely necessary.

*Section 2.—Grafton, December, 1767—January, 1770.*

A coalition was effected with the Bloomsbury Gang; and, in consequence, Lords Gower, Weymouth, and Sandwich joined the Ministry. Lord Northington and General Conway retired. North succeeded Townshend at the Exchequer. **Lord Hillsborough** became the first Secretary of State for the Colonies, thus raising the number of Secretaries to three. The Ministry.

This Ministry was probably the *worst* that had governed England since the days of the Cabal; and the short period of its existence was marked by a succession of arbitrary and foolish acts. On every important question that it had to deal with, it pursued a course diametrically opposed to Chatham's views; and yet with singular irony his nominal connection with it was not severed for some time.

The first question on which the Government laid itself open to grave animadversion was the **Nullum Tempus Bill**. For the sake of benefiting a royal favourite, insulting an old Whig family, and acquiring two votes in Parliament, the Crown encouraged Sir Nullum Tempus Bill.

James Lowther to dispute an estate which had been granted to the Duke of Portland by William III. The ground of this was the exploded doctrine, that no enjoyment for length of time could bar the rights of the Crown. In consequence of this disgraceful proceeding a Bill was introduced into Parliament to declare that sixty years' possession should be a valid defence against any claims of the Crown; and, in spite of the warmest opposition on the part of Government, it became law.

The general election of 1768 was chiefly remarkable for extraordinary cases of open corruption, which was carried so far, that one or two boroughs actually advertised themselves for auction to the highest bidder. The most important event, however, as it subsequently turned out, was the election of Wilkes for Middlesex, which embarked the Government on a contest which did more to ruin them than any other of their numerous and glaring errors.

Wilkes had offered himself late in the day for the City of London, and though he was at the bottom of the poll, yet he contrived to secure such a proportion of votes, that he at once came forward to stand for the County of Middlesex. To the astonishment of all and the disgust of many he was returned by an overwhelming majority, and the Ministry were obliged to consider what they would do with the unwelcome guest thus forced on them. Undoubtedly the best plan would have been to do nothing, Firebrands are soon extinguished in the House of Commons, as our own times have abundantly shown. Wilkes was so heavily handicapped by his antecedents, that nothing but the powerful lift of Ministerial interference could ever have raised him for long above the shoulders of the mob. The Ministry, however, thought otherwise; and the obstinate king was determined that the man who had written No. 45 of the *North Briton* should not take his seat again in Parliament. A writ of outlawry was issued against Wilkes; but popular feeling was so violently excited, that formidable riots broke out in all parts of the city, and there is not the slightest doubt that had not Wilkes voluntarily surrendered himself, the writ would never have been executed. The multitude, baffled for the moment, appeared in large numbers before the King's Bench Prison, where Wilkes was imprisoned; carcerated. They proceeded to tear down the railings, lighted a huge bonfire in front of the prison, and were

only dispersed with great difficulty by a military force. The disorder continuing on the next day, the troops were ordered to fire on the mob, and in consequence about twenty persons were killed or wounded. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of "wilful murder" against the magistrates and soldiers; but they were protected by the Government, and even rewarded. The riotous spirit of the populace remained unchecked, and broke out again and again in various excesses. The seamen, insisting on an increase of wages, laid a blockade on the Port of London, and refused to allow ships to enter or leave it. At another time a mob of tailors came down to the very doors of the House of Commons, and raised such a clamour, that the debate had to be temporarily suspended. Disorder also exhibited itself in almost every part of England owing to the different grievances under which almost every class laboured.

At this time, unfortunately enough, Chatham retired definitely from the Ministry, which became in consequence more decidedly the Ministry of the king. The latter was determined to crush insubordination wherever he found it, whether represented in the person of a single demagogue, or the swarming population of the American Colonies. This animosity was shortly stirred more deeply by a fresh insult from Wilkes, which arose in the following way. A vacancy having arisen in the representation of Middlesex, Sergeant Glynri, a nominee of Wilkes, was elected by a large majority. The election was followed by violent riots, which were put down with some slaughter by the troops. The Government, as before, praised and rewarded the soldiers. Lord Weymouth, Secretary of State, issued a general note to the magistrates instructing them to avail themselves of the military promptly in order to suppress any similar outbreaks. The result was that a good deal of blood was shed in collisions between the people and the soldiers. Wilkes, who was still in prison, wrote a severe comment on this "bloody scroll." no doubt with the view of provoking a new prosecution and thereby keeping up the interest of his supporters. He succeeded rather more than he had intended. The House of Commons took the matter out of the hands of the law courts entirely, pronounced it a breach of privilege, ordered Wilkes to the bar of the House, and, after a violent scene, declared him guilty and expelled him. It is needless to say that the whole proceeding was *grossly illegal*; for though the House had a perfect right to expel one of their own number for good cause, yet they

had no jurisdiction whatever except in cases affecting their own privileges, which scarcely included those of the House of Lords. Wilkes, however, was unanimously re-elected ; and so the House had the obnoxious demagogue thrown once more on their hands. The same was repeated on his re-expulsion. They were determined, however, this time to end this ridiculous and undignified contest in which Wilkes sustained the *role* of shuttlecock; and so, having solemnly expelled him for the third time, they declared him incapable of ever sitting again. And, though he was again returned by an overwhelming majority, they adjudged the seat to his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, who had stood in the king's interest and contrived to obtain some two or three hundred votes. This at once provoked a general outcry throughout the country.

*It was not that Wilkes' character or person were popular; it was simply that all right-minded men felt that the Ministry had done a grossly arbitrary and illegal act; and that in the words of Junius, "Ministers had now created a question in which Mr. Wilkes was no more concerned than any other English gentleman." The right of expulsion was undoubted, but expulsion did not create a disability; far less did it give any claim to Wilkes' opponent Luttrell. If such an usurpation as this were to be tolerated, it was impossible to tell where an unscrupulous Government would stop. These scandalous proceedings were strongly reprobated by almost every man of talent in the Commons. Both Grenville and Chatham vied with each other in thundering against the iniquity of giving the seat to Luttrell, though, to the shame of the judicial Bench, Lord Mansfield defended and supported it in the Lords.*

Nor were the Ministry more successful in their dealings with America. America. Charles Townshend's new import duties had produced the greatest excitement among the colonists, who, having won one victory, were determined not to submit in any way to the obnoxious claim of taxative power. The result was that it was utterly impossible to enforce the laws; that custom-house officers ran considerable danger of tarring and feathering on the slightest provocation; that the determination not to use English goods revived and was carried out with patriotic vigour; and that severe riots and collisions between the people and the troops were of constant and dangerous occurrence, This was especially the case in Massachusetts.



Unfortunately, too, the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Hillsborough, had not the slightest idea how to deal with the difficulty; and his efforts only added fuel to the flame. Public opinion, however, in England was strongly against the Americans; and at last the Duke of Bedford, acting as its exponent for about the first time in his life, brought forward a motion in Parliament, that American rioters should be brought to England for trial, as there was no hope of getting an honest verdict out of an American jury. It was carried; but it met with the execration it deserved, and became a dead letter. By the close of the year 1769 a strong determination had gradually arisen throughout the length and breadth of the colonies to accept nothing less than the repeal of Townshend's measure in its entirety. Government recognized the necessity of making some concession; but pride prevented them giving in heartily and honestly. The import duties were therefore all removed *except the one on tea*. The result was therefore absolutely nil; for the Americans were as strongly exasperated as before, and as strongly determined not to submit to any taxation by Parliament. As Junius said, "In the repeal of those Acts which were most offensive to the Americans, the Parliament had done everything but remove the offence. They had relinquished the revenue, but judiciously preserved the contention."

Bedford's  
motion.

Incomplete  
repeal.

Matters, in fact, were rapidly approaching a crisis with the Grafton Ministry. For some time individual Ministers had privately disapproved of much that was done in the name of the whole Cabinet. They had confined themselves to their own departments, and under the specious excuse that they were Ministers of the House of Commons, had given a tacit sanction to much that incurred their secret reprobation. Such an anomalous state could obviously not last long. Moreover, the debates on the Wilkes case had restored a certain amount of union to the scattered fragments of the Opposition. A reconciliation had once more united Grenville, Chatham, and Temple. Chatham made overtures to Rockingham, and for the future spoke of him in terms of high praise. The result was a series of assaults on the Government, in which Chatham displayed all his old fire. In 1770 the king's speech was made the subject of his bitterest invective. It had studiously avoided all reference to the burning questions of the day, and devoted unusual attention to the "murrain

Fall of the  
Grafton  
Ministry.

among horned beasts." It was, in fact, as Junius scathingly described it, more worthy of a "ruined grazier" than a great king. Chatham proceeded to paint in the darkest colours the state to which the mistakes of the last ten years had reduced the country: her isolated position in Europe; the undisguised hostility of the Americans; the arbitrary violations of the constitution in the proceedings against Wilkes. He inveighed against the secret influence of the king, and openly attributed these evils to his baneful interference. The result was an explosion. Camden, the Chancellor, the ablest man in the Cabinet, threw off his allegiance to his chief, violently attacked the Government, and protested that the disqualification of Wilkes was an illegal encroachment on the liberty of the subject. His

example was followed by the Marquis of Granby, the Commander-in-Chief. Grafton was of course obliged to dismiss them both; and, finding it impossible to keep his Ministry any longer together, shortly afterwards himself resigned.

The game was apparently in the hands of the Opposition. But so disorganized were they really, in spite of the late hollow attempt at reunion, that it was utterly impossible for either Chatham or Kockingham to form a Ministry. George, therefore, at once seized the opportunity which he had so long waited for, and committed the task of forming a new Government to Lord North, a man entirely after his own heart, and the acknowledged leader of the Tories.

Thus ends the first period of the reign of George III. During the last ten years he had been struggling with the House of Commons, with the power of *organized parties*. These he had done his best to destroy; and in his crusade he had been supported by the great unrepresented masses and by the more liberal of those who were represented. The people, however, had assisted him not through any love of Personal Government or special desire to restore the lost power of prerogative, but because they hoped to obtain some share in the government by effecting a reform of the corrupt representative system. They had not understood the views of the king, nor he theirs; and each party to the delusion was in consequence doomed to bitter disappointment in the future. The people, however, were earliest awakened from their dream by the stern facts of the

Resignation  
of Grafton,  
1770.

Triumph of  
the king.

Survey of the  
first period  
and its  
results.

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Grafton Ministry, the repressive policy of which was directly stimulated by the king himself. The rending of the veil was followed by a total change in public feeling with regard to the Crown, which is most strongly exhibited in the altered tone of Junius. Hitherto the king had been, in the eyes of this arch-enemy of the Government, the good prince whose kindliness and good-nature not even the blunders of Bute and Grenville could obscure. But in the "Letter to the King" of 1769, George is openly accused of violating the Constitution; and warned that those who imitate the Stuarts should beware their fate. This last letter created an immense sensation, and marked at once the complete success of the king's policy, and the opening of men's eyes to his true character. The revelation, however, came too late. George had at last succeeded in surrounding himself with a large, compact, and well-disciplined body of *friends*, had thrust into the foremost place a man on whose subservience he had the most implicit reliance. He was therefore determined now to share power with nobody, but to sternly repress the slightest opposition.

### Section 3.—Radicalism.

One of the most important results of the Grafton Ministry was the rise of modern Radicalism. In 1769, during the excitement caused by the Wilkes case, the **Society of Friends of the People** was formed to support the Bill of Rights. Their principal objects were to assist Wilkes in his struggle with the Court, and to carry out parliamentary reforms of an extremely sweeping character. They advocated a return to the ancient custom of annual Parliaments; and that members of Parliament should be compelled to put off their senatorial character, and become mere delegates of their constituents by a well-organized system of effective control. Their leader was John **Home Tooke**, a disreputable clergyman, who had abandoned his cloth. Among their most prominent members were Wilkes, Glynn, Sawbridge, Oliver, and Townsend, who all took a decided part in the constitutional struggles of the reign. At first, however, they were but a small party. The violence of their principal orators, and the evil character of Wilkes, discredited them in the eyes of the great mass of the people; for most of those who advocated the cause of Wilkes from a constitutional point of view

**Society of  
Friends of the  
People, 1769.**

had no desire to be connected with his person or his principles. Circumstances, too, were slowly driving the country into strong Conservatism, until at last the great shock of the French Revolution crystallized the whole nation into an attitude of resistance to any forms of progress, from which they utterly refused to move for over a quarter of a century.

Sympathy with the French Revolution. The new-born Radical party naturally sympathized with the talent for destruction evinced by the French Revolutionists. The Constitutional Society, the London Corresponding Society, both

offshoots of the original "mighty Mother," extended the hand of friendship across the Channel to the reformers of the National Assembly. It is not strange, therefore, that at a time when Burke was convulsing the whole of England by his philippics against the French Revolution, its sympathizers should be regarded with the utmost suspicion, and should find great difficulty in adding to their numbers. One of the chief results of the movement was that the Whigs were eventually obliged to identify themselves with parliamentary reform, and entirely abandon their old selfish, oligarchical principles.

Reaction on the Whigs. This transformation, however, was effected very slowly indeed. The principal leaders of the old Whigs, Chatham, Burke, Rockingham, Fox, even Junius himself, did not advocate any lowering of the franchise. The utmost that the most enlightened among them contemplated was a thorough excision of all rotten boroughs. The question of the extension of the franchise therefore remained in the hands of the Radical party almost to the end of the century, and suffered accordingly.

#### Section 4.—*The Letters of Junius.*

In the preceding pages the name of "Junius" has been frequently mentioned as one of the principal opponents of the Ministry of the Duke of Grafton. Junius was an anonymous author, who was in the habit of writing letters addressed to the editor of *The Public Advertiser*, a newspaper of the period, in which he attacked the Government with the utmost bitterness and the most consummate power. These letters were issued first in 1767, and immediately rivetted the attention of the country. They have always attracted an undue amount of

interest owing to the mystery which surrounds them. It has never been explained who was their author. Woodfall, the publisher of *The Public Advertiser*, always professed utter ignorance as to the identity of his unknown correspondent. No one has ever laid claim to them. All to whom they were attributed indignantly denied the charge. Circumstantial evidence, worked up by the skill and care of various historians, seems to point to **Sir Philip Francis** as the true author, nor is there much doubt on the question at the present time. Francis himself, however, denied the fact invariably; or at most merely committed himself, to an equivocation, which might equally mean that he intended to claim or disclaim the authorship. It is true that to suppose Francis really was the author is to impute to him the rankest ingratitude and the most malignant attacks on men who had actually benefited him. But the security which protects anonymous productions, and which Junius contrived to preserve so remarkably, has a tendency at once to blunt the sensibilities and to sharpen the desire for fresh victims.

Their authorship.

The letters themselves are remarkable for their clearness of style, and the sledge-hammer way in which the author doubly "redoubles blow on blow" on the head of his prey. They display the utmost public spirit with regard to the constitutional disputes of the day; but they are stained by reckless cruelty, fiendish malignity, and wilful falsehood of the most unscrupulous kind. He neglected no form of torture which could wring the heart; he appears to have taken a hideous delight in dilating on the personal misfortunes or errors of his political opponents in order to arm his barbed shafts with deadlier venom. *He was, however, in no respect before his age.* The repeal of the Stamp Act had brought no pleasure to him; on the contrary he bewailed it as the commencement of evils. He disapproved of Grafton's measure for repealing the tea tax, while enunciating distinctly a claim to the right of taxing America, on the ground that it gave up the revenue while retaining the grievance; but his invective all through is merely the hearty contempt of a short-sighted critic for such a bungling measure, not of a sympathizer with the resistance of America. Junius himself would have retained the tax and not the empty claims alone. He was moreover utterly opposed to parliamentary reform, maintaining that the franchise was a

Character of the Letters.

Junius' narrow views.

*right* vested in each particular elector, and could not legally be diminished in value by any such measure as an extension. The letters themselves appeared at a very favourable time, when the Grafton Ministry were supplying their enemies with ample materials for the bitterest satire and invective. Grafton himself became the chief subject of attack. His political mistakes, the profligacy of his private life, his disreputable connection with Nancy Parsons, his illegitimate descent from Charles II., all became so many weapons in the hands of this great master of the art of invective with which to sear the brain and wring the heart-strings. The "Letter to the Duke of Grafton," by which the campaign was vigorously opened, traces a parallel between the vices and crimes of the Stuarts and those of this illegitimate scion of their House, which, in the words of the author, would almost serve as a foundation to conjecture, even if the facts of Grafton's ancestry were unknown. Among the other subjects of the onslaughts of Junius were Lord Mansfield, who had approved of the disqualification of Wilkes to sit in Parliament, and Blackstone, who in support of the Government had contradicted his own commentaries on the law of England. The king escaped for a long time owing to the strange error, which led the mass of the people to see in him a well-meaning prince, who was beset by evil counsellors. The "Letter to the King," however, of 1769, showed that Junius had at last looked behind the thin veil which concealed the secret and unconstitutional influence which had coloured the events of the preceding years. He accused George of violating the Constitution to gratify an unworthy personal resentment against Wilkes; of hazarding the affection of the English people; of plundering and oppressing the Irish; of alienating the hearts of the Americans. Secure behind his impenetrable barrier of secrecy, this Assassin in the Iron Mask darkly threatened the advent of a new Cromwell to exact retribution from the imitator of Charles.

Violent and unscrupulous, petty, vulgar, coarse as he was, His public spirit. still the public spirit which Junius displayed, the daring with which he attacked the arbitrary actions of the Government, the ruthless skill with which he plunged his keen rapier into the crevices and joints of their armour, undoubtedly did good service to the cause of liberty at a time of imminent danger.

## Book VII—PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF GEORGE III., 1770-82.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE AMERICAN WAR, 1760-83.

##### *Section 1.—The American Colonies, 1760-64.*

THE thirteen American provinces may be divided into three distinct groups according to their mode of origin. These were the New England Colonies, the Dutch Colonies, and the Southern Colonies.

The first group included Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. They were practically bounded to the west by the River Hudson and by Lakes George and Champlain, which form an almost straight boundary line from New York City to the St. Lawrence. These provinces owed their origin to the Pilgrim Fathers and other English refugees, who sought beyond the Atlantic that freedom of worship which was denied them in their mother country. It must be added that they did not show themselves much more ready to concede toleration to others in America than the Church of England had to them. The most important town and the principal seaport was Boston, a flourishing city, the capital of the State of Massachusetts.

The New  
England  
Colonies.

Next to them came the second group, those colonies which had been acquired from the Dutch. These were, strictly speaking, only **New York, New Jersey, and Delaware**, an offshoot of New Jersey. The two latter were peopled almost entirely by Quakers, Presby-

The Middle  
Colonies.

terians, and Anabaptists. The Quakers, however, had spread outwards, and formed another province to the west of New Jersey, which was known as **Pennsylvania**, from the name of the great Quaker leader, William Penn. Connected with the Quaker states was the province of **Maryland**, though the connection was very undefined. As a rule, the Governor of Pennsylvania was also Governor of Maryland, but there was a separate Assembly for each state. The principal towns were New York City, at the mouth of the Hudson, and Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, situated on the Delaware.

To the south of these came the third group, between the units of which there was really very little in common, except the fact that they cannot possibly be included in either of the **The Southern Colonies.** first two groups. They were **Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.** Virginia, separated from Maryland by the broad bed of the Potomac, had been originally founded by Raleigh, who gave it the name of Virginia in honour of the "Virgin Queen." It had been settled principally by people of a much higher standing than the other colonies, and as a rule the inhabitants were members of the Church of England. In right of being the oldest and most populated colony, Virginia naturally took up a lofty position among her companions. The Virginians, from their superior birth, breeding, and education, were regarded as the aristocracy of America. Below Virginia came the two States of Carolina which dated from the reign of, and owed their name to Charles II. South of South Carolina lay the peculiar State of Georgia, which had been founded at the beginning of the century by a philanthropist, General Oglethorpe. It was intended to be a veritable Cave of Adullam, to which all who were in debt or distress should be able to flee for refuge; and especially to afford complete freedom of worship to those who desired to escape the religious persecutions of the Old World.

Between these various sets of colonies there was every kind of difference, great and small. Nay, the units of the separate groups were entirely distinct in many particulars from one another. The Governments of the New England Provinces were by far the most democratic in form; but then Massachusetts was more democratic than New Hampshire, Rhode Island than Massachusetts. Most of the Governments consisted of a Governor, appointed by the Crown, and two Chambers, one of which was usually also

#### **Disunion of the colonies.**



nominated by the Crown. In Pennsylvania, however, there was only one Chamber; and in Massachusetts both Chambers were elected by the people. There were, besides, differences of climate, differences of law, of produce, of temperament, almost of nationality, between the various states. It therefore seemed utterly impossible that they could ever unite. It had been impossible to get them to act as a confederation hitherto. It is highly probable that nothing but the tremendous pressure of the American War would ever have crushed such ill-fitting fragments into one harmonious whole. There was really much more to bind them to the mother country than to one another; and one of the great difficulties during the Seven Years' War had been the impossibility of getting them to act together even for defence. It was this which had determined Pitt to effect the conquest of Canada, in order to remove the constant source of danger from the French colonies, which the English states were totally unable to cope with individually. The zeal with which England had taken up the question, the ardour with which she had prosecuted the war, and the success which attended it, produced a great outburst of loyalty, so that the feeling of respect and reverence for the mother country was never greater than on the very eve of the quarrel.

Loyalty to  
England,  
1763.

The colonies, in fact, had every reason to be loyal, and had really very few grievances to complain of. They were left very much to themselves; their government, even in the Crown colonies, was an extremely liberal one; they had been protected against all enemies. Their one great grievance was commercial. They were not allowed to export goods to any other country but England; they were obliged to pass all goods brought from Europe through the English custom-houses before importing them to America; and all manufactures which would clash with English interests were utterly prohibited. Undoubtedly these laws were both mistaken in political economy, and also unjust to the Americans; but it was no peculiar hardship. The principle on which all the nations of Europe had founded their colonial establishments was that they should be subservient to the interests of the mother country, and should trade only with her. Trade was not free in Europe. In France it was not even free between province and province. A series of trade restrictions lay between England and Ireland. Monopolies and privileges of various kinds

Commercial  
grievance.

fettered the commerce of England. It was too much, therefore, to expect that England should deliberately and suddenly reverse her whole commercial system solely in the case of America. Nor do the laws appear to have been really a grievance before the Ministry of George Grenville. They were very badly administered and evaded with impunity. A vast smuggling trade sprang up with the Spanish colonies, which enabled the Americans to get rid of a large portion of their produce by other channels than the trade with the mother country.

It must have been evident to any statesman who looked at this« matter coolly, that, when the colonies really wished to separate, nothing on earth could prevent them; for it is almost impossible to conquer such a huge *nationality* as America, though it had proved easy to dispossess the small garrison of Frenchmen which had occupied Canada. Hitherto, however, there had existed almost a necessity for union between Impetus to separation. England and the American colonies, more for the interest of the latter than the former. The Peace of Paris, 1763, removed this necessity by removing the danger existing from the French. This fact was obvious to most statesmen at the time. Montcalm even, during the period of his Governorship, stated that he believed that the English would conquer Cariada, but that the conquest would be shortly followed by the secession of America; for, when once the French were driven from their frontiers, the turbulent disposition of the colonists and the haughty ascendancy of the English Government, must lead to a split between the two.

There was one source of danger, however, left after 1760, and this was the Indians. It was to protect the colonies against the attacks of these savages that Grenville brought forward his scheme in 1763 for unifying and consolidating the colonies into one confederation, and, above all, for raising a colonial army, which was to be paid by taxation" Granville's plan for a colonial army. levied by the English Parliament in America. This the Americans refused to submit to, on the ground that taxation and representation ought to go hand in hand; and that as they were not represented -in Parliament, neither ought they to pay taxes voted in Parliament. To the argument that they were really already taxed by the English commercial measures, they replied by drawing a distinction between taxation and customs, and maintaining that the latter merely belonged to the general right of regulating trade,

which was held to be an inherent attribute of the mother country.

There was, however, a considerable amount of justice in the claims of England that the colonies ought to pay the army which was intended for their defence; nor is there any doubt that their resistance was at first due in a great measure to a vulgar desire to escape the expense. There was no intention on the part of the Government to tax America for the benefit of England; all the money thus raised was to be applied to the defence of America solely. The difference between customs and other forms of taxation was really fanciful. There was no distinction in law; and the Crown lawyers all maintained that the one might be exercised as readily and lawfully as the other. Even if the argument that commerce is an Imperial matter, and hence proper to be dealt with in the Imperial Parliament, is of any value, it is difficult to realize that the defence of the empire is not a matter also of Imperial importance, and equally proper to be provided for by the central Government. One thing, however, is remarkably certain—the Americans had no constitutional or other objections to urge against the mother country undertaking their defence; their eloquence was reserved for the moment when they were asked to share in paying the bill.

Moreover, England really had imposed taxation on the Americans by the command of the central Government only, when she introduced the post-office system among them; and yet this had not excited the slightest comment. From the point of law, therefore, of precedent, of common sense, and justice, the English Government had the right on their side when they imposed the stamp tax on America. But if the question be asked whether, this measure was expedient, whether it was well-managed, whether the opportunity was a favourable one, whether Grenville was the man to carry it out successfully, the answer, is, "No, a thousand times no!" Moreover, unfortunately for Grenville, the question ran on much broader lines than the narrow, vulgar principle of economy on which the quarrel was really started. There were petty meannesses, errors of judgment, even crimes, committed by the Americans all through the struggle, which have left a dark stain on the tangled history of that unhappy time; but in proportion as the attitude of the colonies becomes more threatening, and the action of the

Justice of the Stamp Tax.

Mismanagement of its imposition.

Government more sternly repressive, it is impossible not to see that it is really a question of liberty on the one side and tyranny on the other. Here, as in the other collisions between the Government of George III. and the rising spirit of Democracy, there was no thought of expediency, constitutional law, or justice; all opposition must be at once put down at home and abroad. The American War was therefore really but a phase of the great struggle with the principle of liberty which George III. had deliberately entered on. The triumph of the Americans marked the moment when the king realized for the first time that the powers he had unchained, and the resistance he had encountered were far too vast for him to cope with successfully, and that his policy of personal government must be modified to suit the irresistible force of circumstances. The outbreak of the French Revolution, however, destroyed the impetus in favour of liberty which had been the result of the American War; and by driving all the best elements and greatest statesmen of the country into a determined reactionary policy of repression, enabled the king to recover a large measure of the power which he had been compelled to surrender, and obscured the true importance to England of the success of her revolted colonies.

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### *Section 2.—Drifting into War, 1764-75.*

The American War was the result of unpardonable blundering on the part of the Government with regard to the taxation question, which has been narrated in the history of the preceding period. The first step was really the commercial legislation, of George Grenville, which produced both distress and discontent in the colonies, and rendered the Americans altogether unwilling to accept such an addition to their burdens as the stamp tax of 1765. The stamp tax was repealed by the Rockingham Ministry, 1766; and for 9, short time the breach between England and the colonies was healed. Unfortunately, however, the illness of Chatham gave Charles Townshend an opportunity of carrying his own views into execution; and in consequence in an ill-advised moment he brought before the House of Commons his Bill for imposing import duties on tea, glass, and paper to be levied at the American ports, 1767. This measure renewed the

The early steps.

Rockingham Ministry, 1766; and for 9, short time the breach between England and the colonies was healed. Unfortunately, however, the

hostility of the Americans, which found a vent in organized riots of an alarming description. The rioters were in some cases arrested; but the utter impossibility of procuring a conviction from an American jury led to **Bedford's celebrated proposal** in 1768, that they should be removed for trial to England. An attempt was made at conciliation by the Duke of Grafton, which, was, however entirely spoilt by the miserable pride which retained the **tea tax** as a proof that England had the actual right to impose contributions on the colonies. The two last measures produced the greatest resentment in America. Riots occurred in all parts with alarming frequency. Collisions between the military and the mob seemed daily likely to break out. The ancient and aristocratic Colony of Virginia issued an order prohibiting the importation of British goods altogether, until the duties of 1767 were entirely removed. America was rapidly drifting down the stream of rebellion.

In this electric state of the atmosphere it is not surprising that a violent riot broke out in Boston. The soldiers, who had long been exasperated by the outrages and insults of the townspeople, stung to fury, fired on the mob with fatal effect; and this "**Boston Massacre**" did not tend to relieve the high pressure to which public opinion was gradually rising in America. Skilful agitators took advantage of this unfortunate affray, for which really the injured had their own turbulence and disorder to blame. It was determined to try the soldiers for their lives; and, though they were nearly all acquitted, popular opinion represented the affair as a deliberate and premeditated massacre of unoffending citizens.

The Boston  
Massacre,  
1770.

The Government of Lord North pursued the policy which had so dangerously alienated the Americans. They retained the tea tax as a useless and irritating symbol of British ascendancy, in spite of the absolute refusal of the Americans to purchase any tea which had paid the duty to the revenue. In 1772, however, the celebrated affair of **Hutchinson's Letters** still further embittered the dispute. Hutchinson, the Governor of Massachusetts, had long carried on a correspondence with Mr. Whately, in which he advocated the use of strong repressive measures as the only means of pacifying America. On Whately's death these letters were stolen, and carried to Benjamin **Franklin**, who was at this time Agent-General for several of the colonies, Franklin sent them over

The letters of  
Hutchinson.

to America,—a thing which he clearly had no right to do; for they were private correspondence, and had fallen into his hands in a far from legitimate way. Their arrival, however, created a great ferment in America; and the Massachusetts Assembly petitioned in violent terms for the removal of Hutchinson. The question was brought before the Privy Council,—Franklin himself being present as Agent-General. At this session the Solicitor-General, Wedderburn, with extraordinary indiscretion made a most brilliant but most cuttingly virulent attack on Franklin. He accused him of deliberate theft for the most malignant of purposes. He declared that the execration of Europe would pursue him like a second Cain, wherever he hid his dishonoured head. He implored the Council to make a terrible example of the man who had dared to acknowledge and glory in his crime. The Lords of the Council laughed and applauded at each fresh stroke of Wedderburn's invective; but Franklin stood calm and unmoved, though all eyes were fixed upon him, and all drew aloof from him as from a plague-stricken person. The petition of Massachusetts was voted to be scandalous and seditious; and Franklin was ignominiously dismissed from his office of Postmaster-General for America. The Government, however, had acted extremely unwisely. They had inflicted an unpardonable outrage on the most sagacious of the American leaders; and neither Franklin, nor the people he represented, were likely to forgive or forget it.

The Government soon imbroiled itself once more with the people of Boston. With the view of relieving the East India Company, which was heavily in debt, a **statute** was passed in 1773 empowering them to export their tea from England to America without paying any tax at the English ports, subject only to the smaller American duties. This would have enabled the Company to sell their commodity much cheaper to the colonists, and would really have been a great benefit to both parties. The colonists fully realized the facts of the case; but they considered that the boon was intended as a bribe to seduce them into purchasing the taxed tea, and hence recognizing indirectly the right of England to impose the duty. The result of this feeling was that when the tea-ships arrived at Boston in December, a party of men, disguised as **Mohawk Indians**, boarded them,

Wedderburn's  
attack on  
Franklin.

The Indian  
Tea Bill,  
1773.

The Boston  
**Mohawks**,  
1773.

and flung the whole cargo into the sea. In other places the tea-ships were at once obliged to sail back to the Thames.

The news of this violence greatly exasperated both the Government and the English people. Violent measures were at once brought forward. No attempt was made to obtain compensation for the destruction of the tea, or to exact retribution from the individual offenders. Nothing less than the utter ruin of the whole town in which the outrage had been committed would satisfy the Ministry's thirst for revenge. A **Bill** was introduced to destroy the commercial prosperity of Boston by removing the custom-house to Salem and closing the Port. A second Bill was introduced for the amendment of the Massachusetts Charter, transforming it into a Crown Colony of the closest description; in which the Council and all the officers were to be nominated by the Crown and the Governor. These two measures rendered any reconciliation impracticable for the future; and from this moment the war became inevitable.

Boston Port  
Bill, 1774.

the Port. A

Massachu-  
setts Charter  
Bill, 1774.

In spite of the powerful attacks of Chatham and Burke, and the pungent criticism of Charles Fox, who amply revenged himself on the Ministry for his ejection from the Treasury, the Government insisted on enforcing these injudicious severities. A general revolt followed immediately. A Committee of Public Safety was organized in Massachusetts to direct the resistance, enrol militiamen, and, if necessary, conduct hostilities against the English Commandant, General Gage. A General **Congress** of Representatives from all the States, except Georgia, met at Philadelphia, and issued a Declaration of Rights. In this remarkable document they set forth a statement of their inherent rights as Englishmen, and maintained that these had been infringed by the recent legislation of the Home Government. Matters, in fact, became so threatening that Gage made every preparation for fortifying Boston.

Energetic  
measures of  
the colonists,  
1774.

In England public opinion was strongly against the Americans, and on this occasion, George, who was firmly determined that the Government should not give way an inch, found himself once more the representative of national feeling, which he had so long defied and disregarded. A general election, held amid the excitement produced by the resistance of America,

Public  
opinion in  
England,  
1775.

gave a strong majority to Ministers, and practically a blank cheque to the king. In vain did Chatham bring forward a proposal for reconciliation in 1775. It was rejected by overwhelming numbers. The march of circumstances proceeded with frightful rapidity.

*Section 3.—The War with America, 1775-77.*

The long-expected collision at last took place in the little skirmish of Lexington. Gage had sent out a small expedition to seize the stores and disperse the militiamen who were gradually assembling at Concord, the seat of the rebel Committee of Massachusetts. The royal troops were attacked on their return at Lexington, and chased with considerable loss all the way to Boston.

War at once broke out. The Congress assumed sovereign authority. Colonel Washington, a Virginian gentleman (the Major Washington, who was defeated at Great Meadows in 1754), was appointed Commander-in-Chief. An expedition was sent to invade Canada. And every nerve was strained to organize and discipline an army.

In June a desperate struggle occurred outside Boston for the possession of Bunker's Hill, a position which commanded the town. The Americans fought with the most determined daring and desperation, but were eventually obliged to abandon the height to the English. The attack on Canada proved a failure. The Canadians had no sympathy with the Americans; had no special grievances against the English Government; while their national feeling was insulted by the invasion. However, Lord Howe, Gage's successor, was obliged to evacuate Boston and Halifax. Congress, rejecting the offers of the Government to receive and pardon all who submitted, took the final irrevocable step, and issued the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

The English now determined to reconquer by force of arms the country they had lost. The difficulties, however, which beset this design were so vast that there was really very little



hope of success. The English plan- was to make New York the centre of operations, and at the same time execute a flank attack on the rebel leaders from Canada.

The English plan of campaign, 1777;

**Howe** was to conduct the campaign in the Jerseys. **Burgoyne** was to march down Lakes Champlain and George from Canada. **Clinton** was to co-operate with him from New York. Thus the New England States would be entirely cut off from the Southern States, and the rebellion might be crushed in detail.

This elaborate plan, however, fell through entirely. "Washington, defeated again and again by Howe in the Jerseys, contrived each time to draw off his troops with honour. At the end of the campaign he retired to Valley Forge, where he spent the winter in organizing, disciplining, and inspiring his ragged forces. The two Northern armies failed to co-operate altogether; and Burgoyne, cut off from Canada, surrounded by at least four times his own number, and without any hope of reinforcements, was obliged to surrender to General Gates at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

" Burgoyne, unconscious of impending fates,  
Could cut his way through woods, but not through Gates,"

ran the popular epigram which celebrated the disaster of this gallant but unfortunate officer. There were really very strong reasons for the surrender at the time; but the after-consequences of it were so vast that the circumstances were entirely forgotten, and the fact itself denounced in language of the most violent and bitterest character.

Surrender of Burgoyne, Oct. 17, 1777.

#### *Section 4.—The General War, 1777-83.*

The surrender of Burgoyne was followed immediately by the publication of a treaty of commerce between France and America; and in spite of fresh efforts on the part of Lord North to effect a reconciliation, the treaty was ratified by Congress, with a distinct understanding that they should make no peace with England, unless the latter would consent to recognize the independence of America,

Treaty with France, May, 1778.

The position of England was now one of such peril, that in spite of the hostility of the king and people to America, Lord North insisted that the only way "by which the integrity of the Empire could be maintained was the assumption of the Government by Lord Chatham, with the view to effecting a reconciliation by judicious concessions.

Death of Chatham, May 11, 1778. The death of Chatham, however, destroyed this hope; and after a last attempt at conciliation, which was scornfully rejected by the Americans, Lord North was persuaded by the king, against his own convictions, to remain in office and to carry on the war.

The long pent-up feelings of jealousy with which England had been regarded by the Powers of Europe now found at last expression. Spain (1779) and Holland (1780) were soon added to the list of her open enemies. A combined French and Spanish fleet besieged Gibraltar, 1779. The Baltic Powers, headed by Catherine II. of Russia, formed the Armed Neutrality, 1780, and declared themselves prepared to resist by force the further execution of the English claim to confiscate the goods of her enemies when found on board a neutral vessel. The whole maritime power of Europe was arrayed against her; and for a short time she entirely lost the supremacy of the seas. The English fleets crouched in harbours and inlets; while the Count de Grasse rode triumphant on the American seaboard, and the Bailli de Suffren lorded it in the Indian Ocean.

Meanwhile disasters had dogged our footsteps in America. The capture of Charleston suggested the idea of a campaign in South Carolina. This plan was vigorously put into execution by Lord Cornwallis, who had been sent south by Clinton. Again and again he defeated the American General, Greene; but his force was too scanty to allow him to follow up his successes, and in consequence the Americans gradually recovered the whole of South Carolina and Georgia, except Charleston and Savannah. Cornwallis\* position, in fact, became extremely critical in 1781. He was opposed, almost surrounded, by an overwhelming army of the enemy; there was no prospect of reinforcements or supplies; the French fleet rode off the coast with a far superior weight of metal to that of the English. The result was that he found himself besieged in York Town, not

Death of  
Chatham,  
May 11, 1778.

General  
maritime war,  
1778-80.

Campaign in  
South Caro-  
lina, 1779-81.

far from Chesapeake Bay, by an army of 18,000 men, with a fine train of artillery. When every hope of assistance had faded, and all attempts at escape had failed, Cornwallis, like Burgoyne, submitted to the inevitable, and surrendered, October 18, 1781. This practically ended the war in America, and caused the fall of Lord North's Ministry.

Surrender of  
York Town,  
1781.

Meanwhile the maritime war had been almost equally disastrous for England. Minorca had surrendered to the Duke of Crillon. The whole of the Leeward Islands, except Barbadoes and Antigua, were lost. The siege of Gibraltar was pressed on with astonishing vigour. The great success of France stimulated her hopes and ambition. Therefore, when England made overtures for peace in 1782, the French Minister, Vergennes, demanded that the southern part of the Indian peninsula should be yielded to France, and that England should be content with Bengal. The surrender of York Town had inspired a belief that the power of England was waning. The French hoped to complete her discomfiture, and bring her to her knees by the capture of Gibraltar and Jamaica. They steadily therefore refused to listen to negotiations on the basis of the Treaty of 1763; and all the allies threw in their lot with France except America. America, satisfied with having secured her independence, arranged a secret accommodation with England, thus throwing her friends completely over. This treaty, however, was not to be revealed till peace was concluded with France. Gratitude plays a scanty *role* in politics.

Disaster; of  
England.

Arrogance of  
the French.

The tide, however, soon turned in favour of England. Rodney caught the French expedition under the Count de Grasse on the way to Jamaica, and won a splendid victory by the new manoeuvre of *breaking the line*, 1782. This consisted in advancing in column against the enemy's line, passing through the middle, and surrounding one half with the whole fleet. It was easy to destroy them, thus outnumbered, before the other half could come to their assistance. The vigorous defence of Elliott, and the natural strength of the place, enabled Gibraltar to hold out against all the efforts of the French and Spaniards, till the arrival of Lord Howe with an English squadron compelled them to raise the siege and retire discomfited, 1782.

Triumph of  
England,  
1782.

These great successes compelled the allies to accept peace on

far more reasonable terms, which was signed at **Versailles**, January, 1783. It confirmed the provisional treaty with

Treaty of  
Versailles,  
Jan., 1783. America, by which her independence had been formally recognized, her northern boundary defined, and commercial relations established. To

France England ceded the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, and the West African settlements, Goree and Senegal. In the West Indies all conquests were mutually restored, except Tobago, which was given to France. In the East Indies all conquests were restored, except the Dutch town of **Negapatam**, which was retained by England. The Floridas were restored to Spain, England receiving in exchange the **Bahamas** and the right of cutting logwood in Honduras. The old Dunkirk Treaty with France was formally abandoned. This settlement was definitely confirmed by Parliament in September, 1783.

Thus ended the third act of the great duel between England and France for the New World, which had begun in the Jenkins' Ear War. The American War had developed into a renewal of the old struggle between France and England for maritime and

Revenge of  
France. colonial supremacy, and though France had been foiled in her efforts to recover the ground lost in the Seven Years' War, she had revenged herself

by helping America to independence. She was yet to make one more hopeless attempt to dispute with England the dominion of the seas and the New World in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. She was unable, however, in spite of the most desperate and gigantic efforts, to reverse the decision which had been pronounced in favour of England.



free people called the Rohillas. Some rumours of this had reached England, and so the new councillors came out strongly-prejudiced against Hastings.

A conflict now ensued between Francis, supported by Claver-  
ing and Monson, and Hastings, backed by Barwell  
Strife between Francis and Hastings. alone. Nuncomar, eager for revenge, offered to prove Hastings guilty of high crimes, and the Council determined to put him on trial. Matters

were approaching a difficult crisis, when Nuncomar was arrested on a charge of forgery, and condemned to be hung by the Supreme Court. Whether Hastings had got up the charge is uncertain. He asserted on oath that he had nothing to do with it. But certainly it came very opportunely for him. From that day his power was secure, for no Hindoo was brave enough to  
Execution of Nuncomar. risk the anger of one who had struck down the head of their religion. His supremacy was more completely established by the death of Monson, which enabled him, with the help of his casting vote, to command a permanent majority in the Council.

War, however, was on the eve of breaking out all over India. The Bombay Government had embroiled them-  
War, 1779-84. selves with the Mahrattas by supporting Kaghoba, who had been deposed from the headship of that nation for murder. War was declared between England and France in 1779, and must necessarily extend to India. In 1780 Hyder Ali took advantage of the difficulties of the English to flood the Carnatic with his irregular cavalry, and advanced rapidly on Madras. Hastings, however, acted decidedly and immediately. He captured Chandernagore and Pondicherry. He concluded the Treaty of Salbhye, 1782, with the Mahrattas. He sent all the money and troops he could collect to Madras under the command of Sir Eyre Coote. Two great victories  
Hastings' success. of Porto Novo and Pollilore freed the Carnatic, and the death of Hyder Ali enabled the English to carry on the struggle more successfully against his son, the far inferior Tippoo. The general peace of Versailles, in 1783, ended the war with the Dutch and French. A separate agreement of Mangalore was made with Tippoo on the basis of mutual restoration of all conquests, 1784.

It was to sustain the burden of these wars that Hastings committed the most daring and cruel of the acts of oppression for which he was afterwards impeached. He demanded 50,000J. from **Cheyte Sing**, the tributary Rajah of Benares, which he

had a perfect right to do; but as the latter delayed! to pay, Hastings at once raised the sum to 500,000/. He even went to Benares and arrested Cheyte Sing in person. The result was a furious riot, in which Hastings' life was in considerable danger. British troops, however, were rapidly marched up; the Nabob was expelled; his property seized, and a fresh arrangement made with a new Nabob at a far higher tribute.

Robbery of  
Cheyte Sing.

The constant drain of the war, and the eternal cry of the Directors for "more," led Hastings into fresh paths of crime. The Vizier of Oude was a ruffian, and wanted money. He thought he could get it by robbing his mother and grandmother,—the Begums of Oude. He thought it safest, however, to promise half to the English Government if they would allow the villainy to be done. Hastings considered the idea a good one. The Begums' city was therefore blockaded, and reduced by famine; the Princesses themselves were atrociously ill-used; their two ancient ministers were imprisoned, starved, and tortured. Then the Nabob took possession of the Begums' land; Hastings received about a million of money for the Company. It was urged as a reason for these atrocities that the Princesses had endeavoured to rouse an insurrection in Oude; but no proof was ever advanced to support this statement.

The Begums  
of Oude.

To Warren Hastings we owe the preservation of our Empire in India at a time of imminent danger. He must be regarded as second in the list of great warriors and illustrious statesmen by whom that mighty fabric has been reared. Great excuses are to be found for him in all his actions, arising from the malice of Francis, the customs of the natives, and the rapacity of the Directors. But with regard to the Rohilla question, the treatment of Cheyte Sing, and the Begums of Oude, Englishmen must ever regret that such distinguished talents and such striking administrative powers should have been dimmed in the eyes of posterity by crimes of such magnitude.

Greatness and  
Crimes of  
Hastings.

Rumours of misgovernment and oppression were heard vaguely in England. More tangible grounds for censure was the fact that the Company could not pay its way, but was obliged to borrow from Government. Tentative attempts were made to provide a remedy; but it was not till 1783 that a great, and sweeping measure was introduced by Charles James Pox.

Parliamentary  
interference.

## CHAPTER III.

## IRELAND, 1779-82.

THE state of Ireland during the early part of the century was literally that of a conquered country. The Irish were regarded and treated as the "common enemy." They had hardly any rights at all; not even the ordinary right of personal liberty.

The Church was the Church of the Protestant minority, and was supported by *tithes* levied chiefly from the Catholic majority, the Church. all great landowners being exempted. There were very few Churchmen altogether. A number of pluralists filled innumerable benefices, and performed their duties very inadequately. Frequent scandals were the result; and a case is on record where the management or mismanagement of the spiritual welfare of a whole district was practically in the hands of a girl of twenty years of age.

The Catholic religion was strictly proscribed as in England, and with even greater severity. Intermarriages between people of different faith were forbidden under heavy penalties. The rewards offered for the capture of priests made priest-hunting a regular trade. The only schools allowed to exist in the country were the Charter Schools, supported by Government, which were conducted on a strictly Protestant basis. So that really in times of distress Catholic parents were exposed to the temptation of handing over their children to be kept at these schools and educated in the Protestant faith, in order to save them from perishing of famine.

Moreover, the landlords were all Protestants, and in most cases absentees. There was absolutely no sympathy between them and their tenants. The latter were exposed to the oppression of the bailiff, against whom it was almost impossible to get any redress in the

Proscription  
of the  
Catholics.

Absenteeism  
and oppres-  
sion.



courts. The former regarded his estates solely as a means of revenue, and had very little knowledge even of the tyranny practised in his name.

The commercial and material prosperity of Ireland had been deliberately destroyed for the benefit of England. Its wool trade was utterly prohibited; its hempen trade limited; and many other branches of commerce altogether stifled in the interest of the English producers. Its Commerce. linen manufacture was allowed to continue, but it received no encouragement from England, and the country was too utterly impoverished to support it properly. •

The Government of Ireland consisted of a Lord-Lieutenant and a Parliament. The Irish House of Commons numbered 300 members, of whom 216 represented boroughs of the type known as *rotten*. The franchise, in Government. fact, was in a worse state even than in England. The Houses themselves were more corrupt than even their English equivalents. Nominally this Parliament had full taxing and legislative powers. Actually it was entirely subject to the English Privy Council; for by Poyning's Law (passed 1485) no Bill could be brought in without the approval, or passed without the assent of that body. An additional statute passed in the sixth year of George I. gave the English Parliament the power of making statutes which should be binding on Ireland without any necessity for the coisent of the Irish Parliament.

The result was that Ireland was in a very wretched state. The poverty of the people was something terrible. They were yearly exposed to the danger of famine. Agrarian Misery of the outrages were common all through the country. country. But still there was no active disloyalty, nor any attempt to throw off the heavy yoke of England. Thurot, as we have seen, met with no sympathy in 1760. Not a breath of sedition stirred the air during the Seven Years' War.

The example of the Americans, however, encouraged the Irish to an attempt to better their condition. They demanded commercial freedom, and in this they were supported by the powerful voice of Burke. Small relief, however, was given them; and so Grattan, the leader of the National party, determined to apply pressure to the Government. Volunteers. Companies of volunteers had been formed in 1779 all through the country, with the consent of the Government, to perform the work of protection against any hostile

attempt on the part of France, which the Ministry confessed themselves unable to do owing to the necessity of concentrating all their forces on America. Kelying on this army, Grattan compelled the Irish Parliament to demand free trade, and to grant supplies for six months only. Alarmed at this threatening demonstration, and fearing to lose Ireland as he had lost America, Lord North introduced a measure allowing Ireland complete equality with England in all commercial matters, 1780.

Encouraged by this concession, Grattan raised his demands, and insisted on the repeal of Poyning's Law and 6 Geo. I. His position was now much stronger, and the organization of the volunteers more complete. A great meeting, therefore, was held at **Dungannon**, which accepted Grattan's proposals; and once more the Irish Parliament was coerced into passing a motion declaring the perfect legislative independence of Ireland. So dangerous was the agitation existing in Ireland at this time that the Rockingham Ministry, though well foreseeing the evils which must follow, were obliged to consent unwillingly, 1782. There cannot be any doubt that this measure precipitated, and rendered absolutely necessary, the ultimato legislative union of England and Ireland.

## CHAPTER IV.

## EVENTS IN ENGLAND, 1770-82.

*Section I.—Lord North, 1770-82.*

AND SO, after a ten years' struggle, the king had at last triumphed over the Whig party. The Opposition was entirely disorganized. The Bedford and Grenville Whigs were practically identified with the Government. Chatham and Eockingham were openly hostile; but they were as eager to oppose and humiliate one another, as to attack the Government. Their opposition, therefore, was not of much value, and the strength of the Government was almost irresistible. So obvious was it that there was no hope of the Opposition in its present disunited condition ever obtaining office, that many, like the great Whig lawyer, Wedderburn, swallowed their opinions, and joined the Government. The result was that an entire stagnation of public business set in for some time, broken only by the disgraceful and ridiculous bickering of the two sections of the Whigs. Junius, in despair, flung down his pen. His mission had failed. He would write no more.

Strength of  
the Govern-  
ment.

At the head of this singular Government Was Lord **North**, Lord Guilford's son. He was an awkward, bulky man, with swollen cheeks and staring eyes, which enabled his enemies to nickname him "the Blind Trumpeter." He was, however, an extremely able and business-like statesman, had great common sense, and was blessed with a singularly sweet temper, which enabled him to hear unmoved the bitterest attacks of his enemies. He had a great tendency to fall asleep at almost any time; and he found the effect of Parliamentary eloquence so extremely sleep-compelling, that he almost destroyed the pleasure of parliamentary opposition. The most violent invective fell unheeded at times

on the recumbent figure of Lord North; and it was to no purpose that the orator accused him of slumbering over the ruin of the Constitution. The charge might be true, but Lord North did not hoar it..

This Ministry was eminently the king's instrument. It was supported by the royal influence; it consisted mainly of the *King's Friends*. Grenville and Granby died in 1770. Sandwich, Grafton, Wedderburn, Suffolk, Whately, all deserted the

Whigs. Charles Fox, Sir Edward Hawke, Lords  
Influence of the king. Hillsborough and Halifax were included in its

ranks. Its strength seemed irresistible, and it was governed solely by the king. "Not only did the king direct his Ministers in all important matters of domestic and foreign policy; but he suggested the management of debates in Parliament, what motions should be made or opposed, and how measures should be carried. He reserved for himself all the patronage. He arranged the cast of the administration; the places of Ministers, law officers, members of the household. He nominated and promoted the English and Scotch judges; managed all the preferments in the Church; disposed of the military governments, regiments, and commissions." All this patronage was used solely to create a party in both Houses, and the control of this party enabled the king to do exactly what he pleased in Parliament. The result was that the power of the Crown, almost as obsolete as prerogative itself, revived and flourished with extraordinary vitality under the new title of *influence*. Formerly the Opposition had inveighed against the

secret influence of Bute; but now they saw more clearly behind the figure of Lord North the baneful influence of George III. himself. To George, therefore, is directly due all the disasters of the time. He it was who was determined not to yield an inch to the Americans; who insisted on the prosecution of the

war; who persuaded Lord North not to "desert" him when the latter's own convictions were  
Repressive policy of George. against continuing the struggle. He it was

who persistently opposed Economical and Parliamentary Reform, and marshalled his forces steadily night after night to oppose the motions of Chatham, Burke, and Dunning. He insisted on continuing the proceedings against the printers, even when Lord North considered it advisable to drop them. The Whig Governments, corrupt as they were, had at least avoided open conflict with the people. Now, however, the Ministry was brought disastrously into collision again and

again with public opinion by the narrow-minded obstinacy of the king. During the American War it is true that public opinion was with the king against the rebels; but this agreement was short-lived, was soon broken by the disastrous issue of the war, and was due, not to affection for George, but hatred for America.

Perhaps one of the most important elements from which the new-born power of the Crown derived its exuberant vitality was the vast wealth which flowed into the country from India, and was used by the Indian civil servants and officers to purchase parliamentary influence. These men The Indian Nabobs. were accustomed to the despotic principles of government, which were necessary in India. They naturally therefore leant towards the royal power, and swelled the party of the *King's Friends*. Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, two of the most distinguished of the Company's officials, supported the king steadily both in and out of Parliament.

The well-head, however, from which this royal influence flowed was to be found in the corrupt state of the representative system, and the unprincipled policy by which the whole Crown patronage was uniformly dispensed for purely party purposes. Matters had grown worse since Corruption. the days of Newcastle. In 1770, 192 members of the House of Commons held places under Government. In 1782 no less than 11,500 revenue officers were employed. All these public officials were bound to vote as bidden on pain of instant dismissal. An attempt was made to restore purity in 1770 to the decision of contested elections, which had degenerated into a mere party question irrespective Election petitions. of justice. Mr. Grenville introduced a measure providing that a committee of thirteen should be chosen from forty-nine members selected by ballot, and that this committee should be sworn to decide all contested elections truly. The Bill became law; but means were found to influence the election of the committee, and very little good was the result. The constituencies, with the exception of the counties, were practically the property either of the land-owner or any one who was rich enough to buy them up. Some boroughs even had the effrontery to offer themselves openly for sale. It was natural that when a man had paid a large sum to secure his seat he should endeavour to recoup himself by an official salary. The result was an extraordinary subdivision of useless places of every kind for the pur- Rotten boroughs.

pose of bribing members'; others received pensions openly or secretly from the king, and to such an extent was Bribery. this system carried, that in 1776, in spite of the frugality of the king and queen, there was a deficit of 600,000*l.* in the royal accounts. Servants, tradesmen, and such unimportant people had been kept without their money for years in order that the glorious work of maintaining the influence of the Crown by bribing members of Parliament might proceed unchecked.

To enforce his system the king professed himself ready to adopt the most extreme measures. He once threatened to have recourse to the sword rather than 'yield. He several times said he would return to Hanover if certain measures were carried. He warned Lord North that if necessary he would refuse his assent to an obnoxious Bill, though the royal veto had not been used since the beginning of the century.

Lord North, strangely enough, submitted to be his mouth-piece, and to carry out his orders, even when contrary to his own views. He appears to have regarded George in the light of a Commander-in-chief, whom he was bound to obey implicitly as long as he remained in office; while to quit his post without permission would amount to desertion. On this principle he continued to prosecute the American War, although he held in his heart that its continuance must end in ruin to the king and country. It was not therefore that North's heart or head, were defective. But knowing well the unwisdom of his own action, he submitted unquestionably to George's commands through a mistaken sense of duty.

### *Section 2.—Lord North's Foreign Policy, 1770-72.*

The foreign policy of Lord North before the American War has at all times met with undeserved obloquy.

The English and Spaniards had both settlements on the Falkland Isles. In June, 1770, a force of Spaniards from Buenos Ayres expelled the English. This outrage was not due to weakness on North's part, but was deliberately planned by Choiseul to produce war. The disgrace of Choiseul removed at once the chance of war and the necessity for Vigorous action by the English Government, for his successors were as peaceful as he had been bellicose.

With regard to the partition of Poland effected by three Powers—Austria, Russia, and Prussia, in 1772, it is difficult to see what England could have done. Single-handed she could not have coped with the three Powers. The only remaining nation of importance not engaged in this crime was her old enemy France, with whom it would be unreasonable to expect her to have suddenly united. Moreover, she had been accustomed to regard with favour the rise of Russia as forming a balance to France. To have united with France against Russia, therefore,—had France been willing—would have been enlightened policy; but it would have directly reversed all the traditions of English diplomacy.

The partition  
of Poland,  
1772.

*Section 3.—Lord North's Ministry, 1770-80.*

The events of Lord North's Ministry other than the American War may be summed up very briefly. In 1770 Mr. Grenville's Election Petition Act, before referred to, was passed. In the same year Privilege of Parliament was limited strictly to persons of members—a salutary and necessary reform. In 1771 the foolish irritability of Colonel George Onslow plunged the Government into a fresh contest with Wilkes and the printers. He drew attention to the publishing of parliamentary reports, which was now done openly. For this he was vilified in various papers by the title of "Little cocking George," and other opprobrious epithets. A number of printers were in consequence summoned before the House, and reprimanded on their knees. One, Miller, however, refused to attend, and gave the messenger, who tried to arrest him, into custody for assault. The Lord Mayor Crosby, and Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes, before whom the case was brought, committed the messenger for an infringement of the privileges of the City. The king was furious; insisted on the punishment of Crosby and Oliver;—*he had had enough of Wilkes.* The two were committed to Newgate, but the question of reporting was wisely dropped, and has never been interfered with since. To the great disappointment of Wilkes he was left entirely alone. His influence began to decline. He quarrelled with Home Tooke and the Bill of Rights Society. Eventually he came over to the royal side, and joined the ranks of the King's Friends.

Privilege.

Reporting.

End of  
Wilkes.

In 1772 an attempt was made to relieve Dissenting ministers from the necessity of subscribing the Thirty-Nine Articles; but this measure was rejected by the House of Lords. In 1772, in consequence of the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, the king's brothers, having married commoners, the Royal Marriage Act was passed, which forbade members of the royal family to marry without the king's leave, until they had attained twenty-five years of age. After that age they must give twelve months' notice of any intended marriage. In 1773 Lord North's Act for the regulation of India was passed, which, among other provisions, allowed the Company special privileges with regard to the importation of tea into America. In 1774 Charles Fox was dismissed from the Government for insubordination, and in consequence turned Whig on the American question. The year was chiefly remarkable for the violent debates and the equally violent measures with regard to Massachusetts. In 1775 the conciliatory proposals of Chatham and Burke were thrown out and the war began. In 1776 Wilkes, who had been allowed to take his seat for Middlesex two years before, brought in a motion for Parliamentary Reform, which was rejected. In the same year the Whigs endeavoured to produce a moral effect on the Government by ceasing to attend Parliament, the only result being to facilitate the despatch of public business. In 1777 Lord Chatham moved an address imploring the king to arrest the disasters in America by timely concessions, but the motion was lost, as a matter of course. In 1778 Lord North, feeling the necessity for conciliatory measures, wished to resign, and transfer the task of appeasing the colonists to Chatham. The king offered all possible opposition to this, and almost forced North to remain. His continuance in office was no doubt, however, mainly facilitated by the death of Chatham, who died protesting to the last against granting independence to America, but insisting on all concessions short of that. In the same year Sir George Savile succeeded in repealing the three most galling of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, viz., the punishment of their priests by perpetual imprisonment for performing mass; their incapacity to acquire or inherit land; the restrictions on the education of their children.



The result of this measure was that in 1780 a terrible' riot took' place. **Lord George Gordon**, accompanied by 60,000 men, presented a petition against the repeal at the doors of the Houses of Parliament. From thence the mob rushed to the City to plunder and wreck the houses of the principal Catholics and their well-wishers. For four days London was in the hands of a furious rabble. Newgate was burnt to the ground; thirty-six fires were blazing in different parts of the City. The mayor and authorities seemed utterly paralyzed. At last the king, relying on the opinion of his Solicitor-General that a soldier was also a citizen and could interfere to prevent the commission of felonies even though the Riot Act had not been read, ordered the troops out and suppressed the rioters by volleys of musketry. Lord George Gordon was foolishly tried for high treason and acquitted. Undoubtedly the king's decision on this occasion saved the City from being totally wrecked.

Gordon Riots.

Vigorous  
action of the  
king.

#### *Section 4.—Fall of Lord North's Ministry, 1779-82.*

By 1779 a feeling was gradually growing up in the country that it would be necessary after all to abandon America, and to concentrate our attention on our other enemies. The alarming combination of France, Spain, and Holland against us, the humiliating spectacle of a foreign fleet commanding the English Channel, the threatening attitude of the Northern Powers, and the disturbed state of Ireland, divided the Cabinet, and convinced even many of the country gentlemen that the king's obstinacy was rapidly becoming suicidal. The Opposition took advantage of this feeling. Motion after motion was brought forward advocating Parliamentary and Economical Reform. **Burke** became the leader of the party of Economical Reform. Meetings were held in various large towns. Committees and associations were formed for agitating the question. In December, 1779, a great meeting was held at York by the freeholders of the county; and in the next year twenty-three counties and several large towns agreed on petitions for the abolition of sinecures and the

Opposition to  
North.

Motions for  
Economical  
Reform.

reduction of exorbitant emoluments. In April Dunning succeeded in carrying his celebrated motion, "*that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished*" But the House was too corrupt to admit of any more definite measures; and all motions in favour of reform were steadily rejected. There were, moreover, divisions in the ranks of the Opposition. The Duke of Richmond advocated manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments. Fox wished in addition to increase the numbers of the county members. Burke went no further than Economical Reform, entirely disapproving of any change with regard to Parliament. It was difficult for them, therefore, to unite on any scheme except under great pressure.

The general election of 1780 cost the king an enormous sum ; but it gave him a majority which enabled the Ministry to vigorously defeat all the measures of the Opposition till July, 1781. Then in November of that year came the terrible news of the surrender at York Town ; and North knew that it was all over. Nothing but a brilliant military triumph could have saved him; and not one gleam of success relieved the blackness of the political horizon. His enemies swooped on him like vultures—Fox, Pitt, Burke, all united against him. Great public meetings were held at London and Westminster, and the Government was violently denounced. At last Lord North only averted a direct vote of no confidence by resigning, March 20th, 1782.

His resignation marked the temporary failure of the king's policy and, had his enemies proceeded at once to carry out vigorous reforms, Personal Government might have been destroyed for ever. The House was, however, really too corrupt. There was no sincere desire for reform. The Opposition were satisfied with their success, and their reforms were very inadequate. In consequence the king soon recovered a portion of the power which had been wrested from him.

#### *Section 5.—Results of George's Personal Government.*

The king had now governed personally for twelve years. The results of his government had been the loss of a large portion of the Empire; the addition of 150 millions to the national debt; and a long and disastrous war, in which the greater part

of Europe had arrayed itself in the ranks of our enemies. Our supremacy of the seas was a thing of the past. Our shores were insulted by hostile cruisers; the country seemed on the brink of ruin. It was only the vast industrial and commercial development, the inventions of Watt and Crompton, the creation of an immense system of water-carriage by canals, which averted the climax and enabled her to start once more on a career of ever-increasing prosperity.

## Book VIII—FINAL STRUGGLE WITH THE WHIG PARTY, 1782-84.

### CHAPTER I.

#### TEMPORARY FAILURE OF THE KING, 1782, 1783.

##### *Section 1.—The Second Rockingham Ministry, March, 1782—July, 1782.*

THE Opposition which had defeated North consisted of two parties;—the Rockingham Whigs, the lineal descendants of Walpole, Pelham, Newcastle, who represented the old corrupt system and the government of the Whig Oligarchy, but who were gradually developing into the party of Reform from which the Liberals sprang in later years; and the Chatham Whigs, headed by Lord Shelburne, who were at this time the most enlightened of the two, and went much further than any of the Rockingham section in their advocacy of Parliamentary Reform, but who were destined later to be drawn over to the Court under the leadership of the younger Pitt. The Rockingham Whigs reckoned among their numbers, Burke, Fox, Dunning, and most of the great men of the Opposition. The Chatham Whigs had the disadvantage of a bad leader in Shelburne. Their most promising member was young William Pitt, who had lately come, in for Appleby.

The king, who hated Rockingham, Fox, and all their clan, made overtures to Shelburne. This party, however, was too weak to form a Ministry alone; and it was impossible to leave out Burke and Dunning, who had played such a prominent part in

the overthrow of North. A Coalition was therefore formed of both parties, headed by Rockingham, and including the principal men of each, except young Pitt, who haughtily refused a subordinate place. The king also insisted that the Tory Lord Thurlow should be Chancellor; and this introduced a fresh source of discord into a Ministry that was sufficiently disunited already. Rockingham required that certain measures of Reform should be passed as the condition of his taking office. The king tried hard to evade them; but Rockingham was firm. So, having to choose between accepting these terms and retiring to Hanover, George decided in favour of the former. It seemed a mistake that Burke should only be given the subordinate post of Paymaster; but his eccentricities made him really unfit for power, and the oligarchical character of the Rockingham Whigs caused him to be regarded with a certain amount of contempt owing to his obscure origin.

The king\*!  
intrigues and  
their failure.

This Ministry proceeded to pacify Ireland by timely concessions; open negotiations with France and America; and bring in a Bill for Economical Reform. This latter measure divided the Civil List into eight classes; restricted the number of pensions, and abolished secret pensions; abolished certain useless offices; excluded Government contractors from the House of Commons; and debarred revenue officers from voting at parliamentary elections. The disqualifying clauses were by far the most important, being aimed directly at the king's corrupt influence in Parliament. The actual saving was, however, only 72,000*l.*; and the results of the measure were after all very slight. There was no real desire for Reform in the Ministry. They only wished to limit the king's influence. William Pitt's motion, therefore, for a Reform in the representative system was thrown out by a majority of twenty. They also committed themselves to the disgraceful job of granting heavy pensions to Colonel Barre\* and Lord Grantham on the very eve of the passing of the Place Bill.

Rockingham  
Place Bill,  
1782.

Negotiations proceeded but slowly with the allies; for though America consented to an agreement and a cessation of hostilities, nothing could be settled openly without France; and France at present was unduly elevated by success. There were difficulties, too, arising from the fact that the dealings with America fell to

Quarrel between Fox and Shelburne.

the province of the Home Secretary, Shelbume ; the negotiations with France to the Foreign Secretary, Fox. The ill-will existing between these two statesmen prevented any concert; and their separate agents at Paris quarrelled over their own powers.

The result was that when Rockingham died in July, matters came to an open quarrel. Fox refused to serve under Shelbume and retired, carrying with him Burke and nearly all the Rockingham party.

*Section 2.—The Shelbume Ministry, July, 1782—April, 1783.*

The new members of the Cabinet were William Pitt, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Grantham and Thomas Townshend, Secretaries of State; Lord The Ministry. Temple, and his brother, Wyndham Grenville. The great weakness of this Ministry lay in the extreme unpopularity of Shelbume. It had to deal, moreover, with a most unscrupulous Opposition, composed of the party of Fox, who was eager for revenge, and the party of North, who were anxious to repay their adversaries for the hostilities of the spring.

The Ministry, however, aided by the great successes of Rodney, Eliott, and Hastings, were able to conclude the Peace of Versailles, Jan., 1783. Peace of Versailles with the Allied Powers, on distinctly more favourable terms than had been expected earlier in the year.

"While the negotiations were in progress an extraordinary Coalition, was formed between the followers of North and Fox to oppose the Government. The result was that when the Treaty was brought before Parliament, it was condemned by a majority of the House of Commons, and Shelbume at once resigned.

*Section 3.—The Unnatural Coalition, April, 1783—Dec, 1783.*

The king's policy had thus totally failed. He found himself delivered once more, bound hand and foot, into the clutches of the Whig Oligarchy. In vain he tried to get Lord North or The Ministry. William Pitt to form a Ministry. The former refused, and the latter saw that his time had not yet come. A Coalition Ministry therefore, headed by the Duke of Portland, and including Lord North, Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, came into office. So dictatorial was the new Cabinet, that they refused to allow the king to nominate a single Minister.

This Ministry was enormously strong in votes, oratory, and debating power. The only opposition was the remnants of the Chatham and Shelburne party, headed by William Pitt. Their numbers were small, but they included some very able men among them, such as W. Wyndham Grenville and Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon). Still, against the vast strength of the Government they would have been powerless but for the undisguised hostility of the king towards the "Unnatural Coalition."

The Opp-  
osition.

This Ministry was undoubtedly a great shock to public feeling. Fox and North had been bitter political enemies, and Fox had carried his hostility to an unprecedented extreme of personal abuse. Only the year before, Fox and Burke had been the principal agents of the overthrow of North; and yet now they were all in office together. It was such an obvious and glaring case of unprincipled place-hunting that public opinion revolted against it. The king was bitterly opposed to his new Ministers; but there is no doubt that he regarded this Coalition as more unnatural than the preceding ones of his reign, because he had had no hand in the construction of it. The insolence of the Ministers, however, was so outrageous that he would deserve sympathy, but for his base intrigues against them.

Shock to pub-  
lic feeling.

Having destroyed all claim to popular support by throwing out a very inadequate measure of Reform, proposed by Pitt, the Ministry brought in **Fox's India Bill** to remedy the evils existing in India, which they attributed entirely to the Company. This measure transferred the whole authority of the Company, and the patronage of India, to a Commission of seven, nominated by Parliament for four years; after which they were to be appointed by the Crown. The management of commerce was to be entrusted to a Board of Directors, elected by the proprietors, under the supervision of the Commissioners.

The India  
Bill, 1783.

The good intentions of Fox and Burke in bringing forward this measure are beyond dispute; but the transaction had a very doubtful appearance. *All the Commissioners were followers of Fox.* Patronage had always been a part of the royal prerogative, and this Bill was a most unwarrantable infringement on it. It really was a transference of the royal power to Fox; and public opinion exhibited its sense of this in the caricature of *Carlo Fox Khan*, crowned and riding on

Violence of  
the measure.

an elephant. The interference with the commercial arrangements of the Company, too, was unnecessary, and likely to be disastrous; as the Commissioners could not possibly manage them so well as officers trained for the purpose.

The arguments in favour of the Bill were that the Company had frightfully mismanaged the government, and that therefore they must be deprived of it. While it was utterly impossible for Fox, with the halo of Burke's and Dunning's motions in the preceding years still hovering faintly round him, to propose such a vast addition to the royal sources of corruption as the whole Indian patronage.

The king, however, was determined not to let the Bill pass, and, relying on the extreme unpopularity of the Coalition, he had recourse to an extremely dangerous move. He gave Lord Temple a *letter* to show to the Peers, in which he authorized him to say that "whoever voted for this Bill was not a king's friend, and stronger words if necessary." In consequence the Lords rejected the Bill, and the king at once dismissed the Coalition.



## CHAPTER II.

## STRUGGLE BETWEEN PITT AND FOX, 1783, 1784.

THE king now appealed to Pitt, who came into office with a Ministry almost entirely composed of Peers, and supported by a minority in the Commons. A violent struggle ensued. Undoubtedly the king had acted unconstitutionally in opposing the India Bill; but Fox acted equally unconstitutionally in carrying votes of censure against the king's conduct, and in endeavouring to force Pitt not to dissolve. Obviously the matter ought to have been referred to the constituencies. Pitt, however, held the dissolution over until the violence of the Opposition had completely disgusted the country, and aroused the old feeling of loyalty towards the king. The result was that, in spite of unheard-of efforts, more than 160 of Fox's friends lost their seats, and Fox had considerable difficulty in getting himself returned at all.

*Triumph of  
Pitt.*

Thus finally terminated the struggle between the king and the Whigs in the complete triumph of the former; for though Pitt's early administration was conducted on a liberal basis, yet he could not help feeling that he rested primarily on the royal support. He therefore gradually abandoned as impracticable the measures which the king objected to; he became identified with the royal policy, and later, under the influence of the revolutionary panic, the leader of the Old Tory party.

*Real triumph  
of the king.*

## CHAPTER III.

## MEN OF THE TIME.

Section 1.—*Edmund Burke.*

THE life of this extraordinary man is divided into two distinct periods. During the first he was a Whig; during the second he suffered a complete transformation, and became one of the chief leaders of the reactionary movement in favour of repression and arbitrary government, which was one of the most unfortunate results of the French Revolution. The latter period, however, is so entirely distinct from the early years of his political career, that it will be dealt with later among the other phenomena which in England attended the progress of the great convulsion on the other side of the Channel.

Edmund Burke was born in 1729 at Ballitore, not far from Dublin. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and proceeded thence to the Middle Temple. It was not till he was thirty years old that he began to approach the great arena of politics. In 1759 he invented the idea of the *Annual Register*, a yearly chronicle of political occurrences. The most important event, however, of his early life was his obtaining the post of secretary to Lord Rockingham in 1765, which gave him an opening into the stream of political life. In the same year he was returned as member for Wondover by the influence of Lord Verney. He made his first speech in 1766 with great success; and from that hour he became a power in the nation. He took a prominent part in the constitutional struggles which followed, speaking strongly and earnestly against the encroachments of Parliament on the liberty of the subject and the rights of electors in the Wilkes case. He also strongly supported the Americans, and inveighed with ex-

extraordinary power against the arbitrary measures of the Govern-  
 ment. Perhaps, however, he attained loftier heights of eloquence in his attacks on the king's secret influence, which really controlled all the actions of the Cabinet. He loudly and earnestly demanded Economical Reform as the only means of destroying this malign element in the Constitution. His speeches on the state of the nation and the Government must be reckoned among the most powerful of the forces which finally expelled Lord North from office in 1782. Yet, in spite of the important part which he had played in the parliamentary struggle, he was given but a subordinate office—that of Paymaster —by the Rockingham Ministry, which followed; and though this was mainly due to his lack of family influence, it was greatly justified by his passionate and crotchety temperament, which rendered him unfit for the impartial exercise of any extensive degree of power. On the death of Rockingham and the break-up of the Ministry, he followed the fortunes of Fox, and came into office once more in the ranks of the Coalition of 1783. Thrown out with his companions by the king's influence, he went again into active opposition. The years, however, which followed were undoubtedly the most mortifying portion of Burke's troubled career. He several times exposed himself to the charge of factiousness in his opposition to Pitt; he was found in the ranks of the minority even when Pitt brought forward measures which he had himself in earlier days approved of. He had the additional torture of ill-success, which the overpowering strength of Pitt rendered inevitable on all occasions. In 1785, however, a great episode in Burke's career opened. This was the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the late Governor-General of India, for various high crimes and misdemeanours committed during his tenure of office. The impeachment, however, failed; and from that time Burke, owing to the wildness of his language and the eccentricity of his views, became a mere dinner-bell to the House, until the outbreak of the French Revolution produced on him an effect almost approaching frenzy, and sent him forth to be the prophet of the new Crusade against the advancing forces of Democracy.

The war in America,

The Rockingham Ministry.

The Coalition.

Pitt's Ministry.

Warren Hastings.

In character he was rash, violent, headstrong, and singularly devoid of tact or taste. But his genius was of the very first

order;' he ranks high among the highest masters of literature; and as an orator he was surpassed only by his pupil, Charles Fox. His political views were enlightened, but Character.

not very enlightened; he was always hampered by his intense veneration for anything old. He considered the British Constitution the most perfect realization of the loftiest ideal, and he would have no tampering with it. Therefore, though he desired the limitation of the king's influence by Economical Reform, and the purification of Parliament by giving the electors some control over their representatives, yet he was opposed to any extension of the franchise, or disfranchisement of any kind, and most of all to the Radical programme of short

Parliaments and the delegacy of members. He Political views.

was strongly in favour of government by organized parties, considering that this was the only effectual means of excluding the influence of the king. In fact, he wanted merely to deprive the king of the government, and restore it to the Whig aristocracy without any thought of giving the people a share of power. His intense veneration for vested rights and established institutions led him at times into strange mistakes. He considered that Parliament had no right to deprive the India Company of any of its chartered privileges in 1773. He could see nothing in the French Revolution but a great political crime. His rage against Hastings was mainly due to an utterly unreal theory of an ancient, venerable Indian

Empire of vast extent and measureless antiquity, Mistakes.

which the ruthless hand of the great Governor-General had outraged and insulted. He resented the cruelties perpetrated on the Begums much more on account of their presumed ancestry, dignity, and position, than because the sufferers were defenceless women. In the "Thoughts on the

"Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents." Causes of the Present Discontents."

Causes of the Present Discontents" (1770) he elaborately traces the hidden machinery by which the king was supposed to govern; the Cabinet within a Cabinet; the Minister of the nation checked and controlled by the Minister of the king. Whereas there was no such elaborate organization at all. What actually happened was that whenever the king wished to throw out any measure, he informed some Earl Temple, Jenkinson, Dyson, or other of his personal friends, who sent the word round the House. In all other respects the Government was carried on by the help of the men whose names appeared in the list of the Cabinet. In

spite of these errors, however, Burke is and always will be one \* of the abiding names of history by the universal opinion of all, even his political opponents.

*Section 2.—Charles James Fox.*

Charles James Fox, the younger son of Lord Holland, was born in 1749. He began life as a Tory, and was identified with all the most unpopular acts of the Grafton Ministry. He continued in office under Lord North until 1772, when a quarrel occurred between him and the head of the Government on account of his opposition to the Royal Marriage Act. This breach, however, was soon healed over, and he returned to office as Commissioner of the Treasury. His early life; He was, however, dismissed in 1774 for a glaring act of insubordination in pressing on a libel prosecution which Lord North wished to be dropped. In consequence he became a prominent member of the Opposition, and attacked the Government on the American question. It is true that he had not been concerned actively in any of the measures against America, but there is no record of his having previously expressed any disapprobation. From this time, however, his life is connected with the history of the country.

His character was a most extraordinary mixture of most that was good and bad. He was extremely warm-hearted and sweet-tempered. He possessed remarkable powers of fascination. He had much goodness of heart and natural truthfulness. But he was absolutely without principle. He had even an unworthy contempt for men who were guided by principle. He was accustomed to live in a perpetual round character; of excitement, without giving the slightest thought to the future. His best friends said of him, that he was a man whose example was evil, and whose very presence was contaminating. Three passions had completely mastered his soul,—women, play, and politics. Yet there was something low and grovelling in the way in which he satisfied them all. His relations with women will hardly bear examination. He ruined his health and his fortune at the gaming-table. His political career was stained by factiousness, by outrageous violence, and by extraordinary-changes of policy, exposing him to the gravest suspicion. Most of the acts of his early life were discreditable to him. Nor was it till the star of his great rival had risen far above his in the

political heaven that he showed that largeness of view and singleness of purpose which has so strongly appealed to the imagination of posterity. Yet even then his last years were devoted to the pursuit of a chimera, and he died bitterly regretting a wasted, misspent career.

As a politician he left very little of permanent value behind him. He had no knowledge of political economy, and had never read Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," which was certainly one of the books of the day. He was a debater of the most brilliant description, far surpassing, by his lofty flights of rhetoric, the well-turned periods of William Pitt. He did, however, extremely little for his party. On one or two occasions he reduced them to the lowest depth of depression. He signally failed to win the confidence of the country, and on two occasions—the American and the Revolutionary Wars—he was in direct opposition to public opinion. Mr. Lecky says that much of his failure was due to "the frequent employment of *language which, though eminently adapted to the immediate purposes of debate, was certain from its injudicious energy to be afterwards quoted against him.*" Like more than one great master of words, he was trammelled and injured at every stage of his career by his own speeches. The extreme shock which the disastrous Coalition of 1784 gave to the public opinion of England was largely, if not mainly due to the outrageous violence of the language with which Fox had denounced Lord North in the preceding year." His views with regard to Parliamentary Reform were at first extremely undefined; nor was it till the outbreak of the French Revolution that they assumed a really tangible form.

The consideration of this subject, however, belongs to later history. (V. p. 176).

## Book IX.—THE YOUNGER PITT, 1784-1806.

## CHAPTER I.

## EARLY MEASURES, 1784-89.

ONCE secured "by the command of a large parliamentary majority, Pitt proceeded to deal with various matters of national interest and pressing importance.

He brought in a Bill to lower the duty on tea and spirits, in order to destroy the enormous system of smuggling, which had robbed the revenue of large sums. He also extended the authority of the revenue officers to four leagues from the coast by the Hovering Act. Half the unfunded debt he funded, and made up the deficit which these measures caused by a house and window-tax, and various taxes on commodities. He also brought forward a scheme for reducing the overgrown national debt. This

Financial  
measures,  
1784-85.

was the *sinking fund*. The plan was to lay aside annually a million, which was to accumulate at compound interest, until gradually it equalled the amount of the debt. The idea was really extremely successful, for it restored confidence. Economically, however, it was a mistake, for the only result was that the country kept on borrowing money at high interest in order that the sinking fund might accumulate at low interest. More successful was the commercial treaty with France, which abrogated the exclusive convention with Portugal, and established a moderate tariff for French wines. He also tried to extend the commercial rights of Ireland to a complete equality with England, on the condition that Ireland should bear her share of the Imperial burdens. Burke and Fox, however, with shameless

effrontery, opposed the measure, really on party grounds, and, by skilfully working on the selfishness of the English manufacturers and the national pride of the Irish, caused the total shipwreck of the measure.

In the year 1784 Pitt proceeded to deal with the difficult question of India. A Bill drawn up by himself and Dundas established a new department, called the Board of Control, presided over by a Secretary of State, which was to have the absolute management of all the political business of the Company. Commerce and patronage were to be left to the Company itself, except the appointment of the Commander-in-chief and the higher officers. The first President of the Board of Control was Mr. Dundas, Pitt's intimate friend; the first Governor-General under the new regulations was Lord Cornwallis.

With Pitt, as with Chatham, Parliamentary Reform had always presented itself in the light of a duty. At the same time he recognized the great difficulty of the question owing to the certainty of opposition from both the king and the borough-owners. With the view, therefore, to conciliate all parties, he brought in a measure which was at once injudicious and inadequate. He proposed to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs; but he added provisions for giving their owners *pecuniary compensation*. As it was, the Bill was thrown out, and Pitt accepted this decision as final on the subject.

The return of Warren Hastings in 1785 at once drew the attention of the country to the more stirring question of his impeachment for high crimes committed during his tenure of office, which was brought forward by Burke. At first\* Pitt and his followers supported Hastings out of a feeling that he had done much for England in India; but apparently a closer examination convinced him that there was more in the charges against the late Governor-General than appeared on the face of them. The result was that a motion was carried, with Pitt's concurrence, that Warren Hastings be impeached for his conduct with regard to Cheyte Sing and the Begums of Oude. The trial itself did not begin till 1788. It was chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary oratorical displays of the managers, among whom were Burke, Fox, Windham, and Sheridan. After seven years of this, Hastings was

Pitt's India  
Bill, 1784.

Pitt's Reform  
Bill, 1785.

Impeachment  
of Warren  
Hastings,  
1785.88-95.



acquitted, April 23rd, 1795. Burke had failed to convict the man, but he had turned such a flood of inquiry on to the Government of India, that he had washed it almost clean of the jobs and iniquities of the old system. No Governor-General would venture again to rule with the iron rod of Hastings.

The year 1788 was marked by the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the slave-trade. The inquiry revealed a series of horrors hardly ever paralleled. The wretched slaves were chained together neck and neck in the close stifling holds of the ships for sixteen hours; their food was water and horse beans; their exercise consisted in jumping on the deck under the influence of the whip. If bad weather set in, they were tossed overboard to lighten the ship. A regular Association for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade had been formed in 1787 under the inspiration of Wilberforce and Clarkson. In 1788, relying on the report of the Committee, a Bill was carried through Parliament, prescribing stringent regulations for carrying on the trade on more humane principles.

The slave-trade, 1787-88.

In November *the* king was again attacked by insanity, and the Prince of Wales at once claimed the Regency as his right by the mouth of Fox. The vehemence of the Whig party, however, and the general belief that the Prince was thoroughly immoral, enabled Pitt to successfully resist this claim of right, and bring in a Bill conferring the Regency on the Prince, but with a number of limitations—no new peers were to be created; no pension or place was to be granted for life; the king's person was to be left in the hands of the queen. The result being that, whereas Fox hoped that the king's illness would have led to the overthrow of Pitt, and his own advancement to power, his injudicious conduct had enabled his rival to completely fetter the authority of any successor whom the Prince might appoint. The recovery of the king, however, destroyed the necessity for proceeding with the Bill.

The Regency Bill, 1788.

The foreign policy of Pitt was equally vigorous and successful. He reopened the alliance with Prussia, which country was now under Frederic William II. He successfully resisted the claim of Spain to the whole west coast of America, and maintained the right of England to establish settlements on Vancouver's Island. Allied with Prussia he restored the Prince of

Orange, who had been expelled from Holland by the Democratic party, who were filled with republican frenzy, the result of French agitation. In 1790, **Foreign** policy of Pitt. relying on a **Triple Alliance** with Prussia and Holland, he interfered, vigorously in the East to prevent the destruction of Turkey by Austria and Russia. Austria was obliged to withdraw from the war; and though Catherine II. of Russia refused to submit to Pitt's dictation, she eventually consented to conclude peace on comparatively far more favourable terms than Turkey had any right to expect, 1791. During this period, therefore, England was rapidly recovering the commanding position in Europe which she had entirely lost owing to the American War.

Moreover, during this period there was an extraordinary development of the material and commercial prosperity of England. Great improvements in machinery for spinning and weaving, the invention of the steam-engine, the discovery that coal could be used as fuel, tended to produce a wonderful change. England suddenly became a manufacturing country. The seat of industry and of population was transferred to the north. Population increased by leaps and bounds. A large middle and mercantile class was created, which became the back-bone of the nation against the revolutionary passions which were about to convulse the whole of Europe.

## CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM PITT.

WILLIAM PITT, the second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was born at Hayes in Kent, in the year 1759. In early youth he showed extraordinary ability and precocity, which were carefully cultivated by Lord Chatham. At Cambridge he excited the admiration of his tutors, both by the brilliance of his genius and the assiduity of his application. He left the University with a profound knowledge of many most various branches of study, and a reputation as a speaker which was already considerable. In 1780 he stood for Cambridge, but came out at the bottom of the poll. In the next year, however, he was returned by the influence of the Duke of Rutland and Sir James Lowther for the pocket borough of Appleby. On entering Parliament he naturally attached himself to the party of Lord Shelburne, who was the leader of the remnants of his father's followers. His first speech was made on Burke's Bill for Economical Reform, and produced a striking impression. Not only did he please, but he astonished the House. Old members said that no such speech had been heard there since the days of Chatham except, perhaps, from Fox. From this time he was a distinguished member of the Opposition which hunted North from office. When the Rockingham Ministry was formed, he haughtily refused to accept the subordinate office held out to him. And it was only by the offer of the important post of Chancellor of the Exchequer that he could be induced to join the Shelburne Government. **His** talents were already so renowned that, **on** the break-up of the Shelburne Ministry, the king invited **him** to form a Government and on the dismissal of the great Coalition of 1783 it was to this stripling of twenty-four that

**Early career.****The Whig Ministries, 1782-83.**

George committed the difficult task of carrying on the Government in the teeth of the vindictive hostility of North and Fox. What was perhaps more remarkable than all was that with a skill above his years he contrived to draw fresh elements of strength from each false move of his enemies until the right time came to give them the *coup de cfrdcfi* by a dissolution. Perhaps the most crafty stroke of genius was the appointment of Colonel Barre to the Clerkship of the Pells, a rich sinecure, in exchange for the pension so scandalously bestowed on him by Rockingham. Pitt might have kept it for himself, or he might have abolished it altogether as an useful and necessary piece of Economical Keform. As it was, he used it so that he acquired a reputation for disinterested purity as great as that of his father.

Pitt's career, like that of Burke, is divided into two parts. During the first he was a liberal and enlightened statesman. During the second he became gradually the leader of reaction and repression. The point of division is roughly 1792, the year before the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War. Before that year he must be regarded as a reformer. He had supported Burke's views on Economical Reform in 1780-82. He had gone far beyond even Burke and Fox in his plans for Parliamentary Reform; and in office he redeemed his previous pledges by a Reform Bill. He had opposed the repressive policy of Lord North, and supported the cause of the Americans. He had advanced the broad theories with regard to free trade, which he had imbibed from the works of Adam Smith; and he had endeavoured to carry them into practice with regard to Ireland. After 1792, however, he gave up all these enlightened theories; and, though still remaining far more liberal than his colleagues, he suffered himself to be caught and dragged along in the general paroxysm of terror which was aroused in England by the excesses of the French Revolution. Free trade, Parliamentary Reform, the limitation of the royal influence, all became meaningless formulas to Pitt, as the leader of the party of Church and King, which, with the blind faith of the Cavaliers of old time, clung to George III. and the existing Constitution as the sole barrier against the tragedies which were being enacted on the other side of the Channel.

His foreign policy, too, was marked by almost as great a change

of that colonial and maritime Empire which was destined to develop into a "Greater England" of such vast proportions in the nineteenth century. Just as Chatham had subsidized Prussia, Hesse, and Hanover, to Occupy the attention of the French in Germany, while the English fleets destroyed the marine of France and Strain, and annexed colony after colony in all parts of the two her ispheres, so Pitt had taken into pay the greater part of the armies of the Coalition in order that, while the continental nations were exhausting themselves in internecine strife, England might gain undisputed mastery of the seas and irresistible supremacy in the New World.

True meaning  
of the war to  
England.

The event had justified his expectations. In 1793 the French lost all their settlements in India. In the same year the burning of the arsenal and ships at Toulon by the fleet under Lord Hood had almost crippled the French marine. Corsica had flung .off the unwelcome yoke of the French Republic and received the English with open aims. A terrible defeat had been inflicted on a French fleet under Villaret Joyeuse and Jean Bon St. Andre, not far off the west coast of France by Admiral Lord Howe and the Channel Squadron, on the First of June, 1794. The English had thus established their supremacy on every coast; the western Mediterranean was practically becoming an English lake, and the French West Indian Islands were rapidly falling a prey to the English ships. The very successes of the French supplied the English with fresh opportunities for new acquisitions. The proclamation of the Batavian Republic was followed by the seizure of the Cape of Good Hope, 1795, and the occupation of the valuable island of Ceylon, which had long been considered by many statesmen necessary to the maintenance of our position in India, 1796.

Naval and  
colonial  
successes,  
1793-95.

Less successful had been an attempt to take advantage of the royalist feeling which was well known to exist in Brittany and La Vendee. An expedition was sent to Quiberon to co-operate with the Vendean in an attack on the Republican garrison. The expedition, however, was badly managed. The English commander, a stiff red-tapist of the " Wooden-pole-with-cocked-hat-on-the-top-of-it" species, did not understand the undisciplined enthusiasm of the peasants which did not at all accommodate itself to the precise views of the parade-ground. Ho distrusted

Failure of  
Quiberon  
expedition,  
1795.

his wild allies, and the wild allies began to despise him in turn\* The result was that jealousies and quarrels broke out between the heads of the two forces, that the rebels remained. dangerously and unusually inactive, and that one night Hoche and his [Republican army came upon them all by surprise and drove them into the sea.

But though the war had been so successful at see the burden of taxation began to be felt very heavily in England owing to the vast sums expended in subsidies and *materiel*. The early enthusiasm, therefore, which had rendered the war inevitable, began to die away after 1794, and was succeeded by an eager desire for peace among the lower classes. Pitt, therefore, recognizing this feeling, took advantage of the establishment of the Government *ci* the Directory on

Overtures for  
peace re-  
fused, 1796.

what appeared to be a more firm and moderate basis than the previous Revolutionary Governments, to open negotiations for a peace, March, 1796. These overtures he repeated again in the autumn of the year. But in each case the stumbling-block proved the Netherlands, which Pitt insisted must be restored to Austria. This the Directory utterly refused to consent to, and at last, in the most insulting manner, ordered the English envoy, Lord Malmesbury, to quit France at once. The prosecution of the war, therefore, became necessary, nor could England have withdrawn now with honour. The chief importance of these negotiations is that they entirely *acquitted* Pitt of the charge of unnecessarily prolonging the war, which was reiterated against him by Fox and a few supporters, and throw the blame wholly and solely on the Directory. The truth was that the French people were so accustomed to regard Pitt as "a demon" and England as "the enemy of the human race," that the Directory considered any negotiations with this country as a very dangerous experiment which might produce the overthrow of their power. The extraordinary triumphs, moreover, which had followed the advance of their army into Italy under **Napoleon Buonaparte**, might well have unduly elated even more moderate and rational politicians.

The year 1796 had given Napoleon possession of the whole of Italian cam- North Italy after a series of brilliant and startling successes, and though the Archduke Charles of Austria had driven the French armies out of Germany, the triumphs of Napoleon recalled him hastily to defend the Alpine passes which led into the southern provinces of the Aus-

trian dominions. In 1797, however, Napoleon started on a career of singular glory and baseness. A rapid advance into the Austrian territories was followed by the complete submission of the haughty emperor, and in October, 1797, the **Peace of Campo Formio** was concluded between France and Austria, by which, in consideration of receiving the territories of Venice—an independent, friendly power—Austria acknowledged the right of France to annex the Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine, and to protect the dependent states created in Holland and Italy. Therefore, of all the original members of the First Coalition, England was the only one who still continued the war.

**Peace of  
Campo  
Formio, 1797.**

Meanwhile in 1796 an attempt had been made to throw a *Legion noire* of released galley-slaves on to the coast of Pembrokeshire, which was easily repulsed by the militia under Lord Cawdor. A similar expedition had set sail for Ireland, but had been dispersed and compelled to retreat to Brest. England, however, had to encounter a greater danger in 1797. Treaties with Spain and the Batavian Republic had placed no less than seventy ships at the disposal of the French, and this accession of force enabled them to once more seriously dispute with the English the supremacy of the seas. A combined plan of campaign was arranged. The Spanish ships were to sail north and pick up the French fleet off Brest, the Dutch fleet off the Texel. The united squadrons would then ride supreme in the Channel. Admiral Sir John Jervis, however, and his subordinate, Commodore Nelson, sailed to meet the Spaniards, came in sight of them off **Cape St. Vincent**, February 14th, and, though the forces of the enemy were vastly superior, attacked and inflicted a severe defeat on them which compelled them to retire to Cadiz. The plan had thus fallen through. The danger, however, was still very great, for not only were the French and Dutch fleets preparing to sail, but alarming mutinies broke out among the seamen at Spithead and the Nore, which temporarily crippled the English marine. Firmness and moderation combined, however, allayed the discontent, and brought back the fleets to their allegiance before the enemy had discovered the weakness of the English. And so in October a brilliant victory won by Admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet off the coast of

**Attempted  
invasion of  
England,  
1796.**

**Attempted  
invasion of  
England,  
1797.**

**Camperdown** restored the English supremacy of the seas, and destroyed all danger of invasion.

*Section 5.—Repressive Measures in England, 1793-97.*

There can be little doubt that, when Pitt first entered on his policy of repression, the feeling of the English people was strongly in favour of it. The nation had the most thorough confidence in Pitt; they had been exasperated and terrified by the tragedies which they had witnessed in France. In consequence a sort of panic took possession of them, and they committed themselves blindly into the hands of the Government for protection against any repetition of these horrors in England. Their confidence was chiefly shown in the readiness with which they submitted to increased taxation, and subscribed vast loans for the war. The commercial classes, in fact, were decidedly desirous of war. In Parliament, moreover, Fox's supporters had dwindled down to forty-one. It was hopeless to bring forward motions condemning the war, or advocating Parliamentary Reform, for they were now invariably thrown out by large majorities. The general confidence in Pitt was increased by the skill with which he tided over a financial crisis in 1793, which was produced by reckless banking and overtrading, and the export of large sums in the form of subsidies to foreign powers. Pitt saw that there really was plenty of wealth in the country, but that a great deal of the metal currency had been withdrawn from circulation, and this had caused a temporary scarcity of the medium of exchange. He therefore stayed the panic, which was setting in with great violence, by issuing bills on the Exchequer to the value of five millions to those merchants who could prove their solvency and give security. These bills became a form of paper currency resting on the credit of the nation; which, being received and passing as money, gave the necessary relief to the exhausted metal currency.

The change in Pitt's policy was shown by numerous repressive statutes and State prosecutions, which were all directed against the extreme party. The most important of the former was the

**Traitorous Correspondence Act**, which extended the offence of high treason to all who supplied any arms, military or naval stores to the enemy; all who purchased lands in France; all who

**Repressive measures, 1793.**



had any intercourse with France without special licence under the Great Seal. The second of these offences would seem entirely fanciful were it not that the sale of land was the chief support of the French Government at this time ; and that therefore buying land in France would really be indirectly strengthening the hands of the enemy.

This Act was followed by numerous State prosecutions for seditious meetings and seditious writings. With France in the agonies of a Democratic Revolution an English Minister might well feel a certain amount of alarm at the almost unlimited licence permitted to wild incendiary tongues and pens in England ; and desire to check it by striking wholesome terror into the hearts of the offenders. But such prosecutions ought to have been managed with the greatest care. The selection of a few prominent offenders for summary punishment might have awed the whole horde of scurrilous pens into silence at once ; but the indiscriminate indictment of a host of minor offenders could produce nothing but an undesirable appearance of persecution. As it happened, the Government managed the work of repression with great indiscretion. Men were indicted for treason for merely selling the works of Thomas Paine, for abusing the Government, for posting up handbills referring to Parliamentary Reform, for announcing that the Fleet Prison would shortly be to let owing to the abolition of all Bastilles by the French Revolution. The charges on which the prisoners were brought to trial were often trivial enough in themselves to render the prosecution wholly unjustifiable ; but the manner in which they were conducted was still more unjustifiable. The judges were openly and obviously prejudiced in favour of the Government ; they usually summed up strongly against the prisoner ; some even bewailed the fact that they could not inflict a heavier penalty than the law prescribed.

State prosecutions, 1793.

The folly and extravagance of the judges was especially shown in the trial of one Muir, who was indicted for spreading the works of Thomas Paine. The head of the Scotch Bench entered into a dissertation against Universal Suffrage, and laid down the doctrine that the landed interest alone had a right to be represented. These proceedings were shortly followed by the prosecution of the members of a supposed National Convention, which had been established in Edinburgh in imitation of the French. Ruffians like

Trial of Muir, 1794.

these deserved no sympathy, and met with none when) they were sentenced to be transported for fourteen years; but the obvious unfairness of many of the other trials produced a reaction against the Government, and tended to divide the propertied classes decidedly from the non-propertied.

Reaction  
against the  
Government,  
1794.

In 1794,—so little successful had been the policy of the Government—the English Radicals established a Convention, which appears to have been of a far more dangerous kind than its Scotch predecessor. The workmen in the large towns were stirred up, and formed into regular clubs. The manufacture of arms and secret drilling went rapidly forward. Proofs were discovered later among the papers of this Convention of a definite

The English  
Convention,  
1794.

plan to overawe Parliament as the Jacobin Club had overawed the French Assembly. Before, however, matters had gone any dangerous lengths the Government swooped down on the secret traitors ; *the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended*; and the leaders of the Convention, twelve in number, among whom were Hardy, Thelwall, and John Horne Tooke, were arrested and put on their trial for high treason. This last move was a great mistake. The conspirators had undoubtedly committed a grave offence, which could hardly be passed over with impunity; and it was highly desirable that they should be punished. They were not, however, technically guilty of treason on any head ; and this fact enabled their counsel, Erskine, to make an impassioned appeal to the jury on the danger of suddieid and arbitrarily enlarging the scope of the Treason Laws. The prisoners were acquitted; and the Government sustained a moral defeat; while the

Trial and  
acquittal of  
the Conven-  
tion leaders.

wild enthusiasm with which the acquittal was received by the mob showed how dangerous a split had arisen between class and class in consequence of these violent measures. At the same time the acquittal was a good thing. A conviction could only have exasperated the extreme party, and led to more violent outbreaks. The firmness of the jury revived the confidence of the people in the safeguards for the liberty of the subject, which had been so dangerously shaken by the action of the executive.

At the same time it acted as a warning to the Government, and undoubtedly induced a less arbitrary tone in dealing with the popular discontent in the troubled years which, followed.

Good results.

In July, 1794, the Tory party was consolidated by the accession of the Duke of Portland and his friends, who were admitted to some of the best places in the Ministry. Pitt was thrown in consequence more than ever into the hands of the war party, at a time when a general feeling was rising among the lower classes in favour of peace, owing to the heavy burden of taxation involved by the war, and the distress and suffering which were the results. This feeling tended to draw more sharply the line between class and class.

Portland  
joins the  
Ministry,  
1794.

In 1795, however, the Government still persevered with the same policy at home and abroad. The war was prosecuted with the utmost vigour. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was renewed. And in consequence of a great increase in seditious writings and meetings, and of riots in London and other towns, the Attorney-General brought in two coercive statutes known as the Sedition and Treason Bills. The first required that every public meeting should be advertised by a paper signed by resident householders, and empowered any magistrate to disperse a meeting at his own discretion without the formality of reading the Riot Act. The second attached the penalties of treason to seditious writing, preaching, and speaking, and affixed heavy punishments to the crime of writing or speaking against the Government. These bills were strongly opposed by the Whigs, but without any effect.

Coercive  
Statutes, 1795.

In 1796 Pitt began to be influenced by the prevailing desire for peace. He had hitherto resisted it on the ground that all negotiations were hopeless until some settled form of Government was established in France. The Directory had the appearance of a comparatively regular and settled Government, and Pitt took advantage of this to open negotiations with France twice in 1796, with little result in each case but insolence from the Republican leaders. From this moment a change came over the feeling of the people with regard to the war. Pitt's overtures, unsuccessful in themselves, had shown the nation that peace was impossible, that France was bent on aggression, and that the continuance of the war was becoming a necessity. The threats of invasion, which followed, excited the spirit of the nation against the insolent Republicans. And when a third overture had been rejected in 1797 with every

Overtures for  
peace, 1796.

Rise of a feel-  
ing of loyalty.

form of insult, the nation went strongly with Pitt in favour of the war; and the seething discontent, which had appeared so dangerous, became gradually transformed into an enthusiastic spirit of loyalty towards the king and Government.

At the same time the Ministry found themselves beset with dangers and difficulties in the year 1797 before the effects of this change had become apparent.

The first was a fresh financial crisis due to the enormous export of money from England. There was no real lack of wealth; that had been proved by the immediate response which had met Pitt's repeated demands for loans to carry on the war. The explanation lay in the fact that money had been paid to foreign countries to buy provisions to compensate for the badness of the English harvests; that vast sums had been sent to the continental Powers in the form of subsidies; and that the almost total cessation of trade had prevented any money coming\* into the country. The result was an alarming decrease in the circulating medium and a panic of much the same kind as that of 1793. In fact on Saturday, February 20th, there was only 1,272,000*l.* in the Bank cellars, and demands were coming in so fast that it was impossible that the Bank could last over more than forty-eight hours. The Executive, therefore, interfered; a Proclamation was issued forbidding cash payments of more than thirty shillings by the Bank. This was agreed to by the merchants, who promised to accept bank-notes as legal tender. This stoppage of cash payments was intended as a temporary measure for seven weeks, but it continued in operation for twenty-two years, and during the whole of the time the burden was cheerfully borne by the people, and the depreciation of the notes was very slight indeed.

The danger, however, caused by the two mutinies at the Nore and Spithead was much greater, for they temporarily incapacitated our great instrument of defence at a time when France, Spain, and Holland, were arranging an united invasion of England. The **Spithead Mutiny** was based on the grievances of the seamen, which were very real. Their pay and pensions were still at the same rate as in the reign of Charles II., though prices had risen some thirty or forty per cent, since then, and the pay of the army had been proportionately increased. The officers, too, were appointed

and promoted chiefly by interest, and endowed with absolute power, which was at times used very arbitrarily. The whole naval system was vilely arranged; the accommodation and provisions of the sailors were extremely bad; speculation was rife in every department of the service. The Spithead fleet, therefore, suddenly refused to obey orders, appointed delegates from every ship, and drew up a petition of grievances for the Admiralty. The Admiralty had sufficient sense to see the justice of the petition; the popular Lord Howe was sent down to allay the mutiny, in which he was successful; and an Act of Parliament was passed to secure redress of the grievances complained of, and especially to make some salutary changes with regard to the official system.

The **Mutiny** at the **Nore** was of a more dangerous, because of a more political, character. Headed by a man called Parker, the mutineers demanded a revision of the Articles of War, an increase of prize-money, and the dismissal of unpopular officers. The mutiny became so dangerous that the most vigorous measures had to be taken. The mutineers, however, finding themselves blockaded in the Thame?, and meeting with no sympathy on shore or in the other fleets surrendered. They were treated with great leniency, and only four or five, including Parker, were hanged, for the reality of their grievances was too apparent. All through both mutinies the utmost loyalty was shown to the king. All attempts at treason were sternly repressed, and at the end the men returned to their duty as loyally and honestly as before.

The result of the year, therefore, was to greatly strengthen the hands of the Minister by showing the real loyalty of the country, and enable him to make prompt and extraordinary preparations for the invasion which seemed imminent in the spring of 1798.

The failure of the last negotiations with France, which had been opened at Lisle, convinced the mass of the intelligent and well-informed that Pitt had been reluctantly forced into the war, and was sincerely anxious to end it. The victories of the fleet revived the national enthusiasm, which had sunk very low owing to the failures of the army in Flanders. So "the public spirit and loyalty of the people mounted high, and the danger which, for a time, had threatened the monarchy, no longer alarmed the existing generation." State prosecutions became rarer and rarer, and though the coercive laws were not removed

Mutiny at the  
Nore, 1797.

Rise of loyal  
and national  
feeling.

from the statute-book, yet at the beginning of the next century we find the curious transformation that the English Ministry take up the position of maintaining the freedom of the English press against the French Government's demand for repressive measures and arbitrary prosecutions.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND, 1782—1800.

*Section 1.—Necessity for the Union.*

THE state of Ireland had been gradually growing worse since 1782. All the old evils remained and new ones were introduced. The party which had triumphed on that occasion was the Protestant aristocracy. They had turned the noble army of Volunteers to political ends; they had made the patriotic aspirations of the people subserve their own base and selfish interests. They had succeeded—but at the price of the sympathy of the people. The Volunteers had gradually dwindled away. Power fell entirely into the hands of a few great families, who monopolized the places and profits of the administration, and desired to rule the country themselves and for themselves. The Parliamentary system became more and more corrupt; while all attempts at Reform were rejected by this aristocratic *clique*. The English Government could only maintain any influence in the Parliament by means of direct bribery of every kind; and on some occasions the Irish Houses, led by the dominant aristocracy, had shown an utter incapacity to appreciate the true bearing of imperial questions, and had acted in direct opposition to the decisions of the English Parliament.

The state of  
Ireland,  
1782-92,

Had Ireland been as far off as Canada or America, Home Rule would not only have been useful, but could not possibly have had any harmful bearing on England. Special laws, special tariffs, innovations of almost any kind, in Canada could not affect England in the slightest provided the relation between the two countries was duly maintained. Ireland, however, was far too near to allow Irish legislation and Irish action to be a matter of no importance to England. If Ireland, which is

separated from England by only a narrow channel, was to be permitted to pass protective tariffs while England was introducing free trade, to admit universal suffrage while England maintained the franchise at a certain height, to vote whether or no she would bear her share of wars in which England might engage, to debate on the question of independence ; then the integrity of the British Empire would have been destroyed. Moreover the Irish are and have proved themselves totally unfit to govern themselves. They must therefore, on breaking free from England, have relapsed into a state of anarchy, which would have rendered them an easy prey to a foreign Power. The geographical position of Ireland entirely forbids the possibility of our ever allowing her to become dependent on a foreign Power. The result therefore would have been a long and bloody war to recover what we had so tamely given up. The existence of Home Rule in Ireland, therefore, presented the continual menace of separation which we could never allow. Moreover the principles, of the dominant Oligarchy were extremely degraded. Their one object was to get as much as they could in the way of profit and promotion. Corruption was carried to such an extent that men openly boasted that they had never given an honest vote. All attempts at Reform or at granting toleration to the Catholics were resisted steadily. The Aristocracy, therefore, had no claim on the country ; they had given no sign of any talent, for government ; they had shown themselves utterly incapable of taking a large and statesmanlike view of politics. The present state of the Irish Government was a disgrace to England. It might in desperate and reckless hands become a menace. The ultimate legislative union, therefore, of the two nations was a necessity, and every fresh manifestation of strong daring misuse of unlimited power only precipitated the inevitable event.

### *Section 2.—State of Ireland.*

The first difficulty which beset the English Government was therefore this strong constitutional Opposition in Parliament, which included the principal families, and was headed by unprincipled jobbers like Beresford and Fitzgibbon, the Chancellor. This Opposition also reckoned in its ranks the remains of the old patriotic party, headed by Grattan, who honestly wished to al-



leviate the wrongs of Ireland and especially of the Roman Catholics, and who united with the Beresfords only on the common ground of opposition to the Government. The two sections of this party were really the representatives of the patriotic Volunteers of 1782 and the unpatriotic Aristocracy which had derived the benefit of their action.

Next to them came the Irish peasants, the Roman Catholic party, who still suffered under all the heavy restrictions of the Penal Code and the evils caused by absenteeism. They had expected much from the Parliament after 1782. They found themselves tricked by the men who had professed most to them. They were therefore ripe for rebellion; and premonitory signs of the future outbreak appeared in agrarian outrages, in combinations of every kind against the tithe collectors, tax collectors, and landlords, in Societies of the White Boys, the Oak Boys, and Captain Right's Children. The Government was totally unable to protect the victims of these outrages. In 1790 there arose, therefore, among the Protestants the organization of the **Orange Lodges** with the avowed object of enforcing that protection which the Government was unable to confer. The result was that a form of civil war broke out in many parts of Ireland between the two religions, which was carried on with cruel outrages on both sides.

The Roman Catholics.

• Thirdly, there was a party, existing mainly in the north of Ireland, which was the direct outcome of the influence of the French Revolution. Republican and Jacobin ideas found a ready hearing among the half-educated, dissenting or freethinking, artisans of Ulster, who fully realized the defects of the existing Government and looked forward,—as so many nations did during this decade,—to a beatified Republic, in which all should be free and equal. These men were willing to throw themselves into the arms of France in order to separate from England; for thus only could their alluring delusive visions be realized.

The Republicans.

Of these three sections the last two alone were really dangerous, and it was from their ranks that the Rebellion eventually sprang.

### *Section 3.—Drifting into Rebellion, 1790-95.*

The strength of the Government had hitherto lain in the dis-

union of their enemies; the three sections of the opposition were as much opposed to one another as to the Government. A young barrister named Wolfe Tone conceived the brilliant idea of persuading the Republicans and the Roman Catholics to sink religious questions for the time and unite temporarily in order to throw out the English. From this scheme sprang the political Society of the United Irishmen, which was pledged to effect a separation from England, and included the whole Republican party and the great majority of the Catholics.

The plan of the English Government ought obviously to have been to act vigorously in support of the Protestant ascendancy, and confine itself to granting just enough relief to the Catholics to draw off the moderate party. Pitt, however, disgusted at the iniquitous way in which the Government was earned on by the Protestant aristocracy, introduced and forced through the Irish Parliament in 1792 and 1793, two Acts by which most of the disabilities of the Catholics were removed. The intermarriage prohibitions were repealed; Catholics were admitted to the law, to the franchise, to all but the higher civil and military offices; finally all restrictions on their education were abolished, and Dublin University thrown open to them. These concessions produced absolutely no result. The United Irishmen maintained that the franchise was of no use, as long as they could only elect Protestants to Parliament, and on this ground they continued their agitation, putting forward the constitutional pretext of Parliamentary Reform to cover their secret treason. The energetic action of the Executive, however, in suppressing seditious meetings destroyed their hopes, and Tone himself was even thinking of joining the side of the Government. The more desperate of the party, however, began to look decidedly to assistance from France in order to accomplish the Revolution, which they saw they were not strong enough to effect single-handed.

In 1794, on the accession of Portland to the Ministry, the hopes of the Irish Catholics received an unexpected impetus. Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over as Lord Lieutenant; and it was definitely understood that he came armed with power to effect sweeping reforms. His measures, however,

The United  
Irishmen.

Concessions  
to the  
Catholics,  
1792-93.

The Catholics  
not satisfied.

Catholic hopes  
excited by  
Fitzwilliam.  
1794;

brought him into collision with the Protestant Aristocracy, and their underhand intrigues with the king proved powerful enough to effect his recall. The argument which carried most weight to the royal mind on this occasion, it is as well to remember, was that to admit Roman Catholics to Parliament would be a breach of the coronation oath.

Fitzwilliam was succeeded by Lord **Camden**, who was commissioned to return to the old policy of no concession. Thus the Catholics saw their hopes dashed to the ground at the very moment of expected fruition. Stung to fury, they broke out in a Rebellion, marked by atrocities of revolting cruelty, and appealed to France. The result was to unite all the Protestants—even the *Republicans of Ulster*—in a common effort to preserve the Protestant ascendancy. Religion, as has ever been the case in Ireland, proved stronger than the wildest political frenzy. The Rebellion was a war to destroy not merely the English governing body, but the whole dominant Protestant sect; and this was quite enough to unite all the hostile sections of the Protestants in support of the English Government.

#### Section 4—The Rebellion, 1795-98.

In 1795 a fight took place between the two parties in county Armagh, which was called the Battle of the Diamond, from a wretched village near the scene of the encounter. Civil war at once broke out. Bands of Catholic marauders traversed the country plundering, burning, and maiming. In consequence the troops were let loose on the miserable peasantry; an Act of Indemnity was passed in 1796, to cover any enormities which might be committed by the troops; and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Then the news came that Lord **Edward Fitzgerald** (a younger brother of the Duke of Leinster) and **Arthur O'Connor** had arrived in France and planned with General Hoche a French invasion. It is pretty certain that neither O'Connor nor Fitzgerald intended to hand the country over to the French. They must have had some wild hope of creating an Irish Republic under the protection of France.

The tidings of the threatened invasion and the dangerous strength and activity of the United Irishmen alarmed the Govern-

Outbreak of war.

merit so much that they accepted the services of the only trustworthy force which they could raise—the yeomanry, consisting mainly of Protestants, who volunteered at once to the number of some thirty-seven thousand. The creation of this corps undoubtedly saved Ireland, but for the moment it increased the ferocity of the civil war. The Protestants and Catholics bore much the same relation to one another that the backwoodsmen and the Indians maintained along the American borders. They treated the members of the opposite side with a cold-blooded cruelty rarely paralleled in the history of civilized nations. The yeomanry burnt, plundered, tortured, and ravished with the greatest impartiality wherever they bent their ruthless steps. The Irish showed how well they had learnt their lesson of Jacobinism by atrocities, which ran those of the Orangemen very close in point of horror.

Fortunately, however, in the very darkest hour of the danger, while thirty-eight French ships were actually in Bantry Bay, the Government succeeded in breaking the neck of the conspiracy by arresting the whole of the Central Committee of the United Irishmen. Thus for some time the conspiracy wandered aimlessly about without any guidance whatever, while the very perfection of the secret machinery of the system prevented for long the discovery of the arrest of the leaders. In consequence, the people of the south, having received no orders on the subject, made no attempt to assist the French in any way. Fortunately, moreover, the expedition had been divided by storms. Iloche had been compelled to retreat to Brest. His second in command, Grouchy, was unwilling to risk the responsibility of acting alone, especially as the country people had not made any demonstration of sympathy or welcome, or indeed, anything but curiosity. In a short time, therefore, finding the bay exposed to the storms of the Atlantic, he too weighed anchor and returned once more to Brest.

The Government followed up their advantage with the greatest vigour. General Lake succeeded in disarming the north and also the greater part of the south, though this was not effected without the cruelest possible severity. At the same time, much as we must blame the use of torture out of

pure religious fury, there were undoubtedly" numerous cases in which reliable information had been received of the concealment of arms, the discovery of which upon any terms was necessary to the public security, and almost justified the use of any measures to wring the knowledge of their place of concealment from the reluctant peasantry. Treachery, moreover, came as usual to the help of the Government. The Leinster delegates and Lord Edward Fitzgerald were arrested by the aid of informers a few days before the 23rd of May, 1798, which had been appointed for a general rising. Fitzgerald was so desperately wounded in the process of arrest that he died before the sentence of the law had been pronounced.

In spite of the seizure of the leaders the insurrection broke out on the appointed day, and for a short time the rebels and yeomen vied eagerly with one another in massacres of every kind. On the 21st of June, however, General Lake inflicted a severe defeat on the rebels in Kildare, and took their camp on Vinegar Hill. This was practically a death-blow to the Rebellion, though partisan warfare, disgraced by great cruelties on both sides, continued in different parts of the island. On the 22nd of August, however, General Humbert, with a small force of about 800 men, landed at Killala in Mayo. He was joined by a very small body of rebels, and succeeded in routing some militia at Castlebar, which engagement received the name of the Castlebar Races, from the speed with which the militia ran away. However, as he picked up no useful recruits and soon found himself face to face with Lord Cornwallis, the new Lord Lieutenant, and a large army, he surrendered at discretion. So ended the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

Suppression  
of the re-  
bellion.

#### *Section 5.—The Union, 1798—1800.*

Cornwallis had come out under the mistaken impression that the Rebellion was Jacobin, not Catholic. He therefore endeavoured to conciliate the people by publishing an indemnity for all who laid down their arms. At the same time he ordered the leaders to be hung. On the one hand, therefore, the Rebellion was not stamped out as easily as it might have been. On the other, many of the principal prisoners confessed their villainy to the full to save

Lord  
Cornwallis;

their lives, and thus furnished the Government with an ample answer to the denunciations of the Opposition, which had taken up as usual the cause of the enemies of England.

Cornwallis' experience, however, quickly determined him that the only way to appease the country was to establish some strong central power which should be able to overawe the rival factions, and grant justice to each regardless of party considerations.

This could only be effected by a legislative union with England, and with this view Pitt thoroughly agreed. It could only be effected, however, with the consent of the Irish Parliament, and both sections of the Opposition steadily declined the idea. Nothing, therefore, was left but to buy up a majority. Borough-holders must be compensated; influential men given peerages and pensions; many prominent people bribed directly with hard cash. This work was entrusted to Lord Castlereagh, a young Irishman, who certainly accomplished it as satisfactorily as was compatible with the disagreeable nature of the job. Moreover, there seems no doubt that, in order to conciliate the Catholics, certain vague promises of relief were held out to them by Cornwallis, which Pitt at the time fully intended to redeem by a Catholic Emancipation Act. By the opening of the session of 1800 the work was completed and the Government majority secure. On the 18th of February, after an arduous

The Union, Aug. 2, 1800. Parliamentary campaign, in which the Opposition had in vain tried to buy back their lost ground, the Bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was passed, and by the 2nd of August this Bill had become Statute Law.

The Act provided that four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers should represent the Irish peerage in the House of Lords; that 100 members, elected on the old franchise, should sit for Ireland in the House of Commons; that Ireland should pay two-fifteenths towards the revenue; that the public debt of each country should be kept distinct; and that complete freedom of trade should exist between the two countries.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE SECOND COALITION, 1798-1801.

THE failure of the negotiations at Lisle was followed by threats of invading England with the array of Italy, which was freed by the Treaty of Campo Formio. Napoleon, however, considered this project too dangerous, and determined to invade Egypt instead, with the view of opening negotiations with Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, and threatening our supremacy in India. Having therefore first taken possession of Switzerland, in order to obtain money for the expedition, he sailed with a large army; May, 1798, seized the island of Malta on his way, though there was no quarrel between France and the Knights of Malta, landed at Alexandria in July, and in a short time mastered a considerable portion of Egypt. Nelson, however, was in hot pursuit, and though he arrived too late to prevent the landing, he succeeded in destroying all but two of the French fleet in the Bay of Aboukir. This victory removed all danger for India; shut up the best French army and their invincible General in Egypt; and excited not merely an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm in England, but a general rising of the nations which had been humiliated by France.

Egyptian  
expedition,  
1798.

Battle of the  
Nile.

Pitt was easily able to gather together a **Second Coalition** of Austria, Russia, Naples, Turkey, and Germany; of these, however, Russia entered into the war chiefly because the new half-mad Czar, **Paul I.**, was anxious to introduce his country into the general politics of Europe. By the end of the year the French had been driven out of Italy by the combined armies of the Coalition; and the Duke of York, with a mixed army of English and Russians, had landed in Holland and seized the Dutch fleet in the Texel.

Second Coali-  
tion, 1799.

Meanwhile Napoleon had marched across the desert to Syria with the chimerical view of ascending Palestine, crossing the Golden Horn, and fighting his way back to Franco up the Danube Valley. He was stopped, however, by the fortress of **Acre** at the foot of Mount Carmel. It was defended by

**Defeat of  
Napoleon in  
Syria, 1799.**

Djezzar Pacha, who was reinforced and provisioned by Sir Sidney Smith and the British fleet. Napoleon, after having in vain exhausted his strength against the courage and daring of the British sailors, retired discomfited to Egypt, where, hearing of the disasters in Italy, he deserted his army and with his four principal Generals sailed secretly for France.

On his return he succeeded in overthrowing the Directory, and procuring for himself what amounted practically to absolute power, under the Republican title of **First Consul**.

**The Consu-  
late, 1799.**

He then proceeded to address a personal note to the King of England proposing peace ; but there can hardly be any doubt that this letter was intended more as a manifesto to the French people to arouse their feelings against England than anything else. Pitt and Grenville refused in very dictatorial language, under a mistaken impression that Napoleon's Government could not possibly last long, and that the war would shortly end in great triumphs for the Coalition.

Events turned out otherwise. The English and Russians had been already driven out of Holland. A great victory, won by Napoleon in person at **Marengo** (June 14, 1800), gave the French once more possession of all Italy to the River Adige. A second victory at **Hohen-**

**Campaign of  
1800.**

**linden** (December 2, 1800), on the Danube, opened the road to Vienna, compelled Austria to seek peace, and broke up the Coalition. The **Treaty of Luneville** was in consequence concluded (February 9, 1801), by which Austria ceded the left bank of the Rhine again to France.

A quarrel now broke out between England and Russia. Paul, "the mad Czar," was disgusted at the ill-success of his arrives in Holland and Switzerland. He was also inspired with a wild and foolish admiration for Napoleon. He was therefore very ill-disposed towards England; and he adopted the old question of the *right of search* as the ground for an open rupture. The English

**The Armed  
Neutrality,  
1800.**

had always maintained their right to search **all** neutral ships and confiscate **any** goods of belligerents which might be found **on**



board; and this rule they had invariably enforced during the whole century. An attempt had been made in 1780 to protest against it by the Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers, but with absolutely no success. During the present war a quarrel arose between England and Denmark on the subject. Denmark was willing to settle the matter amicably, but the ridiculous despot of Russia now came forward as the "Protector of the rights of the neutral nations," and revived the Armed Neutrality against England, 1800. Sweden joined willingly, and Denmark under considerable pressure did the same. Thus England was once more, as in 1780, facing the united maritime powers of Europe, single-handed; for her Southern allies were too far off, and too weak to be of any assistance. The one bright spot on the horizon was the capture of **Malta**.

In 1801, however, the tide completely turned. The French army in Egypt was obliged to capitulate to Brigadier Hope. A fleet was despatched to the Baltic, under Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson, which attacked and destroyed the greater part of the Danish squadron in the harbour of **Copenhagen**, April 2; and, by a threat of bombarding the city, compelled Denmark to withdraw from the Armed Neutrality. Paul of Russia was assassinated by his indignant subjects, and his successor **Alexander** was favourable to England. The Armed Neutrality therefore broke up entirely, and peace was signed between Russia and England, by which the former definitely acknowledged the right of search.

**Break-up** of the  
Armed Neu-  
trality, 1801.

These circumstances disposed Napoleon to treat, and as the financial condition of England rendered peace almost necessary to her, it was concluded at Amiens, March, 1802. England surrendered all her conquests except **Trinidad** and **Ceylon**. Malta was to be restored to the Knights under guarantee of one of the great Powers. The French were to withdraw from Naples. Egypt was to be given up to the Porte. In fact all the most important questions with regard to the annexations of France were left out entirely, because in this way only could peace be arranged. At the same time, for this very reason, war must inevitably break out again sooner or later. The Peace of Amiens could therefore only be regarded as a truce.

Peace of  
**Amiens, Mar.,**  
**1802.**

## CHAPTER VI.

## EVENTS AT HOME, 1798—1801.

THE rising enthusiasm of the country was strongly shown in the year 1798 and the period which followed. Mr. Fox, with considerable had taste, allowed treasonable speeches and toasts to be made at a public dinner given in celebration of his birthday. Among others was the toast of "our Sovereign—the People," and this offence Fox himself repeated in an inflammatory speech at the Whig Club. The king considering that such speeches, at a time when England was threatened with invasion, and Ireland was in the throes of a desperate rebellion, were a mere incentive to treason, struck Fox's name off the list of the Privy Council; and this event was received with general satisfaction throughout the country. George was now at the height of his popularity. The affection he inspired was very great and real. When his life was attempted in the theatre by a half-witted creature, the criminal was nearly torn to pieces by the infuriated audience. Even the Opposition spared George himself, though denouncing the Government, and treated him with the greatest possible consideration at the time of his unhappy disease. Nor was this odd. The personal purity, goodness, and homeliness of his life endeared him to all who came in contact with him. His policy and Ministers were now in complete harmony with the feeling of the nation. He had apparently given up all his ancient attacks on the Constitution. The very circumstances for which we should blame him, namely his obstinate refusal of emancipation to the Catholics, only rendered him more beloved by the mass of the people, who were as bigoted and unreasonable as the king himself. The measures which strike us as harsh and despotic, and which Sir Erskine May characterizes as a complete abrogation of the Constitution, did not seem tyrannical to the majority of Englishmen at the time, any more than restrictions on personal liberty seem hard and despotic to the inhabitants of

a beleaguered town, who look and trust to their commandant implicitly for safety. The sympathy of the country was with Pitt, with the circle of young men who edited the *Anti-Jacobin*,—Canning, Frere, Mornington, Ellis, Carlisle,—with Nelson and Sidney Smith, and not with Fox and Tierney, not with the Irish rebels or the French Directory. Their loyal devotion was especially shown by the zeal with which they responded again and again not merely to the regular loans raised by Government, but also to the numerous appeals for voluntary contributions to carry on the war. Undoubtedly mistakes were made by the Government, arbitrary acts were perpetrated, possibly an opportunity for peace missed in 1800 ; but there is no doubt that the only power which could have carried England through the heavy burdens of this just and necessary war was the spirit of which Pitt was the representative. " The recognition, however, of the indispensability of a public servant does not preclude—least of all does it preclude in England—plenty of grumbling and discontent with that servant. Pitt knew that with the changed state of things his own popularity had waned. But he likewise knew that it was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the nation that he should remain in office."

Enthusiasm  
of the people  
against  
France.

The condition of the country, however, was very bad. Corn had risen to the enormous price of 120s. the quarter owing to the disinclination to import foreign corn. This arose partly from a desire to keep money in the country, partly from the selfishness of the landowners, who wished to keep up the price in their own interests. The result was great distress and frequent corn riots, in which the corn-factors suffered, owing to an ignorant theory that they were responsible for the high prices. This silly and dangerous error was even countenanced by some of the judges. Various measures were introduced to remedy the distress; among others that only brown bread should be used, to save flour; but the only effective one, *free trade*, was not even thought of.

Distress in  
the country.

The natural result was that gradually the warlike feeling of the country dwindled away and was succeeded by an earnest desire for peace, which made even the terms of the Peace of Amiens, 1802, acceptable to the people though it was obvious from their very nature that it could only be a temporary truce.

Consequent  
change of  
feeling.

At the end of the year Fox and his friends seceded from Parliament, maintaining that the measures of the Ministry were dangerous to liberty and that they would not seem to sanction them by their presence. The lead of the Opposition thus fell to Mr. Tiorney, and the chief result of Fox's action was to facilitate the carrying on of the war and the Government Pitt therefore never seemed so strong as on the eve of his resignation.

This was brought about by his views on Catholic Emancipation. Castlereagh had undoubtedly held out vague promises to the Catholics, in which Pitt had certainly concurred; nor is there any doubt that their hostility would have proved a serious obstacle to the Union. Pitt therefore, in 1801, proposed to bring forward a Bill for Catholic Emancipation. This scheme was treacherously disclosed to the king by Lord Loughborough, who hoped to displace and succeed Pitt. The king declared that he could not allow such a Bill to pass without violating his coronation oath. Pitt therefore at once resigned, and recommended Addington, the Speaker, in his place.

The shock of parting with Pitt brought on a fresh attack of the king's insanity; and this produced such an effect on Pitt that on George's recovery he promised never to bring forward the Catholic question again. This pledge he had no right to give if he believed Emancipation necessary to the welfare of the State; but still it must be remembered in his favour that with the king and country hostile to it, there was little chance of such a measure being carried.

## CHAPTER VII.

## MINISTRY OF ADDINGTON, 1801 —APRIL, 1804:.

THERE really was now no reason why Pitt should resign, as he had abandoned the Catholic question, but Addington did not like the idea of giving up his post now that he had lost his old one of Speaker. Pitt therefore determined to support the Government to the utmost, and many of the old Ministry remained in office. His intimate friends, however, Grenville, Dundas, Spencer, and Windham, retired with him,

The resignation of Pitt at this time was really a fortunate thing. The country desired and needed peace. At the same time peace was impossible if the question of the continental changes was entered into. Pitt, however, could not with honour negotiate without referring to these changes. Addington might easily do so. The Peace of Amiens was therefore concluded on the basis of ignoring all important questions and dealing only with minor details.

Such a Peace by its very nature could only be a truce lasting until the two countries were ready for war again. Moreover, Napoleon began to offer new insults to Europe and England almost before the ink of the treaty was dry. Declaring that the omission of all mention of his dependencies had deprived England of any right to interfere, he proceeded to practically annex Holland, North Italy, Switzerland, and Elba, treating all remonstrances with the utmost contempt. He entirely refused any commercial intercourse with England and commanded his subject states to do the same, thus shutting English commerce out of half Europe. So far, however, he was within his right), though thereby he showed the bitterest animosity to England.

Pitt.

Seasons for  
Addington.Insolence of  
Napoleon,  
1801.

He had the presumption, however, to endeavour to interfere with the internal constitution of England. He demanded that the Government should suppress all attacks on him by the press, and especially should punish Jean **Peltier**, Napoleon's quarrel with the English press. the editor of a French London paper called *L'Ambigu*, which was devoted to attacking him and his policy root and branch. This was all the more outrageous because the *Moniteur*, his own organ, was full of insults to England, and there was absolutely no check placed on a very similar paper to the *Ambigu*—the *Argus*—which was edited by an English renegade. Napoleon also demanded the expulsion of the emigrants from England. Lord Hawkesbury, Addington's Foreign Secretary, replied that England was always in the habit of extending hospitality to political refugees, and would not abandon the right at the bidding of a foreign Power; that the freedom of the press could not be violated, but that as Peltier appeared to have brought himself under the law, he should be prosecuted. But as if to show the spirit of insolence which dictated these demands, at the very moment that Napoleon was insisting that the Constitution should be turned upside down at his pleasure, the *Argus* was allowed to make the most shameless accusations against England, and to mock at the madness of the king.

In January, 1803, a report on Egypt by Colonel Sebastiani was issued by the French Government. It contained a full account of the resources, commerce, physical and military characteristics of the country,—its object being to prove that Egypt could be conquered again by the French in a very short time and by a very small force. And yet Napoleon must have known that England would not permit him to conquer Egypt, and that any attempt in that direction must produce a declaration of war.

Matters, however, were brought to a crisis in February, 1803. In consequence of Napoleon's unfriendly acts the English had retained Malta,—a clear breach of the Treaty of Amiens, but amply compensated by his annexations. On this subject he attacked the English Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, and after a series of stormy interviews, in which he uttered violent threats against England, finally went so far that Whitworth half drew his sword. Insults of this kind could only be wiped out in one way, and on the 18th of May war was once more declared.

**War declared,  
1803.**

Napoleon began the war by arresting all the English in France and endeavouring to stir up an Irish rebellion. One **Emmett** and two companions—Russell and Quigley, thorough Jacobins at heart, succeeded in creating an alarming riot in Dublin in July; but it was easily put clown, the plot discovered, and Emmett hanged. The importance of this miserable affair was that it was followed by a series of coercive laws directed against similar conspiracies which neutralized a great deal of the good which the Union might otherwise have effected. These measures of Napoleon were accompanied by vigorous preparations in all the French harbours for an **invasion** of England.

Napoleon's  
measures.

Public feeling in England had been gradually undergoing a considerable change during this period. The wild desire for peace had given way to a feeling of indignation at the insults of France. It had become evident that Napoleon was bent on treating us as he had treated the other Powers of Europe, and that if he had his will the tramp of the French cuirassiers would soon be heard in Whitehall. The whole nation therefore rose as one man to defend itself, and to vindicate the rights of Europe. All feelings of bitterness created by arbitrary government died out. The Opposition remained unconvinced for some time as to the necessity for the war; but even they became gradually forced by the stern logic of facts to give up their delusion. There may be two opinions as to the justice and necessity of the previous War, though the evidence as to the determined hostility of France is pretty conclusive. It may be doubted whether Pitt was right in carrying on the war by subsidizing continental Powers, though it is difficult to see how it could have been maintained otherwise. There can, however, be but one sound opinion as to the Second War—that our national existence was at stake, and that we must either have fought or surrendered. Napoleon was bent on the invasion of England, and nothing but the prowess of our Admirals prevented his accomplishing his object. With us would have fallen the liberty of Europe beneath the iron sway of a Despotism as grinding and unenlightened as the sovereignties of Asia. The patriotic feeling of the country showed itself in the readiness with which all classes came forward to bear the expenses of the war. The merchants agreed to assist the Government to the best of their ability. A general property-tax was voted.

Patriotic en-  
thusiasm in  
England.

Patriotic meetings were held in every part. Companies of volunteers were enlisted in every county. Martello towers were built all along the southern coast to guard against invasion. The whole nation went suddenly mad on uniforms and drilling. The militia was called out, and a great fleet put out to sea.

The outbreak of war aroused a general desire for the return of Pitt to office. It was felt that Addington had been put in for a special purpose, to make peace and smooth over the Catholic question ; but that in an hour of such danger the ablest statesman should be at the helm.

The common voice of the country called Pitt back to power. The difficulty, however, was that it did not apparently occur to Addington that he was not fit to carry on a war, and Pitt utterly forbade his friends to give the Premier any hints that he ought to resign. The king, moreover, was delighted with Addington, whose mediocre capacity suited him far more than the commanding genius of Pitt. Addington, therefore, was suffered to remain in office, and mismanage the affairs of the country subject only to the sharp criticism of Fox's party and that of Grenville, who with a party of his own had formed relations with Fox which began to draw him rather away from Pitt. Soon, however, Pitt began to drift into opposition. The dilatoriness with which the preparations for national defence were carried on, and the extraordinary mismanagement of the Admiralty, at last convinced him that Addington was unfit to conduct the great war on which we were embarked. When, therefore, it was rumoured that the king's health was failing and it was understood that the Prince of Wales would commit the Government to his friend Lord Moira, Pitt decided to oppose Addington rather than allow the country to fall to such incapable hands. Addington, therefore, finding

Addington resigns, April, 1804.

his majorities continually decreasing, sent in his resignation. Pitt's conduct on this occasion has been severely censured as treacherous to Addington, and as inspired solely by a desire to return to office. But there are certain critical occasions on which it is the duty of public men to sink their private friendships, and act as they consider best for the public good. Addington, however, did not take the latter view of the case, for he and Pitt were never exactly friends afterwards.



CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND MINISTRY OF PITT, APRIL, 1804—JANUARY, 1806.

MR. PITT urged the formation of a strong national Ministry, which should be able to draw to it the unanimous support of England, and should by mutual agreement defer all dangerous and disputed questions, such as Reform and Catholic Emancipation, until the end of the war. He would therefore have included Fox and Grenville. Formation of the Ministry. There is no doubt, too, that Fox would have joined Pitt on these terms, and that it was only the personal dislike of the king which prevented his doing so. The king positively refused to admit him, and so Fox continued to head the Opposition. Grenville would not come in without Fox; and so Pitt was compelled to form a narrow Tory Ministry, including Lords Eldon, Castlereagh, the Duke of Portland, Messrs. Canning and Huskisson. It seems difficult to blame Pitt for wishing to defer to a more favourable time questions which were sure to excite an undesirable ferment, and which must infallibly be thrown out by large majorities in Parliament. It is equally difficult to extenuate the conduct of Fox. For while conceding to him the utmost admiration for his liberal and enlightened views with regard to Parliamentary Reform, Freedom of the Subject, and Catholic Emancipation, it is impossible not to reprobate his opposition to the war, and to deplore his lofty opinion of Napoleon. Factious conduct of Fox and Grenville. Modern historians almost unanimously agree that England could not have obtained peace at this time had she sued for it on her knees; Fox himself was shortly to find out the true character of his hero; while there is no doubt that Fox would have joined Pitt in carrying on the war, and dropping all doubtful questions for the time if the king would have admitted him to the Cabinet. As it was, the refusal of Grea-

ville, the hostility of Fox, and the opposition of Addington left Pitt with only a narrow majority instead of the strong national Government he had projected.

In spite, however, of the activity and strength of the Opposition, Pitt proceeded to take vigorous measures for national defence; for in the face of the loud din of preparations along the coast of France it would have been suicidal to have waited the event.

Large additions were made to the army and navy. The confidence of the people was aroused by judicious measures for internal defence, which were more valuable, perhaps, from the enthusiasm they excited than any actual value in themselves. Diplomatic negotiations were opened for the formation of a Third Coalition.

In this Pitt was really considerably aided by Napoleon himself, and it seems probable that he would have had some difficulty in concluding alliances with the Continental Powers for a new war had not Napoleon alarmed Europe by fresh aggressions.

He had followed up the English declaration of war by seizing Hanover in spite of the protests of Prussia. He took advantage of an abortive royalist conspiracy to assume the title of Emperor of the French. He ordered the abduction of the Due d'Enghien from the neutral territory of Baden and had him shot;—apparently because he was the only Bourbon within reach. He declared himself King of Italy, and annexed the Ligurian Eepublic (Genoa) and Lucca to the Italian crown. These aggressions were too much for the haughty Czar. The refusal of England to give up Malta was a trifle compared to these enormous annexations. A Coalition was therefore entered into by England, Austria, and Russia for the prosecution of the war, 1805.

England meanwhile had pursued the war single-handed, and with very little success. Lord Wellesley had Ill-success of England. foiled Napoleon's plan for arousing French influence in India by means of the Mahrattas, and had secured the whole seaboard of India. The fleet had seized four Spanish treasure-ships. But all attempts to destroy the vast flotilla which Napoleon was preparing had failed, and the threat of invasion was still in active vitality.

The last years of Pitt were clouded by disaster and humiliation,—a sad ending for the great Minister who, whatever might

be his faults, had certainly saved England HI the hour of darkest danger by his determined courage and patriotism. He was deserted by his former friend, Addington, and his relation, Grenville. He saw his oldest comrade, Lord Melville (Dundas), successfully censured in Parliament for misapplying the funds of his department, the Admiralty. And though his declining days were cheered by the great triumph of Trafalgar, he lived long enough to see thick clouds gathering round the fortunes of Europe, and to feel the ruin of all his labours in the crushing disaster of Austerlitz. Austerlitz killed Pitt.

"Roll that up," moaned the dying minister, pointing to the map of Europe, "it will not be wanted for many a day." He never rallied again.

Death of Pitt,  
January 23,  
1806.

Heart-broken, emaciated, the shadow of his former self, he lingered on till the 23rd of January, 1806, and died. With him seemed to perish all the hopes, the enthusiasm, the daring of the nation.

## Book X—FINAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1803-15.

### CHAPTER T.

#### THE ARGUMENT.

THIS war of 1803-15 must be regarded as the Epilogue to the great struggle of the eighteenth century between England and France for the supremacy of the seas and New World. It therefore forms a fitting climax to our history. The great duel had begun during the Jenkins' Ear War, in consequence of the secret connection between France and Spain, and their mutual desire to limit the expansion of English commerce, which was being effected chiefly at the expense of the Spanish monopoly of the trade with South America. The question was wholly undecided at the end of the century.

Retrospect of the eighteenth century. First Act,—the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748,—for if England had gained some successes in America and on the seas, the balance of victory was strongly in favour of France in India. The **Second Act**,—the period between 1748-63, which includes what is commonly known as the Seven Years' War,—proved a decided triumph for England. America and India became hers entirely; the French and Spanish marine was almost exterminated; England might well claim the proud title of *Mistress of the Seas*. Then came the **Third Act** with the moral. Mismanagement in government led to the revolt of the American Colonies, and France seized eagerly the opportunity for revenge. It came, but not in the form expected. America became independent by the help of France, but from that independence France derived absolutely no benefit. She

was unable to recover her lost maritime power. She found her influence more effectually excluded from India than ever. America, after an interval of dislike and distrust, leant more decidedly to England than to France. England herself learnt from the war the great secret how to retain the rest of her Colonial Empire;—by allowing them to govern themselves as much as possible, and by interfering as little as possible.

The dream of a Colonial Empire still, however, remained dear to Frenchmen. Napoleon especially was dazzled by this glittering chimera. In early life he had been strongly attracted to India and the golden visions to which she gave rise. It is said that he even contemplated entering the service of the East India Company. Later, as the victorious instrument of the Revolution, he formed the gigantic plan of wresting from England the whole of her colonies, and reviving once more the maritime greatness of France. This plan he adhered to resolutely all through his extraordinary career of power. It was this which made him regard England as the arch-enemy of France who must be crushed at any price; which envenomed the bitterness which smote to his heart at the news of the victory of Trafalgar; and which prompted his acts of aggression against Denmark, Spain, and Portugal. The Continental System was the actual brainless exponent of his views; the mad ravings, as it were, of a chained lunatic who sees his enemy just outside his reach, and rages against him with impotent animal fury. But a far more statesmanlike scheme than any contained in his preposterous decrees lay hidden under his attacks on Spain and Portugal. They were the only colonial powers besides England. He hoped to get complete possession of the vast Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America, India, and Africa, and thus begin again the Inter-colonial Wars in which England had hitherto proved victorious. He hoped to seize the Portuguese fleet as well, which would serve as a nucleus for a new Imperial navy. It was therefore necessary for him to get the entire control of the two countries; he could no longer be satisfied with their dependence. This vast scheme, however, was too vast for his resources. His calculations, moreover, entirely failed. Hitherto he had not found it necessary to include the nation as a factor in the resistance of continental Powers. He did not therefore take the nation into account in Spain. This, as it happened, was a mistake, and this error ruined

Colonial  
dreams of  
Napoleon.

the whole sum. He could not conquer Spain ; he overran Portugal, but he lost both her fleet and her colonies; he found himself in Spain in the position of an army of occupation. He acquired no influence over the State, the people, or the dependencies. Even when his brother was crowned in Madrid he had not as many *subjects*, in the proper sense of the word, as the most insignificant parish possessed inhabitants. The call to arms rang out from every village steeple through the length and breadth of the peninsula. In every valley the voice of the priest resounded summoning all to the Holy War against the invader, the regicide, the blasphemer, and denouncing the terrors of eternal damnation on the head of the traitor, the accursed one, the worse than infidel, who refused to go with his companions. The whole nation rushed to arms in a frenzy of religious and patriotic enthusiasm. They found themselves invincible, though hardly ever victorious. Beaten again and again, and driven like mist before the east wind, they soon reassembled, gathering ever closer round the French armies like the storm-clouds on their own mountains. Napoleon found himself beset by a huge portentous Shadow of unknown form and dimensions on which his heaviest blows produced no impression, and which (as in Bulwer Lytton's legend) grew ever vaster and darker till it filled the whole air and crushed the breath out of its opponent.

The Peninsular War, therefore, must be regarded as the closing scene in the **afterpiece** to the great drama of the eighteenth century, and the curtain falls on the stirring *tableau* of **Waterloo**.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE NAPOLEONIC WARS, 1805-14.

#### *Section I.—The Third Coalition, 1805-7.*

BY September, 1805, the Coalition was practically formed between England, Austria, and Russia. Prussia weakly preferred to remain neutral.

Napoleon had for some time been making vast preparations for the invasion of England. In order to effect this it was absolutely necessary that the Toulon and Brest fleets should unite and appear in the Straits of Dover to cover the passage of an enormous flotilla of flat-bottomed boats, in which he intended to transport the army of invasion across the Channel. Admiral Cornwallis, however, was keeping up a close blockade of Brest ; and, though the Toulon fleet succeeded in getting through the Straits of Gibraltar, they were chased all over the Atlantic by different squadrons, and finally caught off **Cape Finisterre** by Admiral Calder. There they were so roughly handled that the French Admiral, Villeneuve, decided not to risk the long northern voyage amid the swarming ships of the English, and retired to Cadiz. This practically ended the invasion plan, and Napoleon, recognizing the impossibility of carrying it out without the fleet, drew off the army for an attack on Germany.

Failure of the  
invasion plan,  
**1805.**

A huge army of 200,000 men in different detachments was pouged across the Rhine. A great victory at **Ulm** enabled Napoleon to march straight on Vienna. In December he finally defeated the armies of Austria at **Austerlitz** in Moravia, and compelled that Power to conclude the Peace of Presburg, by which she surrendered all her claims on Germany and Italy. Napoleon now proceeded to Organize Holland and Naples as kingdoms for his brothers;

**Destruction of  
Austria, 1805.**

various provinces of Germany as principalities for his other relations and marshals; finally a Confederation of the Rhine, which was to include all the dependent Powers of Germany under French protection, among others Baden, Bavaria, Wurteniberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt.

But in the month of October, when Napoleon was marching in triumph down the Danube valley, a great naval victory had entirely destroyed the few remnants of the French marine. On the 21st, Nelson, with twenty-seven ships, had encountered Villeneuve with thirty-three off Cape Trafalgar. The English advanced with the wind in their favour, broke through the French line, and after a desperate encounter, eighteen of the enemy surrendered. The victory was marred by the death of the heroic Admiral, who was shot by the French riflemen from the tops when his ship grappled with the foe. He lived long enough to hear of the complete victory, and died thanking God that he had done his duty.

The accession of Fox to the Foreign Office, 1806, on the death of Pitt, was naturally followed by overtures for peace. Napoleon, however, would only have peace on his own terms, and, as they were so humiliating that the Czar indignantly refused to listen to them, preparations were made for a fresh campaign.

A series of studied insults had roused the popular anger in Prussia, and obliged the king to declare war on France. The result, however, was scarcely commensurate with the bombast which had accompanied the declaration. The victories of Auerstadt and Jena gave Napoleon possession of the whole country, and so elated him that he thought the hour had come for destroying the commerce of his great rival, England.

He was highly indignant that England had presumed to blockade the mouths of the Prussian rivers, though this was only in retaliation for his having compelled Prussia to close them against English traffic. He now issued the Berlin Decree, by which he declared the whole of the British Isles under blockade, forbade any intercourse between his Empire or dependent States and England, and confiscated all English merchandise found anywhere. This was what is called the Continental System. The Decree was at once ridiculous, unjust, and futile. Napoleon had

Destruction of  
the French  
marine, 1805.

Prussian cam-  
paign, 1806.

The Conti-  
nental  
System, 1806;



not a single ship at sea wherewith to enforce the blockade of the British Isles. He could not get on at all without English commodities, for his own army could only be clothed by means of English cloth and shod by English boots; and his dominions had an equal need of British goods. The Decree only injured his unfortunate subject states, who saw their property on land confiscated by Napoleon's agents as contraband, and their commerce ruined at sea by the retaliatory measures of England. The climax to the affair was that this absurd madman actually posed as the "Protector of the rights of neutral nations," much as mad Paul of Russia had done in 1800, maintaining that the English had violated the law of nations by unduly extending the right of blockade to whole lines of its failure.

coast, and threatening that the Continental System would be continued until England receded from these pretensions. The English Government in consequence issued retaliatory Orders in Council, 1807, declaring the whole of Napoleon's coast-line to be under blockade, granting reprisals against the commerce and marine of his dependent states, and forbidding the sale of ships by a belligerent to a neutral. The last of these was intended to check fictitious sales of French ships to neutrals, in order to enable them to trade under the neutral flag. The result of these measures was that America, the chief neutral nation, was the one which suffered most, and this, coupled with various special grievances of her own, produced such ill-will between the two nations that it eventually resulted in a war.

Napoleon had now to deal with the dogged bravery of the Russians and the great physical difficulties of the country. His men, his baggage, and artillery, were half drowned in mud, and a great deal of *materiel* lost. Therefore, though he won the battles of Pultusk, Eylau, and Friedland; yet the obstacles were so great, the Russians fought with so much fury, and there was such a frightful butchery on both sides, that really Napoleon can only be said to have been victorious because he retained the ground and the Russians retreated. The Russians were fighting for their country and were inspired with national feeling; whereas hitherto Napoleon had only encountered armies of miserable serfs who were driven to battle by the stick and commanded by their natural enemies, the nobles. The Austrian and Prussian monarchies had been overthrown in a couple of battles apiece. But these three terrific contests had not produced the slightest effect

Russian campaign, 1807.

on the Russians. Napoleon, in fact, had now come in contact with a new power, which he had only dimly felt as yet in his contests with England, and had hardly realized, owing to the maritime nature of that struggle. This new power was the '*principle of nationality*, and it was destined to prove fatal to his ascendancy.

England, however, under the **Grenville Ministry** was pursuing a very narrow course in the conduct of the war. They did not understand that in Russia Napoleon had at last come in contact with the power which would eventually destroy him. They therefore declined to furnish any assistance to Russia, and confined themselves to four ridiculous disconnected expeditions. A fleet was sent to the Dardanelles to compel Turkey to give up her friendship with France. It met with no success, and had to run the gauntlet of the batteries along the coast on its return. Squadrons were sent to capture Buenos Ayres and Alexandria with little result but disgrace. A few regiments were landed in Naples and routed the French at Maida, but were forced eventually to evacuate the country.

This selfishness and incompetency combined were enough to disgust any ally ; and so Alexander determined to come to terms with Napoleon, and effect an amicable partition of power. Peace was concluded at **Tilsitt**, July, 1807, by which Prussia was deprived of all its provinces west of the Elbe and in Poland; all Napoleon's subject states were recognized; a Grand Duchy of Warsaw created out of the Prussian Polish provinces; and finally it was agreed that all the hitherto unsubdued principalities in Europe were to be compelled to make common cause with the allies against England. Thus was laid the foundation of the Peninsular War.

Fortunately England was now under a more capable Ministry. **Canning**, the Foreign Minister, received notice that the ships of Denmark and Portugal were to be used against England. A squadron was therefore sent to the Baltic, which enforced the surrender of the Danish fleet by bombarding Copenhagen. There is no doubt that this appears an unjustifiable aggression on a small neutral state. But all the ordinary rules of war had long been out of force; and the existence of the secret 'articles of the treaty proves that it was really a matter in which the security of England was at stake.

Foiled with regard to Denmark, Napoleon was only the more firmly determined to compel Portugal to adhere to the Continental System.

Section 2.—*The Peninsular War, 1807-14.*

Napoleon now proceeded to put in force his schemes against England by effecting the annexation of Spain and Portugal. By a detestable mixture of force and fraud he succeeded in establishing his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, June, 1807, and in occupying the whole of Portugal by the end of November. The Spaniards, however, are notorious for their loyalty and their national hatred of foreigners. They therefore rose in insurrection all over the country; and though they were usually defeated in battle, they contrived to maintain a *guerilla* warfare of incalculable difficulty and damage to the French armies.

The Spanish rising, 1807.

The English Ministry determined to avail themselves of this outburst of national feeling in Spain to carry on the war more vigorously against Napoleon. The surrender of a French army at Baylen to the insurgents, and the exaggerations of the envoys sent by them to demand assistance, no doubt encouraged the Ministry into a higher belief in the courage and capacity of "the gallant and patriotic Spaniard" than was actually justified by the conduct of that gallant individual. At the same time England had now at last entered on the right course. The military despotism of Napoleon must triumph over any other despotism because it was more purely military, more perfectly organized. The principle of nationality in England and Russia had alone contended against it with any degree of success. It was the mission of England to encourage and support this principle of nationality, which had burst into indignant revolt against Napoleon's tyranny, in order to furnish to the nations of Central Europe an example which might teach them how to rend away the chains which galled them. It is this which lends interest to the long campaigns of the Peninsular War, which is otherwise but a miserable, painful record of the genius of Wellington and the courage of his soldiers, checked, curbed, and thwarted at every step by the incompetency of the Home Government and the cowardice of the "gallant Spaniard."

Character and importance of the war.

The early expeditions of Wellington and Moore are but a tale of wasted hopes and misplaced efforts. The victories of the troops were neutralized by the folly of the Ministers. Their scanty numbers were obliged to retreat before the huge armies which Napoleon poured into the country. The Ministry even determined to abandon the Spaniards to what seemed their inevitable fate, preferring to waste their forces in disconnected and useless expeditions to different parts of the world, which produced absolutely no result whatever. During the early years of the war Wellington acted at his own risk, and under every discouragement from home; and it was solely due to his courage and genius that this important movement was continued. The history of the Peninsular War therefore really begins when Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) arrived in Portugal, April, 1809, to take the command of the English forces.

The outbreak of a fresh war with Austria had drawn off a large proportion of French troops. Therefore at the time when Napoleon was once more crushing the resistance of the Austrian Empire in the campaign of Eckmühl and Wagram, and when Lord Chatham and his men were dying uselessly in the swamps of Walcheren, victims to the folly of the Government and the incapacity of their General, Wellesley succeeded in driving Marshal Soult out of Portugal, marched straight on Madrid, and defeated the forces of King Joseph and Marshal Victor at Talavera.

In 1810, however, Napoleon, flushed with triumph, came back from Austria, and poured his enormous army through the passes of the Pyrenees into Spain. Early in the spring the immense pressure of the Imperial main forces was felt in the increased activity of the French divisions in various parts of the country. The whole was gradually converging on Portugal. All through the winter Wellington had employed his army in fortifying a triangle of land between the estuary of the Tagus and the sea. The base of the triangle was formed by a triple line of almost impregnable fortifications, which his small force could defend against millions so long as the English retained the command of the sea.

Against these lines of **Torres Vedras** Massena with 60,000

men dashed himself again and again, until at last, dispirited and half-starved, he drew off his forces in November.

In 1811 Wellington sallied from his lair. The year, however, was productive of little but discouragement. The victories of **Albuera** and **Fuentes D'Onoro** were followed by absolutely no result. At the end of the year Wellington was obliged to retire once more to Portugal, and the French surged threateningly up to the very gates of the country. The one gleam of hope shone from the north. The rumours of a Russian campaign were already beginning to fill the air, and it could be seen that Napoleon would be obliged to draw off a large portion of his forces in consequence. At the same time there was no certainty in anything, and the year closed in gloom and bitter disappointment.

Campaign of  
1811.

In 1812 Wellington struck out hard in two directions. Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo were taken by assault, and this opened the road to Spain. The victory of **Salamanca** was followed by a straight march right up to Burgos, where once more he was obliged to retreat to Portugal owing to want of proper siege-artillery.

Campaign of  
1812.

In 1813 the French forces were so considerably weakened by the withdrawal of large bodies of men for the Russian War that Wellington was able to march across Spain, rout Soult at **Vittoria** and in the passes of the **Pyrenees**, and pour his forces into the south of France. In spite, however, of the effect which must have been exercised on him by the disastrous termination of the Russian campaign and the great defeat inflicted on Napoleon at **Leipsic**, Soult maintained the war with the greatest gallantry until the abdication of his master, 1814.

End of the  
war, 1814.

## CHAPTER III.

## HOME AFFAIRS, 1806-12.

*Section 1.—Ministry of all the Talents, 1806-7,*

WITH Pitt fell his Cabinet, which had depended solely on him. It became necessary to form a Coalition Ministry on a broad and national basis in order to carry on the Government at all.

The Ministry. The king tried to continue the old Ministry under Lord Hawkesbury, but the latter refused to undertake the responsibility. George was therefore obliged to summon Lord Grenville, and as the latter refused to come in without Fox, to permit his *bête-noir* to be included in the Ministry. Addington, Spencer, and Windham were also taken in. Fox assumed the control of the Foreign Office, with the view of carrying out the peace policy which he imagined that Napoleon would assent to so readily.

This Ministry is remarkable solely for its mistakes, and is to be remembered chiefly for the "death of Fox and the abolition of the slave-trade. Fox was now destined at the close of his career to be *disillusioned* with regard to Napoleon. He at last thoroughly realized the insincerity of his hero. He declared that he was convinced now that there had never been a moment when the French really desired peace, or when England could have honourably concluded it, and he died amid the unutterable sadness caused by the consciousness of an almost wholly wasted life. Yet in spite of his numerous faults, so large-hearted was he, so irresistibly fascinating to all who came in close contact with him, that even the king, who had hated him as he never hated any other man before or after, was heard to remark some time after the death of Fox that he never could have imagined that he would regret Mr. Fox so much.

The second great object of Fox's life he succeeded in attaining before his death ;—this was the abolition of the slave-trade. For more than thirty years the question had been before the country, and a vigorous agitation had been conducted by Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Fox. Pitt was quite at one with them on this question, and had brought forward motions on the subject. The House of Lords, however, rejected all measures of this description during the Revolutionary War, under the influence of the Anti-Jacobin feeling. It was reserved for Fox to succeed in carrying a Bill inflicting heavy pecuniary punishments on the traffic in slaves. And yet this measure—the sole fruit of Fox's statesmanship—was wholly inadequate ; nor was it till the slave-trade was made felony in 1811 that its final extinction was secured.

Abolition of  
the slave-  
trade, 1806-  
11.

The remaining acts of the Ministry were blunders. They appointed Lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice, to a seat in the Cabinet, though obviously such a position is incompatible with the performance of high judicial functions. Their financial system was a failure. They carried on the war so as to alienate their allies and to cover themselves with humiliation. Finally, they insisted on bringing forward a measure for the relief of the Catholics, though there was not the slightest hope of carrying it, and it could only cause a disruption of the Government. They appeared to be deficient both in foresight and management; and to act not as though they wished to succeed, but merely desired to show that they would not be dictated to even by public opinion. The measure itself, which would have admitted the Catholics to the army, was a wise one, and would have removed an undoubted grievance. The king and the Pittites were determined to oppose it, and so the Ministry agreed to drop the question *under protest*. George insisted on their withdrawing the protest, and as this was refused he dismissed them. The only explanation of the withdrawal of the question must be their certainty of defeat and desire to remain in office. And yet these men had censured Pitt for abandoning the Catholics in 1801. This then was the final triumph of George III. He had successfully dismissed this Ministry; he had maintained the principle that every Ministry is bound to withdraw any project displeasing to the king. These principles were totally inconsistent with Constitutional Government, and they indirectly

Blunders.

The greatest  
blunder.

precipitated Reform by rendering it absolutely necessary in order to curb the royal influence.

*Section 2.—The Portland Ministry, 1807-9.*

The Duke of Portland's sole claims to form a Ministry were his high rank, and the length of his previous services. His talents were never very great, and they were weakened by age and disease. The real leader was Mr. Perceval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a dexterous debater and a patriotic statesman.

Weakness. This Government, being formed on the closest

Tory basis and on the king's influence, was pledged to pursue a retrograde policy and to oppose all measures of Reform. The one really high-minded statesman in the Cabinet was Canning, the Foreign Minister. His advanced views, however, continually brought him into collision with Castlereagh, the War Minister, a man of much inferior talents and the narrowest Tory views. Quarrels inevitably arose between the two, and there was no real Prime Minister to hold

Difficulties. them strongly under control. Canning's liberal

ideas led him to admire the national rising of the Spaniards, and to desire that they should work out their freedom mainly by their own efforts. He therefore disapproved of investing Wellington with the unlimited power which the latter really required; he preferred that England should act rather as the instrument of the Spanish Junta, which his vivid fancy transformed into a "free Constitutional Government," instead of the base, cowardly, selfish reality. Castlereagh, how-

Quarrel between Canning and Castlereagh. ever, not approving of national and constitutional outbreaks, preferred to carry on the war by means of miserable expeditions to the coast of the French Empire, like that of Walcheren, which were productive of nothing but vast expense and disgrace; while he wholly starved the war in the Peninsula.

At last the ill-feeling ended in a duel, which was followed by a mutual resignation on the ground that neither could serve with the other. This was followed by the resignation of Portland, who felt himself wholly unequal to the arduous task of managing the Ministry any longer.

*Section 3.—The Perceval Ministry, 1809-12.*

The leadership now devolved on Perceval, who found himself



in an apparently hopeless condition. His only supporters were Lords Liverpool, Eldon, Palmerston, and Wellesley. Neither Canning, Castlereagh, nor Sidmouth (Addington) would join him. The miserable expedition to Walcheren had just ended in ignominy. The campaign in the Peninsula was regarded as a chimerical enterprise, got up mainly for the benefit of a Tory commander. Certainly the most capable man in the Cabinet was Lord Wellesley, the Foreign Minister, but he was continually thwarted by the incapable men he had to deal with. However, as long as he remained at the Foreign Office, he supported the Peninsular War with vigour, and enabled his brother to carry out more effectually his plans with regard to the defence of Portugal. Difficulties.

In November, 1810, the king was again seized with insanity, nor did he ever recover the use of his faculties during the rest of his life. The Ministry determined to bring forward Pitt's old Bill of 1788 in a somewhat more modified form, February, 1811. The Prince of Wales requested Grey and Grenville to criticize this, but, regarding their reply as lukewarm, he began to entertain an ill-will for them. At this moment the judicious flattery of his family brought him over from the Whigs, and he decided to continue Perceval in office. Wellesley however, took the opportunity to resign, and was succeeded by Castlereagh, February, 1812. Regency.

In May Perceval was assassinated by Mr. Bellingham, a lunatic, and his Ministry at once fell to pieces. Assassination of Perceval, 1812.

During this period the agitation for Reform was once more revived by the Radical party under Sir Francis Burdett, who became identified with the question. This was really unfortunate. The question had been obscured enough as it was by the violence of the early Radicals of the Revolutionary period. Burdett took the matter up in the same aggressive spirit, and practically ruined all chance of success. Radicalism, moreover, was rapidly becoming synonymous with Luddite or machine-breaking riots, and the very orators who encouraged the people to these outrages were also loudest in their demands for a thorough Reform of Parliament. It is not strange, therefore, when the cause was conducted with such singular indiscretion both in and out of Parliament, that the prejudice and fear with regard to the \* question should not have abated. On the contrary, however, a Reform.

feeling was gradually arising in the House of Commons in favour of Catholic Relief, which, no doubt, was aided by the insanity of the king. Many members, who had held themselves bound by Pitt's promise not to bring the question on for fear of reviving George's malady, felt themselves practically freed by the consideration that their votes could not now exercise the slightest influence on the poor old king's health. The subject had been deferred mainly out of respect for George's prejudices, which all believed to be sincere; but no one would have believed in any statement of religious scruples on the part of the Prince Regent. There was, therefore, no longer any reason for delaying the removal of the disabling laws. It was a feeling of this kind which rendered it necessary for the next Ministry, as the condition of its existence, to remove Catholic Relief from the number of the points on which their continuance in office depended.

#### *Section 4.—War with America, 1812, 1813.*

The Orders in Council of 1807 had produced a great deal of irritation in America, and this was increased by two other grievances. By the then existing law an Englishman\* could not throw off his nationality. The English therefore were in the habit of searching American ships and seizing as deserters all English sailors found on board. Quarrel with America. The Americans, moreover, were in the habit of using various kinds of fraud in order to enable them to successfully break the neutrality laws, which forbade neutrals to export the commerce of a belligerent colony to that colony's mother country. These frauds had been discovered, and the English in consequence seized all ships employed in this trade.

America in revenge laid an embargo on English trade, thus doing England incalculable harm. An attempt was made to arrange matters in 1809, but it altogether failed. American revenge. The Southern States suffered greatly, ownr; to the loss of one of the largest markets for tobacco; and though the North was inclined for peace, the fire-eating population of Virginia and the Carolines forced the Government to declare war, May, 1812.

It was a miserable war all through. The Americans invaded Canada, but had to retire quicker than they came. The war. Our fleet blockaded the American coast, but,

strangely enough, was defeated in every encounter. An invasion of America met with better success, though it was stained by the wanton destruction of all public property, offices and buildings, in the capital city of Washington. Various expeditions were carried out with varying success. In December, 1814, however, the war was ended by a **Convention of Ghent**, which practically left all the real points of dispute wholly unsettled.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE RESETTLEMENT OF EUROPE, 1814, 1815.

IN 1812 Napoleon invaded Russia with a vast army. The Russians with extraordinary devotion retired slowly, disputing every inch of ground, until they had drawn him to Moscow.

Be treat from  
Moscow, 1812. Then they closed in upon him, burnt him out, cut off his supplies, and drove him headlong to the

frontier. A winter of extraordinary cold set in and added to the misery of this retreat, which ended in the total ruin of the French army. This was the signal for a general rising of nations, and fate at last came upon the great conqueror at the crushing defeat of Leipsic, October 16, 1813.

The allied armies of Austria, Russia, and Prussia then advanced upon France, and, after a vain attempt to negotiate with Napoleon, crossed the frontier. In April Napoleon, attacked on all sides and deserted by many of his marshals, abdicated and consented to withdraw to the Isle of Elba, which was to be erected into a principality for him.

It was now necessary to rearrange Europe, which had been turned completely topsy-turvy by Napoleon. The first question was the settlement of France. Prussia and Austria were anxious to take vengeance on that country for the sins of Napoleon, and exact from her a territorial and pecuniary indemnity.

Reconstitu-  
tion of  
France. England, however, was determined that Franco should be restored simply to her old limits of 1790, considering that a strong France was necessary to preserve the balance of power against the three eastern sovereignties. All the Princes of Europe were agreed as to the re-establishment of the Bourbons, which, indeed, was only in accordance with the legitimist views

of the time. Alexander of Russia, however, who combined some strange ideas of philosophic liberalism, which he reserved for other states, with the despotic principles on which he governed his own, insisted that Louis XVIII. must grant a Charter of Liberties to the French. The important part which Russia had played in the overthrow of Napoleon caused the allies to reluctantly assent to this proposal, which must have clashed strangely with the views of despotic sovereigns like Frederic William of Prussia, or reactionary Ministers like Castlereagh of England and Metternich of Austria. The result was the Treaty of Paris, May, 1814, which gave France the frontier of 1710, and in addition about half Savoy and some fortresses towards the Rhine. The only real loss she sustained was the Isle of France (Mauritius), which England insisted on retaining.

The really difficult question was the rearrangement of the rest of Europe, which was reserved for a Congress of the allied Powers, which met at Vienna, September, 1814. This Congress was naturally reactionary in its tendencies. The three despotic sovereigns regarded the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars in the light of a storm which had swept over Europe, leaving behind it nothing but ruins. They did not understand the vast changes which had come over the people of Europe in consequence of the outburst of national feeling which had sprung from the reaction against Napoleon. They considered that they had met to restore the old despotic systems of government throughout Europe, and to rearrange the dislocated provinces solely with regard to the personal views of the principal sovereigns, without taking into consideration the newly-aroused principle of nationality.

Congress of  
Vienna, 1814.

Reactionary  
views of the  
Powers.

The interests of England were provided for by her retention of Malta, Ceylon, the Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope, which secured her road to India and her influence in the Mediterranean. She was also satisfied with the project of creating a strong kingdom of united Holland and Belgium to guard the mouths of the great rivers and thus prevent any renewal of the Continental System. France was only really anxious to procure the re-establishment of the Bourbons in Naples and Parma, and to prevent the annihilation of the kingdom of

Views of  
England and  
France.

\*

Saxony. Both these countries could therefore enter on the real business of the Congress—the rearrangement of Eastern Europe—with a larger ideal than the three Eastern Powers, who were directly interested in the question. England and France intended in fact to establish a balance of power in Germany; but this was all—their rulers were no more desirous than the other Powers of satisfying the national aspirations of Germany, Poland, and Italy.

Alexander of Russia, full of his philosophic liberalism, proposed to reconstitute the kingdom of Poland under his own rule, and give the Poles a liberal Constitution of the same type as that of France. The practical annexation of the whole of Poland was what he really intended to effect as the reward for his services to Europe; and Austria and Prussia were expected to surrender the large provinces they had gained in the various partitions of Poland, In return Prussia was to receive the whole of Saxony, whose king was thus to be punished for his adherence to Napoleon; Austria was to be compensated with Lombardy and Venice. To this scheme Prussia entirely consented.

Austria, however, objected. She cared nothing for the restoration of Poland; she did not wish to be brought into such close contact with Russia; she saw that the possession of Saxony would so consolidate and invigorate her old enemy, Prussia, as to give the latter a very fair chance of ousting her from the leadership of Germany. Austria, therefore, threw in her lot with England and France against Russia and Prussia. A secret treaty was entered into by the three Powers, and there seemed every prospect of a fresh war between the two confederations, when the news of the return of Napoleon from Elba restored temporary harmony.

The allied armies, however, gathered but slowly in the Netherlands, and the inevitable delay gave Napoleon the opportunity of striking the first blow. He got between the English and Prussian armies, and succeeded in driving bad; the Prussians at **Ligny**. The English, however, held their ground at **Quatre Bras**, and this completely upset his plan. Both armies, moreover, retired in almost parallel lines, instead of opposite directions, as Napoleon had intended. When, therefore, Wellington took up his position on the heights of Mont Saint Jean not far from

Views of  
Russia and  
Prussia.

Views of  
Austria.

Waterloo  
campaign,  
1815,

**Waterloo**, Blucher and his whole army were within little more than half a day's march of the position. From eight o'clock in the morning of the 18th of June till four o'clock in the afternoon the English succeeded in maintaining their position against all the assaults of the French. Then the arrival of the Prussian army changed the defence into an attack, a pursuit, and finally a merciless slaughter all along the road to Paris. On the 7th of July the allied armies entered Paris. Towards the end of the month Napoleon surrendered to the English, and was sent to the island of St. Helena, an isolated rock in the Atlantic.

The influence of England, which was increased by the Waterloo campaign, enabled her now to take a prominent part in the proceedings at Vienna. She was able to secure the maintenance of the principal articles of the Treaty previously agreed to, though naturally the other Powers insisted on some punishment for the "Hundred Days," as the Napoleonic revival is called.

The Second  
Treaty of  
Paris, 1815.

France was to be confined strictly to the limits of 1790; was to pay a war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs in five years, during which time her good conduct was to be insured by a joint army of occupation under the Duke of Wellington. This was the Second Treaty of Paris.

The influence of England now succeeded in modifying the views of Russia, and the resettlement of Europe was concluded as follows :—Prussia retained the greater portion of her Polish acquisitions, and so did Austria; the rest was reconstituted into a kingdom under Russia. Prussia obtained about half Saxony and the Rhenish provinces; Austria obtained Venice and Lombardy; the kingdom of the United Netherlands was definitely established; and some other minor changes effected.

Final settle-  
ment of  
Europe, 1815.

On the 26th of September the final act of the drama was concluded by the formation of the Holy Alliance between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for the government of their respective countries on Christian principles, and mutual assistance for the protection of religion, peace, and justice. This rhodomontade, which was composed by the Emperor Alexander, with the assistance of Mdme. Krudener, a beautiful enthusiast, who was on the most intimate terms with him, really meant that despotism should be guaranteed for the future against any revolutionary movements

The Holy  
Alliance,  
Sept., 1815.

by a combined intervention of all the Powers. This doctrine was very agreeable to Austria, Prussia, and France; it was also in accordance with the private views of Castlereagh. It was impossible, however, for him to face Parliament after signing such a treaty, and therefore he instructed the Duke of Wellington to decline.



## CHAPTER V.

INDIA, 1784—1810.

*Section 1,—Lord Cornwallis, 1784-93.*

MR. PITT'S India Bill of 1784, enlarged and explained by two subsequent enactments, endeavoured to provide a remedy for the evils which had desolated India, by substituting a strong central Government for the divided supremacy which Hastings had shared with his Council. Lord Cornwallis, the new Governor-General, was to have the power of overriding the opinion of the whole Council at his discretion, subject to an inquiry at home afterwards.

Pitt's India  
Bill, 1784.

The advantage of this was soon seen. Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, not realizing the importance of this change, and not comprehending that he had now to deal with the forces of England herself as well as those of the Company, provoked a Second Mysore War by wantonly attacking the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of England. Cornwallis at once acted with the utmost vigour. He concluded an alliance with two native Powers, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, 1790 ; he despatched money and troops to the scene of action ; he ordered out both the Madras army and the Bombay army, in order to attack Tippoo on both sides; finally he took the command himself, in order to ensure due subordination in the various commanders. The result was that in a short time Tippoo surrendered, and agreed to cede large strips of territory to the three allies in 1792—the English obtaining the provinces of Dindigul, Baramahal, and Coimbatore on the east coast, Malabar and Coorg on the west.

Second Mysore  
War. 1790-92.

Cornwallis's successor, Sir John Shore, however, entirely destroyed the effects of this decided action by adopting a weak, colourless policy of non-intervention. The result was that

Tippoo reformed his army, intrigued with the French Revolutionary Government, and established a connection with various French adventurers, who were in command of companies of troops at the courts of some of the native princes, and who were all hostile to England. Finally he had the audacity to publish a proclamation at the Isle of France inviting volunteers to join him in an effort to *expel the English from India*.

Sir John  
Shore, 1793-  
1798.

### Section 2.—Lord Wellesley, 1798—1805.

Lord Mornington (afterwards Lord Wellesley) heard of this insulting proclamation on his arrival, and also that Napoleon had started for Egypt with the avowed intention of proceeding thence to invade India. He therefore acted with promptitude and vigour. Having in vain demanded of Tippoo an explanation of his conduct, he sent an army under General Harris into Mysore, February, 1799. Seringapatam was taken after a short siege, Tippoo was killed in the assault, and the whole kingdom of Mysore and the sea-coast of Canara fell into the hands of the English.

Third Mysore  
War, 1799.

Lord Wellesley's policy in dealing with the native chiefs was known as the subsidiary system. He established English influence ; obliged or persuaded the princes to enter into permanent treaties with the English; to pay for the support of an army which was practically English in feeling; and to commit their military and foreign policy into the hands of an English resident. He thus intended to acquire a commanding influence through the whole of India, to expel all foreign adventurers, and gradually suppress all internal war. The system was a good and wise one, and was eventually adopted openly. But at first it produced a great outcry, was strongly objected to by the Directors on account of the expense, and was fiercely denounced by the Opposition on the most unreasonable and frivolous grounds. The hostility, however, aroused against the system proved powerful enough to procure the recall of Wellesley as soon as a slight tinge of ill-success had darkened his otherwise triumphant career.

The subsidi-  
ary alliance  
system.

This was during the Mahratta Wars. The Mahrattas, being the most turbulent and powerful of the native states, Wellesley made a great point of concluding a subsidiary alliance with

them. Dissensions among the chiefs enabled him to find the Peishwa, or head of the confederation, by the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. The other chiefs, however, refused to agree to the treaty, and behaved in a very insulting manner to the English envoys. In consequence war was declared against two of them, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, 1802. A fourfold attack from the three presidencies was arranged. Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Wellington) encountered the forces of Scindiah at Assaye, 1803, and inflicted a severe defeat on them. He followed this up by routing the Rajah of Berar at Argaom. Meanwhile General Lake had attacked and captured most of Scindiah's strong fortresses on the Jumna, and routed a large body of his troops at Laswaree, 1803. In consequence the Mahrattas sued for peace. Scindiah was obliged to surrender all his strong places in Upper India, and his sea-port of Baroach. The Rajah of Berar consented to cede the maritime district of Cuttack and certain of his southern provinces. Both Powers agreed to enter into relations with the English. Wellesley considered therefore that by obtaining the whole sea-coast of India he had completely excluded French influence, while he had effectually crippled the principal Mahratta chieftains (1803).

The Mahratta War, 1802-3.

War, however, broke out again in 1804, owing to the marauding propensities of Holkar, another Mahratta chief. This time the military arrangements were badly managed, and were marked with disaster. The beaten chieftains in consequence looked menacingly at the English. The Company became wild with terror. Wellesley was recalled, and Lord Cornwallis was sent out with instructions to abandon as much as possible all connection with Scindiah, Holkar, and the princes of Upper India. The death of Cornwallis threw the government into the hands of Sir George Barlow, a rather incompetent member of the Council, who carried out the orders of the Directors literally. He retired entirely from Upper India, gave up the subsidiary treaties with the princes, and abandoned the country to the tender mercies of Scindiah and Holkar, who, aided by the quarrelsome habits of their neighbours, gradually reduced Upper India to such a state of anarchy and bloodshed that it became positively necessary for the English to interfere, to prevent the contagion spreading to their own dominions. This

War with Holkar, 1804.

Sir George Barlow's settlement, 1805;

disastrous termination of the Mahratta War planted the seeds of another contest. Our withdrawal from Upper India afforded an opportunity for the growth and maturity of a new predatory power—the Pindarees, a collection of brigands, disbanded soldiers, outlaws, outcasts of every kind, who formed almost a predatory state in the Vindhya Mountains. These freebooters, having exhausted the provinces of Central India, poured down on the British territories, and it became necessary for the Government to expend vast sums in order to resist them in 1817. This eypense might have been saved had the wise plans of Wellesley for controlling the turbulence of the Mahratta chiefs been continued to their legitimate end. One thing, however, Wellesley had accomplished, which even Sir George Barlow could not undo. He had effectually excluded all fear of Napoleon's influence in India.

Still, the two islands of France and Bourbon continued to be a thorn in the side of the English. Swarms of privateers swooped out of these harbours on the Company's trading ships, and swept the whole Indian Ocean from Madagascar to Java.

Capture of the Mauritius, 1310. Lord Wellesley had left notes and recommendations with regard to the capture of the islands ; but the subject had been disregarded by the Directors. The nuisance, however, and positive loss became so great that in 1810 Lord Minto, Barlow's successor, sent a strong expedition, which effected the reduction of the islands. The Isle of France (Mauritius) was retained at the peace, 1815.

## EPILOGUE.

GEORGE IV.

(Regent 1810; King 1820-30.)

*Section 1.—George IV.*

GEORGE AUGUSTUS, the eldest son of George III, who styled himself "the First Gentleman of Europe," conducted himself as a rule so as to rather deserve the title of "Premier Blackguard of Europe." He thought it an admirable joke to make a Duke drunk. His language was usually such as would be highly suitable to a stable. He was recklessly extravagant, and involved himself in serious difficulties in consequence. In 1794 Parliament had to vote 650,000*l.* to extinguish his debts. He proved himself utterly unscrupulous, and without a shadow of feeling. He fell in love with, and married at an early age, a beautiful Catholic widow, Mrs. Fitzherbert. It was a question whether the marriage was void by the Royal Marriage Act, or the Prince had forfeited his claim to the throne under the provisions of the Act of Settlement. George got out of the difficulty by authorizing Fox to deny the marriage in Parliament, and then disowning him afterwards, an expedient more worthy of a blackleg than a prince of the blood. Later in life he was persuaded to abandon Mrs. Fitzherbert and marry Princess Caroline of Brunswick. Nemesis came upon him at last. The Princess was dirty and untidy in her habits, not pretty in the least, and unpardonably careless in her behaviour. The "First Gentleman" behaved as might have been expected of him. He got drunk on his wedding-night. Before nine months were over he decided to leave her altogether. He then set to

Character.

Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Princess Caroline.

work to<sup>1</sup> collect evidence against her which might serve as a ground for a divorce. He sent spies after her, and persecuted her from country to country. On his accession he compelled his Ministers to bring in a Bill of Pains and Penalties against her; but so much public feeling was evoked in her behalf that the matter was abandoned. Nor was George's conduct to his parents less remarkable for heartless brutality. Filial conduct. A true Hanoverian, he consorted chiefly with his father's enemies, and for some time his greatest friend was Mr. Fox. A story is told, moreover, that during his father's illness his great amusement was to mimic the poor old king's contortions and ravings, to the great gratification of a choice circle of friends.

Such was the man who assumed the nominal charge of the kingdom under the provisions of the Regency Act of 1811.

### *Section 2.—The Old Tory Government, 1812-22.*

After some fruitless negotiations with Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, and then with Lords Grey and Grenville, the Prince Regent entrusted Lord Liverpool with the duty of forming a Ministry. Lord Castlereagh became Foreign Secretary, Lord Sidmouth Home Secretary, Lord Eldon was continued at the Chancery, and Mr. Vansittart became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Catholic Relief was made an open question, but otherwise the Ministry was on the closest Tory basis.

Robert Banks Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool, had passed the greater part of his life in the service of his country; his remaining years were devoted to the management of the government. He had had the good fortune to be at the Foreign Office when the Peace of Amiens had been concluded, and had therefore entitled himself to the gratitude of the country. He had also, as Foreign Minister, controlled the provision for the Peninsular campaigns, which were fraught with such important consequences. He was now Premier, and his premiership was destined to last for fifteen years. But though his official career extended over a longer period than that of many of our greatest statesmen, Lord Liverpool by no means earned a title to be ranked among them. That his name is identified with many of the most important events in the history of the world was more the result

of the merits of his subordinates than any surprising abilities of [his own. He attained a respectable degree of success in almost everything he undertook; but he never got beyond decorous mediocrity. He excited neither sympathy nor prejudice. When his colleagues, Eldon, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, were vituperated with the utmost virulence and loathing, strangely enough Liverpool, as a rule, escaped. Dante, no doubt, would have consigned him after death to the *Limbo* of those who have not sufficient individuality in themselves to be either loved or hated.

His Chancellor, Lord Eldon, on the contrary, undoubtedly left a most decided impress on the politics of the time.; and, as a rule, his influence was exercised in opposition to measures which have since, for the most part, proved in actual working both beneficial and invigorating to the Constitution. Fortwenty-five years he filled the Chancery, and during the whole of his career of office he violently resisted all attempts at reforming the representative system, or removing the disabilities of the Roman Catholics. And yet he was a man of a peculiarly just temperament; the very reverse of bigoted in his religious opinions. By a similar contradiction he was in favour of retaining the punishment of death for many most trivial offences, though otherwise an extremely humane man. His ability, industry, loyalty, and honesty, were as remarkable as his good temper and affectionate disposition. And yet undoubtedly during the latter part of his career he was one of the best hated men of his time. He has, moreover, deprived himself entirely of the sympathy of posterity by his unremitting exertions against many useful and necessary reforms.

Lord  
Chancellor  
Eldon.

Eobert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Minister, played such an important part in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet that he was regarded all through as the real leader of the Tory party. He became therefore the chief subject of the abuse of his political opponents. He was, regarded as the Great Dragon of the Apocalypse by the young revolutionary and atheistical party, of whom Shelley and Byron are the most prominent representatives. He was designedly blackened with the foulest abuse by Radical writers like Cobbett, with the object of exciting the unreasoning passions of the mob against him. Not but that it is impossible to approve of his policy now, or to deny that he committed many and great mistakes. Hk foreign policy was really based

Foreign  
Secretary  
Castlereagh;

on false principles. He considered that peace was necessary to Europe, and that peace could only be obtained by strengthening the hands of the different Governments and repressing all constitutional outbreaks as provocative of the horrors which culminated in the Napoleonic Wars. He therefore was strongly in sympathy with the views of the Holy Alliance, and though the House of Commons compelled him to abstain from committing this country to a partnership in their policy, he steadfastly refused to oppose them except by protest, which of course was disregarded. The result was that, in spite of the great triumphs of Wellington, England gradually declined in importance in Europe during the six years after the Great War, which concluded the administrative career of Castlereagh.

His views on home government were in striking accordance with his foreign policy. Like his chief and his colleagues, he was strongly opposed to any violent changes in views on the Constitution, and to the impartial observer Reform. this might well seem justified by the excesses of the Radicals and the remembrance of the Jacobin Era.

At the same time he is entirely acquitted from the charge of unenlightened opposition to the cause of progress by his conduct with regard, to Catholic Relief. With the echo of his promise in 1800 to the Irish no doubt in his ears, he steadily supported the movement in its favour; and on this subject, and perhaps this alone, he was in complete sympathy with his rival Canning.

The result, therefore, of the honest though mistaken belief of the Tory chiefs that strong government was the only alternative to anarchy at the time, was, that repression at home and abroad, resistance to all popular ferments, all explosions of Revolutionary feeling, was to be the keynote of political government in England for many a long year.

The great opponent of this Ministry was Lord Grey. Eroni his first entrance into Parliament he had attached himself to the cause of Reform. He had supported Pitt's Reform Bill. Undeterred by the changed attitude of the Government, he had twice, in 1793 and 1797, brought forward Bills of his own for an alteration in the franchise. From that day his name was identified with Reform. And yet he had sufficient insight to see that the time had not yet come. His father's death, which removed him to the unsympathetic atmosphere of the House of

The leader of  
the Opposi-  
tion.



Lords, no doubt had a great deal to do with his wise determination to wait till a better time should come ; for at a time when the Commons were hostile, the people uninterested, and the king violently opposed to the topic, it is easy to conceive the chilling silence with which proposals for Reform would have been listened to in the Lords. But it was Grey's good fortune that his hour of success at last came, that it was permitted to him to eventually carry into action that measure to the accomplishment of which he had devoted his life.

Among the men of the Opposition the most brilliant was undoubtedly George Canning. Educated at Eton and Oxford, his career was so successful that on his entering public life each of the political parties made a direct bid for his assistance. He attached himself to Pitt, and became one of that generous band of youthful statesmen who devoted themselves with the most unquestioning obedience and reverence to the unswerving execution of their leader's behests. He soon became renowned as an orator of the highest order, while he also did good service to his party with his pen. He followed Pitt's fortunes in 1801 ; and it was the bitterness of his attacks on Addington which formed one of the principal causes of the split in the Tory party. It was during the Portland Ministry that the germs of that quarrel with Castlereagh were sown which kept him so long in a subordinate position. The views of Canning and his party are at this distance extremely difficult to understand. In some questions he showed himself as liberal as Grey and Lord John Russell; in others his opinions coincided with that of Lord Liverpool's Government. He became one of the most strenuous advocates of religious freedom ; but to the very last he disapproved entirely of Parliamentary Reform. He was an able and active exponent of the blessings which would accrue to the country from the establishment of complete freedom of trade, loudly maintaining that therein lay the cure at once for the distress existing in the country and his policy. the political disturbances which had so alarmed the Ministry. His foreign policy was drawn on broad and statesmanlike lines. He would have given up Castlereagh's system, which made England of no account among the Powers and placed the arrangement of Europe in the hands of the three Eastern Despotisms. He would have refused to join in any action to effect the extinction of constitutional ideas, which in many countries

The future  
Foreign  
Minister;

survived, the failure of the hopes excitedly the French Revolution. He would have interfered vigorously if British interests seemed to require it. He would have maintained the independence of the small states, and, by offering a bold front to all hostility, have preserved at once the liberty of the peoples and the peace of Europe. He advocated the principle of non-intervention, but he would not permit the intervention of others. His would have been the strong armed neutrality which inspires respect, because it can defend itself and its friends—not a feeble withdrawal altogether from all connection with Europe for fear of the consequences. Ten years, however, were to elapse from the formation of Liverpool's Ministry before the brain of Canning was to guide the foreign relations of England. During those ten years the presiding genius of the Government was Castlereagh.

It was this Ministry which conducted the American War, which brought the Peninsular War to a successful close, which effected the ruin of Napoleon in the Waterloo campaign, and which assisted at the settlement of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. Their success, however, was not due to any special merit in their own policy, but solely to the genius of their General and the errors of their opponent. Their steadfastness, which was their principal virtue, was mainly due to class feeling; they prosecuted the war with Napoleon because they saw in him the great enemy of aristocratic government and privilege. Still, they had raised England by this policy to a position of great importance in Europe; they were destined by a course of feeble protest against and secret sympathy with the views of the despotic Powers to sink her once more to the position of a political cipher.

Nor were they more successful in their home government. The war had been marked by a remarkable development of English trade. There were various reasons for this. The predominance of the British at sea had driven all enemies from the ocean, and so removed most of the dangers to which commerce is liable in war-time. The vast increase of the colonies had extended the market immensely, while new outlets were repeatedly opened up among different savage nations. England, too, in spite of the attempts of Napoleon to exclude her manufactures, found an almost limitless demand for her goods through-

out Europe, which facilitated the carrying on of a vast smuggling trade along the coast of the North Sea and the Baltic. Napoleon himself was obliged to connive at the evasion of his own laws, in order to clothe and shoe the army with which he dominated Europe. The result was that the exports of England steadily increased in value. The manufacturers grew richer and richer. A marvellous development was imparted to the national industries. Small villages, whose names hitherto had been entirely omitted from the map, suddenly grew into large manufacturing towns of ever-increasing importance. One of the principal causes which had enabled England to take advantage of the market tints thrown open to her, was the remarkable series of mechanical inventions which had **Inventions.** been discovered during the last quarter of a century. **Har-**  
**greaves** had invented the spinning jenny, which enabled one man to work eight spindles at once. This machine was supplemented by the improved patents of **Arkwright** and **Crompton**. The latter's *mule* allowed the finest form of yarn to be spun to an indefinite quantity with but a slight amount of labour. In order to bring the weavers up to the level of the spinners, **Cart-**  
**Wright** invented the power-loom, which soon almost entirely superseded hand-weaving. The cotton manufactures were additionally stimulated by the introduction of oxymuriatic acid for bleaching purposes, which was used by **Watt** and **Henry**, and by the invention of a machine for printing coloured calicoes, which was due to the ingenuity of a Scotchman named **Bell**. The application of steam to move machinery was in itself almost a revolution, while this discovery led to the utilization of the vast coal-fields of the north. Mining was rendered less dangerous by Sir Humphrey **Davy's** safety-lamp. Roads were improved by the process of **Macadam**; canals were dug across the country by the energy of **Brindley** **Means of**  
and the enlightenment of the **Duke of Bridg-** **carriage.**  
**water**; a regular system of coaches was started. Altogether, communication was improved, and carriage cheapened. Everything, therefore, was combining at once to increase production, and diminish the cost of production, at a time when the market itself was wonderfully extended.

Similarly the landowners derived large profits from the war. Corn naturally went up in price, owing to the increase of population and the protective laws, while many of the markets from which corn had been imported in scanty years before were now

shut by the war. The demand, therefore, for arable land was " very great, prices were very high, and rents High profits of landowners. were naturally very high as well. It paid to enclose pieces of waste land and work them as much as they would bear without manure, and then leave them for others. The manufacturers, therefore, and landlords were naturally the main support of the war, from which they derived such enormous profits.

At the same time a variety of causes were combining to produce the greatest distress among the lower classes. Population had increased largely during the war, and this development was favoured by two circumstances,—first, a mistaken theory that an increase of population must necessarily be an advantage to a country; secondly, the landlords desired that population should advance numerically, in order that labour might become cheap. The result was that the demand for bread was greatly enlarged, and that the class of labourers suffered an unfortunate multiplication. Naturally, therefore, prices rose and wages sank simultaneously. At the same time the Poor Law was so manipulated by the landowners as to increase the distress. The guardians possessed the power of providing out-door relief to those who needed it. The guardians were mostly landowners, and so they paid their labourers the lowest possible wages on the plea that prices were so high, and then levied a general rate on the parishes, to make up for their own meanness. This relief was, moreover, granted in proportion to the numbers of a family, with the direct view of encouraging population. But it also indirectly encouraged immorality, for young girls found themselves far better off when they were the mothers of a number of illegitimate children than when they continued virtuous.

Other causes in addition were working among the artisans and reducing, them to the greatest misery. The inventions, which had increased the powers of production so largely, had effected this at the expense of this class, thousands of whom were naturally thrown out of work. Moreover, great preparations were made at the end of the war for the vast expansion of trade which the manufacturers expected would be the result of peace. But as a matter of fact the Continental demand for British goods ceased altogether, for the Continental nations were too utterly impoverished

by the vast expenses of the war to be able to purchase anything. In consequence there was a large stock of goods on hand. More labourers were dismissed, and production restricted.

It was imagined that the termination of the war would bring some relief to the people by destroying the necessity for the standing army and the great expenses which had been supplied by heavy taxation. The Ministry, however, announced their intention of keeping up a large army and continuing the taxes. It had also been imagined that the exceptionally repressive mode of government would cease when the fear of Napoleon was removed.

Mistakes of  
the Ministry.

Castlereagh and his colleagues, however, gave no sign of returning to the path of progress, which had been barred by the French Revolution. Then the smouldering discontent, which had hitherto taken the form of machine-breaking, broke out into a more tangible political shape. Plots of every kind were concocted against the Government.

Sedition.

Societies were started for the revival of the agitation for Parliamentary Reform. Dangerous and daring men planned to seize the king, to rouse an insurrection, to assassinate individual Ministers, to involve the whole Cabinet in one common and violent death. Leniency, properly used, might have averted all this. Wise legislation might have turned the discontented to their obedience. The Ministers, however, proceeded to act as in a conquered country. Repressive laws were enacted, especially against the secret societies. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended.

Repressive  
measures.

Unlimited powers were practically thrown into the hands of an army of spies and officials. The Government did not scruple to use the military on the slightest possible pretext to disperse any public meetings which they disapproved of, and in the encounters many of the people were severely injured. The most celebrated of these has acquired the name of the Manchester Massacre, where the magistrates ordered the 15th Hussars to charge into a crowd of 80,000 people, which they did with fearful effect. The climax of this system of government was reached by the passing of the Six Acts, which were intended to facilitate the suppression of seditious meetings, the speedy prosecution and punishment of offenders against the Press Laws, and the search for concealed arms. The strain, however, had been too great, the reaction was

The Six Acts,  
1819.

at hand, and a new era was inaugurated by the suicide of Lord Londonderry (Castlereagh) in 1822, and the entry of Canning and Huskisson into the Ministry.

Signs, however, had not been wanting that a change was gradually coming over public opinion, and that the days of the old system were practically numbered. The question of Parlia-

mentary Reform had been taken out of the hands of Burdett, the leader of the violent party, by

Lord John Russell, who succeeded in 1821 in disfranchising Grampound, an extremely rotten Cornish borough. The Catholic agitation had assumed formidable proportions, and in 1817 Parliament had so far retrograded from the old Tory position that an Act was passed opening all ranks in the army to Catholics and Dissenters. In 1819 motions in favour of Catholic Relief were only rejected by two votes in the Commons, forty-one in the Lords. The question might now be regarded as settled in the Commons, and in 1821 there was actually a majority in the Lower House in favour of the Bill. The appointment of Lord Wellesley to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland and Mr. Peel to the Home Office was a sign that a wider basis was about to be adopted in politics, for neither of them could be ranked as members of the old narrow Tory party. Moreover, the Ministry suffered an incalculable amount of well-deserved obloquy for their slavish persecution of the queen, in order to please George IV., and sustained a heavy defeat by being compelled to abandon the Bill of Pains and Penalties against her. The central pillar and guiding spirit, however, of the old system was Castlereagh; nor was any real advance possible till he was removed from power. His death is therefore an important epoch in the history of progress in England.

Signs of re-  
action.  
  
Death of  
Castlereagh,  
1822.

### *Section 3.—Free Trade, Toleration, and Reform, 1822-32.*

Huskisson and Canning now became the moving genii of the Cabinet, which was still nominally presided over by the Earl of Liverpool, and the various reform movements going on in the country received a decided impetus. They may be roughly classed as Parliamentary Reform, Free Trade, and Toleration.

Reform  
movements.

Of these undoubtedly the most important was the movement in favour of the gradual establishment of freedom of trade, which was the only way to alleviate the perpetual recurrence of famine. The accession of Huskisson to the Board of Trade marked a new era in commercial policy. The old protective system was partially given up, and restrictions on many branches of industry removed. In the first year of his accession to office, in spite of a great outcry, he succeeded in considerably modifying the provisions of the Navigation Act—which had prohibited foreign ships importing into England any commodities except the produce of their own countries—by repealing this clause in favour of nations who admitted colonial goods in English ships. In the next year he repealed all laws fixing the price of labour, or preventive of free competition and circulation of labour, and largely reduced the duties on silk and wool. He even succeeded in persuading the Government to lower the duties on imported corn temporarily to alleviate the great distress of 1826. Further than this, however, they would not go. Later Canning, as Prime Minister, brought forward in 1827 a measure for establishing a sliding scale of duties which would accommodate itself to the price, so as to permit the importation of corn in times of distress. This motion, however, was thrown out by the Lords, and in the next year the Duke of Wellington carried a Bill for the creation of a sliding scale, but at much higher rates, and this measure remained law till 1842.

Growth of  
Free Trade.

Nothing had been done since 1817 with regard to Catholic Relief, though Grattan, Plunket, and Canning had repeatedly brought forward motions on the subject in different forms. It was recognized, however, by 1823 that the centre of resistance had shifted to the House of Lords. In that year the movement entered on a new phase. The Catholic Association was formed in Ireland to carry on the agitation, and by 1825 it had become so formidable that the Government brought in a Bill to suppress it. Immediately it dissolved, in order to keep within the law, and re-formed itself under a new name. The accession of Canning to the premiership encouraged the hopes of the Catholics, for he was well known to be favourable to their demands; but the bright prospect was clouded almost immediately by his premature death and the succession of the Duke of Wellington, who was well known to be hostile to Catholic Relief. The duke regarded the

Motions for  
Catholic relief.

premiership as a command entrusted to him by the king, which he must defend to the utmost, but not resign until dismissed. He therefore pursued the irritating policy of resisting the measures of his opponents almost to the verge of a rebellion, and then, when they became inevitable, remained in office to carry them out. On this principle, when he found that a measure proposing the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts had been carried against him, 1828, he accepted it as his own. In the same year the Catholic question began to assume alarming proportions. Mr. Fitzgerald, on standing for re-election as President of the Board of Trade, was rejected at Clare for O'Connell, the leader of the Catholic Association. Relief had now become a necessity, for no one could contemplate without alarm the results of a general election in Ireland when possibly none but Catholics might be returned. Wellington, therefore, having pushed the question to the very last, now determined to yield to necessity and grant complete Emancipation to the Catholics, 1829.

Catholic  
Emancipation  
Act, 1829.

From the year 1821 Lord John Russell had annually brought forward a motion in favour of a Reform in the representative system, but with unvarying ill-success. The evil effects of the excesses of the French Revolution still remained, and the propertied classes could not but contemplate with horror a movement which they felt convinced must end in anarchy and massacre. In 1830, however, the Bourbons were expelled from France without the popular rising being stained by any of the horrors which were supposed to be inseparable from a revolution. The quiet and orderly manner in which the events of these "Days of July" were accomplished proved quite a revelation to the English people. They saw that even a Revolution was not necessarily accompanied by violence, and that an orderly Reform might be effected without bloodshed. This awakening produced such a revulsion of public opinion that from this time it was merely a question of time. Reform had now reached the range of practical politics, and this fact was no doubt greatly facilitated by the death of George IV. in June, which rendered a General Election imminent. The Duke of Wellington, however, directly challenged the question by eulogizing the state of the representation at the opening of Parliament. Mr. Brougham thereupon gave notice of his intention to move for Reform.

Motions for  
reform.



Before the day arrived Wellington had been defeated on the Civil List, and resigned. Lord Grey, thereupon came in with a Ministry pledged to Reform. Brougham's Bill was lost in the Commons, March 21, 1831, and the Ministry resigned. The king, however, enraged at an ill-judged attempt on the part of the Tory lords to dictate to him, dissolved Parliament, April 22, and a large "Whig majority was returned, thus ensuring the return of Grey to office as well. In June a new Bill was brought forward and carried in the Commons after a long discussion, only to be thrown out in the Lords in October. The recess of Parliament (October-December, 1831) was used by the popular party to excite demonstrations in favour of the Bill. Riots broke out with dangerous frequency. Organized political unions pledged themselves to support the Bill. Threats were openly uttered against the Lords. In December a Third Bill was introduced in the Commons, and by May 4 it had met with the usual fate in the Lords. As the king refused to swamp the Tory majority in the House of Lords by a creation of peers, Grey had no course but to resign. The utter impossibility of forming any Ministry compelled the king to yield. Grey returned to office on the strength of a promise that peers should be created, if necessary. The king, however, gave his orders to the Duke of Wellington to point out to the Tory lords that the only way to avoid this violent measure was to abstain from voting. Wellington, therefore, and a number of peers withdrew when the Bill was again sent up from the Commons, and the measure at once became law. The principal changes which it effected were to remove 143 seats from nomination boroughs, which were transferred to newly-created constituencies; to add to the voters copyholders, leaseholders, and tenants-at-will paying 50*l.* a year; and to establish a uniform 10*z.* household franchise in the boroughs. This Reform Bill of 1832 completed the work of the Revolution by transferring the power to the people, and the last effort of Personal Government in England was to effect its own abolition.

The Reform  
struggle.

Reform Bill,  
1832.

## THE REGENCY.

| Prime Ministers. | Date. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PERCEVAL . . .   | 1810  | The king becomes permanently insane.                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|                  | 1811  | The Regency Bill.<br>Victories of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albaera in Spain.<br>Luddite riots.                                                                                                                                        |
|                  | 1812  | Wellesley resigns.<br>Castlereagh succeeds him at the Foreign Office.<br>Bellingham assassinates Perceval.<br>United States declare war.<br>Wellington's victory of Salamanca.<br>Napoleon invades Russia.<br>Burning of Moscow. |
| LIVERPOOL . . .  | 1813  | Wellington's victory of Vittoria.<br>Napoleon's defeat at Leipsic.                                                                                                                                                               |
|                  | 1814  | Invasion of France from Germany, Holland, and Spain.<br>Abdication of Napoleon.<br>Expedition against Washington.<br>First Peace of Paris.<br>Congress at Vienna.<br>Treaty of Ghent between England and United States.          |
|                  | 1815  | Napoleon's return.<br>Quatre Bras, Ligny, Waterloo.<br>The Holy Alliance, September.<br>Second Peace of Paris, November.                                                                                                         |
|                  | 1816  | Riots.<br>Catholic Relief thrown out in the Lords.<br>Riots in Spa Fields.                                                                                                                                                       |
|                  | 1817  | Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.<br>Riots.<br>Political prosecutions.<br>Army thrown open to Catholics and Dissenters.                                                                                                       |
|                  | 1818  | Repeal of the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.<br>Bill of Indemnity for those who had acted under it.<br>Burdett's motion for annual parliaments rejected.                                                                   |
|                  | 1819  | Catholic Relief rejected.<br>Riots and petitions for Reform.<br>Manchester Reform Meeting and " Massacre."<br>The Six Acts.                                                                                                      |
|                  |       | ! Russell's Resolution for Reform rejected.                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|                  | 1820  | Death of George III.                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

GEORGE IV.

| Prime Minister.     | Date.  |                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| LIVERPOOL . . .     | 1820   | Bill of Pains and Penalties against the queen brought in, but has to be dropped.                                                                                                 |
|                     | 1821   | Catholic Relief thrown out by the Lords. Grampound disfranchised.                                                                                                                |
|                     | 1822   | Peel and Wellesley join the Government. Russell's Reform Bill and Canning's, Relief Bill rejected.                                                                               |
|                     |        | SUICIDE of LONDONDERRY (Castlereagh). Canning is made Foreign Secretary.                                                                                                         |
|                     | 1823   | Petitions and motions for Reform. Huskisson modifies the Navigation Act. Catholic Relief thrown out by the Lords. Catholic Association formed in Ireland.                        |
|                     | 1824   | Huskisson's measures for relieving trade.                                                                                                                                        |
|                     | 1825   | Measures against the Catholic Association.                                                                                                                                       |
|                     | 1826   | Riots.                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                     | 1827   | Resignation of Liverpool.                                                                                                                                                        |
| CANNING . . .       | April, | Abortive measures at home.                                                                                                                                                       |
|                     | 1827   | Spirited foreign policy.                                                                                                                                                         |
| LORD GODERICH . . . | Aug.   | Mismanages Canning's Eastern policy.                                                                                                                                             |
|                     | 1828   | Resigns, unable to arrange quarrels in his Cabinet.                                                                                                                              |
| WELLINGTON . . .    |        | Lord John Russell repeals Test and Corporation Acts so far as concerned Dissenters. Sliding scale for corn duties. Huskisson leaves the Government. O'Connell elected for Clare. |
|                     | 1829   | The Catholic Relief Bill.                                                                                                                                                        |

WILLIAM IV.

|                  |      |                                                                                              |
|------------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| WELLINGTON . . . | 1830 | The "Days of July." Resigns.                                                                 |
| LORD GRBY , . .  |      | Reform Bill introduced by Lord John Russell and thrown out. Parliament dissolved.            |
|                  | 1831 | Second Bill thrown out by the Lords, October 8. Riots.                                       |
|                  |      | Third Bill brought in, December,                                                             |
|                  | 1832 | Thrown out by the Lords, May. Wellington fails to make a Ministry. Reform Bill passed, June. |



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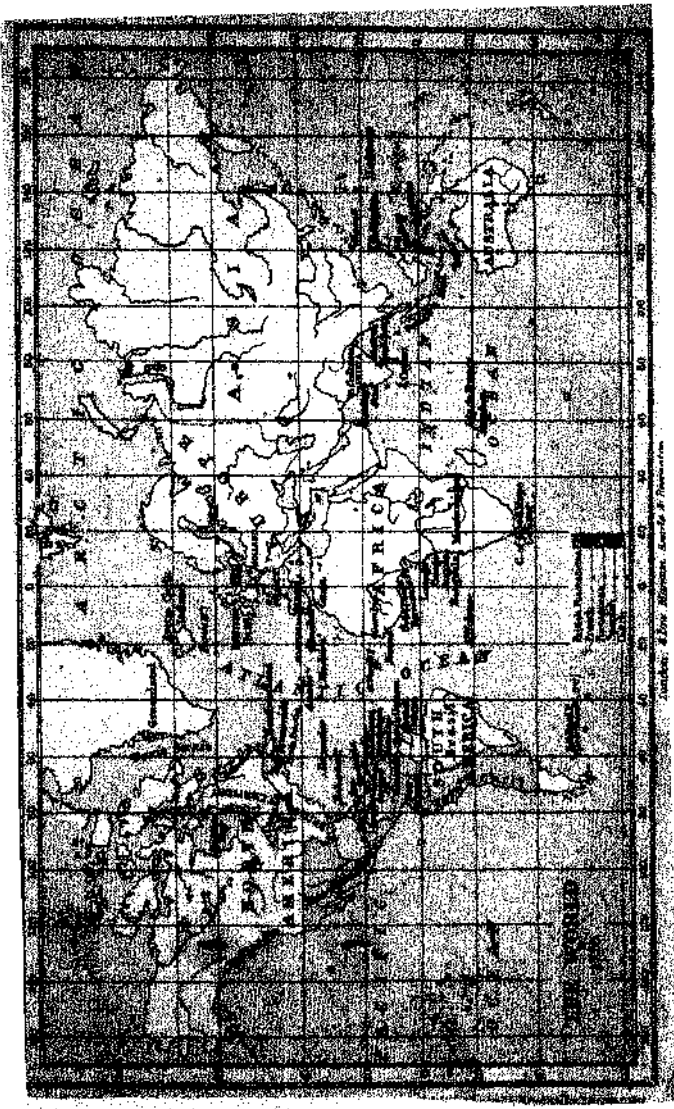
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## ERRATA.

- p. 4, 1. 34, *for* "Henry, Duke of Shrewsbury " *read* "Charles."
- p. 15, 1. 22, *for* " hardly fifty Tory members " *read* " ultra-Tory."
- p. 17, 1. 13, *for* " 1715 " *read* " 1717."
- p. 24, 1. 8, and margin, *for* " 1708 " (*bin*) *read* " 1709."
- p. 27, 1. 8 and 23, *for* " Sir Robert Walpole " *read* " Robert Walpole."
- p. 34, 1. 18, *for* " Huntley " *read* " Huntly."
- p. 39, 1. 13, *for* " at Tyburn " *read* " on Tower Hill."
- p. 54, last line, *for* " Stevenson " *read* " Stephenson."
- p. 64, 1. 32, *for* " Czarina died in 1726 " *read* " 1727."
- p. 81, 1. 30, *for* " Cobham " *read* " Cornbury."
- p. 102, 1. 30—32, *for* " And so when Walpole found himself *only able* to carry the Government candidate on the Chippenham Election Petition, 1742, by a very small majority," *read* " unable " . . . " though by a very small majority."
- p. 129, 1. 1, *for* " executed " *read* " all executed—the latter."
- p. 129, 1. 2, *dele* " at the time."
- p. 131, 1. 8, *for* " created " *read* " appointed."
- p. 131, 1. 21, *for* " till his death in 1746 " *read* " till the year 1746."
- p. 148, 1. 7, *for* " 1743 " *read* " 1742."
- p. 169, 1. 25, *for* " ten years " *read* " eight."
- p. 175, 1. 20, *for* " Henry Fox was the eldest son " *read* " youngest."
- p. 185, three lines from bottom, *for* " February 5th, 1763 " *read* " February 15th."

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Population Density, 1950. Source: U.S. Census Bureau.











# INDIA SHOWING THE GROWTH OF BRITISH RULE















