vour. One Crosby had also gone to St. Germains to procure James's connection to the assassination of William; but James, suspecting that a trap was laid for him, refused his consent. Barclay arrived in London in January, and associated in his design Harrison, a priest, Charnock, formerly a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, but now a captain, sir John Friend, sir Wm. Perkins, sir John Fenwick, a captain Porter, and others. Their first scheme was to seize William and carry him over to France; but as this seemed impracticable without taking his life, they resolved to attack him in the midst of his guards between Brentford and Turnham Green, through which places he passed every Saturday to hunt in Richmond park; and with this view they procured a body of 40 armed men, and fixed the 15th of February for the attempt. But the secret was betrayed to the earl of Portland, a day or two previously, by captain Fisher, one of the conspirators, and his information was soon after confirmed by an Irishman named Prendergrass. The king having consequently remained at home on the 15th, and again on the 22nd, to which day the conspirators had adjourned the execution of their plot, they were seized with alarm; some of them fled, but others were captured the next night in their beds.

On the following day the king laid the whole plot before the parliament, and both houses responded with a joint address, breathing the most zealous expressions of duty and affection. A loyal association was formed in imitation of that in the reign of Elizabeth, which was signed the same day by 400 members of the House of Commons; and such members as were absent were required to sign it by the 16th of March, or to notify their refusal. The association was adopted, with very little alteration, by the House of Lords; and of the whole parliament, only 15 peers and 92 commoners refused to put their names to it. Shortly afterwards an act was passed to make the signing of the association imperative on all holders of civil or military employments.

Five of the conspirators, namely, Charnock, King, Keys, sir John Friend, and sir Wm. Perkins, were condemned and executed. On the execution of the two latter, the celebrated Jeremy Collier, the nonjuring divine, appeared on the scaffold, and publicly absolved them. The trial of sir John Fenwick, who had been captured at New Romney while endeavouring to escape to France, did not come on till the autumn. While he lay in Newgate he sought to procure a pardon by turning evidence, and accused the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Bath and Marlborough, lord Godolphin, and admiral Russell, of corresponding and intriguing with king James. But though this information is now known to be true, William refused to listen to it. As only one witness could be produced against Fenwick, while the law required two in cases of high treason, admiral Russell

brought in a bill of attainder against him, which was passed after considerable opposition. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower-hill on January 28, 1697.

§ 15. During the campaign of 1696 the French remained on the defensive; nor did anything of importance take place at sea. All parties were looking forward to a peace; and on the 9th of May a conference was opened between the belligerent powers, under the mediation of the king of Sweden, at Ryswick, a village between Delft and the Hague. William had as usual gone over to Holland. All that he desired was to fix a barrier to the French power in Flanders, and to procure from Louis the acknowledgment of his title to the English throne; but the negociations were protracted by the emperor of Germany and the king of Spain, who were desirous of continuing the war. William, therefore, while the hostile armies lay opposed to each other near Brussels, caused a separate negociation to be opened in July between the earl of Portland on his part, and marshal Boufflers on that of Louis.

The taking of Carthagena, in America, by a French squadron, and the capture of Barcelona by a French army, inclined the Spaniards to come to terms with Louis, and the PEACE OF RYSWICK was signed on September 10, 1697. Louis resigned several of his conquests, and recognised William as king of England. The peace of Ryswick seems to have been necessary in consequence of the defection of the duke of Savoy, and of the bad state of public credit in England: but William foresaw that it could be no more than a sort of armistice, and that a fresh struggle must soon take place on the subject of the Spanish succession.

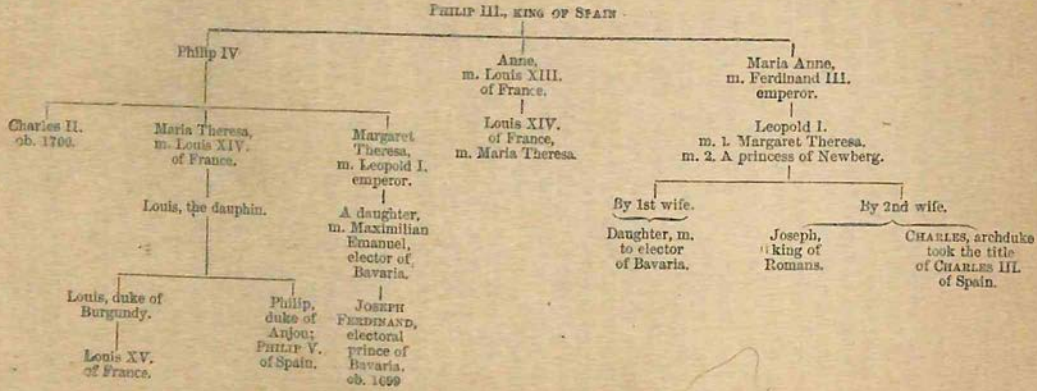
§ 16. The parliament, which met soon after the peace of Ryswick, voted that the army should be reduced to 7000 men, and were with difficulty persuaded to increase it to 10,000; but at the same time they granted the king the large sum of 700,000*l.* for the civil list. William was exceedingly annoyed at the vote for reducing the army; and before he repaired to Holland in the spring (1698) he ventured to leave sealed orders that the army should be raised to 16,000 men, which the ministers unconstitutionally obeyed. During his residence in Holland he negociated a treaty respecting the Spanish succession. Charles II. of Spain was now supposed to be at the point of death; and as he had no heirs within the kingdom, the question of his succession threatened to disturb the peace of Europe. Philip IV. of Spain had left three children: one son, Charles II., and two daughters—the elder, Maria Theresa, married to Louis XIV. of France, and the younger, Margaret Theresa, married to the emperor Leopold I. Maria Theresa had renounced her pretensions to the Spanish succession on her marriage with the king of France. The younger sister, Margaret Theresa, had made no such renunciation

only marriage with Leopold; but their only child, a daughter, who was married to Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, was also obliged, before her marriage, to abandon all claims to the Spanish throne. But both France and Bavaria maintained that these princesses had no power to renounce the claims of their posterity: Louis XIV. therefore demanded the Spanish throne for his son the dauphin, and the elector of Bavaria for his son the electoral prince. A third claimant was the emperor Leopold, who by a second marriage had two sons, Joseph king of the Romans, and the archduke Charles. Leopold claimed the succession for his son Charles, on the ground that he was a lineal descendant of Philip III.; but Louis XIV. could make also the same claim for his son, since both Louis and Leopold had married granddaughters of Philip III.*

William would have been content to modify the claim of France, by conceding to her part of the Spanish dominions; and Louis was, or pretended to be, better satisfied with this partial inheritance than to have to fight for the whole. The first treaty for the partition of Spain was accordingly negociated in the summer at Loo, and signed on the 1st of October; according to which, on the death of Charles II., the dauphin was to be put in possession of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquisate of Final in Italy; while on the Spanish frontier he was to have all the territory on the French side of the Pyrenees, and of the mountains of Navarre, Alava, and Biscay. The son of the elector of Bavaria was to inherit Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies; and Milan was to be assigned to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. It was intended to keep this treaty a profound secret from the king of Spain, but it came to his ears and naturally roused his indignation: and, anxious to preserve the integrity of the empire, he drew up a will appointing the electoral prince of Bavaria his universal heir, according to the previous disposition of Philip IV. But Charles unexpectedly recovered; and the treaty was defeated by the demise of the electoral prince at Brussels, 8th February 1699.

§ 17. The new parliament, which assembled in December 1698, exhibited strong symptoms of discontent; insisted on the reduction of the army to 7000 men, and also voted that those should be natives of the British dominions.* This involved the dismissal of the Dutch guards, the severest mortification which William had ever experienced. On this occasion he even condescended to send a message to the Commons by lord Ranelagh, entreating them as a personal favour that his guards might be retained; and when they refused to comply, he burst into a violent passion, and threatened to abandon the kingdom, a threat which he seriously thought

* The genealogical table in the following page exhibits the relationship of the different claimants.



carrying into execution. All the debates of the Commons continued to be violent and hostile to the king. In the last session they had appointed commissioners to inquire into the grants of forfeited estates in Ireland; and the report being now brought in, it appeared that no fewer than 3921 persons had been outlawed in that country since February 1689, and that more than 1,060,000 acres of land had been declared forfeited, the annual rent of which was computed at 211,623*l.* It also appeared that large grants of these lands had been made to foreigners, as Keppel,* Bentinck, Ginkell, and Ruvigny, who had also obtained peerages in one of the two kingdoms. But perhaps the most obnoxious grant of all was that of king James's private estates, containing 95,000 acres and valued at 25,995*l.* per annum, to William's mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, now countess of Orkney. The Commons resolved unanimously that all these forfeitures should be applied to the public use; and they even added that the grants which had been made of them were a reflection upon the king's honour. To secure the king's assent, the bill for the resumption of forfeitures was tacked to the bill of supply. Several amendments were proposed and carried in the Lords, and some angry conferences ensued between the two houses. The Commons threatened to impeach the earls of Portland and Albemarle, and resolved to address the king that no foreigners, except prince George of Denmark, should be admitted to the royal councils. William began to be alarmed, and sent a private message to his friends in the Lords to withdraw their opposition. The bill having passed in its original state, the king came to the House and gave his assent to it, and then suddenly prorogued the parliament without any speech.

§ 18. The rapid decline of the king of Spain's health hastened the conclusion of a second treaty of partition, which was signed at London on the 21st February, and at the Hague on the 14th of March 1700. William had spent great part of the preceding summer and autumn at Loo in negociating it, as he and the States were desirous of bringing the emperor into their views: but in October Leopold formally rejected any partition whatever. By this new treaty the share formerly allotted to the electoral prince was to be transferred to the archduke Charles, and Milan was to be added to the dauphin's portion. To prevent the union of the imperial crown with that of Spain, it was provided that the king of the Romans should not succeed to the Spanish kingdom in case of the archduke's death and a like provision was made with regard to the king of France and the dauphin.

* Keppel was created earl of Albemarle in 1696, and was the ancestor of the present earl. Bentinck was created earl of Portland, as already related (see p. 535); Ginkell, earl of Athlone; and Ruvigny, earl of Galway.

The long-expected death of Charles II. of Spain, which followed on the 1st of November, soon discovered how fruitless had been all the pains bestowed on the partition treaties. The pride of the Spanish nation was naturally wounded by the treaty, and Charles especially was grievously offended by it. The French ambassador availed himself of this feeling to persuade Charles to make another will, in favour of Philip duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin; nor did Louis hesitate to accept this magnificent bequest to his grandson. In case of his refusal, the Spanish throne was to be tendered to the archduke Charles. William found it prudent to acquiesce in the new arrangement, and ultimately acknowledged the title of the duke of Anjou.

§ 19. In the last year or two there had been several changes in the ministry, and the king seemed to be ever approximating more closely towards the tory party; but trimmed between both with a dexterity which rendered it difficult to say to which he most inclined. In this year the earl of Rochester, the leader of the tories and high-church party, was appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. The institution of a cabinet council, that is, a select body of ministers with whom the king exclusively consulted, and who prepared and digested the measures which were subsequently laid before the general body of the privy council rather as a matter of form than of necessity, was now regularly established. Traces of a cabinet first begin to appear under Charles I., and become more frequent under Charles II.; but it was not till the reign of William that it became the regular mode of government. In earlier times the sovereign was accustomed to consult the whole body of the privy council, and was guided by the opinion of the majority. The cabinet therefore was a sort of silent revolution which crept in unobserved, and was never recognised by the constitution.

In the new parliament which assembled in February, 1701, the tories had the majority, and Robert Harley, one of their leaders, was chosen speaker. As the death of the duke of Gloucester, which happened in the preceding July at the age of 11, left the succession of the crown unprovided for after the demise of William and Anne, it became necessary to make a new settlement, and the king recommended the subject to the consideration of the parliament. The next in blood, after the children of James II., was the duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta duchess of Orleans, and then the family of the elector of the Palatinate, all of whom however had abjured the reformed faith, with the exception of his daughter Sophia, married to the elector of Hanover; to whom, therefore, as papists were excluded from the succession by act of parliament, it became necessary to revert. Nor was William

rse to her appointment, as he was desirous of securing the ession of the elector of Hanover to the grand alliance which he was then meditating; and she, and the heirs of her body, being protestants, were declared next in succession to the king, after the princess of Denmark and their respective heirs, by a bill which passed in the spring, and which is known by the name of the ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

The Commons took advantage of this settlement to supply some deficiencies in the Bill of Rights, and therefore this act (12 and 13 William III. c. 2) became a most important one, and put as it were the seal to the English constitution. The tory government showed themselves on this occasion no less the friends of liberty than the whigs, and moved and carried certain resolutions as preliminary to the settlement of the succession, to the following effect: That whoever should hereafter come to the throne should join the communion of the Church of England; that in the case of the crown devolving to a foreigner, the nation should not be obliged to enter into any foreign war without the consent of parliament; that no future sovereign should leave Great Britain or Ireland without consent of parliament; that all matters cognizable in the privy council should be transacted there, and all resolutions taken be signed by such of the privy council as should consent to them; that none but a person born of English parents should be capable of holding office under the crown, or receiving a grant from it, or being a member of parliament; that no person in the service of the crown, or receiving a pension, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons; that the commissions of the judges should be irrevocable so long as they conducted themselves properly ("quamdiu se bene gesserint"), but that they might be removed on an address of both Houses; and that no pardon under the great seal should be pleaded to an impeachment of the Commons.

All these provisions, and especially the last two, were highly important safeguards to the liberty and welfare of the country. That respecting placemen sitting in parliament, being found inconvenient, was repealed in 1706; but it was provided at the same time that any member of the lower House accepting an office should vacate his seat, and again offer himself to his constituents; and that no person holding any office created since October 25th, 1705, should be eligible at all. The article respecting the sovereign leaving the United Kingdom was repealed soon after the accession of George I.

§ 20. Both houses of parliament expressed the highest disapprobation of the partition treaties, to which they ascribed the will of Charles II. in favour of the duke of Anjou; the Commons addressed the king to remove the earl of Portland, the earl of

lord,* lord Halifax,† and lord Somers‡ from his presence and councils for ever, and ordered them to be impeached at the bar of the Lords, on account of the steps they had taken in promoting the partition treaties, as well as for other alleged illegal practices. But an irreconcileable difference sprang up between the two Houses as to the mode of proceeding; the Commons refused to appear on the day appointed by the peers, and the impeached ministers were consequently acquitted.

Although William had acknowledged the new king of Spain, he was by no means satisfied with that arrangement, especially as it proved so distasteful to his subjects. During the summer, which he spent in Holland, negociations had been going on between him and D'Avaux, the French ambassador; but these having utterly failed, William, about the beginning of August, set on foot a treaty with the emperor, who had already commenced the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION by attacking the French in Italy. William, however, would engage himself no further than for the recovery of Flanders and the Milanese, the former as a barrier to Holland, the latter as a barrier to the empire; and he likewise stipulated that England and Holland should retain whatever conquests they might make in both the Indies. On these conditions a treaty was signed on September 7th, between the emperor, England, and the States, which afterwards obtained the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

An event happened soon after which induced Louis immediately to declare himself. On the 16th of September king James II. expired at St. Germains. Ever since the peace of Ryswick, which extinguished his hopes of regaining the English crown, he had abandoned himself to all the austerities of his temper and his religion; and some time before his decease he had fallen into a kind of lethargy. Louis paid him a visit as he lay on his deathbed, and in the presence of his attendants, whom he would not suffer to withdraw, and who wept at once for joy and grief, he declared his intention of acknowledging James' son as king of Great Britain and Ireland. He then visited the young prince in state, addressed him with the title of majesty, and caused him to be acknowledged by the French court and nation. William immediately remonstrated against these proceedings, as

* The earl of Orford was admiral Russell, who received this title in 1697. It became extinct upon his death in 1727, but was revived in 1742 in favour of the celebrated sir Robert Walpole.

† This lord Halifax was Charles Montague, a grandson of the first earl of Manchester, and was created lord Halifax in 1700, and earl of Halifax in 1714. He was of a different family from the celebrated George Saville, marquess of Halifax (p. 503), who died in 1695, and was succeeded in the title by his son, who died in 1700, when the title became extinct.

‡ Somers was lord chancellor, and had been dismissed from office in the previous year (1700) in consequence of the attacks made upon him in parliament. The present earl Somers is a descendant of the eldest sister of the chancellor.

infringing the treaty of Ryswick; dismissed the French ambassador and recalled his own; while both sides began to make preparations for war. The French took possession of the towns on the Rhine; the Dutch entered Juliers in force; and William arranged with the States a campaign for the ensuing spring; but notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the emperor, he would not declare war till he had assured himself of the support of the English parliament; and he left Holland in November for the purpose of opening that assembly.

The new parliament met in December, when Harley was again elected to the chair. The Commons, in their address to the king on his speech, warmly conveyed their approbation of the course he had pursued with regard to France, and expressed a hope that no peace would be concluded till Louis had atoned for acknowledging the pretender. A bill was brought in and passed for the attainder of that prince, and another for his abjuration by all persons holding employments in church or state; and the Commons voted 40,000 men to act with the allies, and a like number of seamen for the fleet. But in the midst of all these great preparations William met with an accident which, in his rapidly declining state of health, proved fatal. On the 21st of February, 1702, while riding from Kensington to Hampton Court, his horse fell with him, and he broke his collar-bone. It was at first anticipated that the accident would not be attended with any dangerous consequences, and on the 28th he was declared convalescent. But on the 2nd of March symptoms appeared which precluded all hope of recovery; and on Sunday the 8th he expired, after receiving the sacrament from the archbishop of Canterbury.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
1689.	Accession of William and Mary.
,,	Bill of Rights.
1690.	Battle of the Boyne.
1691.	Pacification of Limerick.
1692.	Massacre of Glencoe.
,,	Battle of La Hogue.
1694.	Bill for triennial parliaments passed. Death of queen Mary.
1695.	Censorship of the press abolished.
1697.	Treaty of Ryswick.
1700.	Death of Charles II. of Spain.
1701.	Act of Settlement. Death of James II. The Grand Alliance. Commencement of the War of the Spanish Succession.
1702.	Death of William III.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT, AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN (1689).

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did, upon the 13th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1688, present unto their majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following; viz.—

Whereas the late king James II., by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:—

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the great seal for erecting a court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

9. And whereas of late years partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late king James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being protestants; and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the 22nd day of January, in this year 1688, in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:—

1. That the pretended power of sus-

...ding of laws, or the execution of ..., by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence and prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example:

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein:

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

II. The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue to the princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly.

III. And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary: So help me God.

I, A. B., do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their sub-

lts, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm: So help me God.

IV. Upon which their said majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

V. And thereupon their majesties were pleased that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two houses of parliament, should continue to sit, and with their majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, did agree and proceed to act accordingly.

VI. Now, in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration; and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come.

VII. And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto Him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, fully, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby recognise, acknowledge, and declare, that, king James II. having abdicated the government, and their majesties having accepted the crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said majesties did become, were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed.

VIII. And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm, by reason of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, tranquillity, and safety of this nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do beseech their majesties that it may be enacted, established, and declared, that the crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said majesties, and the survivor of them, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And that the entire, perfect, and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in and executed by his majesty, in the names of both their majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her majesty; and for default of such issue, to her royal highness the princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of his said majesty: And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever; and do faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said majesties, and also the limitation and suc-

crown of the crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their power, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist; the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted, that all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the see or church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said crown and government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

X. And that every king and queen of this realm who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the imperial crown of this kingdom shall, on the first day of the meeting of the first parliament next after his or her coming to the crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation, before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the 13th year of the reign of king Charles II., intituled, 'An Act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.' But if it shall happen that such king or queen, upon his or her succession to the crown of this realm, shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such king or queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said declaration at his or her coronation, or the first day of meeting of the first parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen, after such king or queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

XI. All which their majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, or established accordingly.

XII. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after this present session of parliament no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of parliament.

XIII. Provided that no charter, or grant, or pardon granted before the 23rd day of October, in the year of our Lord 1689, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other than as if this act had never been made.

Medal of Queen Anne, in honour of the Union, struck at Leipzig.

Obv.: ANNA D . G . MAG . ET UNITÆ BRITÆ . FRA . ET HIB . REGINA. Bust, crowned, to left. Rev.: ET EXTERIS ETIAM GRATA. Two female figures, standing, joining wreaths, behind them, view of a city.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

QUEEN ANNE. A.D. 1702–1714.

§ 1. Accession and coronation of Anne. Influence of the duke and duchess of Marlborough. Campaign of 1702. Success at Vigo. § 2. Marlborough made a duke. His intrigues. State of parties. § 3. Campaigns of 1703 and 1704. Battle of Blenheim. Taking of Gibraltar. § 4. Campaigns of 1705 and 1706. Battle of Ramillies. § 5. Union with Scotland. § 6. Campaigns of 1707, 1708, and 1709. Battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. § 7. Decline of Marlborough's influence. § 8. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell. Change of ministry. Character of the times. § 9. New parliament. Harley stabbed. Becomes lord treasurer and earl of Oxford. Act against occasional conformity and Schism Act. § 10. Marlborough accused of peculation, and censured by the Commons. Proceedings in Flanders. The duke of Ormond withdraws the English forces from the allies. § 11. Treaty of Utrecht. § 12. Manœuvres of the Jacobites and Hanoverians. § 13. Rupture between Oxford and Bolingbroke. Oxford dismissed. The duke of Shrewsbury appointed treasurer. Death and character of the queen.

§ 1. On the demise of William, Anne princess of Denmark immediately ascended the throne by virtue of the act of 1689, and was proclaimed on the 8th of March, 1702. On the 12th of April the late king was privately interred, and on the 23rd the queen was crowned in Westminster abbey. She had hitherto retained William's ministers, but they were now dismissed in favour of tories. Somers, Halifax, and other whig leaders, were excluded from the new privy

cil; the marquess of Normanby,* was made privy seal; Lord Godolphin, lord high treasurer. Marlborough, who had been the faithful friend of Anne when she was of little account with the nation, received the most substantial marks of her favour. He was made a knight of the garter, and captain-general of all the queen's forces; and towards the end of March he had proceeded to Holland in the character of extraordinary ambassador. Anne was entirely governed by lady Marlborough, who, though not a woman of a very superior understanding, ruled her through the ascendancy which a strong mind naturally has over a weak one. In their confidential intercourse all titles and ceremony were dropped: Anne became Mrs. Morley, and lady Marlborough Mrs. Freeman—a name that expressed the character of her influence, which was founded not on flattery and dissimulation, but on the uncourtier-like qualities of habitual frankness and frequent dictation. Prince George of Denmark, who was even weaker than his consort the queen, yielded without a struggle to all these arrangements; and Marlborough and his wife might almost be regarded as the *de facto* sovereigns of England.

Soon after her accession Anne had notified to her allies abroad her determination to pursue the policy of the late king; and when Marlborough returned from his embassy, war was at his instance declared against France and Spain (May 4). In July Marlborough assumed the command of the allied army in Flanders; and though he was disappointed in bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he finished the campaign with reputation by reducing Venloo, Ruremonde, and the citadel of Liège, by which he obtained command of the Meuse.

In Italy and Germany the campaign was not marked by any important event. At sea the English and Dutch combined fleets under sir G. Rooke, with 12,000 troops on board commanded by the duke of Ormond, after making an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, proceeded to Vigo, where the Spanish galleons had just arrived under convoy of 30 French men-of-war. They lay up a narrow inlet or strait, the entrance of which was secured with a strong boom, whilst on one side it was defended with a castle, and on the other with a platform mounted with cannon. Ormond, having landed some troops, took the castle; and vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, having broken the boom and advanced with his ships through a terrific fire, the French, seeing capture inevitable, burnt some of their ships. The allies, however, succeeded in capturing 6 vessels; 7 were sunk, 9 burnt. All the galleons were either taken or destroyed; and though the greatest part of the treasure had been carried off, yet the English

* John Sheffield, marquess of Normanby, was created duke of Buckingham in 1702. The title became extinct on the death of his son in 1720. The present marquess of Normanby belongs to a different family.

and Dutch made a large booty. In the same summer admiral Benbow, commander of the English fleet in the West Indies, displayed the most distinguished valour, in sustaining five days, when deserted by several of his captains, a fight against a French fleet of much superior force. His own ship was reduced to a mere wreck, he was wounded in the arm and face, and had his leg shot away; but he contrived to get into Kingston, Jamaica, where he died soon after of his wounds. He had ordered four of his captains to be tried by a court-martial, two of whom were condemned and shot; one was cashiered, and another died previously to his trial.

§ 2. The new parliament met in October; and a committee of the Commons presented Marlborough, who had now returned to England, with the thanks of the House. The queen created him a duke, and settled on him for life a pension of 5000*l.* a-year, payable out of the revenue of the post-office. She likewise sent to desire the Commons to settle the pension for ever on the heirs male of his body; but they received the message in silence and astonishment, and after a warm debate the proposal was rejected. Marlborough, indeed, was highly unpopular, both from his avarice and meanness and for his political delinquencies. Notwithstanding his high post, he was still listening to the intrigues of the court of St. Germains to obtain the repeal of the act of settlement; and Anne herself was known not to be averse to the succession of the pretender. In order to stimulate Marlborough's exertions, a marriage was proposed between the prince of Wales and his third daughter; while, on the other hand, the Hanoverians, having heard of this project, started a counter one of a marriage between the same lady and the electoral prince. There was indeed at this period a very strong Jacobite faction in the kingdom; and the court, the tories, and the high-church party were bent on defeating the succession of the house of Brunswick. The House of Lords were much more whiggish than the Commons, although, in order to support the court interests, Finch, Gower, Granville, and Seymour, four violent tories, had been made peers, and other lords had been advanced to higher titles. The peers threw out a bill to prevent occasional conformity, and amended a bill to grant another year to those who had neglected to take the oath of abjuration: both which measures were supported by the adherents of the pretender. To the latter bill the peers added two clauses which the tory party dared not openly oppose, and which secured the succession that the bill was intended to defeat. One of these clauses declared it high treason to endeavour, either directly or indirectly, to alter the succession as limited by law; the other imposed the oath of abjuration on the whole Irish nation, a point which had been neglected in the original bill.

§ 3. In 1703 the defection of the duke of Savoy, and of Peter II.,

king of Portugal, who joined the Grand Alliance, proved a great blow to the affairs of Louis, particularly as the latter event opened a way for the allies into the heart of Spain. On the whole, however, the campaign of this year went in favour of the French. They gained several advantages in Germany, and their allies the Bavarians pressed hard upon the Austrians. Marlborough was more fortunate. Bonn surrendered to him on the 15th of May, after a siege of 12 days; and he afterwards took the fortresses of Huy, Limburg, and Gueldres; but the numerous towns which the French had garrisoned in the Low Countries having reduced the strength of their army, they were cautious of taking the open field, and all Marlborough's endeavours to draw them to an engagement proved unsuccessful. Nothing decisive occurred in Italy, nor was anything worth recording done at sea. In spite of his ill success, the emperor, after renouncing, in his own name and in that of his eldest son, all pretension to the throne of Spain, caused his second son to be crowned king of that country at Vienna, with the title of Charles III. Towards the end of the year the new-made monarch arrived at Spithead; and, after visiting the queen at Windsor, proceeded on his way to Portugal. His title was acknowledged by all the allies. A little previous to his arrival (Nov. 26) England had been visited by the greatest storm ever known in this country. Whole forests were uprooted, and the damage in London alone was estimated at 1,000,000*l*. At sea 12 ships of the royal navy were cast away, besides a great number of merchantmen, and 1500 men in the royal navy were lost.

The campaign of the last year having rendered the allies masters of the Meuse and of Spanish Guelderland, little danger was to be apprehended to the frontiers of Holland; and Marlborough conceived a bolder and more extensive plan of operations for that of 1704. Leopold, hard pressed by the French and Bavarians, and annoyed also by an insurrection in Hungary, sent urgent applications for relief; for which purpose Marlborough concerted some masterly arrangements with prince Eugene. Directing his march on Maestricht, and thence through Juliers to Coblentz, he crossed the Rhine at that place; and thence passing the Main and Neckar, was joined by prince Eugene at Mindelsheim. Hence the latter proceeded to Philipsburg, to take the command of the army of the Upper Rhine; and Marlborough, pursuing his march towards the Danube, formed a junction with the imperialists under prince Louis of Baden at Wintersteilen. The allied forces, consisting of 96 battalions of foot and 202 squadrons of horse and dragoons, and having 48 pieces of cannon, encamped on the river Brenz, June 28, within 2 leagues of the elector of Bavaria's army. The enemy's force was inferior, being only 88 battalions and 160 squadrons; but they were much stronger in artillery, having 90 guns and 40 mortars and howitzers. On the

d July the allies attacked and took Donauwerth, thus separating the enemy's forces on the Upper and Lower Danube, and securing a bridge over that river. The loss was great on both sides; and the elector retreated towards Augsburg, followed by the allies. Both armies, however, soon received an accession of force—the Bavarians being joined by the French under marshal Tallard, and Marlborough by prince Eugene, who had followed Tallard through the Black Forest. The forces on each side now amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000 men, but the enemy were rather superior. They were encamped on a height near Hochstadt, with the Danube on their right; and the village of BLENHEIM, which lies on the Danube, was a little in front of their right wing. Their left was covered by a thick wood, and considerably in advance of their front was a rivulet and morass. Notwithstanding the strength of their position, Marlborough resolved to attack them. Marshal Tallard, who commanded the enemy's right, and who was opposed to Marlborough at the head of the allied left, conceiving that Blenheim would be the principal object of attack, had occupied that village with 28 battalions and 8 squadrons of dragoons—a fatal error, by which he weakened the centre of his line. Marlborough passed the rivulet and morass without opposition; and, directing some of his infantry to attack Blenheim and another village which the enemy had occupied, led his cavalry and the remainder of his forces against Tallard. The struggle was long and desperate, but at length the enemy's right was completely routed, and numbers were put to the sword or driven into the Danube. All the enemy's troops that had been thrown into Blenheim, being cut off from the main body, were forced to surrender at discretion. Prince Eugene, who commanded the right of the allies, could make no impression against the elector of Bavaria and marshal Marsin till after the defeat of Tallard, when the Bavarians made a speedy and skilful retreat in three columns. The French and Bavarians lost nearly half their army in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and marshal Tallard himself was captured, together with the camp, baggage, and artillery. The loss of the allies, however, was also very great, amounting to about 14,000 killed and wounded. The elector and marshal Marsin retreated on Ulm, whence they joined marshal Villeroi on the Rhine.

The consequences of this brilliant victory, which was gained on August 13, were most important, and decided the fate of Germany. The elector of Bavaria, whose troops had lately alarmed Vienna itself, not only lost his conquests, but even his own dominions fell into the hands of the emperor. The remains of the vanquished army were obliged to cross the Rhine; and the victors also entered Alsace, and took the important fortresses of Landau and Traerbach. Marlborough himself repaired to Berlin, and concluded a treaty with

king of Prussia, who engaged to assist the duke of Savoy with 8000 men; and thence proceeding to Hanover and the Hague, arrived in London in December, accompanied by marshal Tallard and 26 other prisoners of distinction. He received the thanks and congratulations of the queen, and of both houses of parliament; the royal manor of Woodstock was granted to him, and a splendid mansion erected upon it, which received the name of Blenheim castle from the place of his victory.

On the other theatres of war nothing was done comparable to these great achievements in Germany. In Flanders the campaign was wholly defensive and unimportant; in Italy the balance of success inclined for the French. In the Spanish peninsula Philip V., the new king of Spain, obtained some advantages in an invasion of Portugal; whilst Charles III., who had landed in that country in March, with 8000 English and Dutch troops, was repulsed by the duke of Berwick in an attempt which he made upon Castile, in conjunction with the king of Portugal. But the English fleet under sir G. Rooke achieved a brilliant and unexpected success in that quarter by the capture of Gibraltar. After landing Charles III. at Lisbon, and making an unsuccessful attempt upon Barcelona, Rooke determined to attack Gibraltar; and, through the negligence and cowardice of the Spaniards, this strong fortress, which might be defended by a few hundred men against a whole army, was easily taken by his sailors and marines. Subsequently Rooke and the Dutch admiral Culemberg fell in, off Malaga, with a French fleet of 52 ships under the count of Toulouse, which had been despatched to assist the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar. An obstinate combat ensued, which ended in a drawn battle, and Gibraltar remained in the hands of the English.

§ 4. It was also in Spain that the campaign of the following year (1705) was marked by any striking events. The earl of Peterborough, having embarked with a land-force on board the fleet of sir Cloudesley Shovel, and being joined by a Dutch squadron under admiral Allemonde, proceeded to the coast of Catalonia. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were taken without a blow; Barcelona capitulated after a siege; and almost the whole of Valencia and Catalonia then acknowledged Charles III., so that the land-forces of the allies took up their winter quarters in Spain.

In the Netherlands, Marlborough, at the request of the Dutch, confined his operations to the defence of their frontier. Leopold died this year (May 5), and was succeeded by his son Joseph, who had more talents and enterprise than his father, but found it difficult to inspire the Germanic body with his own spirit. Marlborough paid him a visit towards winter at Vienna, when the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred upon him, with the rank of a prince of

empire. On the whole, the campaigns in Germany and Italy were favourable this year to the French.

Marlborough had formed larger plans for 1706, but was again detained by the entreaties of the Dutch. He compensated, however, for the inactivity of the preceding year by the brilliant victory of RAMILLIES, near Tirlemont, gained over marshal Villeroi, May 23. The forces were nearly equal on both sides; but the French were totally defeated, with a loss of about 14,000 men, killed, wounded, or prisoners, whilst the loss of the allies did not amount to 3000. Towards night the rout of the French became complete, and they did not attempt to stand even at Courtray. They lost about 120 colours, 100 pieces of artillery, and a vast quantity of baggage. The consequence of this victory was the conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders. In return for these achievements the English parliament perpetuated Marlborough's titles in the female as well as the male line, and continued the pension of 5000*l.* granted by the queen to his family for ever.

The French also sustained a terrible overthrow this year at Turin, from prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, which put an end to all the hopes of the Bourbons in Italy. In Spain the Anglo-Portuguese army, under the earl of Galway (Ruvigny) and the marquis de las Minas, penetrated to Madrid. Philip V. abandoned his capital and retired to Burgos; but Galway and Las Minas, neglecting to pursue their advantages, were ultimately driven from the Spanish capital by the duke of Berwick, and obliged to retire into Valencia. In the same year the English fleet, under sir John Leake, took Majorca and Ivica, and reduced them under the authority of Charles III.

§ 5. We must now revert for a while to the domestic affairs of the country, where the important project of a UNION WITH SCOTLAND was in agitation. That measure had occasionally attracted the attention of statesmen ever since the accession of James I.; but as the period approached when the succession to the crown was to be diverted into a new line, the necessity for it became urgent, and Anne, in her speech to her first parliament, had recommended it as indispensable to the peace and security of both kingdoms. William had neglected to provide for the succession to the Scottish crown; and a large party in that country, headed by the duke of Hamilton, were in favour of the Stuarts. A bill for the Hanoverian succession was rejected by the Scotch parliament with every mark of anger and contempt; many were for sending lord Marchmont, its proposer, to the castle of Edinburgh; and it was carried by a large majority that all record of it should be expunged from their proceedings. The same assembly passed what they called an 'Act of Security,' by which it was provided that the parliament should meet on the 20th day after the queen's decease to elect a successor, who should not

the successor to the crown of England, unless under conditions which might secure the honour and independence of Scotland. The queen refused her assent to this bill; but in the following year (Aug. 5, 1704) she thought proper to allow another bill, to the same effect, to be touched with the sceptre, of which the main proviso was, that the successor to the crown should be a protestant of the royal line of Scotland, and at the same time not the successor to the English crown. As the house of Hanover was thus excluded, the duke of Hamilton himself, the great promoter of the bill, seemed in a fair way to obtain the crown.

This proceeding excited great alarm in England. The House of Peers, in order to obviate its effects, resolved, that no Scotchmen, not actually residing in England or Ireland, should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen till a union of the two kingdoms should be effected, or the succession made identical in Scotland and England; that the bringing of Scotch cattle into England, and of English wool into Scotland, should be prohibited; and that the fleet should have orders to seize all Scotch vessels trading with France. These resolutions, which were almost equivalent to a declaration of war, were reduced into a bill; and another act was passed to appoint commissioners to treat of a union. The Lords also addressed the queen to fortify Newcastle, Tynemouth, Carlisle, and Hull, to call out the militia of the four northern counties, and to station an adequate number of regular troops on the Scottish borders. The Commons rejected the proposed bill on the ground that the fines levied by it rendered it a money bill; but they passed another to the same effect (Feb. 3, 1705), which went through the Lords without any amendment.

In the following session further steps were taken to secure the succession of the house of Hanover, and a regency bill was passed in the event of the queen's death. In April, 1706, lord Halifax, accompanied by Clarencieux king-of-arms, was despatched to Hanover to present the electoral prince with the order of the garter, and to convey to his family an act of naturalization. About the same time commissioners appointed by the queen met to consider the articles of a union, and continued their discussions till July 23. The following were the more important among the articles agreed upon:—That the two kingdoms should be united under the name of Great Britain; that the succession should be vested in the princess Sophia and her heirs, being protestants; that there should be but one parliament of the united kingdom, to which 16 Scotch peers and 45 commoners should be elected; that there should be a complete freedom of trade and navigation throughout the united kingdom, and a reciprocation of all rights, privileges, and advantages.

These articles were highly unpopular in Scotland; but without the succour of France it seemed hopeless to resist them and the reverses

Louis in the war put it out of his power to assist the pretender. In the parliament, indeed, where the Peers and Commons sat in one house, a spirited opposition was led by the duke of Hamilton and Fletcher of Saltoun, and during the progress of the debates violent tumults occurred in Edinburgh. The lower classes of the Scotch, and especially the presbyterians of the west, were almost universally opposed to the union, and offers were made to Hamilton from various quarters to march to Edinburgh and disperse the parliament. But that nobleman, though loud in debate, was timid in action. He would not listen to such vigorous counsels; and he even shrank from an agreement which he had made with his adherents, to protest against the measure, and quit the parliament in a body. All the articles were eventually adopted by a large majority, Jan. 16, 1707.

The Act of Union was carried through the English parliament with but trifling opposition, and received the royal assent on March 6. The union was appointed to commence on May 1, 1707, which was made a day of thanksgiving; and the first parliament of Great Britain was to meet on the 23rd of the following October.

§ 6. But to return to the war. The allies, flushed with their good fortune, rejected all the French king's overtures for a peace, although so advantageous that it was made an argument against receiving them, that they were too good to be lasting. In spite of the distress to which he was reduced, Louis therefore bestirred himself for a vigorous resistance; and the year opened for him with a gleam of success, by the recapture of Majorca by the count de Villars (Jan. 5, 1707). In Spain also Galway and Las Minas were defeated by the duke of Berwick at Almanza: Arragon was again reduced under the authority of Philip V., and Charles III. maintained himself only in Catalonia. But in Germany the French were eventually obliged to recross the Rhine; and by the capitulation of Milan, signed in March, they agreed to evacuate Italy. The latter event left prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy at liberty to invade France. They accordingly passed the Var, and, advancing along the coast of Provence, appeared before Toulon on the 26th July, while, at the same time, sir Cloudesley Shovel blockaded it by sea. The French, however, had thrown 8000 men into Toulon a few hours before the arrival of prince Eugene; and their vigorous defence, the advance of the duke of Burgundy with a considerable force, and the ill condition of the invading army, compelled the allies to abandon the enterprise.

A terrible fate overtook sir Cloudesley Shovel and his fleet on their return. That admiral sailed from Gibraltar on the 29th Sept. with a fleet of 15 sail of the line and some frigates. On Oct. 22nd they arrived in the mouth of the Channel, when, by some mistake in the course, the admiral's ship, the Association, striking on some

ks to the west of the Scilly islands, foundered, and all on board ished: The Eagle, the Romney, and the Firebrand met with the same fate, except that the captain and 24 of the crew of the last were saved. Shovel had raised himself by his abilities and courage from the station of a common sailor.

The campaign in Flanders produced no remarkable action, and on the whole the events of the year were of a chequered kind for France. Her councils were no longer directed with the former vigour. Louis XIV. was sinking into dotage, and had surrendered himself to the government of Madame de Maintenon. Yet the resources of France were still able to inspire alarm. Early in 1708 a squadron of frigates and small ships of war was collected at Dunkirk; troops were marched thither from the surrounding garrisons; and on the 6th of March the Pretender put to sea with 5000 men under his command for the purpose of invading England. But his fleet was dispersed by admiral Byng, and returned one by one to Dunkirk. The only evil occasioned by this attempt was the alarm it created. There was a run upon the Bank, loyal addresses were presented to the queen by both houses, the Commons suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and the country was alive with military preparations.

Ghent and Bruges, disgusted with the extortions of the allies, in which Marlborough and Cadogan are said to have been implicated, opened their gates to the French, who then directed their march towards Antwerp, and laid siege to OUDENARDE: but Marlborough coming up brought them to an engagement and gave them a signal defeat. In this battle the electoral prince of Hanover, afterwards George II., gave distinguished proofs of valour, and led his cavalry repeatedly to the charge. The other more important operations of this campaign, regarded as one of Marlborough's most skilful ones, were the capture of Lisle, one of the strongest fortresses in Flanders, after a three months' siege, the compelling the elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of Brussels, and the recovery of Bruges and Ghent. The duke of Vendôme, who commanded the French army, was received so coldly by Louis, that he retired to one of his estates; being the fifth marshal of France who had been driven from the service by Marlborough's successes.

Sardinia was also reduced this year by the fleet under admiral Leake without striking a blow, the inhabitants having been induced by the monks to declare for Charles III. Leake then took Minorca.

The misfortunes of Louis prompted him to sue for peace, and in 1709 conferences were opened at the Hague. The marquis de Torcy, the French ambassador, was instructed to offer almost any terms, and he at last agreed that Philip should relinquish the whole of the Spanish succession, with the exception of Naples and Sicily. But

the allies would not leave him even these; and as the terms which they demanded were as bad as any that could be dreaded from a continuance of hostilities, the pride of the French was roused, and they determined to resist to the utmost.

In June (1709) Marlborough assumed the command of the allied army in Flanders, amounting to about 110,000 men. After taking Tournay, one of the strongest places in the Netherlands, the allies threatened Mons; and in order to protect it, marshal Villars entrenched himself at MALPLAQUET, a league from the town. From this post he was driven by the allies, after a most sanguinary conflict in which the latter lost about 20,000 men, whilst the loss of the French did not exceed 8000. The surrender of Mons, Oct. 20, finished the campaign in Flanders.

Negociations for a peace were again opened in March 1710. France was willing to make further concessions, but the allies still rose in their demands, and, not satisfied that Louis should renounce Spain for his grandson, insisted that he should actually assist them to expel him. These negociations did not interrupt the war, which was carried on with great vigour in Flanders. The allies took Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, but with the loss of 26,000 men. In Spain Philip V. was defeated by count Staremberg at Almenara, and still more decisively at Saragossa. General Stanhope, with 5000 British troops, had a great share in this victory. But as two French armies were entering Spain, it was deemed prudent to retire into Catalonia. Stanhope, who brought up the rear, was overtaken at the village of Brihuega by the duke of Vendôme; and though he defended himself with great spirit, yet, being surrounded on all sides, he was obliged to surrender at discretion.

§ 7. Marlborough's influence at court was now completely on the wane; but his reputation stood too high to render safe his immediate dismissal. In order to explain this revolution, it will be necessary to trace a few years back the intrigues of party.

During the period of the war Marlborough and lord Godolphin, the treasurer, directed the government. In 1704 they had moulded the ministry more to their liking, by appointing Harley secretary of state in place of the earl of Nottingham, and making Henry St. John, a young man of great ability, secretary at war. At the same time the general and the treasurer were obliged to pay great deference to the whigs, who formed a strong party led by what was called the *junto*, consisting of the lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland. In Harley they had introduced an enemy who ultimately upset them. Harley began his scheme for this purpose by undermining the duchess of Marlborough's influence with the queen. The duchess had placed a relative named Abigail Hill, the daughter of a bankrupt Turkey merchant, about the queen's person in the

acity of a bedchamber woman. Abigail was also distantly related to Harley; and a plan was formed between them to alienate the queen's favour from the duchess, of whose domineering temper indeed she was already weary. By assiduity and attention Abigail succeeded in gaining Anne's good-will, of which the queen gave a signal proof by being present at her marriage with Mr. Masham, an officer of the royal household. This event opened the eyes of the Marlboroughs to the altered state of the queen's favour, and impressed them with the necessity of making a struggle to retain their power. An accident afforded an opportunity for an attack upon Harley. The correspondence of marshal Tallard, who was still a prisoner, passed through Harley's office; and as that minister did not understand French, it was read by Gregg, one of his clerks. Gregg, a needy Scotchman, took the opportunity to enclose in a letter of the marshal's one of his own, in which he made an offer to the French minister to betray the secrets of the country for a valuable consideration. The letter was intercepted, and Gregg was tried, condemned, and hanged at Tyburn. Attempts were made before his execution to procure his evidence against Harley; but he fully acquitted that minister, who was indeed entirely innocent. His reputation, however, suffered with the credulous and suspicious; Marlborough and Godolphin notified to the queen their determination not to act with him, and absented themselves from the council. After a short struggle Anne was obliged to give way; Harley retired from office, and was followed by St. John, and sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney-general; and their places were supplied by Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and sir James Montague. But this affair only served more to inflame the queen against the whigs. Harley retained his secret influence, and awaited the opportunity of a triumphant return to power, which was prepared by an event that happened in 1709.

§ 8. Dr. Sacheverell, chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark, a vain and bitter man of little merit, being appointed to preach before the lord mayor and aldermen at St. Paul's, on the 5th Nov., inveighed with great violence and indecency against the dissenters and the moderate section of the church of England, insisted upon the doctrine of passive obedience, and reflected in severe terms upon the government, and especially upon Godolphin, to whom he gave the name of Volpone, a character in one of Ben Jonson's comedies. The majority of the court of aldermen, being of the low church party, refused to thank Sacheverell for his sermon; but the lord mayor, who was on the opposite side, encouraged Sacheverell to print it, and present it to him in a dedication conceived in a very violent strain. The political passions of the nation were excited to the highest pitch, and 40,000 copies of the sermon were sold in a few weeks. The more violent of the ministry, and especially Godolphin, who had been

personally attacked, were enraged against Sacheverell, and resolved to impeach him for certain doctrines promulgated in his sermon. Articles were accordingly exhibited against him, and he was brought to trial in Westminister Hall, Feb. 27, 1710. The populace of London was at that time tory and high church, and kept up a continual tumult during the trial. The mob escorted Sacheverell every day from his lodgings in the Temple to Westminister with vociferous cheering, pulled down several meeting-houses, and insulted those members of parliament who took the most prominent part against their favourite. The Lords however decreed that Sacheverell should be suspended from preaching for a term of three years, and that his sermon should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they also sentenced to the same fate the famous decree of the University of Oxford in 1683, on occasion of the Rye House plot, which inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.

The temper of the nation had been so plainly exhibited in this trial that the queen and the tory party no longer hesitated to attempt a change in the ministry; but it was slowly and cautiously effected. Marlborough, who pretended to the disposal of all military promotions, was offended by an attempt to promote colonel Hill, brother of Mrs. Masham, without his approbation; and he retired into the country, threatening to resign the command of the army. By degrees changes began to be made in the ministry. In April (1710) the duke of Shrewsbury, who had taken part against the ministers in Sacheverell's case, was made lord chamberlain. On the 14th of June the seals were taken from the earl of Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, and lord Dartmouth was made secretary of state in his place. On the 8th of Aug. Godolphin himself was ordered to break his staff as treasurer, and the treasury was put in commission with lord Powlett at the head; Harley, however, who now became chancellor of the exchequer, possessed in reality the greatest share in the queen's confidence. But a thorough change in the ministry was not effected till September, when lord Rochester superseded lord Somers as president of the council, St. John became a secretary of state instead of Mr. Boyle, Harcourt was made lord chancellor instead of lord Cowper, and the duke of Ormond obtained the lieutenancy of Ireland in place of the witty and profligate earl of Wharton. Other minor changes were effected, and the dukes of Somerset and Newcastle were the only whigs who retained office. Both Harley and St. John, who now became the leaders of the high church party, had been bred up among the dissenters. One of the reasons for appointing the latter was, that he was the only person about the court who understood French, and might therefore be useful in the expected negociations for a peace.

A striking characteristic of the period is the double dealing of the

leading men of all parties. It can hardly be doubted that Harley was in favour of the Hanoverian succession, which he had zealously laboured to establish; yet we find him at this time corresponding with Marshal Berwick, and treating for the restoration of the Stuarts, on condition of Anne retaining the crown for life, and security being given for the religion and liberties of England. Marlborough, on the other hand, though in favour of the Stuarts and himself corresponding with the court of St. Germains, does not scruple to address the elector of Hanover with assurances of his devotion, and to denounce Harley and his associates as entertaining a design to place the Pretender on the throne. St. John was the most decided and consistent Jacobite and there were constant feuds between him and Harley, which were sometimes composed by the intervention of Swift.

§ 9. In the new parliament which met in Nov. 1710, the tory party predominated. Sacheverell had made a sort of progress into Wales, and was received by the mayors and corporations of various towns in great state. The people came to meet him with white favours and sprigs of gilded laurel in their hats, and the hedges where he passed were decked with flowers. These were plain symptoms of the popular sentiments, and in the ensuing elections the whigs were defeated wherever the popular voice was allowed to prevail. The queen, in her opening speech, though she intimated a desire for peace, signified her resolution of prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour. The parliament responded with enthusiasm, and voted during the session the large sum of more than 14 millions. They instituted an inquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain; a vote of censure was passed upon the late ministry; and an attempted vote of thanks to Marlborough failed in the House of Lords. Marlborough however still retained the command of the army; but he resigned all the places held by his duchess, absented himself from court, and in Feb. 1711 proceeded to Holland to conduct the campaign.

About this time an event that might have proved fatal to Harley served only to further his promotion. A French adventurer, who assumed the title of the marquis de Guiscard, had insinuated himself into the favour of the preceding ministry by pretending that he could raise an insurrection in France. A congenial profligacy had recommended this man to the friendship of St. John, who, on becoming a minister, procured him a pension of 500*l.* a year. But Harley incurred the hatred of Guiscard by reducing it to 400*l.*, and refusing to make it permanent. Shortly afterwards Guiscard was detected in a treasonable correspondence with France, and, on being brought before the council for examination, he stabbed Harley with a pocket knife, the blade of which fortunately broke by striking the breast-bone. Unaware of this circumstance, Guiscard redoubled his blows,

St. John and others stabbed him in several places with their swords; and being secured, he was carried to Newgate, where he soon after expired of his wounds. Harley's hurt was slight, but it procured him much sympathy. The Commons addressed the queen in terms the most flattering to that minister, and when he next appeared in his seat he was congratulated by the speaker in the name of the House on his fortunate escape. The queen gave him more substantial marks of favour by creating him earl of Oxford and Mortimer; and shortly after she bestowed upon him the white staff of lord high treasurer.*

As the tories had a decided majority in the new parliament, lord Nottingham, a vehement high-churchman, easily persuaded it to pass a bill to prevent occasional conformity, as it was called, which was the compliance of the dissenters with the provisions of the Test Act by receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England in order merely to qualify themselves for holding office or entering into corporations (see p. 486). This bill was followed up by the Schism Act, which extended and confirmed one of the clauses in the Act of Uniformity, which compelled all teachers to make before the bishop a declaration of conformity to the established church, and to obtain from the bishop a licence for exercising that profession.†

The new ministry were inclined to peace, as the most effectual means of breaking the power of Marlborough; and the death of the emperor Joseph, which occurred this year, opened the prospect of its attainment. Charles III., the titular king of Spain, was elected his successor, and thus the views of England with regard to the war were entirely changed; since the union of Spain and the empire would have revived the days of Charles V., whilst the very object of the war was to prevent the accumulation of too much power in the hands of a single family. The yearly campaign in Flanders, the last conducted by Marlborough, though a skilful one, had proved almost wholly unimportant, as the French stood on the defensive; nor did anything of consequence occur in other quarters. Before it had begun, communications were privately opened with the court of France; and the States, though averse to a peace, were at length obliged to yield, and named Utrecht as the place of conference. On hearing of these negociations, the imperial ambassador became so violent that he was ordered to quit the kingdom.

§ 10. A report laid before the House of Commons by the com-

* His son, Edward Harley, the second earl of Oxford, was the collector of the celebrated Harleian MSS. now in the British Museum. The title became extinct in 1853.

† The Act against occasional conformity, and the Schism Act, were repealed in the reign of George I. (1719). Hallam, Constitutional History, iii. 333.

missioners of the public accounts on the 21st Dec. contained the deposition of sir Solomon Medina, a Dutch Jew, charging the duke of Marlborough, and Cardonnel his secretary, with various peculations in the contracts for bread and bread-waggons for the army in Flanders. The charge would probably never have been heard of except for the violent part which Marlborough took against the ministry on the subject of the peace. The elector of Hanover was for continuing the war, on the ground that the house of Bourbon should not be allowed to retain Spain; and in November his envoy, the baron de Bothmar, had come to London in company with Marlborough, and, in the name of the elector, presented a memorial against the peace. The queen and the House of Commons were indignant at this interference. The majority of the council were for apprehending Bothmar and sending him out of the kingdom in custody; but Oxford averted this violent step. Marlborough, however, was supported by a majority of the Peers in his views against the peace, and an amendment on the address was carried. In order to overcome this opposition, Oxford persuaded the queen to create 12 new peers (31st Dec.). They were received by the House with much derision, and the earl of Wharton, in allusion to their number, inquired of them whether they voted individually or by their foreman? On the previous day the queen had also dismissed Marlborough from all his employments.

The Commons proceeded to pass a vote of censure upon Marlborough, for unwarrantable and illegal practices in contracts, and for taking 2½ per cent. on the pay of the foreign troops in the English service; and the attorney-general was directed to prosecute him; but this last step was never followed up. The percentage appears to have been a voluntary payment by the allied princes, and to have been expended in secret service: the profit on the contracts had, long before Marlborough's time, been the usual perquisite of the commander-in-chief in the Netherlands. Towards the close of the year Marlborough retired from England in disgust, and took up his residence at Antwerp. Godolphin, his former colleague, died in the preceding September—a useful and honest minister, whose unobtrusive manners and constant assiduity caused William to say of him that he was never in the way nor out of the way.

Cardonnel, Marlborough's secretary, was expelled the House of Commons on a similar accusation to that against his master. Robert Walpole was also expelled and committed to the Tower on a charge of taking a bribe of 1000 guineas on contracts for forage made by him when secretary at war.

Although the conferences were opened at Utrecht on the 18th of January, the allies as usual took the field in the spring. The British forces in Flanders were now commanded by the duke of

mond, who had received instructions to avoid a battle unless he received a prospect of very great advantage. Shortly afterwards he separated his troops from the army of the allies, and received from Louis the surrender of Dunkirk, which had been stipulated as the condition of a cessation of arms. After the withdrawal of the British contingents Eugene was defeated by marshal Villars at Denain, and several other reverses followed, so that the good fortune of the allies seemed to have deserted them with the loss of the English.

§ 11. Meanwhile the negociations were proceeding at Utrecht, the plenipotentiaries for Great Britain being the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol, to whom Prior, the poet, was subsequently added; and a peace, known as the PEACE OF UTRECHT, was at length signed on March 31st, 1713. The principal articles, as between France and England, were, that Louis should abandon the Pretender, acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession; should raze the fortifications of Dunkirk; and should cede Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's. With regard to the general objects of the alliance, it was agreed that the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands, should be assigned to the emperor; that the duke of Savoy should possess Sicily with the title of king; that Sardinia should be assigned to the elector of Bavaria, with the same title; that the States of Holland should receive Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Nieuport, in addition to their other possessions in Flanders, but should restore Lisle and its dependencies; and that the king of Prussia should exchange Orange, and the possessions belonging to that family in Franche Compté, for Upper Gueldres. Great Britain was left in possession of Gibraltar and Minorca. At the same time a treaty of commerce between France and England was also signed. Peace was not concluded between the emperor and France till the following year, by the treaty of Rastadt.

As the treaty of Utrecht was only effected after a violent struggle between the whigs and tories, its merits have generally been viewed through the medium of party prejudice. It can hardly be doubted that, from the exhausted condition of France, more advantageous terms might have been exacted; they had in fact been previously offered; and the great object for which the war had been undertaken, the exclusion of the Bourbons from the throne of Spain, was frustrated. Louis indeed undertook that Philip should renounce the throne of France, but at the same time acknowledged that such an act was legally invalid: whilst the recent death of the dauphin, of his son, and eldest grandson, left only a sickly infant between Philip and the crown of France. The manner in which the peace was concluded was perhaps more objectionable than the peace itself. England appeared selfishly to negociate a clandestine treaty, and to

don her allies in the midst of a campaign, leaving their towns
armies exposed to the fury of the enemy. A still worse feature
perhaps was the abandonment of the Catalans, who still contended
heroically for their freedom. Philip, indeed, promised them an
amnesty, but it was not observed. On the other hand, it may be
remarked that it would have been almost as impolitic to continue
the war in order to set Charles upon the throne of Spain, after he
had become emperor, as to leave it in possession of Philip; that
the Spaniards were contented with the latter for their king, and that
England had no right to control their inclinations; that the burthen
of the war, which had cost England nearly 69 millions, was chiefly
borne by her, though she had not so direct an interest in it as the
other powers; and that on the whole the conditions exacted from
France were not disadvantageous. In general the peace was popular
in England, and, when proclaimed on the 5th of May, was received
with the acclamations of the populace.

§ 12. It became evident in the winter of this year that the
queen's health was fast declining, and the near prospect of her dis-
solution animated the struggle between the Jacobites and the
adherents of the house of Hanover. The whigs urged the elector to
a step which gave great offence to the queen. Schutz, the Hano-
verian envoy, demanded for the electoral prince a writ to take his
seat in the House of Lords, he having been lately created duke of
Cambridge. The queen was so enraged that she forbade Schutz to
appear again at court, declared that she would suffer the last
extremities rather than permit any prince of the electoral family to
reside in England during her life, and wrote to the elector, to the
princess Sophia, and to the electoral prince, expressing her surprise
at the step they had taken, and almost openly threatening that it
might endanger their succession. Not long afterwards (May 28th) the
princess Sophia died suddenly in the garden at Herrenhausen, aged 83.

§ 13. Oxford and St. John, now viscount Bolingbroke, who had
long been irreconcilable enemies, came this year to an open rupture.
Each accused the other of being a Jacobite, and both were believed.
Bolingbroke, in conjunction with Marlborough, laid a plot for the
treasurer's ruin. Bolingbroke persuaded the queen that Oxford had
privately forwarded the demand of a writ for the electoral prince,
and on the 27th of July he was deprived of the treasurer's staff, but
permitted to retain his other offices. Thus ended his course as a
public man. He has no title to be called a great minister; his
policy was narrow, and he owed his rise to private intrigue. He
had neither great natural ability, nor much acquired learning. In
temper he was reserved and distrustful; in policy tenacious rather
than resolute; in manner awkward and undignified.

Bolingbroke had triumphed over his rival, and seemed on the

point of succeeding to his power. He was generally regarded as the future prime minister; Marlborough hastened from the continent to partake his triumph, when all his hopes were disappointed in a moment. The agitation of this political crisis had a fatal effect on the queen's declining health. A discharge from her leg suddenly stopped, and the gouty matter, making its way to the brain, threw her into a lethargy. While she lay in this state, the duke of Shrewsbury,* who was both lord chamberlain and lord-lieutenant o Ireland, concerted with the dukes of Argyle and Somerset a plan for defeating the schemes of Bolingbroke and his Jacobite confederates in the ministry. Argyle and Somerset, without being summoned, suddenly appeared in the council (July 30th), to offer, they said, their advice at this juncture. Shrewsbury thanked them; and after ascertaining from the physicians the dangerous state of the queen, they proposed that the duke of Shrewsbury should be recommended to her without delay as treasurer. The proposition was immediately submitted to the queen, who had recovered some degree of consciousness; and she not only gave him the treasurer's staff, but also continued him in the offices of chamberlain and lord-lieutenant.

On Sunday, August 1st, Anne expired at Kensington, in the 50th year of her age and 13th of her reign. She was of middle stature, her hair and complexion dark, her features strongly marked, the expression of her countenance rather dignified than agreeable. She was not deficient in accomplishments, understood music and painting, and had some taste for literature. She was jealous of her authority, and sometimes sullen when offended; and the good nature and generosity which procured her the name of the good queen Anne, seem to have sprung as much from the indolence of her temper, and the weakness of her understanding, as from any active principle of benevolence. Her consort, prince George of Denmark, had died in 1708.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
1702.	Accession and coronation of queen Anne.
,,	War of the Spanish Succession.
1704.	Battle of Blenheim. Gibraltar taken.
1706.	Battle of Ramillies.
1707.	Union with Scotland.
1708.	Battle of Oudenarde.
1709.	Battle of Malplaquet.
1710.	Trial of Sacheverell.
1711.	Harley (earl of Oxford) made lord treasurer. Marlborough deprived of all his offices.
1713.	Treaty of Utrecht.
1714.	Death of queen Anne.

* He was the son of the 11th earl of Shrewsbury, and was created a duke by William III. in 1694. The dukedom became extinct upon his death in 1718 but his cousin succeeded to the earldom.

Medal of George I.

Obv.: GEORG LVD . D . G . M . BRIT . FR . ET HIB REX DVX B & L . S . R . I . ELEC. Bust, laureate, to right. Rev.: ACCEDENS DIORVS DIVISOS ORBE BRITANNOS. The horse of Brunswick running across the map of the north-west of Europe. Below, VNVS NON SVFFICIT ORBIS.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK—GEORGE I. A.D. 1714–1727.

§ 1. Accession of George I. Character. New ministry. § 2. Impeachment of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond. § 3. Mar's rebellion. § 4. The Pretender lands in Scotland. Rebellion quashed. Executions. Repeal of Triennial Act. § 5. Unpopularity of the king. His favourites and mistresses. Treaty with France and Holland. § 6. Hanoverian politics. Sweden favours the Pretender. Change of ministry. § 7. Designs of Alberoni. Quadruple alliance. Defeat of the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro. § 8. Projected Spanish invasion. Vigo taken. Walpole and Townshend join the ministry. § 9. The South-Sea bubble. § 10. The South-Sea directors punished. Death of Marlborough. Atterbury's plot. § 11. Disturbances in Ireland on account of Wood's halfpence. Malt-tax in Scotland. Order of the Bath. § 12. Confederacy between the emperor and Spain. Alliance with France and Prussia. Death of the king

§ 1. GEORGE I. succeeded queen Anne as quietly as if he had been the undisputed heir to the throne. No sooner had the queen expired than Kreyenberg, the Hanoverian resident, produced an instrument in the handwriting of the elector, nominating 18 peers, who, according to the Regency Bill, were to act as lords justices till his arrival. The peers selected were mostly whigs, including the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Argyle, lords Cowper, Halifax, and Townshend; but it created some surprise that neither Marlborough nor Somers was among the number. Marlborough had landed at Dover on the very day of the queen's death. He was indignant to find himself

excluded; but he was in some degree consoled by the reception he met with from the citizens of London, where he made a sort of public entry. Then, having taken the oaths in the House of Lords, he retired into the country.

The new king was proclaimed, both in Dublin and Edinburgh, without opposition or tumult. On the 5th of August the lords justices delivered a speech to the parliament, recommending them to provide for the dignity and honour of the crown; and loyal and dutiful addresses were unanimously voted by both Houses. George was immediately acknowledged by Louis XIV. and the other European powers. A British squadron had been despatched to wait for him in Holland. He did not set out from Hanover till August 31, and landed at Greenwich on September 18, bringing with him his eldest son.

The monarch who now ascended the throne of England was 54 years of age, heavy in look, awkward and undignified in manner and address, without the slightest tincture of literature or science, but possessing that taste for music which characterises his country. He disliked pomp, and was even averse to popular applause; and the society which he preferred was that of buffoons and persons of low intellect. His total ignorance both of the English manners and language added to his other disadvantages in the new scene in which he was to appear. Yet his own subjects parted with him with regret, for he possessed some good qualities. He was honourable, benevolent, and sincere; economical even to niggardliness; regular in the distribution of his time; possessing both personal courage and military knowledge, yet a lover of peace.

Before the king landed he sent directions to remove Bolingbroke from the office of secretary of state, and to appoint lord Townshend in his place, who must now be considered as prime minister. The duke of Shrewsbury resigned his offices of treasurer and lord-lieutenant. In the latter he was succeeded by Sunderland; the treasury was put in commission, with lord Halifax at the head, and the office of lord treasurer was never afterwards revived. General Stanhope was made second secretary of state; lord Cowper, chancellor; the earl of Wharton, privy seal; the earl of Nottingham, president of the council; Mr. Pulteney, secretary-at-war; the duke of Argyle, commander-in-chief for Scotland. Marlborough and the leading whigs were graciously received by the king, but it was with difficulty that Oxford was permitted to kiss his hand. Marlborough was reinstated in his old offices of captain-general and master of the ordnance; and his three sons-in-law received appointments. His merits were too great to be overlooked, but the court must have been well aware of his predilection for the Stuarts, and he soon found that he was not trusted. Indeed it appears that even now, when holding

though lost under the house of Brunswick, he sent a loan to the Pretender which probably assisted the rebellion of 1715. The chevalier de St. George, as the Pretender was frequently called, was still residing in Lorraine; and having repaired to the baths of Plombières, he published there, August 29, a manifesto asserting his right to the English crown.

§ 2. The parliament, which met in March, 1715, was opened by the king in person; but as he was unable to pronounce English, his speech was read by the chancellor. It soon appeared that the ministers were determined to impeach their predecessors. Bolingbroke took alarm and fled to the continent, where he entered the service of the Pretender as secretary of state; Oxford, of a more phlegmatic temperament, calmly awaited the storm; the duke of Ormond, another of the compromised, the idol of the mob, behaved with bravado, and in his style of living vied with the court itself. A secret committee was appointed by the Commons to inquire into the late negociations; and when the report, drawn up by Walpole, had been read, the three noblemen just mentioned were impeached of high treason. Various articles were alleged against them; but the charge most relied on was the procuring Tournay for the king of France, which it was endeavoured to bring under the statute of Edward III. as an adhering to the queen's enemies. Lord Strafford, one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, was also accused of high crimes and misdemeanours, but no notice was taken of his two colleagues. Ormond now fled to France. Before he went he visited Oxford in the Tower, and counselled him to attempt his escape. The ex-treasurer refused, and Ormond took leave of him with the words, "Farewell, Oxford without a head!" To which the latter replied, "Farewell, duke without a duchy!" In fact, Ormond never returned, and died abroad in 1745 at the age of 80. Bills of attainder against him and Bolingbroke were passed without opposition. These impeachments were merely the results of party animosity, and evidently could not be maintained. The peace had been approved by two parliaments; yet Oxford was detained two years in the Tower, till Townshend and Walpole, his greatest enemies, had both quitted office, when he was dismissed by a sort of collusion of the two Houses.

§ 3. The death of Louis XIV. (Sept. 1) was a severe blow to the Pretender, who was meditating an invasion. The duke of Orleans, who now became regent in the minority of Louis XV., had different views from Louis. He could not indeed altogether reject the claims of a kinsman; but he was unwilling to compromise the peace with England, and would only promise secret assistance. Meanwhile the earl of Mar began prematurely and unadvisedly an insurrection in Scotland. He despatched letters to the principal gentry, inviting

them to meet him at a great hunt in Aberdeenshire on August 27. When they were assembled he inveighed against the union, using other topics calculated to inflame his audience; and on the 6th September, though he had no more than 60 followers, he raised the standard of the Pretender. His force had swelled to about 5000 men when he entered Perth, September 28.

This insurrection created great alarm. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and several noted Jacobites were arrested in London, Edinburgh, and other places. As the number of regular troops in England was but small, the Dutch contingent of 6000 men was sent for, as stipulated by an article of the guarantee of succession. Argyle, who had been despatched to support the king's cause in Scotland, had at his disposal only about 1000 foot and 500 horse; yet Mar, who had no military talent, remained inactive. Serious symptoms of disaffection appeared in the northern counties, where Mr. Forster and the earl of Derwentwater, hearing that orders had been issued to arrest them, rose in arms and proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth. Lord Kenmure did the same at Moffat; and being soon after joined by the earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, crossed the border and joined Forster. The united force, amounting to 500 or 600 horsemen, proceeded, by Mar's directions, to Kelso, where they were joined (Oct. 22) by brigadier M'Intosh with 1400 foot. Edinburgh, which lay between the forces of M'Intosh and Mar, might easily have been taken; but no plan of a campaign had been formed, and, after a senseless march along the Cheviots, M'Intosh determined to proceed into Lancashire. Many of his men deserted, but he nevertheless entered Lancaster without resistance, and proceeded to Preston, where Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and a militia regiment retired on his approach. Here he received an accession of 1200 men, but badly armed and disciplined; and when general Carpenter arrived (Nov. 13) with 900 cavalry, Forster surrendered almost without a blow. Among the prisoners made on this occasion were lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Wintoun, Kenmure, with many members of old northern families.

On the very day of this disastrous affair a battle had been fought between Mar and Argyle at Sherriffmuir, near Stirling. The latter was now at the head of between 3000 and 4000 regular troops, while Mar's force had increased to 10,000 men, but badly armed and disciplined. The battle was singular, the right wing of each army having defeated their opponents; but Argyle remained in possession of the field, whilst Mar retired to Perth, and the weather prevented any further operations.

§ 4. The rebellion having been thus unadvisedly begun, the Pretender and the duke of Ormond felt themselves called upon to act, whatever might be the event. Ormond landed in Devonshire with

Medal of the elder Pretender and his wife.
Obv.: IACOBVS . III . D . G . M . B . F . ET . H . REX. Bust armed, to right.

about 40 officers and men; but finding nobody willing to join him, returned to St. Malo. The Pretender sailed from Dunkirk about the middle of December, in a small vessel of 8 guns, and landed at Peterhead on the 22nd, accompanied only by 6 gentlemen disguised as French naval officers. Mar immediately proceeded to pay his respects to him, and was created a duke. On January 6, 1716, the Pretender made his public entry into Dundee on horseback, followed by a troop of nearly 300 gentlemen. Thence he proceeded to Scone, performed several acts of state, and appointed the 23rd of January for his coronation. But James was not the man for this conjuncture. In person he was tall and thin, sparing of speech, calm and composed in his behaviour. Instead of encouraging his followers, he talked to them of his misfortunes. One of them says, "We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak."

On the advance of Argyle, Perth was pronounced untenable by a council of the insurgent generals; and on the 30th of January, a day of evil omen for the Stuarts, orders were issued to retreat northwards. Argyle entered Perth about 12 hours after the rebels had quitted it. The latter proceeded to Dundee, and thence to Montrose, where James stole away on the evening of February 4; and, accompanied by Mar, embarked on board a small French vessel lying in the roads, while the rebel army gradually dispersed. Such was the ignominious end of this ill-concerted expedition. James landed at Gravelines after a passage of 7 days, and proceeded to St. Germains. On the 24th of February lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed on Tower-hill. Lord Nithisdale, who had also been sentenced to

Rev.: CLEMENTINA . MAGNAE . BRITANNIAE . ET . G . REG. Bust to left.

death, escaped the night before through the heroic devotion of his wife, who changed clothes with him. Of inferior criminals about 26 were executed.

The repeal of the Triennial Act of 1694, and the enactment of the SEPTENNIAL ACT, was one of the immediate effects of this rebellion. In the present state of the nation it would have been hazardous to dissolve the parliament, as a Jacobite majority might have been returned. The bill of repeal was originated in the Lords by the duke of Devonshire, and does not appear to have excited any discontent among the public.

§ 5. In the summer the king proceeded to Hanover, for which purpose the restraining clause in the Act of Settlement was repealed. He was so jealous of his son that he would not give him the full authority of regent, but would only name him guardian of the realm and lieutenant, an office unknown since the time of the Black Prince; and several restrictions were placed upon his authority. The king's foreign favourites, Bothmar, Bernsdorf, Robethon, were suspected of taking bribes for their good offices with him; and his foreign mistresses had also incurred a great share of odium. The principal one, the baroness Schulenburg, was made duchess of Munster in Ireland, and duchess of Kendal in England. The baroness Kilmanseck, another mistress, somewhat younger and handsomer, was made countess of Darlington. Both were of unbounded rapacity, but neither had the smallest share of ability. During his absence in Hanover the king dismissed lord Townshend from his post of secretary of state, and general Stanhope was appointed in his place. Townshend's dismissal was very unpopular. His offence was having encouraged the prince of Wales in opposition to his father's authority

however, the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was offered to Townshend, which he was at length induced to accept.

The late rebellion made it very desirable to deprive the Pretender of all support from France. The regent Orleans was not averse to an English alliance. In case of the death of Louis XV. he was next heir to the throne of France, Philip V. of Spain having renounced his pretensions; but as it was well known that Philip did not mean to abide by that renunciation, the alliance of England might be useful to the duke. Stanhope, who had accompanied the king abroad, entered into negociations with the abbé (afterwards cardinal) Dubois, first at the Hague and then at Hanover. They were subsequently prosecuted by lord Cadogan; and on the 28th of November a treaty was signed between the two countries. Earlier in the year defensive alliances had been concluded with the emperor and the Dutch. The latter subsequently acceded to the terms of the English and French alliance (Jan. 4, 1717), when the instrument of the previous convention between France and England was destroyed, in order that the new arrangement might appear as a triple alliance. In consequence of this treaty the Pretender was obliged to quit France, and resided sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Urbino. He soon after contracted a marriage with the princess Clementina, granddaughter of John Sobieski, the late king of Poland; but at the instance of the British cabinet she was arrested at Innsbrück, on her way to Italy, by the emperor's orders, and detained till 1719, when her liberation was effected and the marriage consummated.

§ 6. One of the worst evils of the Hanoverian succession was that it dragged England into the vortex of continental politics, and made her subservient to the king's views in favour of his electorate. The bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, formerly belonging to Hanover, had been secularised at the peace of Westphalia, and ceded to Sweden; but they had been conquered by Frederick IV. of Denmark after the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultawa. The return of that monarch, however, made the king of Denmark tremble for his conquests; and in 1715 he ceded them to George, as elector of Hanover, on condition of his joining the coalition against Sweden, and paying 150,000*l.* In order to carry out these arrangements, a British squadron, under sir John Norris, was despatched to the Baltic in the autumn of 1716. But this was not the whole evil. Baron Gortz, Charles XII.'s minister, concocted in retaliation a Jacobite conspiracy for the invasion of Scotland with 12,000 Swedish soldiers. Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador, in spite of his privileges as ambassador, was arrested in London, when full proofs of his complicity were discovered; but Charles XII. would neither avow nor disavow these practices. Walpole was sus-

pected of being concerned in them; and Townshend's adherents having voted against the grant of supplies on account of the Swedish affair, that nobleman was dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. On the following morning Walpole resigned, and was followed by other ministers. General Stanhope now became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and was shortly afterwards raised to the peerage with the title of viscount Stanhope (1717).* Sunderland and Addison, the celebrated writer, were made secretaries of state, and Craggs secretary-at-war.

§ 7. Spain was at this time governed by cardinal Alberoni, the son of a working gardener, who solely by his great abilities had raised himself to that height of power and grandeur. Both he and Philip found much cause of discontent in the state of Europe. Philip's title had never been acknowledged by the emperor; whilst the latter's alliance with England, and the triple alliance between France, England, and Holland, seemed to isolate Spain in Europe. The seizure of one of his ministers by the Austrians increased the exasperation of Philip. He resolved upon war, seized Sardinia, and seemed to threaten Sicily. At the same time Alberoni was intriguing with Charles XII. of Sweden, and with the czar, in favour of the Stuarts, was in correspondence with the Pretender at Rome, and was employing agents to foment dissensions in England. This state of things required vigorous counsels. In the summer Stanhope proceeded to Paris, and succeeded in concluding a new treaty with France and the emperor, which, after the accession of the Dutch, was styled the Quadruple Alliance. Its avowed object was the preservation of the peace of Europe. Stanhope then proceeded to Madrid, but did not succeed in overcoming the stubborn hostility of Alberoni. Meanwhile the Spanish troops had landed in Sicily (July 1), and taken Palermo and Messina, though the citadel of the latter place held out. Admiral Byng,† with 20 ships of the line, now made his appearance on the coast of Sicily; and on August 11 an action, said to have been begun by the Spaniards, took place off Cape Passaro, ending in their total defeat, and the destruction of a great number of their ships. Alberoni recalled his minister from London, and seized all British goods and vessels in Spanish ports; but no declaration of war was made till towards the end of the year, and then by the French and British cabinets.

§ 8. In March, 1719, the Pretender repaired to Spain at the invitation of Alberoni, and was received at Madrid with royal honours; but towards the end of the year Alberoni was dismissed, and Philip

* He was created earl Stanhope in the following year (1718), and was the ancestor of the present earl.

† He was created viscount Torrington in 1721, and was the ancestor of the present viscount.

nounced his accession to the Quadruple Alliance in January, 1720, renouncing his renunciation of the French crown, and engaging to evacuate Sicily and Sardinia within six months. After the death of Charles XII. the new queen of Sweden yielded Bremen and Verden to George I.

The Stanhope administration had been eminently successful. Peace had been secured abroad, and the danger of domestic conspiracy and rebellion lessened by the banishment of the Pretender from France. Early in 1720 the ministry was strengthened by the accession of Townshend and Walpole, who were induced to accept subordinate places—the former as president of the council, the latter as paymaster of the forces. Walpole had lately displayed distinguished ability in opposing and procuring the rejection of the peerage bill, intended to limit the royal prerogative in the creation of peers, by providing that their present number should not be increased beyond six, except in favour of the blood-royal. Walpole succeeded in healing the breach between the king and the prince of Wales, which had proceeded to such an extent that during the king's visit to Hanover, in the preceding year, the prince had not even been mentioned in the regency, the government being vested in lords justices. Walpole now induced the prince to write a submissive letter to his father, and a reconciliation was effected.

§ 9. In 1711 Harley had established the South Sea Company as a means of relieving the public burthens. The debt was thrown into a stock to pay 6 per cent. interest at the end of 5 years, and the proprietors were to have the monopoly of a trade to the coast of Peru. Little, however, was obtained from Spain, except the *Asiento* treaty, or contract for supplying negroes, the privilege of annually sending one ship of less than 500 tons to the South Sea, and of establishing some factories; and even these trifling privileges were interrupted by the Spanish war. Nevertheless the company flourished from other sources, and was regarded as a sort of rival of the Bank of England. The government being desirous, towards the end of 1719, of getting rid of the unredeemable annuities granted during the last two reigns, and amounting to 800,000*l.* per annum, these two corporations competed for the purchase, and at last the South Sea Company offered the enormous sum of 7½ millions. They had the right of paying off the annuitants, who accepted South Sea stock in lieu of their government stock; and two-thirds of them consented to the offer of 8½ years' purchase. The example of Law's Mississippi scheme in Paris had created quite a rage of speculation. Large subscriptions, opened by the South Sea Company, rapidly filled; its trade was regarded as a certain road to wealth, and in August the stock rose to 1000! A third and fourth subscriptions, larger than the former, were now opened, the directors engaging that after Christmas their dividend

should not be less than 50 per cent. At the same time a variety of other bubbles were started, and the whole nation seemed to be seized with a sort of madness. Men of all ranks, ages, and professions, nay women also, flocked to 'Change Alley; and the very streets were lined with desks and clerks, and converted into counting-houses. Among these bubbles were a fishery of wrecks on the Irish coast, a scheme to make salt water fresh, to make oil from sunflowers, to extract silver from lead, to make iron from pit-coal, and many others of a like description. One ingenious projector published "an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed," in shares of 100*l.*, with a deposit of two guineas, and in the evening decamped with the amount of 1000 subscriptions! The South Sea Company itself, by proceeding against some of these bubble companies, gave the first alarm. The delusion was exposed; but the public mind, being once aroused, turned its attention to the company's own affairs; holders of their stock became desirous to realise, and by the end of September it had fallen from 1000 to 300. The news of the crash produced in Paris by the failure of Law's scheme completed the panic. Thousands of families were at once reduced to beggary; and on every side might be heard execrations, not only against the company, but also against the ministry, and even the royal family. The matter was taken up in both Houses, and may be said to have produced the death of Stanhope. The young duke of Wharton* having attacked him with great virulence, Stanhope replied with such heat as to occasion an apoplexy, of which he expired the following day (Feb. 5, 1721).

§ 10. Lord Townshend now became secretary of state, and Aislabie resigned the chancellorship of the exchequer to Walpole. A committee of the Commons, appointed to inquire into the affairs of the South Sea Company, brought to light a scene of infamous corruption. In order to procure the passing of their bill, the directors had distributed large bribes to the duchess of Kendal, Madame de Platen (sister of the countess of Darlington), and to several of the ministers, as secretary Craggs, Mr. Aislabie, and others. The estates of the directors were confiscated, and applied to the benefit of the sufferers by the speculation.

The death of Stanhope, Craggs, and Sunderland, at this period, and the expulsion of Aislabie, placed the chief power of the administration in the hands of Walpole, who continued to wield it for a period of 20 years. The duke of Marlborough, who had long laboured under a paralytic attack, expired on June 16, 1722. He was one

* His father, the earl of Wharton, a distinguished whig, mentioned in the reign of queen Anne, was created a marquess in 1715, and died in the same year. His son was created a duke in 1718 and died in 1731, when the title became extinct.

the greatest generals England ever produced; but though he possessed a solid understanding, a certain degree of natural elocution, and a pleasing address, he was so illiterate that he could not write or even spell his native language correctly. Avarice was the great blemish of his character, which frequently betrayed him into meanness.

This year a Jacobite plot was discovered, in which Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and three or four peers, were concerned. It was to be assisted by an invasion from Spain. On September 22 the Pretender published at Lucca a strange manifesto, to the effect that, if George would restore him to the throne, he in return would make George king of Hanover! It was circulated in England, and ordered by both Houses to be burnt by the hangman. A bill of pains and penalties was brought into the Lords against Atterbury, who was found guilty and sentenced to banishment. At Calais he met lord Bolingbroke, who had obtained a pardon and was returning to England.

§ 11. In 1724 a serious tumult was excited in Ireland by the coinage called Wood's halfpence. A want of copper coin had long been felt in that country, to remedy which a patent was granted to William Wood, a considerable iron-master, for coining halfpence and farthings to the value of 108,000*l*. Wood, according to the testimony of sir Isaac Newton, then master of the mint, appears faithfully to have executed his contract; but the Irish privy council and parliament set their faces against the new coinage; a popular clamour was raised; and Swift, who had been living quietly the last ten years, seized the opportunity to exert his unrivalled powers of sarcasm. It was on this occasion that he wrote the Drapier's Letters, which, though pandering to the erroneous views of the Irish public, display astonishing art and vigour. In the midst of this storm lord Carteret, afterwards lord Granville, the new lord-lieutenant, landed in Ireland. He issued a proclamation against the Drapier's Letters; offered a reward of 300*l*. for the discovery of the author; and caused Harding, the printer of them, to be apprehended. But the grand jury threw out the bill against him; and a second jury, so far from entertaining the charge, made a presentment, drawn up by Swift himself, against all persons who should, by fraud or otherwise, impose Wood's halfpence upon the public. Under these circumstances, the ministry had no alternative but to withdraw Wood's patent, granting him a pension of 3000*l*. as compensation.

About the same time the imposition of a new malt-tax in Scotland occasioned serious riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow. It had been carried through the corruption of the Scotch members, to whom Walpole allowed 10 guineas a-week during their stay in London, telling them that they must make good the cost out of the Scotch

revenue, or else "tie up their stockings with their own garters." It was an age of corruption. Lord chancellor Macclesfield was this session found guilty of peculation in his high office, and fined 30,000*l.*

In June, 1725, the king revived the order of the Bath, which had lain in abeyance ever since the coronation of Charles II. Walpole and his son were made knights; and in the following year sir Robert was invested with the garter, being the only commoner, except admiral Montague, who in modern times has attained that honour.

§ 12. Such are the vicissitudes of political friendships that the emperor and the king of Spain had now laid aside their quarrels, and by the treaty of Vienna formed a close confederacy against France and England. To obviate this confederacy, the English court concluded at Hanover a defensive alliance with France and Prussia (Sept. 3, 1725). No actual hostilities, however, occurred till 1727, when the Spaniards made an unsuccessful attack upon Gibraltar. A general war seemed now inevitable; but the Dutch and Swedes had acceded to the treaty of Hanover; Russia had receded from her engagements with the emperor; and the latter, who felt his weakness, determined to abandon Spain, and on May 31 the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Paris. Spain and England remained in a state of semi-hostility.

George I. had as usual set out for Hanover this summer, accompanied by lord Townshend and the duchess of Kendal. On the road he was seized with an apoplexy; and being carried towards the residence of his brother, the prince bishop, at Osnabrück, expired in his coach before he arrived. His consort, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, had died a few months before, after a confinement of 32 years in the castle of Ahlen, for a suspected adultery with count Königsmark, a Swede. It is said that in her last illness she intrusted to a faithful attendant a letter addressed to the king, in which, after protesting her innocence, and complaining of his ill usage, she summoned him to meet her within a year and a day before the tribunal of God, to answer for his conduct. This letter was put into the king's coach as he entered Germany, and so alarmed him that he fell into the convulsion of which he died.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

1714. Accession of George I.
" Townshend prime minister.
1715. Death of Louis XIV.
" Mar's rebellion. The pretender in Scotland.
1716. The Septennial Act.
1717. Stanhope prime minister.
1718. Quadruple alliance between England, France, Holland, and the emperor.
1718. The Spanish fleet defeated at Cape Passaro by Byng.
" War with Spain.
1719. Peace with Spain.
1720. The South-Sea bubble.
1721. Death of Stanhope. Walpole prime minister.
1724. Wood's coinage in Ireland. Swift's Drapier's Letters.
1727. Death of the king.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE CONVOCATION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

The Convocation virtually ceased to exist under George I.; and the following account of its history, abridged from Hallam, will be useful to students. The convocation of the province of Canterbury (for that of York seems never to have been important) is summoned by the archbishop's writ, under the king's direction, along with every parliament, to which it bears analogy both in its constituent parts and in its primary functions. It consists (since the Reformation) of the suffragan bishops, forming the upper house; of the deans, archdeacons, a proctor or proxy for each chapter, and two from each diocese, elected by the parochial clergy, who together constitute the lower house. In this assembly subsidies were granted, and ecclesiastical canons enacted. In a few instances under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth they were consulted as to momentous questions affecting the national religion; the supremacy of the former was approved in 1533, the articles of faith were confirmed in 1562, by the convocation. But their power to enact fresh canons without the king's licence was expressly taken away by a statute of Henry VIII.; and, even subject to this condition, is limited by several later acts of parliament (such as the acts of uniformity under Elizabeth and Charles II.; that confirming, and therefore rendering unalterable, the thirty-nine articles; those relating to non-residence and other church matters), and still more perhaps by the doctrine gradually established in Westminster Hall, that new ecclesiastical canons are not binding on the laity, so greatly that it will ever be impossible to exercise it in any effectual manner. The convocation accordingly, with the exception of 1603, when they established some regulations, and of 1640 (an unfortunate precedent), when they attempted some more, had little business but to grant subsidies, which, however, were from the time of Henry VIII. always confirmed by an act of parliament; an intimation, no doubt, that the legislature did not wholly acquiesce in their power even of binding the clergy in a matter of property. This practice of ecclesiastical taxation was silently discontinued in 1664; and from this time the clergy have been taxed at the same rate and in the same manner with the laity. [See p. 472.] It was the natural consequence of this cessation of all business, that the convocation, after a few formalities, either adjourned itself or was prorogued by a royal writ; nor had it ever, with the few exceptions above noticed, sat for more than a few days, till its supply could be voted. But about the time of the Revolution of 1688 the party most adverse to the new order sedulously propagated a doctrine that the convocation ought to be advised with upon all questions affecting the church, and ought even to watch over its interests as the parliament did over those of the kingdom. The commons had so far encouraged this faction as to refer to the convocation the great question of a reform in the liturgy for the sake of comprehension; but it was not suffered to sit much during the rest of William's reign. The succeeding reign, however, began under tory auspices, and the convocation was in more activity for some years than at any former period. The lower house of that assembly distinguished itself by the most factious spirit, and especially by insolence towards the bishops, who passed in general for whigs, and whom, while pretending to assert the divine rights of episcopacy, they laboured to deprive of that pre-eminence in the Anglican synod which the ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom had bestowed on them.

The government of George I. at first permitted the convocation to hold its sittings; but in consequence of the attack which they made on Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, a warm supporter of the principles of religious liberty, and which gave rise to the celebrated Bangorian controversy, the convocation was prorogued by government in 1717, and never sat again for business till the reign of queen Victoria, when the High Church party prevailed upon government to allow convocation to assemble for a few days at the beginning of each session.—Hallam, *Constitutional History*, iii. 324 seq.

Medal of George II.

Obv GEORGIVS . II D : G . MAG. BRI : FRA : ET . H : REX . F. D. Bust to right. Below, L. NATTER. F.

CHAPTER XXX.

GEORGE II. A.D. 1727-1760.

§ 1. Accession of George II. His character. Ministry. § 2. Treaty of Seville. The royal family. Rupture with Spain. § 3. Rise of Pitt. Decline of Walpole's power. § 4. Attack on Porto Bello and St. Jago. Anson's voyage. § 5. Resignation of Walpole. New ministry. Inquiry into Walpole's administration. § 6. War of the Austrian succession. Campaigns of 1742 and 1743. Battle of Dettingen. § 7. Pelham's ministry. Threatened invasion of the Pretender. The French fleet dispersed. § 8. Ministerial arrangements. War with France. Battle of Fontenoy. § 9. The Pretender Charles Edward in Scotland. His character The raising of the standard and march to Edinburgh. § 10. Battle of Preston Pans. March to Derby. § 11. Retreat of the Pretender. Battles of Falkirk Muir and Culloden. Flight of prince Charles and others. Executions. § 12. Change of ministry. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. § 13. Account of the Pretender. Halifax settled. Death of Frederick, prince of Wales. § 14. Newcastle's ministry. Hostilities between France and England. The French take Minorca. § 15. Trial and execution of admiral Byng. Pitt prime minister. § 16. Expedition to Rochefort. Seven years' war. Convention of Kloster Seven. § 17. Campaign of 1758. Conquest of Cape Breton. Cherbourg destroyed. § 18. Campaign of 1759. Naval victories. Battle of Minden. Conquest of Canada. Death of general Wolfe. Death of George II.

§ 1. GEORGE II. was 44 years of age at the time of his accession. In temper he was not so shy and reserved as his father, and he was sub-

Rev.: OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Tetrastyle temple. Below, CIↃIↃCCXXXXI.

ject to violent gusts of anger; but his ruling passion was avarice. His mind was narrow and little cultivated; he had no taste for literature; in short, he had scarcely a royal quality, except that he loved justice and was personally courageous. His habits of life were temperate and regular, but exceedingly dull and monotonous. His speaking English with fluency gave him an advantage over his father, who had been obliged to converse with Walpole in Latin, which the latter had almost forgotten, and which the king had never perfectly learnt. In 1705 George II. had married the princess Caroline of Anspach, who at that time possessed considerable beauty. Her manners were graceful and dignified, and her conduct marked with propriety and good sense. Her influence over her husband was unbounded, and during ten years she may be said to have ruled England. The issue of this marriage were two sons (Frederick, prince of Wales, born in 1707; William, duke of Cumberland, born in 1721) and five daughters.

When the news of his father's death reached the palace at Richmond, George II. had retired to bed for his customary afternoon's doze. Sir Robert Walpole knelt down, kissed his hand, presented Townshend's letter announcing his father's death, and, in the full expectation that he should be retained in his office, inquired who should draw the necessary declaration to the privy council. To his surprise and mortification, the king selected sir Spencer Compton, one of his favourites when prince of Wales; but Compton was so ignorant that he could do nothing without Walpole's advice and assistance. Queen Caroline was in favour of Walpole, who in a few days triumphed over the king's prejudices, and the old ministers were reappointed.

2. The first ten or twelve years of George II.'s reign are marked by few events of importance. Walpole was employed in maintaining his power by his skilful parliamentary tactics, and the nation was peaceable and prosperous. In the spring of 1728 the king of Spain notified his desire for peace; but the negociations were long protracted, and the treaty of Seville was not finally concluded till November 9, 1729. By this a defensive alliance was established between England, Spain, and France, to which Holland subsequently acceded. The English trade to America was placed on its former footing; all captures were restored, and the *Asiento* confirmed to the South Sea Company. Gibraltar was tacitly relinquished by Spain, and the strong lines of St. Roque across the isthmus were now constructed. A few months after this treaty lord Townshend resigned, after an open rupture with Walpole. The two secretaries of state were now lord Harrington and the duke of Newcastle.

When, by a residence of some years, Frederick prince of Wales had become acquainted with the English language and manners, he began to cabal against his parents, as George II. had caballed against George I. Though stubborn, he was weak and vain, and easily led by flatterers. He affected to patronise literature, probably because his father despised and neglected it; and his residence was frequented by all the men of wit and genius, especially by Bolingbroke, whose 'Patriot King' was composed in anticipation of his future reign, and as a sort of satire on that of his father. In 1737 the difference between Frederick and his parents came to an open rupture. The prince was ordered to leave St. James's, and took up his residence at Norfolk house, St. James's square; and persons who visited there were forbidden to appear at court. Frederick had now married (1736) the princess Augusta of Saxe Gotha. The separation of the royal family was followed in a few weeks by the death of queen Caroline (Nov. 20). On his next trip to Hanover George II. brought over with him, as his mistress, Sophia de Walmoden, who was created countess of Yarmouth. This is the last instance in England of a royal mistress being raised to the peerage; but the quiet and retiring character of the countess stripped it of much of its offensiveness.

Events were now rapidly tending to a war with Spain. The Spaniards complained of infringements of the treaty of commerce; the English cried out against the abuse of the right of search, and the hardships endured in loathsome Spanish dungeons; and there was likewise a question between the two countries respecting the boundaries of Georgia, a new settlement in America named in honour of the king. The tale which most excited the public was that which Burke afterwards characterised as the fable of Jenkins's ears. Jenkins was the master of a small trading sloop in Jamaica, which seven years before had been overhauled by a Spanish guardacosta,

the commander of which, finding nothing contraband, tore off one of Jenkins's ears, bidding him carry it to king George, and tell him that had he caught him he would have served him in the same manner. This ear (which however some affirmed he had lost in the pillory) Jenkins carried about with him wrapped up in cotton. He was now produced at the bar of the House of Commons, in order to excite the public indignation; and on being asked by a member what were his feelings at the moment of the outrage, Jenkins answered, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." These words ran through the nation like a watchword. Though averse to war, Walpole felt that something must be done to appease the public feeling. A fleet of 10 sail of the line was despatched to the Mediterranean; letters of marque and reprisal were issued; troops and stores were sent to Georgia; and the British merchants in Spain, in case of a rupture, were recommended to register their goods before notaries. These vigorous measures extorted from the Spaniards (Jan. 14, 1739) a convention, the terms of which appear to have been tolerably favourable, and which the king announced, in his opening speech to the parliament, "with great satisfaction." But the nation was not satisfied. The compensation agreed to be paid by Spain was deemed inadequate; above all, the obnoxious right of search was still retained; and Walpole carried the address on the king's speech only by a small majority.

§ 3. Among the ranks of the opposition William Pitt, afterwards lord Chatham, was now rising into eminence. He was the grandson of Thomas Pitt, governor of Madras, and was born in 1708. William was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; but an hereditary gout compelled him to leave the university without taking a degree. He was nevertheless an excellent scholar, and his education was completed by a tour on the continent. Having obtained a cornetcy in the blues, he entered parliament, as member for Old Sarum, in 1735, and joined the opposition against Walpole. His figure was tall and striking, his features noble, his nose aquiline, his eye fiery and expressive, his voice at once harmonious and powerful. His style of oratory was grand and imposing, yet deficient in simplicity and ease, so that his impromptu speeches were frequently the best. His conduct was disinterested, his views lofty and patriotic; but his temper, owing perhaps to his bad health, was sometimes causelessly bitter, wayward, and impracticable. His patrimony was but 100*l.* a-year; his cornetcy he lost through some ardent speeches against the minister. He was then taken into the service of the prince of Wales, and continued to inveigh against Walpole.

Not only Pitt, but also nearly all the men of the greatest ability, were on the side of the opposition. Walpole's best supporters were in the House of Peers—the duke of Newcastle, a ready debater, and

lord chancellor Hardwicke; but even these were not cordial with him on the Spanish question. King George himself was for vigorous measures against Spain; and Walpole found it necessary to choose between a war which he disapproved, and retirement from office. He determined on the former. The Spaniards having evaded the peremptory demands made upon them, war was declared on October 19, 1739, and was received with great public rejoicings.

§ 4. A squadron had already been despatched to the West Indies under admiral Vernon, and on the 20th of November he appeared off Porto Bello in the isthmus of Darien. The Spaniards were unprepared, and the place was captured without much resistance; but little treasure was found. In the following year Vernon was reinforced by a large armament commanded by sir Chaloner Ogle, with a military force under lord Cathcart. When the armament assembled at Jamaica, it was found to consist of 115 ships, 30 of which were of the line, carrying 15,000 sailors and 12,000 troops. Vernon resolved to attack Carthagena, the strongest Spanish settlement in America, having a garrison of 4000 men with 300 guns. It was not till March 4, 1741, that the British fleet appeared before it. The harbour was entered after considerable resistance, and Vernon despatched a ship to England to announce his approaching victory. The troops were landed and a night assault planned; which, though conducted with determined bravery, was repulsed with great loss. It is said that Vernon, out of jealousy, did not cordially co-operate with Wentworth, who had succeeded to the command of the troops on the death of lord Cathcart. Shortly after a fatal sickness broke out among the soldiers, and in a few days their effective force was reduced to one-half. Under these circumstances it was resolved to return to Jamaica, all the damage done to the Spaniards being the destruction of their forts. Vernon afterwards proceeded to St. Jago in Cuba, but on reconnoitring thought it prudent to withdraw.

Another squadron, under commodore Anson, had been despatched in September, 1740, to sail round Cape Horn and attack Peru. The sufferings and adventures of Anson and his crews on this expedition, which lasted nearly four years, and in which he circumnavigated the globe, having returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Spithead in the Centurion, his only remaining ship, in June, 1744, have been detailed in a separate and well-known narrative, and are too long to be here recorded. As far as the war is concerned, the expedition resulted only in the capture, plunder, and destruction of the town of Paita, and in the taking of several prizes, of which the most important was one of the great Manilla galleons, having on board silver coin and ingots worth a million and a half.

§ 5. The elections of 1741 went against Walpole, and it soon

feared that he would be in a minority in the House. He was defeated in the election of a chairman of committees, and again on the question of the Westminster election, where it was alleged that the government candidates had been brought in through the interference of the military. Another defeat on the Chippenham election petition determined him reluctantly to resign (1742). The king parted with him with all the marks of the greatest regret, and created him earl of Orford. The country had prospered and grown rich under his long and peaceful administration. He never afterwards took much part in politics, and died in 1745.

The king now sent for Pulteney, one of the most distinguished statesmen of that time; and though not possessing the brilliant abilities of Pitt, yet older and more experienced. Pulteney would accept no place himself, but only a seat in the cabinet, and a peerage with the title of earl of Bath. He consented that the king's old favourite, sir Spencer Compton, now lord Wilmington, should be at the head of the treasury; and he named Mr. Sandys chancellor of the exchequer, lord Carteret secretary of state, and the marquess of Tweeddale as secretary for Scotland. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, and several other ministers retained their posts. Carteret was in reality the prime minister. Walpole had endeavoured to procure a promise from Pulteney that no proceedings should be instituted against him; but Pulteney refused, and, before he proceeded to the House of Peers, supported a motion of lord Limerick's in March, 1742, for an inquiry into the last ten years of Walpole's administration. The motion was carried by a small majority, and a secret committee of 21 persons was named. Yet, though all but two were opponents of Walpole, and some of them inflamed by personal animosity, their discoveries did not seem sufficiently important to form the foundation of a charge. There can, however, be no doubt that Walpole was accustomed to distribute large sums among the Commons from the secret service money; but this practice was usual at that period, and does not appear to have ceased till towards the close of the American war.

§ 6. Meanwhile England had taken part in the war of the Austrian succession. The emperor Charles VI. had died October 20th, 1740. The succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to his Austrian dominions was guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction, to which England was a party, but it was also claimed by the elector of Bavaria, whose pretensions were supported by France, and consequently by the Bourbon king of Spain. Frederick II. of Prussia, known as Frederick the Great, resolved to profit by the conjuncture, and, entering Silesia at the head of 30,000 men, defeated the Austrians at Molwitz (1741). A French army poured into Bavaria; and having inaugurated the elector as duke of Austria, he marched against Vienna,

whilst Maria Theresa took refuge among the Hungarians, who acknowledged her as their queen. The English parliament was zealous in the cause of Maria Theresa, and voted her a subsidy of 500,000*l.*, and a sum of five millions for carrying on the war (1742). A body of 16,000 men under the veteran earl of Stair was despatched to cooperate with the Dutch, and was reinforced by 6000 Hessians, and subsequently by 16,000 Hanoverians, in British pay. It excited great indignation that Hanover, though more interested in the war than England, had contributed nothing to its expenses; and Pitt declared that this great kingdom had become a mere province of that despicable electorate. The king, however, afterwards furnished 6000 Hanoverians, paid by his electoral dominions. But owing to the sluggishness of the Dutch, nothing was done this year; and Maria Theresa was obliged to propitiate the king of Prussia by ceding Silesia.

In the following year (1743) the British army under lord Stair, which, after being joined by the Hanoverians and Hessians, amounted to nearly 40,000 men, advanced into Germany, and took up a position at Hochst, between Mentz and Frankfort. Stair, who had never been a great general, was now falling into dotage. Having ascended the right bank of the Main, with the view of communicating with the Austrians, marshal Noailles, by seizing the principal fords on the Upper and Lower Main, not only cut him off from his anticipated supplies in Franconia, but also from his own magazines at Hanau. George II. had as usual gone to Hanover in the spring, attended by his son the duke of Cumberland, and by lord Carteret. Thence he proceeded to the army, which he joined on the 19th of June, and found it in the most critical position, cooped up in a narrow valley between Mount Spessart and the Main, extending from Aschaffenburg, on that river, to the village of Dettingen. Forage was beginning utterly to fail, and it was resolved to march back to Hanau, where the magazines and reinforcements were—a most dangerous operation in the face of a superior enemy. On June 27th the army began its march from Aschaffenburg in two columns, the king bringing up the rear, which from the supposed movements of the enemy was esteemed the post of danger. But meanwhile the French had occupied in force a strong position at Dettingen, covered by a morass and ravine, which was not discovered till the advanced guard of the British was repulsed at that place. Aschaffenburg had been occupied by 12,000 French immediately it was evacuated; and as the French batteries on the other side of the Main began to play on the flank of the British, it became necessary to force a way through DETTINGEN at whatever risk. Fortunately Noailles had intrusted the force at that place to his nephew the duke de Grammont, who, burning to distinguish himself, and thinking that he had before him only part of the allied army, quitted his vantage

found and crossed the ravine to give battle—a movement which compelled the French batteries to suspend their fire, for fear of damaging their own friends. The king, who, as well as the duke of Cumberland, displayed the highest courage, now put himself at the head of a dense mass of British and Hanoverian infantry, and charging the enemy soon put them completely to the rout. The French lost about 6000 men, the British only half that number: the latter then resumed their march, and arrived safely at Hanau. This was the last battle in which a king of England took a personal share. In consequence of this victory, and of the advance of prince Charles of Lorraine, the French were obliged to evacuate Germany.

§ 7. Lord Wilmington having died in July this year, the king named Henry Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, first lord of the treasury. Since the time of Walpole, who had for so long a period exercised that office with absolute power, the head of the treasury began to be regarded as prime minister. Previously the chief authority had been enjoyed by one of the secretaries of state. Pelham's abilities were only moderate, yet far superior to his brother's.

The king lost all the popularity which his victory was calculated to procure by the partiality which he displayed for the Hanoverians. Lord Stair resigned, and the duke of Marlborough and many other English officers threw up their commissions. Even in loyal companies the toast of "No Hanoverian king" was not unfrequent, and the very name of Hanoverian became a reproach. Yet it was necessary to keep a large force on foot. The French were determined to act no longer as mere auxiliaries, but to declare war both against England and Austria, and to take the field with a large army. Cardinal Tencin, who had succeeded to the power of the pacific Fleury, was a warm friend of the house of Stuart, to whom he owed many obligations; and the discontents in England inspired the hope of effecting a successful Jacobite invasion. Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II., was to be the hero of this enterprise, for age had deprived his father James even of the little spirit that he ever possessed. The latter signed at Rome a proclamation to be published on landing, and a commission declaring his son Charles regent in his absence.

Prince Charles set out from Rome January 9, 1744, and proceeded to Gravelines, living in a private manner under the assumed name of the chevalier Douglas. At Dunkirk 15,000 French veterans had been collected under the command of marshal Saxe, as Charles's lieutenant; transports had been prepared for them, and 18 sail of the line appointed for their convoy. They put to sea in February, and neared the English fleet under admiral Norris, off Dungeness. As it was growing dark, Norris put off an engagement till the following

But then a dreadful storm arose which committed frightful havoc on the French fleet. Some of the largest transports foundered with all on board; others were wrecked on the coast of Flanders; the remainder of the armament reached Dunkirk in a crippled state. In consequence of this misfortune the French ministry relinquished the expedition, and prince Charles returned to Paris.

§ 8. There was still a British resident in that capital, who loudly complained of the encouragement given to the Pretender. The French replied by a declaration of war, couched in the most offensive terms (March 20th), and in May Louis XV. entered Flanders in person, with 80,000 men commanded by marshal Saxe. Frederick of Prussia, in open violation of his treaties with Maria Theresa, broke into Bohemia and Moravia; but before the winter, Maria Theresa, with the help of the Hungarians, drove the Prussians out of Bohemia.

In November of this year Carteret, now become earl Granville* by the death of his mother, resigned his post of secretary of state, and was succeeded by the earl of Harrington. Lord Winchelsea and other persons of inferior note also retired. Pelham opened negociations with Pitt; but he would accept no office except that of secretary at war, and the ministry were not yet prepared to part with sir William Yonge. The king had a strong aversion both to Pitt and Chesterfield. The latter became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as the king would not allow him to be made a secretary of state. Pitt promised Pelham his support, whose administration now became a very strong one. It fell, however, into the same courtly or Hanoverian policy for which Granville had been denounced. In January, 1745, a quadruple alliance was formed by England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony; and the subsidy to the queen of Hungary was increased to half a million; in which Pitt and Chesterfield acquiesced. About the same time the emperor Charles VII. died at Munich, and thus one obstacle to a peace was removed. In the following September the husband of Maria Theresa was elected emperor with the title of Francis I.

The most memorable event in the campaign of this year was the battle of Fontenoy, May 11th. The French army of 76,000 men under marshal Saxe occupied a strong position near that place; the allied army numbered only about 50,000, of whom 28,000 were English and Hanoverians. Nevertheless the French lines would have been carried by the British and Hanoverians, under the duke of Cumberland and lord Ligonier, his military tutor, but for the shameful flight of the Dutch. The British retreated in good order to Ath, and

* This title became extinct in 1776. The present earl Granville is the son of the youngest son of the marquess of Stafford, who was created earl Granville in 1833.

French then took Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermond, and Ostend. In America the British arms were more successful, where Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, was taken from the French (June 15th) after 49 days' siege.

§ 9. The defeat of the British at Fontenoy appeared to prince Charles to afford a favourable opportunity for renewing his attempt at an invasion. His friends in Scotland told him indeed that they could do nothing for him unless he brought at least 6000 men and 10,000 stand of arms; and these it was impossible to obtain, for the French had abandoned their efforts in his cause. Yet Charles determined to persevere, without the knowledge and sanction either of his father or of the French court. By pawning his jewels and borrowing from his friends he raised the sum of 4000 louis-d'or, with which he purchased arms and ammunition; and he even contrived, by means of some English merchants settled at Nantes, to procure the service of two French men-of-war. On board one of these, the Elizabeth of 67 guns, he shipped his arms, and he himself, disguised as a student of the Scotch college at Paris, embarked in the other, the Doutelle, a fast-sailing brig of 18 guns (July 2, 1745). Four days after leaving Belleisle they fell in with the Lion, a British man-of-war of 58 guns, when an engagement ensued in which the Elizabeth was so crippled that she was obliged to put back. The Doutelle, which had taken no part in the action, pursued her voyage; and though chased by another man-of-war, Charles arrived safely in the Western Isles of Scotland, and landed at Moidart, in Inverness-shire. Several of the Highland chieftains remonstrated against his enterprise as impracticable and insane: for his arms he had lost, and the only adherents who landed with him were his tutor, sir Thomas Sheridan; the marquess of Tullibardine; sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Kelly, a nonjuring clergyman; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris; and Buchanan, who had been sent messenger to Rome by cardinal Tencin. These were afterwards called "the seven men of Moidart."

Charles, or, as he was called, the Chevalier, relied for success on his captivating manners. In person he was tall, well formed, and active; his face eminently handsome, his complexion fair; his eyes blue; his hair fell in natural ringlets on his neck. His address, at once dignified and affable, was calculated to win attachment; yet his misfortunes had rendered him somewhat jealous of his dignity. He possessed courage and a romantic sense of honour; he was decisive and resolute, yet without much ability as a leader. His letters breathe both energy and affection, but they were ill-spelt and written in the scrawling hand of a schoolboy; for his education had been shamefully neglected. In politics and religion he retained all

the bigoted notions of the Stuarts. He thus possessed many of the qualities of a hero of romance; attractions which, combined with a feeling of ancient loyalty, proved to many irresistible; especially as he had adopted the Highland dress, and learnt a few words of Gaelic. Cameron of Lochiel was gained over to his cause, though he plainly saw all the difficulties of the attempt; and other chieftains followed.

Charles now began his march towards the desolate and sequestered vale of Glenfinnan, about 15 miles from Fort William, which had been selected for the meeting of the clans, and the raising of the royal standard. He arrived early in the morning, accompanied by some of the M'Donalds, but found the glen in its native solitude. At length Lochiel and the Camerons appeared, about 600 in number. They were badly armed, but they brought with them a company or two of English soldiers, whom they had captured on their road. This omen of success gave animation to the elevation of the standard, which was erected on a little knoll in the midst of the vale, the Highlanders shouting and tossing up their bonnets. Other parties subsequently arrived, and when Charles began his march on August 20th his little army amounted to about 1600 men.

On the same day sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, marched from Stirling with 1500 foot, which were more than half of his whole disposable force: for the government was ill-prepared and wholly uninformed of the Pretender's movements. Cope directed his march towards Inverness, to join the well-affected clans, in the hope that the insurgents, with such a force in their rear, would not venture to proceed southwards. But Charles descended into the lowlands, and at Blair Athol, where he remained two days, was joined by several gentlemen of note. Lord Lovat, to whom he had despatched his patent as duke of Fraser, with pressing solicitations to join him, sent his prayers. On September 3rd Charles made his public entry into Perth amid loud acclamations. Here he was joined by Drummond, titular duke of Perth, and lord George Murray. The town presented him with 500*l.*, a welcome gift, as his last louis-d'or was spent. The march was now directed upon Edinburgh. At the dawn of day one of the gates was surprised by the Camerons; and on September 17th Charles took possession of Holyrood-house, where a splendid ball was given in the evening. The heralds were compelled to proclaim king James VIII., and to read the royal declaration and commission of regency. But the castle was still held by king George's troops.

§ 10. Charles remained only a day at Edinburgh, and having obtained an accession of force, as well as a supply of 1000 muskets and other stores, he marched out to give sir John Cope battle, who had landed his forces at Dunbar, and was advancing towards the

cavalry. Charles had now about 2500 men, but only 50 horse, and a single iron gun, of no use except for signals. Cope had about 2200 men and 6 pieces of artillery. The two armies met near Preston Pans. The first day both remained inactive, being separated by a morass; but a path having been discovered, Charles approached the enemy during the night, and early in the morning the Highlanders attacked, each clan separately, with terrific yells. In the space of a few minutes Cope's artillery was captured, his dragoons routed, and the line of his infantry broken. Of the latter only about 170 escaped, the rest being either slain or made prisoners. The loss on the side of the insurgents was only about 100 killed and wounded. Sir J. Cope and the horse fled in the greatest disorder, first to Edinburgh, then to Coldstream and Berwick. At the last place lord Mark Kerr received him with the sarcastic remark that he believed he was the first general who had ever brought the news of his own defeat!

After this victory Charles was desirous of pushing on to London, in which he would probably have succeeded in the state of feeling that prevailed in England. The people were lukewarm in the Hanoverian cause. They did not indeed take part in the rebellion, but they did not seem much disposed to repress it; and Henry Fox, one of the ministers, observes in a letter of this period, that, if 5000 French had landed in any part of the island, the conquest would not have cost them a battle. But the court of France lost the only favourable opportunity that ever occurred of restoring the Stuarts. They were not hearty in the cause; and on the news of Charles's success they contented themselves with sending him some small supplies of arms and money. George II., who had returned in alarm from Hanover, sent a requisition to the Dutch for 6000 auxiliaries.

After the victory at Preston Pans many of the Highlanders had returned home with their booty; and as Charles could now muster only about 1500 men, he was advised to wait and recruit his army. He therefore returned to Holyrood-house. He might now be considered master of all Scotland, except some of the country beyond Inverness, the Highland forts, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. James VIII. was proclaimed in most of the towns; and in Glasgow, the least disposed to the Jacobite cause, an extraordinary levy of 5000*l.* was made. In a few weeks Charles' army was raised to nearly 6000 men; and some French ships brought him, besides money, 5000 stand of arms, 6 field-pieces, and several French and Irish officers. Lord Lovat still hesitated, and at last adopted the dastardly expedient of sending his son, with 700 or 800 of the clan, at the same time protesting that it was done against his will and orders.

Charles now determined to march into England, much against the will of most of his followers, who were of opinion that he should content himself with the conquest of Scotland; but Charles wisely thought that he should not be able to hold the one without the other. The English government, however, was now better prepared. The Commons had voted loyal addresses and liberal supplies; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the militia was raising; marshal Wade had an army of nearly 10,000 men at Newcastle, and another under the duke of Cumberland was assembling in the midland counties.

Charles began his march on November 1st. It was resolved to proceed through Cumberland, where the mountainous country is better suited to the Highland mode of fighting. Carlisle was entered on the 17th, after a slight show of resistance, the garrison being allowed to withdraw on delivering up their arms and horses. On the 20th the insurgents proceeded in two separate columns, which united at Preston; and the next day they crossed the Ribble. In these difficult marches in bad weather the chevalier resigned his carriage to the aged and infirm lord Pitsligo, and marched on foot, in Highland dress, at the head of one of the clans. At Manchester he was received with enthusiasm; and 200 English volunteers who had joined were called the Manchester regiment. But his prospects were not encouraging. Marshal Wade was advancing against him through Yorkshire; the duke of Cumberland lay at Lichfield with 8000 men; a third army was forming at Finchley; admiral Vernon was cruising in the Channel to prevent any alarm from France; and admiral Byng was blockading the east coast of Scotland. Many of Charles's officers were for retreating, but lord G. Murray persuaded them to advance as far as Derby, promising that, if they were not then joined by a considerable force, he would, as general, advise and enforce a retreat. They reached that town in safety. The chevalier was in high spirits. He had evaded both the English armies, and nothing obstructed his march to the capital. London was in a perfect panic. There was a run upon the Bank of England; all business was suspended and the shops shut. The day was long remembered as *Black Friday*. Even the king himself is said to have ordered his yachts to the Tower stairs, and to have embarked some of his most precious effects. But the alarm was soon at an end. The day after their arrival Murray and the other generals insisted on a retreat, on the ground that there had been neither an English rising nor a French invasion; and Charles, after exhausting arguments, threats, and entreaties, was forced to comply.

§ 11. The duke of Cumberland, having mounted 1000 of his infantry, came up with the retreating Scots at Penrith, and a skirmish took place at night on Clifton Moor. The English were

retired with considerable loss, and the retreat was not again molested. The Scots passed the Esk on December 20th, the prince's birthday, and entered Glasgow on the 26th, having marched 600 miles in 56 days, many of which were days of halt.

The chevalier arrived at Stirling January 3rd, 1746, and having received large reinforcements, as well as some artillery from France, he resolved to besiege the castle. General Hawley, to whom the duke of Cumberland had delegated the command, attempted to raise the siege, but was defeated with great loss at Falkirk Muir, and made a precipitate and disgraceful flight to Edinburgh. But the siege was badly conducted by a French engineer named Mirabelle; his batteries were silenced; and the chevalier's chief officers now insisted on going home for the remainder of the winter, promising to return in the spring with 10,000 men. The heavy guns were spiked, and the retreat began towards Inverness, February 1. The duke of Cumberland, who had resumed the command, and who had been reinforced with 5000 Hessians, pursued the Scots, but could not overtake them.

On April 8th the duke, with 8000 foot and 900 horse, marched from Aberdeen to attack Inverness. Charles, though his troops had dwindled to 5000 men, resolved to surprise the duke at Nairn by a night march of 12 miles. Lord G. Murray led the first column, Charles himself the second; but the marshy nature of the ground delayed their progress so much that all hopes of a surprise were abandoned, and they took up a position on Culloden Moor. The duke of Cumberland drew up his army with great skill in three lines, with cavalry on each flank, and two pieces of cannon between every two regiments of the first line. His artillery did great execution, whilst that of the Scots was ill-directed. Murray therefore requested permission to attack, and made a furious charge with the right wing and centre. They broke the first line of the English; but the second, three deep, the first rank kneeling, the second stooping, received them with a murderous fire, which threw them into disorder. The English then charged, and drove the clans before them in one confused mass. The left wing was not engaged. About 1000 of the Scots fell; of the English, hardly a third of that number. This defeat put an end to all Charles's hopes. From the field he rode to the residence of lord Lovat, their first and only meeting. Lovat hardly behaved with common civility, and they parted with mutual displeasure. Some attempt was made to rally the army at Ruthven, but Charles sent a message thanking the leaders, and bidding them consult their own safety. They accordingly dispersed, and the rebellion was extinguished. The duke of Cumberland fixed his head-quarters near Fort Augustus, and seems to have permitted every sort of outrage and cruelty, in which he was well seconded

by general Hawley. This brutality obtained for him the nickname of *the Butcher*. When in July he returned to London, he was hailed as the deliverer of his country; a pension of 25,000*l*. per annum was settled on him and his heirs, and he was presented with the freedom of numerous companies.

Lord G. Murray and several other leaders escaped abroad. The government succeeded in capturing the earl of Kilmarnock, lord Balmerino, secretary Murray, and lord Lovat. The last was discovered in a little island in a lake in Inverness-shire, wrapped up in a blanket, and concealed in a hollow tree. Charles wandered about the country till September, undergoing during these five months a variety of hardships and dangers; yet, though his secret was intrusted to several hundreds of persons, he was not betrayed, notwithstanding a reward of 30,000*l*. had been offered for his capture. Among all these acts of loyalty the heroic devotion of Flora Macdonald is conspicuous, and is too well known to need description here. At last, on September 20th, Charles got safely on board a French vessel in Lochnanuagh, and on the 29th landed near Morlaix in France.

Medal of the young Pretender.

Obv.: CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS. Bust to right. Below, 1745. Rev.: AMOR ET SPES. Britannia standing on the sea-shore: two ships arriving. Below, BRITANNIA.

A great number of prisoners were brought to trial for this rebellion, of whom about one in twenty were executed, and the rest were transported. The ancient and barbarous ceremony of disembowelling and burning the heart and intestines was not omitted on this occasion, and was received with the shouts of the populace. The earl of Kilmarnock and lords Balmerino and Lovat were executed on Tower-hill. The last met his fate with a strange compound of levity and courage.

§ 12. Lord Harrington having resigned the seals of secretary of state October 29th, 1746, they were transferred to Philip Dormer

Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in which office he was succeeded by lord Harrington. Chesterfield, who is commonly regarded as a fine gentleman, had also a large fund of wit and wisdom, and was one of the most accomplished orators of his day. Being conversant with foreign languages as well as history, he had distinguished himself as a diplomatist, and had discharged with reputation two embassies to Holland. His government of Ireland had been wise and firm, and at the same time liberal. Chesterfield's defects were a want of generosity, a proneness to dissimulation, a passion for gambling, and a laxness of religious principle.

During the years 1746 and 1747 the French were successful in arms; but in the latter year the English gained two naval victories, one by Anson near Cape Finisterre, the other by admiral Hawke off Belleisle. The French, as well as a large party in England, were desirous of a peace; but Maria Theresa and the prince of Orange were not satisfied with the results obtained, and their views were adopted by George II. and the duke of Cumberland. Chesterfield was a warm advocate for peace; and finding his counsels disregarded and himself treated with coldness by the king, he resigned the seals February 6th, 1748, and was succeeded by the duke of Bedford. Chesterfield never afterwards took office; but he did not altogether withdraw from public life, and in 1751 he introduced a most useful measure, the reformation of the calendar. The Julian year, or *Old Style* as it is called, had been corrected by pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, and had been adopted by every country on the continent of Europe except Sweden and Russia. The error of the Old Style, which had now grown to 11 days, was universally admitted. In preparing the bill for the reformation of the calendar Chesterfield was assisted by the earl of Macclesfield and Mr. Bradley, two of the ablest mathematicians in Europe. By this bill the year was to commence on January 1st, instead of March 25th, and eleven days in September 1752 were to be nominally suppressed, in order to bring the calendar into unison with the actual state of the solar year. The great body of the people, however, regarded the reform as an impious and popish measure, and numbers were of opinion that they had been robbed of eleven days. Sweden followed the example of England in 1753; but Russia and those countries which belong to the Greek church still follow the Old Style.

The continued success of the French, who had invested Maestricht in the spring of 1748, increased the desire for peace; and even the Dutch, who now saw an invasion imminent, signified their willingness to treat. In October a definitive treaty was signed by all the belligerents at Aix-la-Chapelle. The only gainer by it was the king of Prussia, who secured Silesia. The article for the mutual restitu-

of all conquests was very unpopular in England, and the more so that France demanded and obtained two hostages for the delivery of Cape Breton. The earl of Sussex and lord Cathcart were sent to Paris in that capacity.

§ 13. By one of the articles of this treaty the French court undertook to expel the Pretender from France, and they offered him an establishment at Friburg in Switzerland, with a guard and the title of prince of Wales; but Charles, regarding such a course as a mean compliance with orders from Hanover, obstinately refused to quit Paris. At length it became necessary to use force. Charles was seized in his coach while going to the opera, bound hand and foot, and carried to the dungeon of Vincennes. After a few days' confinement he was conveyed to Pont de Beauvois on the frontiers of Savoy, and abandoned to his lonely wanderings. He appears to have now visited Venice and Germany, to have resided some time secretly in Paris, and even to have paid two visits to England. After the death of his father, James, in 1766, he returned to Rome, and in his later years fell into habits of drunkenness. In 1772, at the age of 52, he married the princess Louisa of Stolberg, a girl of 20. They subsequently lived at Florence under the title of the count and countess of Albany. But the union was unhappy; he was harsh, she faithless; and in 1780 she eloped with Alfieri, the dramatic poet. Charles died at Rome, January 30th, 1788.

One of the results of the war was the founding of Halifax in Nova Scotia, named after the earl of Halifax, president of the Board of Trade. To relieve the great number of discharged soldiers and sailors, they were encouraged to emigrate by a grant of 50 acres to each, a free passage, and immunity from taxes for a period of ten years.

For some years after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle nothing of importance occurred. On March 20, 1751, Frederick prince of Wales expired—an event which, from his weak and fickle character, did not occasion much regret. He left eight children, and his consort pregnant with another. George, his eldest son, was now made prince of Wales; and as he was only 12 years of age, while the king was 67, it became necessary to appoint a regency in the event of a demise of the crown before the prince should attain his majority. After considerable debate a bill was passed appointing his mother, the dowager princess of Wales, guardian of his person and regent of the kingdom; but subject, in the latter capacity, to the control of a council composed of the duke of Cumberland and the nine principal officers of state at the time of the king's decease. The influence of John Stuart, earl of Bute, now became predominant at Leicester house, the residence of the princess dowager. Bute was an accomplished man, with literary tastes, but no great abilities. He had a

person, and scandal was soon busy respecting the favourite enjoyed.

§ 14. On the death of Pelham (March 3, 1754) the duke of Newcastle resolved to be first lord of the treasury himself, and to make Henry Legge, son of the earl of Dartmouth, his chancellor of the exchequer. For the leadership of the House of Commons his choice wavered between Pitt, Fox, and Murray. The last, however, conveyed a hint that his ambition was directed to the bench. He was the fourth son of lord Stormont, and had distinguished himself by his eloquence both at the bar and in the House of Commons. The character of Pitt has been already described. Besides being personally disliked by the king, he was now laid up at Bath with the gout. The seals were therefore offered to Henry Fox, younger son of sir Stephen Fox, a brother of the first earl of Ilchester. Fox had had some experience in business as secretary-at-war, possessed wit and discernment, and, without much eloquence, was a ready debater; but he had not the patriotic disinterestedness of Pitt. The negociation was broken off by a disagreement respecting the disposal of the secret-service money, and the seals were at last given to sir Thomas Robinson, a man of no ability, but entirely at Newcastle's command. That such a man should be set up to lead the House of Commons excited the indignation both of Pitt and Fox, and they united to attack and ridicule him.

Quarrels had long prevailed, both in the East Indies and in North America, between the French and English settlers, which threatened to produce hostilities between the mother countries. A large French armament, equipped at Brest, was watched by admiral Boscawen, who had orders to attack them in case their destination should be the bay of St. Lawrence. At a signal from the admiral two English vessels had captured two French ones off Newfoundland; and some skirmishing had also occurred on the Ohio and near Lake George. The king had as usual gone to Hanover, and these events threw the regency into great perplexity. The duke of Cumberland was for declaring war immediately; others were for waiting; and the premier, as customary with him, vacillated between both opinions. At length sir Edward Hawke, who was in command of a powerful fleet, received orders to take and destroy every French ship that he could find between Cape Ortegal and Cape Clear—an act which, as no declaration of war had been made, was justly censured as piratical.

This state of things caused George great alarm for his electoral dominions, which he suspected would be seized by his nephew Frederick of Prussia whenever a war should break out; and he therefore concluded with the landgrave of Hesse, and subsequently with the empress of Russia, subsidiary treaties of the same sort as had already created so much disgust in England. Newcastle's ministry began to

ister. In order to support it he applied to Pitt; but that statesman disdained the seals at the price of subserviency to Hanoverian policy. Fox was not so delicate; he engaged to support the treaties; Robinson was dismissed with a pension, and Fox became secretary of state.

The French meanwhile were making vast naval preparations; they threatened a descent upon England, but their real object was Minorca, secured to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. It is at such a juncture that the character of a minister is brought out in full relief. The duke of Newcastle could not be persuaded of the designs of the French; he neglected all necessary precautions till it was too late; and then he sent out in a hurry 10 ships badly equipped, under admiral Byng, second son of viscount Torrington. On April 18, 1756, a French fleet of 12 ships of the line, and a large number of transports, having 16,000 troops on board, appeared off Minorca, and threatened Mahon. The castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and harbour, was a strong fortress; but the garrison had been reduced to 3000 men, and lord Tyrawley, the governor, as well as a great many officers, were absent. The defence of the place therefore fell upon general Blakeney, a brave officer, but old and invalided.

When Byng hove in sight of St. Philip's, on May 19, the British flag was still flying there. On the following day the French admiral, De la Galissonière, bore down with his whole force. Byng ranged his ships in line of battle; and admiral West, the second in command, engaged with his division and dispersed the ships opposed to him; but Byng kept aloof. On the following morning the French were out of sight. Byng then called a council of war, expressed his determination to retreat, as his force was so inferior to that of the enemy; and sailing to Gibraltar, left Minorca to its fate. Nevertheless St. Philip's held out till June 27, when, some of the outworks having been carried, the garrison were obliged to capitulate; but marched out with all the honours of war, and, in conformity with the terms, were conveyed to Gibraltar.

§ 15. At this loss the popular indignation was uncontrollable. The cry was loud against the ministry, but louder still against Byng. Either treachery or cowardice was universally imputed to him, and he was burnt in effigy in all the great towns in the kingdom. The duke of Newcastle was willing to make Byng the scapegoat. Admiral sir Edward Hawke was sent out to supersede him, and to send home both him and West as prisoners. West was immediately liberated, but a court-martial was held on Byng in the following December, at Portsmouth, by which he was acquitted of cowardice or treachery, but condemned, by the 12th article of war, of not having done all in his power to relieve St. Philip's and defeat the French fleet. At the same time he was unanimously recommended to mercy. But the

ular clamour was too great to allow this recommendation to pre-. He was shot on the quarter-deck of the Monarque (March 14, 1757), and met his fate with courage.

Before this event the unpopularity incurred by the national disgraces, the resignation of Fox, who shrank from the impending storm, and the loss of Murray's services in the Commons, who on the death of sir Dudley Ryder had been made lord chief justice, and obtained a peerage with the title of lord Mansfield, compelled Newcastle to resign. The king was now reluctantly compelled to have recourse to Pitt; but he had held the seals as secretary of state only a few months when the duke of Cumberland persuaded the king to dismiss him and recall Newcastle. The latter nobleman, however, found it impossible to form a ministry without Pitt's assistance. The nation was in a ferment at his dismissal, and most of the principal towns in the kingdom sent him their freedom in gold boxes. The king, after some vain attempts to form a ministry with Fox and lord Waldegrave, was at length obliged to submit to Pitt's terms. Newcastle returned to the treasury, but without one of his own party at the board, and with Legge as chancellor of the exchequer; Pitt became secretary of state; his brother-in-law, Temple, privy seal; and Fox condescended to accept the lucrative office of paymaster of the forces, without a seat in the cabinet. Thus was Pitt's first ministry formed (June 29).

§ 16. It was too late in the season to attempt much of importance; and an expedition despatched against Rochfort, consisting of 16 ships of the line, with frigates and transports, commanded by sir Edward Hawke, and having on board 10 regiments of foot under general sir John Mordaunt, proved abortive through the irresolution of the latter. But England had now another war on hand. In the previous year France and Austria had leagued themselves for the partition of Prussia by the treaty of Versailles (May 1, 1756), to which Russia, Saxony, and Sweden afterwards acceded. Frederick of Prussia, having been apprised of this confederacy through the treachery of a clerk in the Saxon service, was the first to strike a vigorous blow by seizing Dresden. Such was the origin of what has been called THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

Frederick now drew closer his alliance with England; and in April, 1757, the duke of Cumberland proceeded to the continent to fight in his cause, and to defend the electorate. Frederick had this year made an incursion into Bohemia, and gained a victory near Prague; but he was in turn defeated at the heights of Kolin, and obliged to retire. The French, advancing with a large army, compelled the duke of Cumberland to retreat before them, and overran all Hanover. The duke took refuge under the guns of Stade, supported by those of four British men-of-war in the Elbe; but he was

manœuvred out of this position by the duke de Richelieu, the French general; and he was compelled to enter into the convention of Kloster Seven, by which he agreed to dismiss his auxiliaries, to withdraw his troops over the Elbe, and disperse them in cantonments, leaving only a garrison in Stade. Thus Hanover was lost. George II. was as indignant at this failure as Frederick himself, and received his son on his return with the greatest coldness. Offended by this treatment, the victor of Culloden threw up all his employments, and lived in comparative obscurity till 1765, when he died at the age of 45. Frederick seemed reduced to the last extremity, but he retrieved his affairs by the victories of Rossbach and Leuthen. This success made him very popular in England, where he was regarded as the protestant hero; and when, early in 1758, Pitt proposed a new convention, with a subsidy of 670,000*l*., it was carried almost unanimously.

§ 17. In 1758 the war raged in all quarters of the world. In Africa, the island of Goree was wrested from the French. In America, Pitt projected the conquest of Cape Breton and St. John's; and a fleet and army were despatched under admiral Boscawen and general (afterwards lord) Amherst. At the same time Wolfe, who had attracted Pitt's notice during the Rochfort expedition, was sent out as second in command, with the title of brigadier-general. In these appointments Pitt, neglecting the claims of seniority, as well as those of aristocratic and parliamentary interest, was guided by merit alone; and this was the secret of the success with which our arms were at this period attended. The armament was composed of 150 ships and 12,000 soldiers. Louisburg capitulated after a siege of two months, in which Wolfe distinguished himself. After the fall of the capital the whole of Cape Breton submitted; and soon after the island of St. John did the same. The name of the latter was changed to Prince Edward's Island, in honour of the next brother of the prince of Wales.

In India, Clive had taken the French settlement of Chandernagore in 1757. In the following year Lally Tollendal, the new French governor, captured and razed Fort St. David, but failed in an attempt upon Madras.

In Europe, a secret expedition against Cherbourg was planned by Pitt, under commodore Howe and lord Anson, with 20,000 soldiers and marines, commanded by Charles, second duke of Marlborough, and lord George Sackville. The attempt failed, but was renewed with more success in August, under general Bligh, accompanied by prince Edward. When the troops landed the town was found to be deserted. The forts and basin were destroyed, together with 170 pieces of iron cannon, and 22 brass guns were carried off. The troops were then landed near St. Malo; but the duke d'Aiguillon coming

with superior forces, they were obliged to hurry their re-embarkation, and 1000 men of the rear-guard were either killed or made prisoners.

These exploits were not very splendid, yet, by diverting the attention of the French, they proved favourable to the campaign in Germany. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick not only drove the French out of Hanover, but even over the Rhine, whither he followed them, and gained on the left bank a victory at Crefeld; but the advance of the prince de Soubise obliged him to fall back on Münster. Frederick had achieved brilliant successes, chequered however by a disastrous defeat inflicted on him at Hochkirchen by the Austrian generals Daun and Laudohn (Oct. 14).

§ 18. In 1759 the arms of England were successful both upon sea and upon land. The French, though scarcely able to defend their own coasts, were talking of an invasion, and were making preparations in Havre, Toulon, and other ports; but in July admiral Rodney bombarded Havre two or three days, doing great damage to the town, and destroying many of their flat-bottomed boats, whilst the Toulon fleet was dispersed with some loss by admiral Boscawen, off Lagos in Algarve. Another fleet under sir Edward Hawke blockaded Brest, and a squadron of observation hovered near Dunkirk. Hawke gained a signal victory (Nov. 20) near Quiberon, over a French fleet under De Conflans, consisting of 21 sail of the line and 4 frigates. Hawke's fleet, which was rather stronger, sunk 4 of the Frenchmen and captured 2; the others, all more or less damaged, succeeded in getting into the river Vilaine.

Frederick sustained a terrible defeat this year at Kunersdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder; but from want of cordiality between the Austrians and Russians, its consequences did not prove very disastrous. On the other hand, prince Ferdinand, who had in his army 10,000 or 12,000 English troops under lord G. Sackville, was more fortunate. He failed indeed in an attack on the French position at Bergen; but he more than retrieved this reverse by the brilliant victory of Minden, which would have been still more complete had Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, obeyed the orders to charge the routed enemy. The clamour was justly loud against lord George, both in England and Germany, and Pitt dismissed him from all his employments.

But the chief success this year was achieved in Canada, where the plan of the campaign was sketched out by Pitt himself. The French had colonised that province in the reign of Francis I., but it was not till the following century that the cities of Quebec and Montreal arose. Pitt's plan of invasion was by three separate divisions to unite at Quebec. One of these, composed of colonists and Indians under general Prideaux and sir William Johnson, was to

advance by way of Niagara and Lake Ontario towards Montreal; another of 8000 men, under the command of general Wolfe, was to proceed up the St. Lawrence, and lay siege to Quebec; whilst in the centre the main army under general Amherst was to attack Ticonderoga, secure the navigation of Lake Champlain, and, proceeding by the river Richelieu, to form a junction with Wolfe.

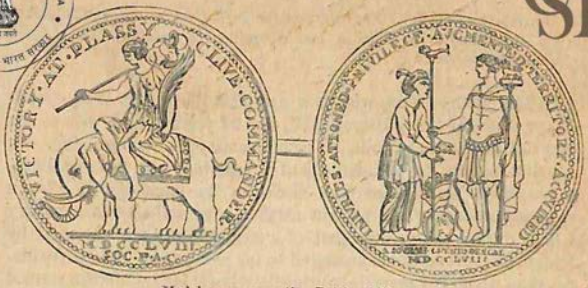
The first and last of these expeditions succeeded as far as they went; Niagara and Ticonderoga were captured, but it was too late in the season to form a junction with Wolfe. The fleet of admiral Saunders carried Wolfe safely to the Isle of Orleans opposite Quebec, where the army disembarked on June 27. Wolfe formed a lodgment on the westernmost point of the island, where Quebec rose on his view, strong in its natural position, but without artificial defences. It is washed on two sides by the rivers St. Charles and St. Lawrence, whose banks are almost inaccessible, while a little below the town the Montmorency falls into the St. Lawrence; the entrance of the harbour is defended by a sand-bank; the castle of St. Louis commands the approaches; and behind the city rise the rugged steeps called the Heights of Abraham. Quebec at that time contained a population of about 7000; but it had a cathedral, a bishop's palace, and other public buildings. The marquis de Montcalm, the French governor of Canada, a distinguished officer, lay with an army of 10,000 men, chiefly Canadian colonists or native Indians, outside the city, on the line called Beauport, between the rivers St. Charles and Montmorency. The ground was steep; in his front lay the Montmorency; his rear was protected by dense woods, and every open space had been fortified. All Wolfe's attempts to draw Montcalm from this position having failed, it only remained to attack him in his entrenchments. An assault on July 31 having been repulsed, Wolfe determined on the hazardous exploit of proceeding up the St. Lawrence and scaling the Heights of Abraham, though, through deaths, sickness, and the necessary detachments for securing important points, he could muster only about 3600 men. On the night of September 13 the army was conveyed silently up the river in boats to a small cove, now called Wolfe's Cove, overhung by lofty rocks. As they rowed along to this place Wolfe repeated in a low voice to the officers in the boat with him Gray's beautiful Elegy in a Country Churchyard, adding at the end, "Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." Wolfe himself was one of the first to leap ashore. The precipitous path was climbed; an outpost of the enemy fled in alarm; and at daybreak the British army stood arrayed upon the heights, but without cavalry, and having no more than a single gun. Montcalm was now obliged to abandon his position and advance to give battle. The English, by Wolfe's direction, reserved their fire

the enemy were within 40 yards, and then delivered a well-directed and destructive volley. Many fell, the rest wavered; Wolfe, though wounded in the wrist, seized the favourable moment, and, springing forwards, ordered his grenadiers to charge. At this instant he was struck by another ball in the groin, and shortly after by a third in the breast, which caused him to fall, and he was conveyed to the rear. Before he breathed his last an officer who was standing by exclaimed, "See how they run!" "Who run?" eagerly cried Wolfe. "The enemy," cried the officer. "Then God be praised!" said Wolfe, "I shall die happy;" and immediately expired. Thus fell this gallant officer at the early age of 33. Montcalm, the French commander, was also slain. Quebec capitulated on September 18; the French garrison was conveyed by agreement to the nearest French port; and in the following year the conquest of all Canada was achieved.

This event threw a lustre over the close of the reign of George II., which in other respects had not been inglorious. He died suddenly on October 25, 1760, at the age of 77, from the bursting of the right ventricle of the heart.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
1727.	Accession of George II.
1739.	War declared against Spain.
1740.	Failure of the expedition against Carthagena in America.
,,	Anson begins his voyage.
,,	Accession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian dominions. The English support her against Frederick the Great of Prussia.
1741.	Retirement of Walpole.
,,	Compton (lord Wilmington) at the head of the treasury, but Carteret in reality prime minister.
1743.	Battle of Dettingen.
,,	Pelham prime minister.
1744.	France declares war against England.
1745.	Quadruple alliance between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony.
,,	Battle of Fontenoy.
1745.	The Pretender Charles Edward in Scotland.
1746.	Battle of Culloden. Defeat of the Pretender.
1748.	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751.	Death of Frederick, prince of Wales.
1752.	Reformation of the calendar.
1754.	Death of Pelham. Duke of Newcastle prime minister.
1756.	War with France. Minorca captured by the French.
1757.	Execution of admiral Byng.
,,	Pitt's first administration.
,,	Commencement of the Seven Years' War.
1758.	Cherbourg destroyed.
1759.	Hawkes' victory at Quiberon. Quebec taken. Death of general Wolfe.
1760.	Canada conquered. Death of George II.



Medal commemorating Battle of Plassy.

Obv.: VICTORY . AT . PLASSY CLIVE · COMMANDER. Victory without wings, bearing trophy and palm, seated on elephant, to left. Below, MDCCLVIII. SOC . P . A . C.

Rev.: INIVRIES . ATTONED . PRIVILEGE . AVGMENTED . TERRITORY . ACQVIRED. Clive, in Roman costume, giving a sceptre to an Indian. Below, A SOUBAH GIVEN TO BENGAL MDCCLVIII

(in imitation of the REX PARTHIS DATUS, and the like, of the Roman imperial coinage)

CHAPTER XXXI.

GEORGE III. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE RECOGNITION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, AND THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES.

A.D. 1760–1783.

§ 1. Accession of George III., and settlement of the government. King's marriage and coronation. § 2. State of the campaign. Negociations. Pitt resigns. § 3. War with Spain. Lord Bute's administration. Peace of Fontainebleau. § 4. Rise and progress of the Indian empire. § 5. Unpopularity of lord Bute. Wilkes and the *North Briton*, No. XLV. General warrants. § 6. Grenville's American Stamp Act. § 7. Lord Rockingham prime minister. Succeeded by lord Chatham. Lord North's American taxes. § 8. Proceedings against Wilkes. Disturbances in America. Lord North prime minister. Royal Marriage Act. § 9. Effect of the tea duties in America. Commencement of the rebellion. Skirmish at Lexington. Battle of Bunker's Hill. § 10. Attempts at conciliation. American independence. Progress of the war. § 11. La Fayette. Philadelphia taken. Capitulation of Saratoga. Treaty between France and the Americans. § 12. Death of Chatham. § 13. The French fleet in America. Actions in the Channel. Spain joins the French and Americans. Paul Jones. § 14. Lord George Gordon's riots. § 15. Rodney's victory at Cape St. Vincent. The "Armed Neutrality." American campaign. Battles of Camden and Eutau Springs. Capitulation of York Town. § 16. Naval engagements. Losses and disasters. Lord Rockingham's second ministry. Independence of the Irish parliament. Parliamentary reform. § 17. Rodney's victory in the West Indies. Lord

Shelburne's ministry. Foundering of the Royal George. Siege of Gibraltar. § 18. Treaty with America, and recognition of American independence. Peace of Versailles.

§ 1. THE young prince who now ascended the throne of his grandfather, with the title of George III., was 22 years of age. His person was tall and strongly built, his countenance open and engaging. In his first address to the parliament he inserted, with his own hand, a paragraph stating that "he gloried in the name of Briton"—an expression which could not but awaken a cordial echo in a country which during the greater part of a century had been governed by foreigners. His conduct answered to his professions. The party distinctions which had prevailed during the reign of his grandfather seemed to be forgotten; the Jacobites, who had absented themselves, returned to court, and some of the principal of them obtained places in the royal household. The old ministers were retained; but it was soon evident that the earl of Bute would be the king's principal adviser, and both he and prince Edward were made privy councillors. After the dissolution of the parliament the seals of secretary of state were transferred from lord Holderness to lord Bute—a step in which Pitt acquiesced, though he had not been consulted. At the same time Legge vacated the chancellorship of the exchequer, and was succeeded by lord Barrington; and lord Henley, who after the resignation of lord Hardwicke had been made lord keeper only, now became lord chancellor. The vigorous administration of Pitt had nearly annihilated all party feeling: in the Commons he reigned supreme, and was regarded with a kind of awe.

In the following year the king concluded a marriage with Charlotte, second sister of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, then only 17 years of age. In person she was short, thin, and pale; but she was sensible, cheerful, and good-tempered. George is said to have been captivated by a spirited letter which she wrote to the king of Prussia, beseeching him to spare her country. She arrived at St. James's September 8, 1761, and the marriage was celebrated on the same day. The coronation followed, September 22.

§ 2. During the last two or three years the campaign in Germany had proceeded with varied success; and on the whole the contending parties stood much in the same position. The British contingents, under the marquess of Granby and general Conway, had made some atonement for the disgrace of lord Sackville at Minden. The losses sustained by France had made her sincerely desirous of peace. The affairs of that country were now conducted by the duke de Choiseul, always, however, under Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV. A conference at Augsburg was agreed to by all the belligerents; but between France and England Choiseul pre-

and a separate negociation, with which view M. de Bussy was accredited to London, and Mr. Hans Stanley to Paris. In order to strengthen his negociations, Pitt sent an expedition under commodore Keppel, with 9000 troops under general Hodgson, against Belleisle, a barren island, but strongly fortified, on the coast of Brittany. Belleisle was taken; and it was considered that it might be set off against Minorca, not for its importance, but as a point of honour in the sight of France. Good news also arrived from other quarters. The island of Dominica had been reduced by lord Rolls; and in the east Pondicherry had been captured, the last of the French strongholds in India.

Choiseul might probably have yielded all the points demanded by Pitt had not the court of France been supported by that of Madrid. Ferdinand VI. had died in 1759; and his brother Charles, formerly king of Naples, now ruled Spain and the Indies with the title of Charles III. Naples he had been obliged to relinquish to his third son Ferdinand, as by the treaty of Vienna the crowns of Spain and Naples could not be united on the same head. Charles naturally regarded the French Bourbons as the head of his house; he was desirous of acting with them, and he had besides several causes of complaint against England. He now proposed that the contemplated peace between England and France should be guaranteed by Spain, and that at the same time certain claims of Spain on England should be adjusted. Pitt at once refused to mix up the claims of France and Spain; and the latter court was informed that no negociations could be opened with it through the medium of France. The consequence of this refusal was what has been called the FAMILY COMPACT, concluded August 15, 1761, by which France and Spain mutually agreed to regard for the future the enemy of either as their common enemy, and to guarantee their respective dominions. The king of Naples, as a Bourbon, also acceded to this alliance. A secret convention was also entered into, that in case England and France should be still at war on May 1, 1762, Spain should declare war against England, in consideration of which France was to restore Minorca to Spain.

As soon as Pitt obtained certain intelligence of this agreement, he strongly advised that the Spanish declaration should be anticipated, and war at once begun against Spain. He urged the importance of striking the first blow, and he showed that expense would be saved by taking the Spaniards unawares, and seizing their merchantmen and treasure-ships; but he could find none to second him in this bold yet prudent counsel, except his relative Temple, and they therefore tendered their resignation, which was received by the king with many gracious expressions towards Pitt. Thus fell the renowned administration of Pitt, which had raised England to a great pitch of

glory. He was offered the governorship of Canada, without residence, and 5000*l.* a-year; or the duchy of Lancaster, with about the same emolument. These offers he rather haughtily refused, but he accepted the title of baroness Chatham for his wife lady Hester Pitt, and a pension of 3000*l.* per annum for three lives—his own, lady Chatham's, and their eldest son's. Pitt's retirement paved the way for the ascendancy of lord Bute.

§ 3. The Spanish business turned out precisely as Pitt had foretold. No sooner were the Spanish West Indiamen safe in harbour than the Spaniards began to alter their tone; and before the close of the year the ambassadors on both sides were dismissed from London and Madrid. The Spanish minister before his departure inveighed against Pitt by name, in an angry memorial which he presented to lord Egremont, the new secretary. War was declared against Spain, January 4, 1762. Shortly afterwards France and Spain made a joint demand on Portugal to renounce her neutrality, and large bodies of Spanish troops were collected on the Portuguese frontiers to enforce it. The king of Portugal gave a spirited refusal, and applied to England for assistance, which Bute, in spite of his pacific policy, could not of course refuse.

The duke of Newcastle still continued at the head of the treasury, though Bute had the chief share of power. The latter, however, having refused to support the king of Prussia and withdrawn the subsidy, Newcastle tendered his resignation, and was somewhat surprised to find it accepted. Bute immediately named himself first lord of the treasury; George Grenville became secretary of state in his stead, and sir Francis Dashwood was made chancellor of the exchequer. Bute owed his rapid promotion not to any merit of his own, but to the ascendancy he possessed over the king. Wilkes, who was now beginning to emerge into notice, directed the popular indignation against him in the *North Briton* and other papers; and he was assisted by his friend and fellow-satirist Churchill.

The thoughts of Bute were constantly directed towards peace, though the arms of Great Britain and her allies had been on every side successful. In Germany, Frederick and prince Ferdinand had been victorious. In Portugal, the British troops under Burgoyne arrested the progress of the Spaniards. In the West Indies, an armament under admiral Rodney and general Monckton had taken Martinico in January. Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, subsequently surrendered; Guadaloupe had been taken in 1759, and thus the whole of the Caribees were now in the power of England. The Havannah also capitulated after a desperate siege, where the booty, in treasure and merchandise, was computed at 3 millions. About the same time, in the eastern hemisphere, the Philippine Islands were taken; and several rich Spanish prizes were made at sea.

In spite of these brilliant successes, overtures for a peace were made through the neutral court of Sardinia, and eagerly caught at by France. Bute seems to have been alarmed at the great increase of the national debt, which had doubled during the war, and now amounted to 122,600,000*l.* A treaty was concluded at Paris (Feb. 10, 1763). The peace of Paris put an end to the Seven Years' War. By this treaty Minorca was exchanged for Belleisle; the provinces of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Canada were ceded to England; the islands of Guadaloupe, Martinico, and St. Lucia were restored; but Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada were retained. These were the principal provisions with regard to the interests of England. By a clause in the treaty, all conquests made in any part of the world during the negociations were to be given up. This involved the cession of the Havannah and of the Philippine Islands, the conquest of which was not yet known. Bute seemed inclined to yield them without an equivalent; and it was only at the pressing instance of George Grenville and lord Egremont that Florida or Porto Rico was demanded in return. The former was readily yielded.

§ 4. Among the places restored to the French was also Pondicherry in the East Indies; but they could never recover their lost influence in that country, and soon after their East India Company was dissolved. The genius and courage of Clive had now converted an association of traders into the rulers of a large and magnificent empire. Though established in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, it was not till the time of Charles II. that the East India Company made any considerable advances in wealth and power. Charles granted them a new charter, conveying many exclusive rights and privileges, and also ceded to them the settlement of Bombay, which he had received as a marriage portion with Catherine of Braganza. Fort St. George and the town of Madras had already been founded in the Carnatic. The first English factories were at Bantam and Surat, but these were subsequently abandoned. At the period of the Revolution a new company was instituted, the rivalship of which produced much mischief, till in 1702 they were both united. In 1698 a grant of land on rent having been obtained from Aurungzebe, the Mogul emperor, at Chuttanuttee, on the river Hooghly, Fort William was erected, under shelter of which ultimately expanded the town of Calcutta, the magnificent capital of modern India. Thus, before the accession of the house of Hanover, the three presidencies of Madras (Fort St. George), Calcutta (Fort William), and Bombay, had already been erected; but no central government yet existed; these settlements had but little territory attached to them, and often trembled for their own safety.

The French, who had established an East India Company in the

...n of Louis XIV., were the only formidable rivals we possessed in ...dia. The Portuguese were our allies, and their power was but small; the Dutch chiefly confined their attention to Java and the neighbouring islands. The French had two important settlements: Chandernagore on the Hooghly, higher up than Fort William; and Pondicherry on the coast of the Carnatic, about 80 miles south of Madras. They also possessed two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean, the Isle of Bourbon, and Mauritius, or the Isle of France. The wars of the mother countries extended to these colonies. In 1746 the French under La Bourdonnais took Madras; and Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, in violation of the terms of the capitulation, carried the principal inhabitants to that town, and paraded them through the streets in triumph. Madras was restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. During the peace, Dupleix, by intrigues with the native princes, endeavoured to extend the French empire in India at the expense of the English; but he was encountered by the superior genius and valour of Clive, a writer, or clerk, who had been among the captives of Madras. The taking of Arcot, the victory over Rajah Sahib at Arnee, the capture of the Great Pagoda, and the other wonderful exploits of that merchant-soldier, our limits will not permit us to detail. After a two years' visit to England for the sake of his health Clive returned to India in 1755, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the king's service, and the appointment from the company as governor of Fort St. David.

Clive's abilities were soon called into action. The Surajah Dowlah, viceroy of Bengal, had taken Calcutta, and thrust the English inhabitants, to the number of 146, into a small and loathsome dungeon known as the Black Hole, where in one night the greater part of them were stifled (June 20, 1756). But a signal vengeance was soon taken. In the following January Clive retook Calcutta, with an army of 900 Europeans and 1500 sepoys, kept at bay the surajah's army of 40,000 men, and compelled him to make peace. Shortly after Clive took Chandernagore, as before related. His next exploit was to defeat the Surajah Dowlah at PLASSY (1757). The nabob had 50,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon, Clive only 1000 Europeans and 2000 sepoys, with 8 field-pieces and 2 howitzers; yet the rout was complete, and the surajah lost all his artillery and baggage. This victory decided the fate of India, and laid the foundation of our empire. Meer Jaffier, a rebellious vassal of the surajah's, was installed in the capital of Moorshedabad as nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar; his predecessor was put to death, and the new nabob ceded to the English all the land within the Mahratta ditch or fortification round Calcutta, and all the country from Calcutta to the sea. Clive was now made governor of Bengal by the East India Company. In return for Clive's assistance against the emperor of Delhi, Meer

fier presented him with a domain worth 27,000*l.* a-year. In 1760 Clive returned to England, having previously defeated an attempt of the Dutch upon Calcutta. He received an Irish peerage as lord Clive and baron Plassy, and obtained a seat in the House of Commons.

The hostilities between the French and English in India, after the declaration of war in 1758, have already been related, to which it may be added that the defeat of Lally Tollendal by sir Eyre Coote, at Wandewash (Jan. 22, 1760), secured the Carnatic. The further history of India will be resumed lower down.

§ 5. The difference of opinion between George Grenville and lord Bute respecting the cession of the Havannah occasioned the resignation of the seals by the former, but he still retained office as first lord of the admiralty. The earl of Halifax took Grenville's place; and the leadership of the Commons, with a seat in the cabinet, was given to Mr. Fox, who still remained paymaster of the forces. The peace was very unpopular out of doors, and lord Bute was hissed and pelted; but in spite of an eloquent speech against it by Pitt, the address was carried by a large majority in the Commons. Another cause of lord Bute's unpopularity was his almost exclusive patronage of his Scotch countrymen. Wilkes branded him with the epithet of *favourite*. In some of the rural districts he was burnt under the effigy of a *jack-boot*, a rustic pun on his name (John earl of Bute); and when he walked the streets he was followed by a gang of prize-fighters hired to protect him. These symptoms of popular dislike frightened him into a resignation (April 8), to the surprise both of king and people. At the same time Fox was raised to the upper House with the title of lord Holland, still, however, retaining his office. Bute was succeeded by George Grenville, who became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The two secretaries of state were lords Egremont and Halifax.

A few days afterwards the king closed the session by a speech in which he adverted to the late peace as honourable to the crown and beneficial to the people. This was immediately attacked in the next number of the *North Briton* (April 23), the celebrated **No. 45.** Grenville was bold and impolitic enough to order its prosecution, to which circumstance it owes its notoriety, for it does not equal, either in ability or virulence, many of the preceding numbers. On April 30 Wilkes was arrested in his own house by virtue of what was called "a general warrant," that is, a warrant not specifying any particular person, but directed against "the authors, printers, and publishers" of the obnoxious paper. At the same time Wilkes's papers were seized, and he was committed to the Tower; but a few days afterwards the judges, waiving the question of the legality of general warrants, pronounced him entitled to his discharge by virtue