CHAPTER 9

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

9.1 ENGLISH CIVIL WAR (1642 – 49)

One of the underlying issues in the conflict was the constitutional issue of the relationship between king and parliament. (Could the king govern without the consent of Parliament or go against the wishes of Parliament?) In short, the question was whether England was to have a limited, constitutional monarchy or an absolute monarchy as in France and Prussia.

The theological issue focused on the form of church government England was to have – whether it would follow the established Church of England's hierarchical, episcopal form of church government, or acquire a presbyterian form?

The episcopal form meant that the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of the church would determine policy, theology, and the form of worship and service. The presbyterian form of polity allowed for more freedom of conscience and dissent among church members. Each congregation

would have a voice in the life of the church and a regional group of ministers, or, "presbytery," would attempt to insure "doctrinal purity."

The political implications for representative democracy were present in both issues. That is why most Presbyterians, Puritans, and Congregationalists sided with Parliament and most Anglicans and Catholics sided with the king.

9.1.1 Charles I (1625 - 49)

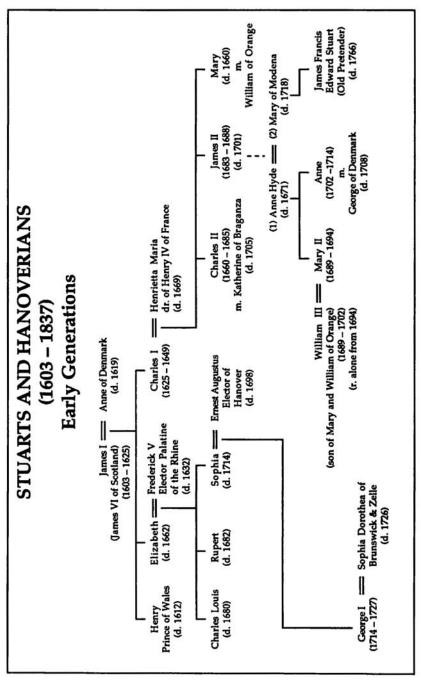
Charles I inherited both the English and Scottish thrones at the death of his father, James I. He claimed a "divine right" theory of absolute authority for himself as king and sought to rule without Parliament. That rule also meant control of the Church of England.

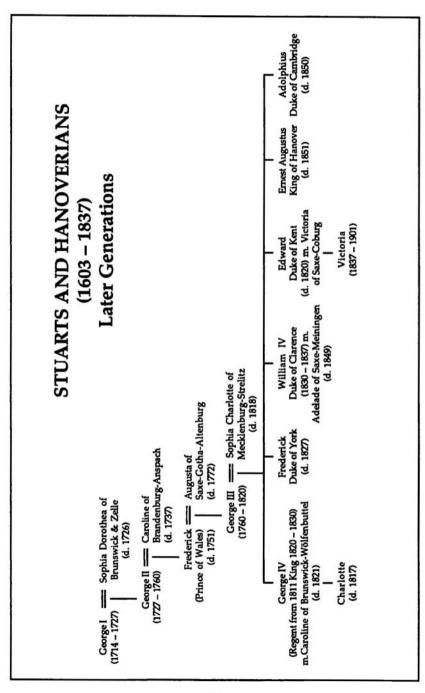
The king demanded more money from Parliament. Parliament refused and began impeachment proceedings against the king's chief minister, the duke of Buckingham, who was later assassinated in 1628. Charles then levied a forced "loan" on many of the wealthier citizens of England and imprisoned seventy-six English gentlemen who refused to contribute. Sir Randolph Crew, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was dismissed from office for refusing to declare those "loans" legal. Five of the imprisoned men applied for writs of habeas corpus, asking whether the refusal to lend money to the king was a legal cause for imprisonment. The court returned them to jail without comment.

By 1628 both houses of Parliament – Lords and Commons alike – united in opposition to the king.

9.1.2 The Petition of Right (1628)

The Parliament in effect bribed the king by granting him a tax grant in exchange for his agreement to the Petition of Right.





It stipulated that no one should pay any tax, gift, loan, or contribution except as provided by Act of Parliament; no one should be imprisoned or detained without due process of law; all were to have the right to the writ of habeas corpus; there should be no forced billeting of soldiers in the homes of private citizens; and that martial law was not to be declared in England.

9.1.3 The Parliament of 1629

In the midst of a stormy debate over theology, taxes, and civil liberties, the king sought to force the adjournment of Parliament. But when he sent a message to the Speaker ordering him to adjourn, some of the more athletic members held him in his chair while the door of the House of Commons was locked to prevent the entry of other messengers from the king. (That famous date was March 2, 1629.) A number of resolutions passed. Innovations towards Catholicism or Arminianism were to be regarded as treason. Whoever advised any collection of taxes without consent of Parliament would be guilty of treason. Whoever should pay a tax levied without the consent of Parliament would be considered a betrayer of liberty and guilty of treason.

A royal messenger was allowed to enter the Commons and declared the Commons adjourned and a week later Charles I dissolved Parliament – for eleven years, 1629 – 40. Puritan leaders and leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons were imprisoned by the king, some for several years.

9.1.4 Religious Persecution

The established Church of England was the only legal church under Charles I, a Catholic. Within the Church of England (i.e., Anglican Church), specific ministers might be more Catholic, Arminian Protestant, or Puritan (with both Calvinist and Lutheran emphases).

Conventicles were harshly suppressed. (Conventicles were secret meetings for worship in which the authorized Prayer Book was not used, but the Bible and the Psalter were.)

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, sought to enforce the king's policies vigorously. Arminian clergymen were to be tolerated, but Puritan clergymen silenced. Criticism was brutally suppressed. No book or pamphlet could legally be printed or sold without a license. Puritans who wrote secret pamphlets were punished harshly: In 1630 Alexander Leighton was whipped, pilloried, and mutilated for printing An Appeal to Parliament in which he challenged episcopacy. Three others had their ears cut off; one was branded on the cheek with the letters, SL (Seditious Libeler). Several were executed.

9.1.5 National Covenant of Scotland (1638)

Dissatisfaction with royal absolutism reached a crisis in Scotland when representatives of the Scottish people met at Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh in 1638 to sign a national protest against the policies of King Charles, who was king of Scotland as well as King of England. The nobility and barons met and signed the National Covenant one day and the burgesses and ministers, the next. The covenant affirmed the loyalty of the people to the Crown but declared that the king could not reestablish the authority of the episcopate over the church. (The Church of Scotland had a presbyterian form of church government since the Reformation of the sixteenth century under John Knox.)

King Charles foolishly declared everyone who signed the National Covenant a rebel and prepared to move an army into Scotland.

9.1.6 War in Scotland

King Charles called out the militia of the northern counties of England and ordered the English nobility to serve as officers at their own expense. A troop of the King's horses entered Scotland only to find their way blocked by a large Scots army. They returned south of the border without fighting.

Charles signed the Pacification of Berwick with the Scots in June, 1639, by which each side would disband its forces and a new General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and a Scottish Parliament would determine the future constitution of the government. The Church General Assembly confirmed the actions of its predecessor; the Scottish Parliament repealed laws in favor of episcopacy and increased its own powers; and the Scottish army remained in existence.

9.1.7 The Short Parliament

For the first time in eleven years the King convened the English Parliament to vote new taxes for the war with Scotland. Instead the Commons presented to the king a long list of grievances since 1629. These included violations of the rights of Parliament; of civil rights; of changes in church order and government; and of rights of property ownership. In anger the king again dissolved Parliament, which had met only from April 13 to May 5, 1640.

9.1.8 The Scots Invade

The Scots invaded the two northern counties of Northumberland and Durham unopposed. Charles called a Great Council of Lords such as had not met in England for over two hundred years. They arranged a treaty with the Scots to leave things as they were.

9.1.9 The Long Parliament

The king was cornered: he had no money, no army, and no popular support. He summoned the Parliament to meet in November 1640. The Commons immediately moved to impeach one of the king's principal ministers, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

Strafford's trial began in March 1641, and lasted three weeks without a verdict. He was accused of treason for subverting the fundamental laws of the realm with an arbitrary and tyrannical government. Treason was traditionally defined as an offense against the king, so the indictment read instead that he was guilty of "treason against the nation."

With mobs in the street and with rumors of an army enroute to London to dissolve Parliament, a bare majority of an understrength House of Lords passed a bill of attainder to execute the Earl. Agonizingly distraught, but fearing mob violence and Parliament itself, the king signed the bill and Strafford was executed. Archbishop William Laud was also arrested, and eventually tried and executed in 1645.

The House of Commons passed a series of laws to strengthen its position and to better protect civil and religious rights. The Triennial Act provided that no more than three years should pass between Parliaments. An act provided that the current Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. Various hated laws, taxes, and institutions were abolished: the Star Chamber, the High Commission, power of the Privy Council to deal with property rights. Ship money, a form of tax, was abolished and tonnage duties were permitted only for a short time. The courts of common law were to remain supreme over the king's courts.

The Commons was ready to remove the power of the king

over the Church of England, but there was disagreement over what form the state church would take: episcopal, presbyterian, or congregational. Puritans were in the majority.

9.1.10 Rebellion in Ireland and the Grand Remonstrance

Irish Catholics murdered thousands of their Protestant neighbors. The Commons immediately voted funds for a large army, but questions remained whether it was to be a Parliamentary army or a royal army under the control of the king.

The Grand Remonstrance listed 204 clauses of grievances against the king and demanded that all officers and ministers of the state be approved by Parliament.

9.1.11 The English Civil War Begins

With mobs in the streets and gentlemen carrying swords to protect themselves, men began identifying themselves as Cavaliers, in favor of the king, or Roundheads, if they supported Parliament.

In one of his most foolish actions as king, Charles then ordered his Attorney General to prepare impeachment proceedings against five of the leading Puritans in the House of Commons. When the House refused to surrender their members to the custody of the king, Charles went in person to Parliament with four hundred soldiers to arrest the five members. While the five slipped away from Westminster to London, mobs turned out into the streets, including four thousand from Buckinghamshire who sought to defend their hero, Sir John Hotham.

The king withdrew to Hampton Court and sent the Queen to France for safety. In March 1642, Charles II went to York and the English Civil War began.

9.1.12 The Division of the Country

To some extent every locality was divided between supporters of the king and supporters of Parliament. Geographically, though, the north and west of England sided with the king, and the south and east, with Parliament. The Midlands was competitive between them.

Eighty great nobles sided with the king, thirty against him. The majority of the gentry supported the king, a large minority were for Parliament. The yeomen tended to side with the gentry of their areas; the peasants wanted to avoid the fighting.

A few London merchants were Royalists, but most businessmen in various towns sided with Parliament. London, which was strongly Presbyterian, supplied parliament with many men and much money.

Parliament had two great advantages:

- The navy and merchant marine supported Parliament.
 They brought in munitions and revenue from customs as foreign trade continued. They hindered the coastal towns behind the king's lines.
- Parliament also had control of the wealthier and more strategic areas, including London, and were able to secure the three principal arsenals: London, Hull, and Portsmouth.

9.1.13 The King Attacks London

Charles put together a sizeable force with a strong cavalry and moved on London, winning several skirmishes. He entered Oxford but was beaten back from London. Oxford then became his headquarters for the rest of the war.

9.1.14 Oliver Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell, a gentleman farmer from Huntingdon, led the parliamentary troops to victory, first with his cavalry, which eventually numbered eleven hundred, and then as lieutenant general in command of the well-discliplined and well-trained New Model Army.

9.1.15 Early Stages of the War

The early part of the war went in favor of the king. Lincolnshire, Cornwall, and Devon were occupied by two of the king's armies in 1643. The Queen returned from France with reinforcements and supplies. The king planned a three-pronged assault on London, but was beaten back by the Earl of Essex. Charles sought allies among Irish Catholics and the parliament sought aid from Presbyterian Scotland.

In January 1644, a well-equipped Scottish army of 21,000 crossed into England, thereby greatly upsetting the military balance. The Duke of Newcastle, the king's general was forced into York and there besieged. Prince Rupert came to his rescue from the west, but precipitated the battle of Marston Moor in July 1644. Cromwell decisively defeated the king's cavalry in a royalist disaster. The north was now in Parliamentary hands.

The king was not beaten yet, however. James Graham, the Marquis of Montrose, raised troops for the king in the Scottish Highlands, much to the consternation of the Lowlands Scots.

Parliament reconstructed and improved its army, giving Oliver Cromwell the top command. In June 1645, Charles marched into enemy territory and was crushed by Cromwell's "Ironsides" at Naseby. The king was then a fugitive and surrendered himself to the Scots in May 1646.

9.1.16 Controversy Between Parliament and the Army

The majority of Parliament were Presbyterians, wanting to extend the Scottish National Covenant idea to England. Many soldiers, however, were Independents who believed in democracy politically and congregational control of the church.

During the Civil War, under the authority of Parliament the Westminster Assembly convened to write a statement of faith for the Church of England that was Reformed or Presbyterian in content. Ministers and laymen from both England and Scotland participated for six years and wrote the Westminster Confession of Faith, still a vital part of Presbyterian theology.

When the war ended, Parliament ordered the army to disband without receiving the pay due them. The army refused to disband and in 1647 Parliament sought to disperse them by force. The plan was to bring the Scottish army into England and use it against the men who had won the war.

The army refused to obey Parliament and arrested the king when he was brought across the border. In August the army occupied London and some of their leaders wrote an "Agreement of the People" to be presented to the House of Commons. It called for a democratic republic with a written constitution with elections every two years, equal electoral districts with universal manhood suffrage, freedom of conscience, freedom from impressment, equality before the law, and no office of king or House of Lords.

9.1.17 The Death of the King

On the night of November 11, 1647, the king escaped from Hampton Court and went to the Isle of Wight. He had made a secret agreement with the Scots that he would establish Presbyterianism throughout England and Scotland if they would restore him to his throne.

The Second Civil War followed in 1648 but it consisted only of scattered local uprisings and the desertion of part of the English fleet.

The Scots invaded England but were defeated by Cromwell at Preston, Wigan, and Warrington in the northwest of England. After these victories the English army took control. London was again occupied. The army arrested 45 Presbyterian members of Parliament and excluded the rest and admitted only about 60 Independents, acting as the "Rump Parliament."

The Army then tried Charles Stuart, formerly king of England, and sentenced him to death for treason. They charged him with illegal deaths and with governing in a tyrannical way instead of by the constitutional system of limited power that he had inherited. The execution of the king particularly shocked the Scots because the English had specifically promised not to take the king's life when the Scots delivered him into English hands.

9.2 THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649 – 59)

9.2.1 The Commonwealth (1649 - 53)

After the execution of the king, the Parliament abolished the office of king and House of Lords. The new form of government was to be a Commonwealth, or Free State, governed by the representatives of the people in Parliament.

The people, however, were not represented in Parliament. Many large areas of the country had no representatives in Parliament. The ninety Independents that controlled Parliament did not want elections.

The Commonwealth was in effect a continuation of the Long Parliament under a different name. Parliament was more powerful than ever because there was neither king nor House of Lords to act as a check.

The Commons appointed a Council of State and entrusted it with administrative power. Thirty-one of its forty-one members were also members of Parliament.

9.2.2 Opposition to the Commonwealth

Royalists and Presbyterians were both against Parliament for the lack of broad representation and for regicide. The Army was greatly dissatisfied that elections were not held, when popular representation was one of the promises of the Civil War.

The death of the king provoked a violent reaction abroad. In Russia the Czar imprisoned English merchants. In Holland Royalist privateers were allowed to refit. An English ambassador at the Hague and another in Madrid were murdered by Royalists. France was openly hostile.

Surrounded by enemies, the Commonwealth became a military state with a standing army of 44,000. The army, with career soldiers, was probably the best in Europe, and the best paid. Forty warships were built in three years. The North American and West Indian colonies were forced to accept the government of the Commonwealth.

9.2.3 Ireland

In the summer of 1649 Cromwell landed in Dublin with a well-equipped army of 12,000. Despite a coalition of Protestant Royalists and Irish Catholics, the Irish did not put together an army to oppose him. Instead they relied on fortresses for safety.

Drogheda was the scene of the first massacre when Cromwell ordered the slaughter of the entire garrison of 2800. Another massacre took place at Wexford.

This campaign of terror induced many towns to surrender; by the end of 1649 the southern and eastern coast was in English hands. In 1650, Cromwell captured Kilkenny and left the rest of the conquest to others.

The lands of all Roman Catholics who had taken part in the war were confiscated and given in payment to Protestant soldiers and others. Two-thirds of the land in Ireland changed hands, controlled mostly by Protestant landlords.

9.2.4 Scotland

Scottish Presbyterians, offended by the Independents' control of the English Parliament and by the execution of the king, proclaimed Charles II as their king. Charles accepted the National Covenant and agreed to govern a Presbyterian realm.

On September 3, 1650, Cromwell defeated the Scots at Dunbar, Near Edinburgh and killed 3,000, taking 10,000 prisoner. The next year King Charles II led a Scots army into England, which was annihilated almost to the last man at Worcester. Charles was a fugitive for six weeks before escaping to France.

9.2.5 The Protectorate (1653 – 59)

When it became clear that Parliament intended to stay in office permanently without new elections, Cromwell took troops to Parliament and forced all members to leave, thus dissolving the Parliament.

Cromwell had no desire to rule either as king or military

dictator and called for new elections – but not from the old system. Most were chosen by Independent or Puritan churches.

Cromwell then agreed to serve as Lord Protector with a Council of State, and a Parliament. The new government permitted religious liberty, except for Catholics and Anglicans.

England was not strongly opposed to military rule, particularly after Cromwell divided the country into twelve districts with a major general in charge of each.

Oliver Cromwell died on September 3, 1658. After Cromwell's death a new Parliament was elected under the old historic franchise.

9.3 THE RESTORATION (1660 – 1688)

The new Parliament restored the monarchy, but the Puritan Revolution clearly showed that the English constitutional system required a limited monarchy, with the king as chief executive – but not as absolute ruler. Parliament in 1660 was in a far stronger position in relationship to the king than it ever had been before.

9.3.1 Charles II (1660 - 85)

Thirty years of age at the Restoration, the new king was dissolute, lazy, affable, intelligent, a liar, and a cunning deceiver. He loved the sea and the navy and was interested in science and trade. Because he had so little interest in religion, he was willing to be tolerant.

While still on the Continent, Charles II issued the Declaration of Breda in which he agreed to abide by Parliament's decisions on the postwar settlement.

9.3.2 The Convention Parliament (1660)

Parliament pardoned all those who fought in the Civil War except for fifty people listed by name. Of these, twelve were executed for "regicide."

Royalists whose lands had been confiscated by the Puritans were allowed to recover their lands through the courts, but those who had sold them should receive no compensation. That meant that both Roundheads and Cavaliers would be the landowners of England.

To raise money for the government, Parliament granted the king income from customs duties and an excise on beer, ale, tea, and coffee. Feudalism was largely abolished.

9.3.3 The Clarendon Code

Of England's 9,000 parish churches, 2,000 were pastored by Presbyterian ministers and 400 by Independents, and the rest by Anglicans. The Cavalier Parliament, elected early in 1661, sought to drive out all Puritans and exclude them from public and ecclesiastical life.

The Corporation Act of 1661 excluded from local government any one who refused to swear to the unlawfullness of resistance to the king and those who did not receive communion according to the pattern of the Church of England. The Act of Uniformity in 1662 issued a new Prayer Book and ordered ministers either to accept it or resign their positions and livelihood. 1,200 pastors refused and vacated their churches.

The Conventicle Act of 1664 and 1670 imposed harsh penalties on those who attended religious services which did not follow the forms of the Anglican Church. The Five-Mile Act, 1665, prohibited ministers from coming within five miles of a

parish from which they had been removed as pastor. A licensing act permitted the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London to control the press and the publishing of books.

The effect of all this was to divide England into two great groups – the Anglican Church and nonconformists:

- The church was purged of Puritans and regained its property. It levied tithes and controlled education at all levels.
- 2) Nonconformists were excluded from the universities, from government, from many professions, and from membership in the House of Commons. Some, of course, became Anglicans outwardly but did not believe what they professed. Nonconformists became shop-keepers, artisans, small farmers, merchants, bankers, and manufacturers. Their diligence, thrift, and self-discipline brought prosperity. They were strengthened by the rise of Methodism in the eighteenth century.

9.3.4 Disasters for England

War with the Dutch cost enormously in ships and money. The bubonic plague hit London in 1665, killing 68,000. The Great Fire of London in 1666 destroyed 13,000 homes, 84 churches, and many public buildings, none covered by insurance.

9.3.5 Scotland's Independence

Scotland regained here independence at the restoration of Charles II in 1660. The Earl of Middleton was made the King's Commissioner in the Scottish Parliament and commander of the army in Scotland. Some of the Scottish Presbyterian ministers reminded the king of the National Covenant of 1638 and of his own covenant-oath in 1651 pledging that Scotland be gov-

erned according to Presbyterian polity and principles.

The king arrested the Marquis of Argyle, a Presbyterian and leader of the Covanenters. He was charged with treason for his "compliance with Cromwell's government." Argyle and James Guthrie were both executed.

Charles II declared himself head of the Church of Scotland and decreed that the episcopal form of hierarchical church government would be used in Scotland.

In 1661 the Scottish Parliament declared that the National Covenant was no longer binding and prohibited anyone to renew any covenant or oath without royal permission.

Samuel Rutherford, influential author of *Lex Rex* and Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, was cited by the Privy Council for treason in 1661, but died before trial could be held.

A dictatorship was established in Scotland to enforce episcopacy and rule by approved bishops. The government demanded absolute obedience and used illegal detention. Drastic fines were levied on hundreds of people suspected of being sympathetic to the Covenanters. Presbyterianism was outlawed and hundreds of ministers lost their positions.

By 1666 the covenanters finally took to arms against oppression and captured the commanding general at Dumfries.

Perhaps as many as 18,000 ordinary people died for the cause of religious liberty in the persecution that followed. Dragoons were sent to prevent people from meeting in the files and in "unlicensed" homes for the purpose of worshipping God and studying the Bible. Others were fined for not attending the parish church.

Archbishop James Sharp was assassinated by a group of over-zealous Covenanters on May 3, 1679. Covenanting leaders immediately repudiated the action, but it led to pitched battles between the king's troops and covenanters.

The last two years of Charles II reign in Scotland were known as the Killing Times because of the wholesale slaughter of hundreds who were shot down without trial if they refused to take the oath of objuration of the Covenant.

Charles II died on February 5, 1685, in his 56th year and received Roman Catholic absolution on his deathbed.

9.3.6 James II (1685 - 88)

The new king, fifty-one years of age, was the brother of Charles II. He had served as Lord Admiral and commanded an English fleet against the Dutch.

James II began his reign in a strong position. The Whigs were weak and the Tories were in overwhelming strength in Parliament. They immediately voted the king income from customs for life.

James II was a strong Roman Catholic and was determined to return England to Catholicism. He proceeded to appoint Catholics to many of the high positions in his government. In 1685, James created a court of Ecclesiastical Commission with power over the clergy and suspended the bishop of London from office. Three colleges at the University of Oxford were put under Roman Catholic Rule. (Oxford was an Anglican and Tory stronghold so the king was jeopardizing his own supporters.)

In April 1687 King James issued a Declaration of Indulgence which declared both Catholics and nonconformists free

to worship in public and to hold office. This was a bold move but the nonconformists knew that the intent was to enable Catholics to eventually control the government. So instead of supporting the king, they secured a promise from Anglicans that they would eventually be given toleration.

9.4 THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION OF 1688

The leaders of Parliament were not at all willing to sacrifice the constitutional gains of the English Civil War and return to an absolute monarchy. Two events in 1688 goaded them to action:

- 1) In May James reissued the Declaration of Indulgence with the command that it be read on two successive Sundays in every parish church. Archbishop Bancroft and six bishops petitioned the king to withdraw his command and printed and distributed their petition. This was a technical violation of the law and the king ordered them prosecuted for publishing a seditious libel against his government. When a London jury reached a verdict of "not guilty," it was clear that the king did not have popular support.
- 2) On June 10, 1688, a son was born to the king and his queen, Mary of Modena. They had been married for fifteen years and their other children had died. As long as James was childless by his second wife, the throne would go to one of his Protestant daughters, Mary or Anne. The birth of a son, who would be raised Roman Catholic, changed the picture completely.

A group of Whig and Tory leaders, speaking for both houses of Parliament, invited William and Mary to assume the throne of England. William III was Stadtholder of Holland and son of Mary, the daughter of Charles I. Mary II was the daughter of James II by his first wife, Anne Hyde. So they were both in the Stuart dynasty.

William was willing to assume the English throne only if he had popular support and only if accompanied by his own Dutch troops, despite the irritation their presence would cause in England.

The Dutch feared that King Louis XIV would attack Holland while their army was in England, but the French attacked the Palatinate instead and eliminated that fear. Louis XIV offered James II the French fleet but James declined what would have been very little help. King Louis thought that William's invasion would result in a civil war which would neutralize both England and Holland, but he was mistaken. On November 5, 1688, William and his army landed at Torbay in Devon. King James offered many concessions, but it was too late. He advanced with his army to Salisbury, then returned to London, then fled to France.

William assumed temporary control of the government and summoned a free Parliament, which met in February 1689. Whigs and Tories met in a conciliatory spirit though party differences soon were evident:

- The Whigs wanted a declaration that the throne was vacant in order to break the royal succession and give the king a parliamentary title.
- 2) The Tories declared that the king had abdicated so as not to admit that they had deposed him.
- William and Mary were declared joint sovereigns, with the administration given to William.

The English Bill of Rights (1689) declared the following:

- 1) The king could not be a Roman Catholic.
- A standing army in time of peace was illegal without Parliamentary approval.
- 3) Taxation was illegal without Parliamentary consent.
- Excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishments were prohibited.
- 5) Right to trial by jury was guaranteed.
- 6) Free elections to Parliament would be held.

The Toleration Act (1689) granted the right of public worship to Protestant nonconformists but did not permit them to hold office. The Act did not extend liberty to Catholics or Unitarians, but normally they were left alone.

The Trials for Treason Act (1696) stated that a person accused of treason should be shown the accusations against him, should have the advice of counsel, and should not be convicted except upon the testimony of two independent witnesses.

Freedom of the press was permitted, but with very strict libel laws.

Control of finances was to be in the hands of Commons, including military appropriations. There would no longer be uncontrolled grants to the King.

The Act of Settlement in 1701 provided that if William or Anne should die without children (Queen Mary had died in 1694) the throne should descend, not to the exiled Stuarts, but to Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, a granddaughter of King James I, or to her Protestant heirs.

Judges were made independent of the Crown. Thus, Eng-

land declared itself a limited monarchy and a Protestant nation.

9.5 QUEEN ANNE (1702 – 14)

Much of Queen Anne's reign was occupied with the War of the Spanish Succession (1702 – 13). The reign of Queen Anne is also called the Augustan Age of English elegance and wealth. Anne was a devout Anglican, a semi-invalid who ate too much and was too slow-witted to be an effective ruler. She had sixteen children, none of whom survived her.

The most important achievement of Queen Anne's reign was the Act of Union (1707), which united Scotland and England into one kingdom. The Scots gave up their Parliament and sent forty-five members to the English House of Commons and sixteen to the House of Lords. Presbyterianism was retained as the national church.

9.6 EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

Following the Act of Settlement in 1701 and Queen Anne's death in 1714, the House of Hanover inherited the English throne in order to insure that a Protestant would rule the realm.

The Hanover dynasty was as follows:

- 1) George I (1714 1727).
- 2) George II (1727 60).
- 3) George III (1760 1820).
- 4) George IV (1820 30).
- 5) William IV (1830 37).
- 6) Queen Victoria (1837 1901).

Because of the English Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Hanovers were willing to rule as King-in-Parliament, which meant that to rule England, the king and his ministers had to have the support of a majority in Parliament. Sir Robert Walpole, who served forty-two years in the English government, created the office of Prime Minister, a vital link between King and Parliament. Other famous eighteenth century prime ministers were the Duke of Newcastle, George Grenville, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Lord North, and William Pitt the Younger.

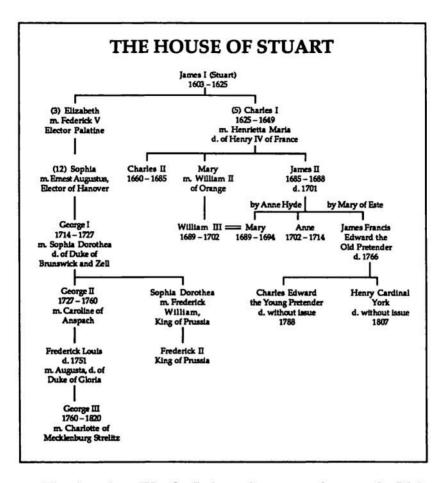
International events in which Britain was involved in the eighteenth century are discussed in Chapter 1.

Other topics of importance were as follows:

- The loss of England's North American colonies in the American War for Independence (1775 - 83) was a major blow to the British Empire.
- Ireland received very harsh treatment under British rule during this period.

In March 1689, James II arrived in Dublin with 7,000 French troops and was joined by Irish Catholics seeking independence from England. Protestants fled to Londonderry which withstood a siege of 105 days. In June 1690, William landed in Ireland with an army of 36,000 and at the Battle of Boyne completely defeated James, who fled to France.

Repercussions in Ireland were harsh: no Catholic could hold office, sit in the Irish Parliament, or vote for its members. He could enter no learned profession except medicine. He was subject to discriminatory taxation. He could not purchase land or hold long leases.



The American War for Independence gave hope to the Irish that they might obtain autonomy or independence. British troops were withdrawn from Ireland to be sent to America and an Irish militia was formed.

The British did grant concessions to the Irish between 1778 and 1783:

- Roman Catholics could inherit property and hold longterm leases.
- 2) The Irish Parliament was given its independence but

continued to be controlled by Protestants.

 Executive officials continued to be appointed by the English Crown.

In 1800, the Irish Parliament was persuaded to vote itself out of existence in exchange for one hundred seats in the British House of Commons and thirty-two places in the House of Lords.

Scotland was the scene of Jacobin efforts to restore the Stuarts to the throne.

In 1688 the Scots declared that James had "forfeited" the Scottish throne which they offered to William and Mary, with the understanding that Scotland would be Presbyterian. Some of the Highland clans, however, turned out in defense of James. They were defeated at the Battle of Killiecrankie in July 1689.

The settlement with William and Mary was marred by the brutal Glencoe Massacre of 1692, in which the Campbell clan slaughtered a large group of Macdonalds after giving them shelter and hospitality. In 1715, James II's son, then twenty-seven years of age, raised an army of 10,000 Highlanders in a revolt. James Francis Edward Stuart (the "Old Pretender") was soundly defeated and he fled to France. In 1745, James Francis Stuart's son, Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender", then in his middle twenties, obtained two ships from the French and sought to incite an uprising in Scotland, winning lasting fame as "Bonnie Prince Charlie."

His spirit and ambition won him the backing of several Highland chiefs. He was a natural leader and his men respected him for enduring the hardships of the common soldier.

Charles was able to capture the city of Edinburgh, but not

the fortified castle. Soon he was forced to retreat north to Inverness. At Culloden, in April 1746, he was completely defeated. The rebellion was followed with harsh English reprisals. There were many executions and parts of the Highlands were devastated. The Highlanders were disarmed and even the Highland kilt and tartan were forbidden.