

7 The Stuarts 1603 - 1714

James VI of Scotland and I of England was born in 1566 the son of Mary Queen of Scots and her first cousin Lord Darnley, both of them being grandchildren of Henry VIII's sister Margaret, the wife of James IV. When he was just over one year old his mother abdicated and he was proclaimed King of Scotland, which was governed for the next ten years by pro-English regents who made sure he was brought up a Protestant. James began to exert some influence on national affairs from the age of twelve when he supported his cousin the Duke of Lennox, as regent. James decided to take no action against Elizabeth after the execution of his mother (whom he had not seen since 1567) and from then on he directed all his policies towards ensuring that he would one day succeed Elizabeth and gain the crowns of England and Ireland. Accordingly he remained a Protestant and maintained a close political alliance with Elizabeth during the dangerous years of the war with Spain. In 1589 he married a Protestant bride, Anne, the daughter of the King of Denmark, who bore him three sons and four daughters, though only three of these children, Henry, Elizabeth and Charles, survived infancy.

An eccentric person with an ungainly appearance, a slobbering tongue and undignified habits, James was nevertheless a man of sharp intellect and scholarly tastes whose mastery of academic disciplines such as philosophy and religion gave him a high opinion of his own wisdom. As King of Scotland he was successful in maintaining royal authority by skilfully playing off one faction against another and through careful diplomacy and the cultivation of Robert Cecil he achieved his dream of succeeding Elizabeth without serious opposition. Because of her close affiliations with France, Mary Queen of Scots had written her surname in the French manner 'Stuart', rather than using the Scottish form 'Stewart', and James chose to follow his mother's example. He also made sure that Mary's coffin was laid to rest in a magnificent tomb in Westminster Abbey which rivalled Elizabeth's tomb on the opposite side of the building, a nice irony.

In the history of the British Isles 1603 is a momentous year because for the first time the same individual was the acknowledged sovereign of England (which included Wales), Scotland, Ireland and the Channel Isles. Some of the Western Isles of Scotland were still claimed by clan chiefs, but these were eventually forced to accept the authority of the King of Scotland. In the Isle of Man the Earls of Derby were technically sovereign lords, but they held this title from a grant made by Henry IV as overlord to Sir William Stanley in 1405. The fact that the same individual was King of England, Scotland and Ireland did not of itself imply a close political union between the three countries, though it was one of James' main aims after 1603 to achieve this, if possible. In fact he encountered strong opposition from the English parliament to a closer link between England and Scotland, achieving only common citizenship for those born in either country after the date of his accession in England.

James encouraged the use of the recently-devised term **Great Britain** to describe England and Scotland, and on his own authority proclaimed himself 'King of Great Britain, France and Ireland'. He also decreed that a 'Union flag' should be created by merging the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew and it was not long before this flag, mostly flown on ships, was nicknamed the 'Union Jack' after him. James visited Scotland only once after 1603 but he remained keenly interested in Scottish affairs, claiming from London with some justice that 'here I sit and govern (Scotland) with my pen', a situation made possible by his reliance on a

series of able and loyal Scottish ministers. The Crown's authority, both in the heartlands of Scotland and the Western Isles, was steadily increased while with a view to bringing Scotland more into line with England James re-imposed bishops on the Scottish church and condemned its Calvinist structure, a policy which caused problems for his successor.

The English kingdom inherited by James was inhabited by about four million people, nearly half a million of whom lived in London which was by now probably the largest city in Europe, dwarfing England's next largest cities, Bristol, Norwich and Newcastle which had only about 25,000 citizens each. London's wealth was based on trade which had expanded greatly in Elizabeth's reign as a result of the opening up of new markets in North and South America, the Caribbean and the East Indies. The wool and cloth trades on which England's mediaeval prosperity had been based had been joined by a wide range of foreign commercial enterprises as well as the development of domestic industries such as coal mining, glass-making and the building trade. The Tudor aristocracy and gentry (numbering about 20,000 people) had built themselves fine country houses from which they administered their landed estates and supervised local government.

The sixteenth century had been a period of dramatic inflation caused chiefly by the introduction of large quantities of American silver into Europe by the Spanish. Farmers, merchants and industrialists generally profited from the steady price rise but landlords relying on fixed rents were hard hit unless they were able to raise their rents or farm their land more profitably - hence the growth in the practice of enclosing common land. The greatest loser in the price rise was the Crown because royal revenues decreased in real terms while the costs of administration spiralled. Elizabeth had struggled valiantly to keep her costs down but despite this she left James a debt of more than £100,000. The weak financial position of the Crown together with a growing perception by parliament of its own constitutional importance were to be the keynotes of the coming decades.

Before 1603 James had formulated and published an academic treatise on monarchy which argued that kings ruled by 'divine right' and were not bound by the laws of their lands. The idea of 'absolute monarchy' was increasingly accepted in many European countries but in England Magna Carta had firmly established the tradition that the king, though he made the laws, was also subject to them. James knew this perfectly well and confined his claims for the most part to theoretical issues and intellectual arguments but throughout his reign parliament remained deeply suspicious of his intentions. James was also out of tune with parliament in his religious views which were 'High Anglican', stopping short of full approval of Roman Catholicism but hostile to extreme Protestants (called 'Calvinists', 'Presbyterians', or by the general name **Puritans**), of whom there were by then many in the House of Commons. The widespread fear of Roman Catholics was inflamed by the **Gunpowder Plot** of November 1605 in which Guy Fawkes and a number of Catholic accomplices intended to blow up the King, Lords and Commons at a state opening of parliament, using barrels of gunpowder stored beneath the parliament chamber in the palace of Westminster. The discovery of the plot in the nick of time was celebrated throughout the nation with bonfires and the burning of Guy Fawkes in effigy, a practice that continues unabated four centuries later.

James' main problem and the chief cause of his disputes with parliament was a shortage of money. He was well served by his Chief Secretary, Robert Cecil (Earl of Salisbury) who died in 1612, but even he failed to bring about an agreement between parliament and the king ('The Great Contract') which would have granted the king an adequate annual income in

return for the surrender of ancient financial rights. James therefore continued to rely on the sale of monopolies and titles as well as the arbitrary imposition of customs duties, all of which were unpopular. He was also accused of squandering money on young male favourites, chiefly Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, for whom he showed a public affection that was widely considered undignified and unseemly. After Salisbury's death Buckingham became James' main advisor and the Commons revived the practice of impeachment, last used in 1459, by which they could accuse the king's ministers of misconduct and bring them to trial. In this way Sir Giles Mompesson was found guilty of profiting from monopolies and Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, from taking bribes. In 1621 the Commons entered into their journal the 'Great Protestation' claiming that all members of parliament had the right of freedom of speech to discuss any aspect of government, even foreign policy. James tore out the offending page with his own hand, but the point had been made.

The closing years of the reign were more harmonious, partly because Lionel Cranfield, a financial genius, reduced much of the king's debt and because Buckingham goaded James into a war with Spain which proved popular with the Commons. James had sensibly ended the previous conflict with Spain in 1604 and in 1613 he arranged for his daughter Elizabeth to marry Frederick of the Palatinate, a leading Protestant German prince. Between 1615 and 1623, however, he pursued the idea of a marriage between his son and heir Charles and the Catholic daughter of Philip III of Spain, partly as a counter to the growing power of the Dutch and partly to help his son-in-law Frederick who lost his principality after a defeat by the Catholic powers in 1619. Charles and Buckingham travelled to Spain in 1623 to woo the princess in person but they were so coldly rebuffed and humiliated that they demanded war with Spain and hastily arranged an engagement between Charles and Henrietta Maria, the Catholic daughter of Henry IV of France.

At this point James died in 1625 leaving his thrones to his thirty-five year old son **Charles I**. James' very promising elder son, Henry, Prince of Wales died in 1612 at the age of nineteen after a summer swim in the river Thames, so that his much less impressive younger brother, a shy boy of short stature and with a serious stammer, was left as heir to the throne. At the outset of his reign Charles made two serious mistakes. The first was to go ahead with his marriage to Henrietta Maria, a vivacious girl of fifteen with whom, admittedly, he lived a happy family life over the years. Unfortunately the fact that she was a Catholic made her disliked and mistrusted, and she encouraged him in what proved to be his calamitous attempts to rule by 'divine right'. His other mistake was to give even more power to his father's favourite the Duke of Buckingham, the most hated man in England.

Charles expected his first parliament of 1625 to grant money lavishly for the war against Spain but they refused to do so and instead criticized Buckingham and the terms of Charles' marriage. By the time his second parliament met in 1626 an expedition to Cadiz had returned without success and Buckingham was so bitterly attacked for its failure that Charles dissolved parliament without a grant of money. He then foolishly drifted into yet another unnecessary war, this time with France, mostly over clashes between English and French ships in the Channel. Buckingham organized two expeditions to La Rochelle but both failed in their objectives. Meanwhile money was needed to pay for all these expenses and the king levied customs duties (tunnage and poundage) without parliament's consent and demanded a 'forced loan' from the rich.

When Charles called a third parliament in 1628 it produced 'The Petition of Right' which insisted among other things that the king should not levy taxes without parliament's consent. Charles signed it in order to receive a grant of money in return. Shortly afterwards Buckingham was assassinated by a fanatical Puritan naval officer in Portsmouth, much to Charles' distress. In 1629, led by **Sir John Eliot** and John Pym parliament vigorously attacked the king's collection of tannage and poundage, as well as his unsuccessful foreign policy and his unpopular support for High Church Anglicans (Arminians) such as Bishop William Laud. When Charles ordered the dissolution of parliament the Commons locked their doors and forcibly held the Speaker in his chair while Eliot passed resolutions against 'popery' and the illegal levying of tannage and poundage. After this outrage Charles ordered the imprisonment of Eliot and his supporters and announced by proclamation that he would not summon an English parliament for the foreseeable future, hoping perhaps that in a few years' time the troublemakers in the Commons would have disappeared.

Charles' boycott did not apply in Scotland, where parliament continued to meet as normal, but he managed to avoid calling an English parliament for eleven years (1629-1640), a period described as his 'personal rule' by supporters and as a 'tyranny' by his critics. In fact no English law obliged the king to call a parliament and though some of Charles' methods were of dubious legality they were not in the normal meaning of the word tyrannical. Peace was made with Spain and France and a determined effort was made by the king's advisors to find legal, even if out-of-date ways of raising money, such as the revival of the mediaeval forest law, the sale of monopolies and the levying of ship-money, a tax formerly paid by coastal towns to meet the costs of the navy but extended by Charles to the whole nation. The 1630s were in general a time of peace and prosperity during which the king and queen presided over an elegant, decorous and cultured court at Whitehall Palace, where Charles was able to indulge his exceptional talent as an art collector and patron of masters such as Rubens and Van Dyke.

The man who caused most discontent during these years was **William Laud**, Bishop of London from 1628 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633. Though a Protestant he was a 'High Churchman' who favoured railed-off altars at the east end of churches and the use of vestments, images and elaborate music. He also attempted to strengthen the power of bishops and force them to instil discipline into their dioceses. All these policies were deeply offensive to the Puritans, many of whom emigrated to the recently-founded English colonies in North America in order to worship as they pleased. Those who resisted Laud at home were punished in the church courts, often severely.

Another unpopular servant of the king was **Thomas Wentworth**, an able and ruthless administrator who served as President of the Council of the North from 1628 to 1633, after which he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. From Elizabeth James I had inherited an Ireland strongly under royal control with much of Munster and Leinster colonized by English settlers. After the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell went into exile in 1607 suspected of treachery, their lands in Ulster became the focus for an energetic policy of anglicization. New towns were planned such as Coleraine, Londonderry and Belfast while land was sold to British settlers. Ulster proved very popular with Presbyterian Scots and accordingly developed a character hostile to the Catholic Irish. Wentworth's policy after 1633 was to use ruthless methods to attempt to turn Ireland into a prosperous and loyal nation and he made considerable improvements, increasing the revenue and building up an impressive army composed mostly of Catholics. Yet his personal ruthlessness made him enemies everywhere

and his plans to colonize Connaught, the one remaining all-Irish province, aroused fear and suspicion.

It is possible that Charles might have been able to exercise his 'personal rule' over England and Ireland quite successfully for many years to come but his strategy was wrecked by foolish policies in Scotland. He had been born there but he left as a small child and did not return until his coronation ceremony in 1633. Deceived by his father's restoration of the bishops - a policy which had caused an undercurrent of unrest - he ordered soon after his accession that church lands sold during the Reformation should be restored, thereby alienating most of the nobles and gentry, who had bought them. Influenced by Laud he then went on to impose a prayer-book in 1637 the 'High Anglican' services of which were deeply offensive to most Scots people and resulted in the **Scottish National Covenant** of 1638, a document signed by many thousands of individuals from all classes as well as representatives of almost all the shires and towns in Scotland. The 'Covenanters' swore to defend Presbyterianism to the death and rejected the new prayer-book as contrary to the word of God.

Charles agreed to summon the Scottish parliament and the General Assembly of the Kirk but when these demanded the abolition not only of the prayer-book but also the Scottish bishops Charles was faced with the choice of backing down or using force. In the so-called 'First Bishops' War' Charles led an unimpressive English army to meet the Scots at Berwick in 1639 where without risking a fight he agreed to allow Scotland's religion to be decided by the General Assembly. However, as this capitulation to rebels seemed shameful to him both on political and religious grounds he looked for other ways of imposing his will on Scotland. He decided to risk an appeal to the English parliament which he summoned in April 1640. Under the leadership of **John Pym**, however, MPs refused to grant Charles money for an army and instead prepared a long list of complaints against his government over the last eleven years. So Charles was forced to dissolve this 'Short' parliament after a few weeks and he could not prevent the Scots crossing the border and occupying Newcastle-on-Tyne. He then appealed to a mediaeval-style council of English peers but they only advised him to call another parliament, which he was forced to do in November 1640.

As this parliament in theory lasted until 1660, historians have named it **The Long Parliament**. It immediately set about reducing the king's political power, starting with the arrest of Laud and Wentworth, who had recently been created Earl of Strafford. A three-week impeachment trial failed to find Strafford guilty of treason so Pym introduced a Bill of Attainder by which he was effectively found guilty by Act of Parliament. Charles could have refused his royal assent to the Bill but as angry mobs surged round Whitehall Palace he signed it and Strafford went to the block, a death that remained on Charles' conscience until the end. Parliament then went on to pass a number of acts which survived the upheavals of the next few years and significantly reduced the powers of the monarchy in the future. The Triennial Act required that parliament should meet every three years and other acts abolished the royal court of Star Chamber, the Council of the March in Wales and the Council of the North in York. Ship money and many of the other devices by which Charles had raised revenue were declared illegal.

These measures were passed with general consent but the seeds of civil war were sown when Pym and his Puritan allies in parliament demanded a state Presbyterian church in England and the abolition of bishops. This did not appeal to Anglicans who on this particular issue

supported the king. In October 1641 the Irish Catholics, released from the control of Strafford, used the opportunity to rebel against royal authority and to attack Protestant settlers, thousands of whom were killed. It was the king's undoubted right and duty to raise an army to put down the rebellion but Pym and his supporters were not prepared to let him do so in case he might use the army against themselves. This attitude caused many to sympathize with the king's position and when Pym introduced a '**Grand Remonstrance**' against the king's misrule for debate in parliament in November 1641 it was passed by only a few votes. Encouraged by this and egged on by his wife Charles then risked everything by walking in person to the House of Commons with an escort of soldiers with the intention of arresting Pym and four other leading opponents. They had been forewarned, however, and were not in the House so that this unsuccessful attempt to overawe the Commons by a show of force was a disaster which turned many against him. The mood in London became ugly and Charles decided to withdraw to the more conservative north, setting up his court in York. In June 1642 parliament presented Charles with the 'Nineteen Propositions' which were effectively a scheme for a monarchy with limited powers and a state Presbyterian church. Charles rejected these out of hand and decided to raise his royal standard at Nottingham in August, thereby enlisting support against his parliamentary opponents and initiating a **Civil War**. Most people in England were dismayed at the turn of events and the necessity of having to take sides. The war was not, strictly speaking, simply a contest between 'king and parliament' because about 80 of the 130 members of the House of Lords fought for the king, as did more than 175 members of the MPs in the Commons. Political radicals and Presbyterians had an easy choice to make in opposing the king while loyal Anglicans and traditionalists were naturally inclined to support him. London and the large towns, dominated by merchants, generally supported parliament which therefore had a strong grip on the south-east while the king's strongholds were the more rural and conservative north and west.

At the height of the fighting about 140,000 men were in arms (roughly one in ten of the adult male population). Charles acted as his own commander-in-chief, advised by his nephew Prince Rupert of the Rhine (the son of his sister Elizabeth) who was a brilliant young cavalry officer experienced in warfare. Charles' aim was to win the war quickly by capturing London and as he marched south he was confronted by parliament's forces under the Earl of Essex at **Edgehill** in Oxfordshire where Prince Rupert's cavalry drove the enemy from the field but pursued them for far too long and returned only in the nick of time to save Charles' infantry from defeat. Essex was able to withdraw in good order and, reinforced by the trained bands of London apprentices, he confronted Charles again at Turnham Green, just outside the city. Faced with superior numbers and difficult terrain for a fight the royalists withdrew and Charles' best chance of winning the war quickly was lost.

In 1643 Charles planned a three-pronged attack on London by royalist forces based in the west, the north and the midlands but this proved unworkable so he besieged Gloucester which was relieved by Essex' army which then had a desperate fight with royalists at Newbury before reaching the safety of London. Meanwhile, just before he died in 1643 Pym concluded a treaty with the Scots who agreed to send an army to fight the king early in 1644 in return for a promise that Presbyterianism would be established throughout England. Charles was forced to turn in desperation to the Irish Catholic rebels who provided him with some money and some rather untrustworthy soldiers.

In 1644 the Scottish army joined with an English force under Sir Thomas Fairfax to besiege the royalist Duke of Newcastle in York. Prince Rupert rode to Newcastle's rescue and

together they were completely defeated in July at **Marston Moor** where highly disciplined regiments from East Anglia, trained by a Huntingdonshire squire and MP called **Oliver Cromwell**, were extremely effective. Essex failed to finish Charles off at a second battle at Newbury in October and this made Cromwell and other radical army commanders angry because they were determined to defeat the king but realized that some politicians in parliament were beginning to consider a treaty with him. A dangerous split seemed likely to develop between parliament and its army but Cromwell persuaded the Commons to create a '**New Model Army**' staffed only by officers and men determined to defeat the king. This they decisively did at **Naseby** in June 1645 and in April 1646 Charles surrendered to the Scots at Newark. After some discussion they agreed to turn him over to parliament in return for £400,000.

Few had fought against the king to be rid of the monarchy : his opponents assumed that in defeat he would accept parliament's demands for a Presbyterian church in England. But Charles was determined to resist this and used every means at his disposal including lies and deceit to divide his enemies. He was given a good chance to do this when the New Model Army mutinied against parliament's order that it should disband without receiving arrears in pay. Army officers took Charles into their custody and offered to accept a church with bishops as long as tolerance was granted to radical independent sects whose members dominated the rank and file of the army at this time. In August 1647 the army took control of London and proved itself to be perhaps the most unusual army in British history, with soldiers spending much of their time in earnest prayer and their leaders working out plans for a remarkably liberal and democratic constitution.

The army and parliament might well have come to blows but Charles foolishly re-united his enemies in November 1647 by escaping from custody and fleeing to the Isle of Wight where he made a treaty with the Scots, agreeing to accept Presbyterianism for three years in return for their military support. So began the 'second Civil War' in which the New Model Army defeated pockets of resistance while Cromwell destroyed the invading Scots at Preston in August 1648. Disgusted at the king's treachery Cromwell determined to bring him to trial for treason and to ensure parliament's support Colonel Pride took an armed force to the Commons and forcibly expelled 141 Presbyterian MPs who might have supported the king. The hundred or so remaining MPs (known as '**the Rump**') were mostly extreme radicals and independents.

Charles' trial began on January 20th 1649 in Westminster Hall before a court of 135 specially appointed commissioners who eventually found him guilty of using a Scottish army to make war upon the people of England and sentenced him to death. Charles refused to recognise the right of the court to try him and did not attempt to defend himself. On the morning of January 30th 1649 he was publicly beheaded outside the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall Palace, a building designed by Inigo Jones for James I as a monument to the Stuart theory of divine right.

British kings had been murdered or assassinated in the past but Charles I's trial and execution was a rejection of the very institution of monarchy and deeply shocked observers in Europe as well as many people in Britain. Moreover the personal dignity and sense of martyrdom with which Charles went to his death was impressive and aroused considerable sympathy even among former critics. Aware of the dangers which surrounded it the Rump parliament followed the logic of its extreme action by abolishing the monarchy and the House of Lords

and declaring that England, Scotland and Ireland were a '**Commonwealth**' to be ruled in future by a single house of parliament and a Council of State. However, Scotland, which was dominated by Presbyterians who had little sympathy with the extremists in the Rump, rejected this plan and responded to the execution of Charles I by immediately recognizing his son as King Charles II of Scotland.

Ireland had been in chaos since 1641 when the Catholic population rebelled against English rule and made war on Protestant settlers. The royalist Duke of Ormonde was for a time successful in raising support for Charles in Ireland but after the king's execution the Rump sent Michael Jones as Governor and he defeated Ormonde at Rathmines. The Rump followed up this success by sending Oliver Cromwell with 12,000 highly dedicated men from the New Model Army to impose order on Ireland, which he proceeded to do with zealous efficiency. The Catholic garrisons of Drogheda and Wexford, having refused to surrender, were massacred, prompting resistance elsewhere to collapse. Cromwell was able to return to England in 1650 leaving Henry Ireton to complete the subjugation of Ireland two years later. Two and a half million acres of rebel land were confiscated and given to supporters of the Rump and soldiers to whom it owed money but in other ways Ireland was governed wisely in the 1650s. Thirty Irish MPs sat in London, law and order was restored and trade encouraged with British and foreign merchants. The bitterness between Protestants and Catholics, however, remained.

In **Scotland** the young Charles II threw his father's principles to the wind, accepted Presbyterianism, signed the Covenant, agreed that his mother had been guilty of idolatry and persuaded the Scots to help him regain the English throne. The Rump responded by ordering Sir Thomas Fairfax, their senior General, to conquer Scotland and when he refused on grounds of conscience Cromwell was appointed Commander-in-Chief and led the New Model Army to Scotland where he won a miraculous victory at Dunbar in September 1650, with over 13,000 Scots being killed or captured compared with only 30 or so English. Charles II mustered another army and marched into England as far as Worcester where Cromwell caught up with him and inflicted another defeat in September 1651. Charles escaped capture by hiding in a tree and made his way to an exile's life on the continent. Scotland was gradually subdued by General George Monck and the Rump took the decision that there should be a full union of Scotland and England with 30 Scottish MPs sitting at Westminster. The details of this took several years to work out but the Union was operating smoothly by the end of the 1650s. On the whole Scotland was well governed during this period though the maintenance of English garrisons involved unwelcome taxes for the Scots.

Thanks largely to the military skills of Cromwell the success of the Rump between 1649 and 1653 was spectacular. Scotland and Ireland were subdued and monarchists everywhere were routed. However, it was the wish of Cromwell and other army leaders that the Rump should give immediate attention to the drawing-up of a new constitution but the members of the Rump were reluctant to do this, preferring to perpetuate their own authority. Cromwell eventually lost patience with them and walked down to the Commons in July 1653 with a file of soldiers, accused the Rump's MPs of selfishness and corruption and told them that their rule was over. This perhaps spontaneous reaction left Cromwell with the problem of what to do next.

From July to December 1653 Cromwell tried what turned out to be the impractical idea of a nominated assembly of 140 'saintly' men chosen for their moral probity. They proved to be

enthusiastic legislators but inexperienced and unrealistic. After their voluntary dissolution Cromwell accepted England's first written constitution **The Instrument of Government**, which provided for rule by one individual acting as the executive, a Council of State and a one-chamber parliament. Cromwell accepted the position of executive, with the title 'Lord Protector'. There were 460 MPs including 30 each for Scotland and Ireland. Because there were signs of revolt against the new regime England and Wales were divided into eleven military districts in 1656, each commanded by a major-general who was instructed to impose puritan standards of decent living. Their interference in everyday life proved to be extremely unpopular and Cromwell's next parliament changed the constitution, seeking to reduce his authority by creating an upper house of parliament and offering him the title of 'King' but with limited powers. Cromwell accepted the new arrangements but refused to become 'King', though when he died in 1658 it was his wish that his eldest son Richard should succeed him as Lord Protector. This was a mistake as Richard had little of his father's ability and was soon faced with determined challenges to his authority from all sides.

Richard Cromwell's response to this was to resign office, dissolve the Protectorate and restore the Rump parliament in May 1659. For several months a chaotic power struggle took place between ambitious army officers and the politicians of the Rump. To prevent anarchy General George Monck decided to march with an army from Scotland to London where he forced the Rump to call back all those MPs excluded in 1648 who were still alive. This reconstituted 'Long Parliament' then legally dissolved itself and a new assembly (called the '**Convention Parliament**') met in April 1660. Under Monck's prompting Charles II issued from his exile in Holland the 'Declaration of Breda' promising to respect the authority of parliament and to avoid general revenge, as a result of which the Convention formally recognized him as king and requested him to return to the throne.

A determined minority had brought about the execution of Charles I and the abolition of the monarchy but the turbulence of the next eleven years had demonstrated, despite the exceptional qualities of Oliver Cromwell as a leader, that constitutional experiments based on religious and political extremism could not provide a generally acceptable system of government. The restoration of **Charles II** involved the re-establishment of government by King, Lords and Commons as it had been before the outbreak of war in 1642 as well as a return to power of the traditional landed classes of nobles and gentry. The thirty-year old king was welcomed by most people while his easy-going charm and affability soon made him a popular figure. The opposite of his father in almost every respect he was a cynic and spectacularly immoral in his private life, yet a shrewd and able politician when he felt the need to be. In 1662 he married Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of the King of Portugal, but she failed to bear him any children despite the fact that he sired at least eighteen illegitimate offspring by his many mistresses.

Though legislation passed in 1641 required Charles to call parliament every three years and he was forbidden to levy taxes without parliamentary consent his powers as king were still very great and he was responsible for directing both domestic and foreign policy. In his early years he was well served by Edward Hyde, **Earl of Clarendon**, an able minister with moderate views who is chiefly credited with negotiating the **Revolution Settlement** through parliament. This granted a pardon to all but a few leading opponents of Charles I and restored to the king and church land taken from them during the Interregnum. Estates confiscated from royalists were generally restored but not land they had been forced to sell. In an attempt

to reduce clashes between the king and further parliaments over finance Charles renounced feudal revenues for an income calculated to be £1,200,000.

The union of England and **Ireland** that had existed during the Commonwealth was discontinued and Ireland reverted to the status of a separate kingdom governed in the king's name by a lord-lieutenant and a Council. An Irish parliament consisting only of Protestants made laws and voted taxes, but only with the consent of the king. Anglicanism was declared to be the official religion with both Presbyterians and Catholics officially excluded from the right to hold public offices and even to worship as they wished.

In **Scotland** the union with England that had been established during the Interregnum was dissolved and so popular was the restoration of Charles II that the Scottish parliament annulled all legislation passed since 1633, thereby giving the king greater powers than he enjoyed in England and restoring the Anglican bishops established by James I. Charles never visited Scotland after 1660 but he was represented there by a Commissioner, successively the Earl of Middleton, the Duke of Rothes, the Earl of Lauderdale and his brother James, Duke of York. Under them royal authority was strongly increased to a point approaching absolutism while the power of the bishops grew and the influence of Presbyterianism dwindled.

After the details of the Restoration Settlement had been worked out attention switched to foreign affairs. During the 1650s the United Provinces of the Netherlands, which had won their independence from Spain with the help of English troops, emerged as Britain's chief trading rival. Accordingly, in 1651 the Rump passed a Navigation Act which forbade the importation of goods to Britain from Asia, America and Africa in any but British ships. This struck a serious blow at the lucrative Dutch carrying trade, as did the British claim of the right to search foreign ships in the Channel. Between 1652 and 1658 a successful naval war was fought against the Netherlands, with the English fleet under Robert Blake defeating and blockading the Dutch under Van Tromp. British naval power was also important in the war with Spain waged by Cromwell between 1655 and 1657 which led to the capture of Jamaica.

Charles II continued the anti-Dutch policy and sought friendship with France where his young cousin Louis XIV began his personal rule in 1661 after the death of his powerful minister Cardinal Mazarin. A second Navigation Act passed in 1660 further offended the Dutch and there were frequent clashes between British and Dutch traders in the East Indies, Africa and North America. These led to a second Dutch war from 1665 to 1667 with George Monck, Prince Rupert and the Duke of York all turning their hand to naval command but failing to match the genius of the Dutch de Ruyter. In 1667 a daring Dutch fleet sailed up the Medway where they set fire to many British ships and towed away *The Royal Charles*. Peace was signed shortly after this humiliation and the Navigation Acts were made less offensive to the Dutch. England retained the captured Dutch colony of 'the New Netherlands' in North America, which was renamed 'New York' in honour of the king's brother.

The Medway indignity followed hard on the heels of two major disasters which struck London in 1665 and 1666. The first was the '**Great Plague**', an exceptionally severe outbreak of bubonic plague which had been a recurrent hazard in densely crowded areas since its first appearance in the fourteenth century. The next year much of the old city of London, including the mediaeval cathedral of St Paul's, was destroyed in the '**Great Fire**' which raged for several days. In due course a new London arose, adorned by the architectural

masterpieces of Sir Christopher Wren, though the opportunity of planning with wide streets and open spaces was lost.

Clarendon was able but never popular and he was blamed by his enemies for the failures of the Dutch war. Charles dismissed him in 1667, replacing him not with one minister but with five, Sir Thomas Clifford, the Earl of Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Anthony Ashley Cooper (later Earl of Shaftesbury) and the Duke of Lauderdale, nicknamed '**The Cabal**' from the first letter of each of their surnames or titles. In 1670 Charles signed the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV of France in which the two kings agreed to destroy the Dutch republic; Charles because he considered that the Dutch were strangling British trade, Louis because he wanted to incorporate the Netherlands within France. Secret clauses that were not made public during Charles' lifetime promised him a French pension in return for declaring himself a Catholic and granting toleration to Catholics in England. In fact he declared himself a Catholic only on his deathbed, though he did attempt to introduce toleration despite its unpopularity.

Aided by the British fleet France invaded the United Provinces in 1672 but met unexpectedly fierce resistance from the Dutch led by one of their foremost landowners, William, Prince of Orange, who managed to construct a coalition of European powers against France. In the same year Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence granting freedom of worship both to Catholics and Nonconformists but this was so unpopular with parliament that it compelled him to revoke the Declaration in 1673 in return for money for the war. Parliament went on to pass the **Test Act** in 1673 which required all holders of public offices to recognise Charles as Head of the Anglican Church and to condemn the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. This inevitably led to the resignation of many prominent people including Charles' brother James, Duke of York, who was Lord High Admiral and had declared his conversion to Catholicism in 1670. Another casualty was Sir Thomas Clifford, and the Cabal fell apart when Shaftesbury, who had not been aware of the secret clauses in the Treaty of Dover, began (quite rightly) to suspect the king of double-dealing and became a leading critic of his policies. Peace was made with the Dutch in 1674 with little to show for an expensive war.

This is the point at which the two great factions which dominated British political life for more than 200 years began to take shape. After the collapse of the Cabal in 1673 Charles appointed the Earl of Danby as his chief minister. He was a royalist and a High Anglican and he saw the importance of building up a party of royal supporters in the Commons by the use of patronage and bribes. In opposition to him was a group led by Shaftesbury which was strongly Protestant and increasingly critical of the king's devious methods. By 1678 parliament had come to the view that it was no longer the Dutch who were a serious threat to Britain but more the growing power of Louis XIV's France, which nourished ambitions to extend its borders in Europe under the leadership of an absolute monarch who was also a devout Catholic.

Growing fear of Catholicism turned to panic in 1678 when a disreputable character called Titus Oates managed to convince the nation of a '**Popish Plot**' to kill Charles, place his Catholic brother James on the throne and massacre Protestants. Shaftesbury used this to fuel a reign of terror against Catholics between 1678 and 1681 during which 35 men, including the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, were accused of treason and executed. When the House of Commons discovered that in 1679 Danby had written to Louis XIV about Charles' pension

he was impeached and in order to save him Charles was forced to dissolve this pro-royalist 'Cavalier' parliament which had been elected eighteen years earlier.

The new parliament elected in 1679 contained many supporters of Shaftesbury whom Charles made a minister in an attempt to win him over. However Shaftesbury supported an **Exclusion Bill** which, if passed, would have barred Charles' brother the Catholic Duke of York from succeeding to the throne to which he was the legitimate heir because Charles and his Queen had produced no children. Charles made known his strong opposition to this measure, revealing that he supported the 'divine right' principle of legitimate succession as well as the Catholic religion. The political factions polarized over the Exclusion Bill and were given abusive nicknames by their opponents which proved to be long-lasting. **The Tories** (named after Irish Catholic horse thieves) believed that the Crown should always pass to the nearest legitimate heir according to primogeniture, that royal power should be preserved and that the dominance of the Church of England should be maintained. **The Whigs** (named after gloomy Covenanters in Scotland) supported the will of parliament over the will of the king, opposed the accession of Catholics to the throne and sympathized with Protestant nonconformists.

When Shaftesbury's Exclusion Bill seemed likely to pass the Commons in 1679 Charles dissolved parliament, but a second Bill passed the Commons in the next parliament of 1680 though it was rejected in the Lords. Again Charles dissolved parliament and took the unusual step of requiring his next parliament to meet in Oxford in 1681, where Shaftesbury's hired London mob would not be able to influence the Commons. However, when it became clear that the Whigs intended to introduce a third Exclusion Bill the king dissolved the Oxford parliament after only a week. For the remaining four years of his reign Charles called no more parliaments (despite the Triennial Act) and he ignored the Test Act by restoring his brother and other Catholics to high office. Shaftesbury was unsuccessfully tried for treason but fled abroad where he died in 1683. As London and other large cities were centres of Whig support Charles withdrew their ancient royal charters and issued new ones which ensured greater royal control over the city corporations, which in many cases influenced the election of MPs. When the 'Rye House Plot', a Whig conspiracy to assassinate Charles, was discovered in 1683 it added to the growing perception that the Whigs were a party of traitors.

Financially secure because of the pension he received from Louis XIV, Charles managed to outwit his opponents until his death early in 1685, by which time the anti-Catholic frenzy had died down. Charles himself was received into the Catholic church on his deathbed and his brother succeeded him as **James II** without opposition. As a young man in exile James had been captivated by Anne Hyde, Clarendon's daughter, whom he married in the late 1650s. They were both Protestants at the time and it was in that faith that the two survivors of their eight children, Mary and Anne, were brought up. However James' wife became an enthusiastic convert to Catholicism and after her death in 1670 James publicly announced his own conversion. Three years later he married Mary, the Catholic daughter of the Italian Duke of Modena.

As a result of Charles' remodelling of the city charters James' first parliament was loyal and voted him a generous income of £2 million a year for life. He was also strongly supported both in Scotland and in England when the Marquis of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, led rebellions with the aim of replacing James with the Protestant Monmouth. Argyle was captured and executed in Scotland while Monmouth's

more dangerous revolt, involving about 4,000 men, was defeated by royal forces under John Churchill in the West Country marshes near Sedgemoor. James did not hesitate to order the execution of his captured nephew, who was beheaded very incompetently in London. The West Country rebels were treated with notorious harshness by Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys whose 'Bloody Assizes' there led to 150 executions and the transportation of about 800 prisoners as slaves to the West Indies.

Encouraged by the failure of Monmouth's rebellion and the support he had so far received James asked parliament to repeal the Test Act so that Catholics could hold public office. When they refused he prorogued parliament and proceeded to make Catholic appointments by royal prerogative. His right to do this was tested in the courts over the case of Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic who was made governor of Dover Castle, and the judges decided that the king had the right to dispense with the law in individual cases. This enabled James to make wholesale changes, including choosing Catholic politicians to advise him and the appointment of the Catholic Earl of Tyrconnel as Lord Deputy of Ireland and commander of a Catholic army there. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were forced to admit Catholic dons and monasteries were opened in London, while a prerogative court with powers over discipline in the church was set up despite the fact that parliament's abolition of the court of High Commission in 1641 had forbidden the creation of any similar court in the future.

All these changes were made against the background of Louis XIV's decision in 1685 to revoke Henry IV's Edict of Nantes which had granted toleration to French Protestants. A new fear of popery grew in England, fuelled by the king's determination to lift the restrictions on Catholics. In April 1687 James used the royal prerogative to issue a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the Test Act and penal laws against both Catholics and other Nonconformists. When the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops petitioned him to withdraw the Declaration they were tried for seditious libel but acquitted, to the delight of London's citizens.

In a matter of months James had succeeded in turning both England and Scotland against him by refusing to recognize the strength of feeling against Catholics and by his arbitrary actions. When on June 10th 1688 his wife gave birth to a baby boy who automatically superseded the Protestants Mary and Anne as heirs to the throne James' fate was sealed because everyone knew that the child would be brought up a Catholic. Mary was married to William, the hereditary Prince of Orange in France, who also had great estates in the Netherlands where he was 'Stadhouder', a sort of President of the Republic. He was a stalwart Protestant who had for years been successfully fighting to defend the Netherlands from attack by Louis XIV. Seven influential Englishmen wrote to William pledging him their support if he would invade England in defence of the rule of law and the Protestant religion. On the understanding that he would be offered the throne jointly with Mary, William accepted and made plans to invade.

James rapidly cancelled many of his offensive policies, but too late to win back support. William landed at Brixham in November 1688 and marched towards London with an army of 15,000 men while rebellions sprang up in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Nottinghamshire. Though James at first intended to fight he was deserted by most people of influence, including his daughter Anne and his chief general John Churchill. He therefore made the strategically disastrous decision to flee to France in the hope of raising troops there and this desertion of

England and Scotland made it possible for his opponents to claim that he had abdicated the throne - which, bearing in mind that he fought to recover it for the rest of his life was certainly not the case.

A 'Convention' parliament met in February 1689 and passed a '**Declaration of Rights**' condemning James II's failure to govern according to parliamentary law. It also repeated previous demands that parliament should meet frequently after free elections and that taxes should not be imposed without parliament's consent. Other clauses claimed freedom of speech for MPs and protected citizens from arbitrary imprisonment. The Declaration also stipulated that in future the crown could only be inherited by a Protestant. William and Mary accepted the Declaration of Rights and were then proclaimed King and Queen jointly as **William III and Mary II**. Though traditionalists continued to argue that James had 'abdicated' and that Mary was his natural successor, the fact was that parliament had declared the throne vacant and offered it to William and Mary on its own terms. This was 'revolutionary' because it put an end to the notion of divine-right monarchy and replaced it with the concept (advocated by the philosopher **John Locke**) of a contract made between the sovereign and the people. Hence the succession of William and Mary has been called the **Glorious Revolution**, partly because of the important constitutional implications, and partly because it took place without bloodshed in England.

However, forces loyal to James II put up a fight in Scotland and Ireland. Opinion in Scotland had been as much outraged by James' determination to establish Catholicism as in England and he had also alienated the nobles by the exercise of autocratic powers. William III's offer to free Scotland from James' misrule was accepted and the Scottish parliament followed the English example by offering the crown jointly to William and Mary in April 1689, accompanied by a 'Claim of Right' similar to England's 'Declaration' except that it insisted on the abolition of bishops and the acceptance of Presbyterianism. There was more opposition to the new regime in Scotland than in England, and a '**Jacobite**' party formed, taking its name from 'Jacobus', the Latin form of 'James'. Many of its adherents disapproved of the new religious settlement and they defeated William's troops at Killiecrankie in July 1689, though the Jacobite leader, Viscount Dundee, was killed in the action. After this the Jacobites gradually disintegrated, the government built 'Fort William' to keep the Highlands under control and the clans were given until January 1st 1692 to take an oath of allegiance to William and Mary. When the Macdonalds of Glencoe failed to meet this deadline 38 of them were massacred on February 13th 1692 by soldiers under the command of a member of their traditional enemy, the clan Campbell, a deed notorious in Scottish history.

Most of the fighting that firmly established the Revolution of 1688 took place in **Ireland** which had remained peaceful since 1660. With a population of about two million Ireland began to enjoy economic prosperity as a result of the export of salted meat and dairy produce. Towns expanded and by the end of Charles II's reign Dublin had grown dramatically : in 1670 there was only one bridge over the Liffey but by 1685 there were five, and Dublin was by then larger than any city in the British Isles except London. The Restoration Settlement of 1660 provided for an established Anglican church but Catholics were in general tolerated by Charles II and much encouraged by James II who maintained a large Catholic army and promoted Catholics to positions of influence. The Catholic Earl of Tyrconnell, for instance, was appointed Lord Deputy. When England and Scotland rejected James II in 1688 Ireland remained loyal to him, and it was from Ireland that he planned to recover his lost throne.

William of Orange's main practical reason for accepting the throne in 1688 was that he wanted to use British naval and military power in his struggle against France. Louis XIV continued to recognize James II as the legitimate king and gave him troops with which he landed at Kinsale in March 1689. Together with the loyal Catholic forces in Ireland James' army numbered about 35,000 men, heavily provisioned by French convoys. This should have been enough to overcome Protestant resistance in Ulster, but the city of Derry withstood a long and famous siege while a Jacobite force was defeated at Newtownbutler in July. At this point a British army reached Dundalk where it was halted by an outbreak of disease and James failed to make use of this opportunity to attack. However, he was still a serious danger and in 1690 William reluctantly turned aside from his European campaigns and personally took charge in Ireland, commanding an army of 37,000 men.

On July 1st 1690 James confronted William on the south bank of the river **Boyne** where James was outmanoeuvred and forced to flee after a battle in which only 1,500 men were killed. Very soon James was back in France but his army fought on under the leadership of the French Marquis de St Ruth while the British force was commanded by a Dutchman, Ginkel. The two met at Aughrim in July 1691 where St Ruth was killed and 7,000 Irishmen with him. This was the decisive battle of the contest and in October the Treaty of Limerick was signed and most of James' supporters sailed for France leaving William's forces in control of Ireland after three years of a war very costly in men and money. Though the Treaty promised toleration for Catholics as well as the security of their property it was ignored in the following years and Catholics suffered discrimination while the percentage of profitable land owned by them fell from 22% in 1688 to 14% in 1702. After 1691 Ireland was effectively a Protestant kingdom.

William III was crippled and asthmatic and he suffered from a tubercular lung. Nevertheless he was driven by an obsessive hatred of France which carried him through years of disappointments and defeats in the European 'Nine Years War' which ended in 1697 at the Treaty of Ryswick, effectively a truce in which France made concessions in order to build up strength for the next contest. British naval power and British money backed William's resistance, the **Bank of England** being founded in 1694 to raise money from private individuals which was then lent to the government at 8% interest. Queen Mary was a popular figure but she died in 1694 aged 31 and William, ruling alone, became disliked for his gloomy manner, his frequent absences abroad and his lack of interest in the British way of life. He was after all Dutch, as were most of his close friends, and he remained Stadhouder of the Netherlands throughout his years as King.

In English political circles during the reign there was much scheming and intrigue with many influential figures still keeping in touch with James II in exile in France. To committed Whigs, however, William was indispensable and they supported him solidly. Most of Scotland stayed loyal to William though he was mistrusted for his hostility to France (because of the Auld Alliance) and because of his opposition to Scottish attempts to found a trading colony on the isthmus of Darien. Though William would have liked to have maintained control over political affairs in both England and Scotland his foreign commitments made this difficult and during his reign much government business was conducted in his absence by ministers working through parliament, very much in accordance with the political philosophy of the Whigs.

There was a serious problem, however. William and Mary produced no children and though William was only 44 when his wife died he did not marry again. According to the constitutional settlement of 1689 the throne would pass to Mary's younger sister Anne if William produced no heirs. Anne married Prince George of Denmark in 1683 and though she became pregnant eighteen times, she had twelve miscarriages and of the six children to whom she gave birth only one, Henry, survived infancy and he died in July 1700, aged 10. In order to exclude the possibility of a return to the throne of James II or his son James Edward the English parliament passed in 1701 an **Act of Succession** which declared that if Anne should die without heirs the throne would pass to Princess Sophia of Hanover and her heirs.

The daughter of James I's daughter Elizabeth, Sophia married the sovereign Prince of Hanover in 1658 and became the mother of many children. Moreover she and her family were Protestants and the rulers of a German principality which gave them semi-royal status but was not so large that it would distract them from their duties in Britain. Indeed the Act of Succession guarded against this possibility by stipulating that a foreign-born monarch should not go abroad without parliament's consent or involve Britain in a war for the defence of his or her foreign territories. The Act also laid down that the monarch in future should be not only a Protestant but a member of the Church of England. By setting aside the legitimate hereditary claims of 57 living persons and stipulating the religion of a future monarch as well as his or her chief place of residence the Act of Succession further emphasized the contractual nature of the Whig theory of monarchy.

The Act of Settlement applied only to England and (by Poynings' law) to Ireland. As an independent kingdom Scotland was free to make its own arrangements and it was feared in England that the lure of the Stuarts there might be too great to resist. The threat became greater when James II died in France in September 1701 and his thirteen-year old son James Edward was recognized by Louis XIV as King of Great Britain and Ireland. As Louis had recently approved the succession of his own grandson as King of Spain in violation of treaties made with Britain this led parliament to approve William's proposal of another war with France. He did not live to take part in it, however, because his horse stumbled on a mole-hill early in 1702 and William fell to the ground and broke his collar bone. Complications affected his weak lungs and he died in March, aged 51.

Anne duly succeeded as Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland, though not, of course, as Stadhouder of the Netherlands. From William she inherited the **War of the Spanish Succession** (1701 - 1713), a contest with both France and Spain which lasted for most of her reign. The war aims were to depose King Philip V of Spain because he was a grandson of Louis XIV of France and it was feared that with the Bourbon family ruling in both countries France would become too powerful in Europe. The war produced a British military genius in the person of John Churchill, created **Duke of Marlborough** in 1702. As a result of his victories at Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706) and Oudenarde (1708) Marlborough brought great prestige to the British army and made himself into a military legend. He was also an ambitious politician, as was his wife Sarah, the Queen's closest friend for much of her reign.

It was Anne's prerogative to appoint and dismiss ministers but their task to guide government business through parliament. This could prove difficult when either the minister or the policy did not enjoy the confidence of the Commons. Anne's most influential minister until 1710 was Lord Godolphin who worked closely with Marlborough over strategies for the prosecution and financing of the war. Marlborough's military successes helped the two of

them to maintain control over affairs until the battle of Malplaquet in 1709 which Marlborough technically won but with very heavy losses. The demoralized French gained fresh heart from this while Marlborough's Tory enemies at home began to criticize the war for being too prolonged and too expensive. Anne's friendship with Sarah Marlborough ended acrimoniously in 1710 and Godolphin was replaced by Lord Harley and Lord Bolingbroke. A parliamentary election returned a large majority of Tories to the Commons in 1710 and the next year even Marlborough was accused of corruption and dismissed from his military posts. Bolingbroke deserted Britain's long-standing German and Austrian allies and made unilateral treaties with France and Spain. In 1713 the **Treaty of Utrecht** was formally signed and Britain's role in the war came to an end.

Although its provisions fell far short of the unconditional surrender of France which in 1708 had seemed possible, the Treaty of Utrecht without doubt marked Britain's emergence as a great modern European power. France had been humbled and Louis XIV agreed to expel the Stuart pretender and recognize Anne as lawful queen. Marlborough's victories, together with the capture of Gibraltar and Minorca brought Britain international respect as a military and naval power while the addition of Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and St. Kitts to existing British colonies in North America and the Caribbean confirmed Britain as a major colonial power, with the sugar plantations of the Caribbean providing a rich source of profit. The fact that the main aim of the war, the deposition of Philip V, was not achieved did not in 1713 matter very much because by then alternative candidates for the Spanish throne appeared equally undesirable to British interests.

In the domestic sphere the great landmark of Anne's reign was the **Act of Union with Scotland**, eventually passed in 1707. When the Act of Succession provided for Sophia of Hanover to succeed Anne in England and Ireland, William III immediately took steps to encourage discussions about a full political union between England and Scotland, chiefly to ensure that a situation would not develop where Protestant Hanoverians reigned in England and Ireland while the Catholic Stuarts were restored in Scotland. From the Scottish point of view union offered the advantages of peace and also free trade, much needed in a poor country. However, there were strong opponents on both sides who used a variety of arguments from nationalism to religion to prevent a union.

Soon after her accession Anne followed William's policy, recommending union to both the English and Scottish parliaments and appointing commissions to begin detailed discussions, though progress was slow owing to Scottish opposition groups, notably the Jacobites. Early in 1705 Godolphin put pressure on the Scots by guiding through the English parliament an Act which gave Scotland until Christmas Day 1705 to accept the Hanoverian Succession on pain of being treated as an alien country and losing trading privileges. This was repealed when the Scots proved willing to negotiate and in 1706 Anne appointed 31 commissioners from each country who produced an agreement within nine weeks, partly because both sides saw the dangers of civil discord in the middle of a major war with France and Spain.

Despite opposition in both parliaments and mob violence in Scotland the Act of Union was passed early in 1707. After May 1st 1707 England, Wales and Scotland were united under the name of **Great Britain** with a common flag, great seal and coinage, and the Hanoverian succession to the crown was confirmed. In theory both parliaments were abolished in favour of a new one, the Parliament of Great Britain, which met in London. In practice this meant that 45 Scottish MPs joined the 513 from England and Wales sitting in the chamber of the

House of Commons (formerly the mediaeval St. Stephen's Chapel, redesigned in 1692 by Wren) in the sprawling palace of Westminster. Sixteen Scottish nobles, elected by all the Scottish peers, joined the 190 English peers in the House of Lords, a small debating chamber located in the same palace. Scotland retained its own laws and judges while two separate Acts confirmed the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland and Anglicanism in England. By these means the basic characteristics of both nations were preserved within a union designed to promote mutual political security and prosperity in trade. Ireland's status remained the same, as an independent kingdom with its own parliament. There were no Irish MPs in London and Irish peers did not sit in the House of Lords. According to the British view the British parliament had the right to legislate for Ireland, though many in Ireland increasingly questioned this.

In addition there were another three legislative assemblies within the British Isles. The **Channel Islands** of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark were all that remained of the Crown's heritage from the Normans and they were divided into the two bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey, each with its own legislative assembly, known as 'the States'. The Crown appointed Governors in Jersey and Guernsey but a considerable degree of self-government was enjoyed by the States. The other legislative assembly was Tynwald, in the **Isle of Man**, a parliament with its roots in the late tenth century. Scandinavian warlords established an independent kingdom of 'Man and the Isles' which lasted from 1079 to 1266, when the title of King of Man was acquired by Alexander III of Scotland after his defeat of the Norwegians. During his period of ascendancy in Scotland Edward I of England established himself as King of Man, a title eventually granted by Henry IV to Sir William Stanley and his heirs in 1405. Stanley's descendant the second earl of Derby, during the reign of Henry VIII, tactfully decided to call himself 'Lord' rather than 'King' of Man but in effect the Stanley family and their heirs remained sovereigns of the Island until 1765 when the British Government decided to buy back the sovereign rights for George III in order to curtail what they considered to be illicit trading by the Island. During this entire period Tynwald functioned effectively as a representative assembly, though policy decisions were made by the sovereign through an appointed Governor.

Queen Anne was a person of mediocre abilities, somewhat bewildered by the complexity of events around her: yet she presided over developments of momentous importance because the Act of Union and the Treaty of Utrecht projected 'Great Britain' on to the world stage as never before. Although Anne played a significant role in the overall formulation of policy, the advice of ministers, the opinions of MPs and the workings of party politics all assumed a greater importance in her reign. She died in August 1714, aged 49, her health weakened by many failed pregnancies and by dropsy, gout and obesity. The last of the Stuarts, Anne was also the last British sovereign to refuse assent to a parliamentary Bill and the last to use that vestige of divine right, the practice of attempting to heal scrofula, 'the King's evil', by a touch of the royal hand.