18th Cent. Eng.: Perkins

SCANNED

AS

FOUND

George S.

Veitch: The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform

I. The Need for Reform

Votes not according to present pop. Also seats had their price - c. £6000, open market. a) Scot & lot, & potwalloper boros - vote to the taxpaying & independent minority. b) Freeman boros. - vote by heredity, or creation - & this kept one party in easily. 3) Burgage boros - landownership. 4) Corporation boros. - self-elected ~~close~~ closed corp., very small. #3 the rotten & pocket boros. Much non-local voting. 162 people could elect majority in House. - with great expense. New buyers of votes unpopular, as they raised prices. Also votes by counties, landed families running things, 40 acre freehold the qualification. Reform came from them. Scotland terribly subservient - voted by Lord Dundas, Pitt's henchman. Men entered young this way. Merchants & manufacturers ignored till they bought a boro or something. Small yeomen liked to be rep.d by big landowners, their interests were identical. After buying seat, one was then bought by administration. Gov. was based on property rather than opinion.

II. Public awakes, 1st demand for reform - 1756-1779

Pitt, only dynamic leader of time, awakened demand for vote. Road builders Telford & Macadam made popular appeal more possible, reps less removed. Then Wilkes, ~~a~~ freedom of press assured by Fox's Act. Wilkes got b) House Debates widely published, for 1st time. c) Election methods made of public interest in Wilkes's rejection. Horne Tooke, ~~the~~ supporter of Wilkes, 1st org. for pop. agitation, got nowhere. Growing pop. dissatisfaction, e.g. Am. refusal to be taxed. Sawbridge kept introducing bills for ~~short~~ 3 year elections. "Parl. will either reform itself from within or be reformed with a vengeance from without" - Pitt?? Five wives will be rep.ed, farms notwithstanding. Burke & Dowdeswelle for thoro reform. Pitt & Jenkins politicians, for partial reform. 1776, Wilkes proposes thoro reform, coldly rejected.

Major John Cartwright, whose doctrinaire, no politician, 176 proposed complete reform. Dickinsonian argument that usurpers were ins, not outs. Jebb. 2 schools of reform: official whig, political, & extremists.

III Economic reform vs. parliamentary reform 1778-82

Badly run army & navy criticized. "If the people are not true to themselves, I am sure it's not ours to save them" - Burke. Wyvill for reform, out with corruption, waste: i.e., he was for "economic" reform. Land tax based on century old valuation - since then, South had grown more than north, Yorkshire freemen were hand hit, ∴ pro reform. Great York petition - but no unity in petitioners. Burke, fearing organic change, was pro-great reforms - his bill rejected. Society for promoting Constitutional Information, Cartwright's. "Economists" & "reformers" split - ec.s the politicians, partial reformists, like Burke, "reformers" wanted big change. Savile elected by Yorkshire on ec. ticket - instead of by bribing, as usual. '81, Yorktown, '82 Rockingham & Burke replaced North, nation tired of war, business & L.V. declining. "Economists" had their chance. Contractors out of Commons, revenue officers disfranchised (⅕ electorate) Burke's reform bill passed - to prevent Fr. rev, as he saw it. So "economists" won. Reformers unsatisfied, Pitt younger soon led reforms.

83 IV Young Pitt comes out as leader. Savile & Ch. Fox. But failure. Thatched House Tavern mtg. & resolutions. Society began to reach down to artisans now, but mostly depended on gentry. Proposals to hack off rotten boros. Never got this far again in 1780's. Shower of petitions, '82. For new anti-reform, kicked from cab. at Rock's death, Pitt in, with Shelburne. ("friendly" to reform) But Fox united with North to turn out Sh. & P., '83. Reformers blast Fox. Dec. '83, Fox's India Bill failed & he fell. Pitt replaced. Pittites & Foxites among reformers. '84, new election favors Pitt. Country gentry put them "economy", but cared nothing for reform, because former lowered land tax.

THE ECONOMICS AND ETHICS OF THE 18TH CENTURY ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

Eighteenth century writers on the whole took wone of two attitudes toward the contemporary inclosure movement. Some, like Arthur Young, considered only its tendency to increase the total production of wealth, and praised it, while others considered only its creation of a dispossessed proletariat, and condemned it. Clearly, both schools of thought failed to analyze the movement, and consider that it had some good features and other bad ones. It was a change from one bad system of land tenure to another bad system, but in both were the germs of a good land system. In what follows I shall pick out what I consider right and wrong about each.

In order to avoid falling into the confusions mentioned above I shall divide this paper in two parts: one concerning the mechanics of the production and distribution of wealth, or what actually happened; and the other the ethics, or what should have happened. As any approach to the ethics presupposes an understanding of the economics, I shall treat the latter first.

I

First, it was necessary to change the old system. The clumsy system of strip farming, three year rotation, and common use of pastures impeded production. There were at least four reasons why it did this: 1) The size and shape of landholdings, and the use of the land, could not be changed to meet new conditions. Material progress, and the

Theme

Intro

I Mechanics, or economics of it

A) Necessity of ~~evolution~~ changing old system. - faults of new

B) Relation to industrial revolution - freedom, including ease of changing landuse, & glutting labor market (~~not~~ a cause)

2 ways of earning - living. Effect on rent

C) Effect on real wages of all - dependence of wages on lowest.

D) Cause of unemployment, modern as well as ancient. Quote Rogers, Turner

E) Competition, not class value, made 18th cent. lords improve. If Lords did it, was because no one else had land - Hicks analogy)

F) Poor Law (1795, Speenhamland Poor Law, 1834). By lowering wages it must have raised rents - what else? Corn law e.g. Effect on individual. These on relief called uneconomic - they weren't, lords were.

G) Effect on individuals - bad in old & new, Freedom always good. Tenant farming. (p. 493 quote, 480 quote on increased rents. 482

Modern society just like old - expose "capitalism" bell

& new forms too big
Hasbach p. 60
1765, import export

II Ethics of it

A) Criterion of justice - relation to 2 ways of living

B) 2 ways of settling disputes

C) Injustice in old system. Peasants had what they had by force. - Rogers
Incomplete conquest.
More just than new because it was based on an equality of forces.

D) " " new . .

E) Why poachers & smugglers were not immoral.

Military tenures, justice of, abolition of ½ contract.

F.) Malthus makes this moral - but actually richer people have fewer kids, quotes.

1.
2. All wages lowered.
3. Productivity declined
4. public morals declined, self respect down
5. Poor rate a land tax, so . . . . But . . . .
6. Connection of poor law with enclosure
Beveridge

Rogers, Thorold: 6 centuries of work & wages
New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884

Chap. XVII - Agriculture & Agr. wages, 18th cent.

Cap. bull exposed (Nap. wars, too, like our civil)

Phead Lloyd, Wealth vs. Commonwealth

Improvement - rye grass, clover, saint foin, & artificial pasture. 18th cent. gent. personally supervised farms, improvements the vogue. But lords cultivated too much land with too little capital, & kept false accounts. Lords were stimulated by competition of commerce. Great fortunes made thru monopolies, but interest very low - p. 472 Unnecessary middlemen done away with (i.e., production made more efficient) Increase of foodst brought, increase of livestock which increased manure, which accounts for 18th cent's increased production. 4 times the agric. production of 13th cent. in 18th. Bounty on exported corn was, like tariff, addition to rent. Young estimates £16,000,000 rent in Eng, c. 1885, @ 10s per acre, an increase of 20 times over 13th cent. Wheat price up 6½, wages up 3½ - (looks like standard of living fell, p. 479; p. 480, opposition of rent & wages shown) The real stuff. 1495 - 1770, money wages doubled, real wages cut to about ¼ !!! 18th cent. improvements increased rent at expense of wages. Chas. II & Wm. I put bounties & tariffs on to increase rents when prices dropped. 18th cent. enclosures, starting with Anne, 3,000,000 acres. 19th cent. ", till 1854, 6,000,000 acres. More than ½ the cultivable surface of Eng. & Wales. 1715 - '65, prices fell, landlords cried of agricultural distress, got bounties. Inclosures, in a way raised margin, bringing more land into use, & wages rose 20%. 1765, Eng. became an agr. importing instead of exporting country. Peace of Paris gave Eng. trade monop. Summary of hist. of how Eng. labor has been robbed since Henry VIII, p. 485, all done by state intervention. Wages were higher under Plantagenets than under Hanover. Wages & rent opposition in action, p. 492. c. 1884, rents rose too fast, & agriculture had a crisis.

640
50,000 sq. m.
33000,000 acres
Rent absorbs increased prod.

p. 482
Effect of inclosures on wages. If wages did not go much lower in 19th, remember Am. Frontier.

(Why)?

→

Quote —

Rogers, Thorold: Labor & Wages in Eng.
Many principles illustrated.

(1892, Edgar J. Rich precedes Keynes, Econ. 80. J, Widener.
Many other interesting pamphlets in 80. J, including PorFT but H G.)

origin of land titles

Teutons come under war chiefs, make small villages which retain power, making Dane & Norman conquests easy. Some Saxons & Britons enslaved early, but retained certain land rights. King paid all his "debts" in land, Everyone a landowner. no landless proletariat. Wealth = 3x land value. All conservative, & agriculturalists, even nobles, so no class war. Wages relatively high, as is always true where land is much divided (p. 8) Still artisans got more than agr. labor. Eng. the only country of no appreciable (due to incomplete conquest? & lack of wars due to insularity?)

Full employment p. 6

~~Wages - 2 lans~~

1250-1350, opulence. 1348-9, Plague, Most important event in Eng. History. Death to so many healthy laborers doubled wages. Great landowners had to abandon farming, let tenants run things (big owners must have been inefficient.) to 1348, primogeniture applied to land, but not to wealth, which was 3x more valuable, so younger sons were provided for. Black Death changed this, civil wars start, mobility, suicides, Kings replace it. (We may be unsure that the causes Rogers assigns did it, but we can be sure that it's strength in small units that kept Eng. democratic) Wages rose, tho landowner pmt. passed laws to keep 'em down. 1381, the Peasant's War (Wat Tyler a sideshow) the only real popular revolt in Eng. history. Causes: a) attempt (which was thereby initiated) to raise money rents (which had after 1348 been commuted from labor rents) b) Wyklif, attacking wealth of clergy. Revolution emancipated labor, tho priests who led it were executed. 15th century an ideal one - real wages high. Henry 8 took monastery land (⅓ of Eng), it was turned into sheepwalks, prices rose, real wages fell. H. 8's base money inflation did it. He also confiscated guild lands (town corporation) Destitution so bad that Edw. 6 had to pass Poor Law. Eliz. passed

~~Plague~~

~~Rose Wars~~

Successful revolt

Labor Freezing Law

effect on individual - cf. Mill

apprenticeship & wage regulating law, bad. 1600-1700, pop. doubled to 5,000,000, by 1800 to 10,000,000. Poor law helped pauper class grew, dependent on workers. Each parish had to support own poor, so individual owners of whole parishes drove poor to other parishes. 1661 Pmt. passed corn laws to raise rents, & bound laborer to spot. - law of parochial settlement. So Eng. agr. laborers became lowish & stupid. Wages went below subsistence, Poor Law making difference. Often poor-rate consisted of whole landrent. Ind. revolution returned labor's mobility, changed landvalues. Poachers & smugglers never considered selves immoral, New capitalists grew rich in Nap. wars. Corn laws heightened after 'em. 1824, stagnant labor & anti-trade-union laws repealed. 19th century emigration of agr. labor lowers rents, lords have to make concessions like free education to keep 'em here. Land so entailed one cannot get ahold of it easily, agr. labor rises not at all. Peasant's common has been filched from him, this is the problem - to get it back.

Poor Law

Corn Law

More Freezing

Beveridge p. 18-19

take note vice versa

"capitalism" ✓

Ann. Rent of cert. Eng. wages

Quote

Trevelyan, G. M.

English Hist. in the 19th century.

Chap. V. Might have crushed France early. Pitt made errors, overconfident. Poland kept Prussia uninterested. Pitt follows father, in concentrating on non-Eur. land-the spice islands. Negro revolt, successful to this day, in Haiti. 1796-8, the period between coalitions, Eng nadir. Med't all French, sea power uninfluential on continent. '97, Eng. isolated - not Pitt's
p. 90 fault, but ancien régime's. '97, Spithead & Nore naval mutinies, the former bringing improved conditions. '98, battle of Nile won, inspiring 2nd coalition, which fell too. Eng. the only other true "nation" besides France then, so she held out alone until Fr. had turned her enemies into nations also.
96 Nelson's fleet & Industrialism Eng's 2 big weapons.
1801, Addington replaces Pitt, Czar Paul murdered, Copenhagen.
→ 1806, Eng. took Cape of Good Hope from Dutch for good, as defensive measure - remarkable how empires are built by defence.

Chap. VII.

Tories inspired & conducted 1803-15 Nap. war. 1793-1830, Whigs had no power - (reaction vs. Jacobinism) - & civil liberties were much repressed - bringing '98 in Ireland. Fox led reformers vs. Pitt, & Grenville & after 1801 Foxites crept back into Pmt, & civil liberties reappeared, but reform movement
→ was dead, war kept it so. 1804, war. Pitt back, invasion threat. Boulogne
King refuses to make Fox co-dictator. 3rd coalition. 1805 Brest
Trafalgar, Austerlitz. '06, Pitt d. Jena. Ministry of all-the- talents abolishes slave trade, lasts 1 year, '06 Fox d., a Rochefort
warmonger at last. Whigs meet Cath. emancipation. Crown keeps them out, & they refuse to alleg. with anti-reformers. Many small groups in, no 2 party system, G. III. Perceval - Liverpool - Castlereagh secured talents. Canning had to go, quarreled with Castle. 1807, Canning grabs Danish fleet at Cape., anticipating Tilsit.

Before teaching on them again, read Malthus & A. Smith.
Paxson, Fred. Logan, When the West is Gone, read some day.

Chap. VIII

1808, Nap. summarily takes over Sp., people resist; Eng. helps, garrisons had to be kept everywhere. All armys but British, & they, too, before Wellington, committed atrocities like Japs all over the place - ran wild in conquered towns. British labor ground low, by blockade etc. Unlike 1914-18, oppression the gov. policy. p. 129, good quote. Landlords & clergy, who governed, enjoyed war, they were more prosperous than ever. Indust wanted peace. Not Orders in Council, but American trade & new industries in had initiated Berlin decrees. 1811-12, Nap. took men from Sp. for Russia, p. 130 Wellington invades, & gets thru Pyrenees. Nap to Elba. Castlereagh's valuable work. Eng. gets only 3 spice islands for war. - but she was rich in India, & kept Malta, Cape of G. H., Ceylon, Heligoland, Mauritius, & Br. Guiana, - it is funny as bile to hear him tell it, it sounds so angelic - & Singapore (tho the rest of Malaysia was returned to Dutch, despite Raffles good administration)

→ Good summary of enclosure. Many ideas in it. pp. 142-152 Good for paper
Trevelyan's excellent sense in one thing: an unreasoning Eng. nationalism.

→ ✓ *1795-1834, Speenhamland Poor Law in action, which doled. Wages sank, . . .

2 objects of paper: a) Injustice, the necessity of inclosure
b) Faulty modern analysis of forces, causing unemployment, etc.
Bring in Turner, here.

Mantoux: Ind. Rev. in 18th Cent.
1927

Intro: 60
I c. 176[illegible] & on, industrialism in Eng. Its roots come first.
II. Def. Not large market. (Staehle said producing for anticipated instead of actual demand) (Colbert had factories — Gobelin, e.g., state fostered, privileged. They died with him. Contemp. Eng. privileged industries out in 1640 et seq.
III. Spontaneous (non-statist) growth of big woolen factories, 16th cent. (Due to enclosure?) Employing many poor people.
IV 16th cent. "manufacture", landless class a factor.
Specialization of the object. But no machines. (Aside from this it seems to be just the same as modern "cap.ism". Small non-cap.ist has no chance, just as today. Not because of lack of cap., but lack of land.) "Factory" originally meant "mill", a shed under which men worked - machinery (idea) came later, c. 1800. Much machinery before 1760. & many improvements c. 1760 were not new machines, but new methods - coal to smelt iron, e.g. No real difference in the two - factory & manufacture. (So 16th cent. inclosure started it - maybe 18th aug. enc. gen. ira kick. But inclosure seems to be the story.) (in creation of "capitalist" power, i.e.)
V Confines - Central & N. Eng, 1760-1800. Wool ind.

Chap. I - The Old Type of Ind. & Its Evolution

I) Wool - sheep & looms (Flemish), trade for mine & gold. Privileged. Main manufacture. 17th cent., centers scattered
II) all over north. Now just (Manchester (& Leeds) & Glasgow. Workers not landless. (The pre-inclosure land system was very faulty - too rigid) (& many other faults) (Complicated medieval rules stopped progress at this time)
III) Poor communication &. ∴ incomplete division explain 17th cent. decentralization. The home weaver. Loom, hand. Simple machinery, simple, patriarchal, organization. A man might put out some of his wool. But "master" & workman were not different. Small landowners, the masters. 18th cent., slow growth. The "domestic system"
IV Merchants of wool, important. Laborers were small landowners

farmers & their wives. Merchants bought up wool, farmed it out. They were the bankers - loaned money, got looms, then "mills & shops" (Very unsatisfactory expl. - I don't get it) Some workmen were in towns, completely dependent. ~~Owned homes, but nothing else~~ does not say Home industries - few factories. on merchants - manufacturers.

very baffling (not so why)

V But landowner-workers, with common land too, were not badly off. 3 days work kept them all week. Wages "too high."
pp. 68-70 → But town laborers (presumably landless) were dependent, wages
p. 73 → fell. Unemployment there too. Terrible long hours, etc. Enclosure had driven workers to the towns - so they were landless. This is 18th cent., early.

VI The conflict between "capital" & labor long preceded the technical revolution. Labor unions never appeared until
p. 76 → workers were ~~were~~ dispossessed. c. 1700, 1st union made by the skilled, high-waged, wool-combers (typical) Weavers next - & merchants replied by force, & laws. Then knitters. Frequent strikes, 18th cent. 1773, Spitalfields Act, regulating Weavers' wages high. c. 1750, great Newcastle coal strike. (Monopoly of coal trade at time)

VII Free trade resulted from rev. 2 kinds of restriction - medieval & mercantile. Since guilds, a mass of petty officials - checkers, weighers, etc, - who failed to prevent fraud but stifled
p. 86, 87 → progress. This dying out by 1776, but mercantilism in full
p. 87 → sway. But privilege ruled progress. Competing Irish industry stifled by export duties. Export of raw wool forbidden. Progress
→ p 86. in industry ceased - always wanted more privileges. 1781-88, raw wool producers (Arthur Young Annals of Agr. on their side), tried to abolish duties, failed.

VIII Up till this time, "manufacturing" was a change in
→ p. 91 ec. relationships, not in technique. Merchants eventually became owners of capital, & then land (they were live wires) The new industries sprang from trade.
(Then ind. rev. came from freedom in cotton producing)

~~Mantoux~~ ~~The Industrial Revolution~~

(Start class with Rousseau quote. Then mention human nature, changing it, stupidity of trying to. Then give axiom – not to be proved, based on observation)

Chap. II : Commercial Expansion

Trade may spur on industry & vice versa.

I) Modern factory system anticipates demand, unlike old. Produces for unknown market (remember Staehle?) Trade improvements vital. Holland when mistress of seas carried other people's goods – & her own industries started to grow, but her cash money was from ships (use of force important – also being there 1st) Eng. took it away, & her industries started to grow. (Parallel growth of democracy & ~~&~~ then trade & progress in Holland, Eng., & U.S., interesting)

II Seas "belonged" to strongest. John Seldon, Mare clausum, one refuting Grotius, Mare liberum. Trading cos chartered, c. 1590. Cromwell's navigation act stimulated Eng. shipbuilding (infant ind. argument) (but not a good one) 1688 was great bourgeois advance politically. Bank of Eng. & E. India Co. followed soon after. c. 1696, rival E. I. Co formed, amalgamation came 1708 – (political means results in amalgamation.) Am. revolution put a check to mercantilism.

III. 1700-1800, trade increased 7 times, & slowly gaining momentum. Exports & imports vary together – exp.s slightly more valuable (odd ???) 1780-90 big boom starts. (Both Sp. wars & 7 years war started at base of depressions – my observation – remember great war spirit of times – hmmm.) Merchants were daring risk-takers & organizers. Silk & Cotton ind. – brought on by foreign trade

IV Liverpool started to grow with shipping at ~~the~~ 1688. Irish wool, into Manchester. 1750, surpassed Bristol as trade. ~~Bristol~~ Grew before Manchester factories did. Spice & slave trade, tea introduced

cotton to Manchester, which then became great spinner.
V 18th cent. Eng. grew from regional to nationwide trade - because
→ p. 111 unlike Fr. & Ger, she had no internal customs. Yearly fairs.
Merchants risky business. Peddlers.
VI Roads poor. Coastwise trade. 17th, a very few turnpike
roads, but users rebelled continuously. '45, king's armies hindered by
poor roads, brought spurt, rapid improvement. Blind Metcalf, around
Manch. area. c 1800, Telford & Macadam. Thieves endemic.
High rates freight.
VII No internal waterways. Coal all came by sea from Newcastle. Then
Worsley to Manchester canal by coal owning Duke of Bridgewater,
& by 1800, a sufficiency. (Then too many, fictitious values, etc.)
Landowners led the way. New merchants - mon.s, too. Wedgwood, bought
canal & land around Etruria (Stafford.) Inland towns like Birm.
new world trade overseas. R. R.s have. now replaced som.
VIII "The division of labor is limited by the extent of the
market" - Smith. New merchants became landowners, & vice
versa. Complete class alliance.

Chap. III - The Redistribution of the Land.

Great Britain full of latifundia today.
I. But yeomen once - small, independent landowners. Won Crécy,
Poitiers, Agincourt, & Monster Moor. c. 1700, were ⅙ pop. Farmed
& did cottage wool work on side. Townmen & larger holders got
yeomen's land. By 1800, on the whole. During 18th cent.,
→ p. 145 P. by many Acts, enclosed commons. This preceded ind. rev. -
& were continued into it. Originally there had been an equal
distribution, periodical redistribution. Open Field system - one man's
land scattered in small parcels all around. Original equality
now gone, by 1700 but some remained. This system found all over
Europe. Origin of system disputed.
III No one could exactly remember his own boundaries, so
→ much work had to be done commonly (not a perfect system) But
produce was received individually (bad combination) Grand division into 3

fields, rotation. During most of years, when land was in grass, it was common pasture.

IV Waste land absolutely common. Could be used for sheep, wood, peat, fish, . Common belonged legally to the lord of the manor. Could be used only by those who owned land elsewhere & in proportion to the amount they owned. But landless were actually allowed use of commons. Enclosure "threatened their existence."

→ pp. 155-6

V 16th cent., Ref. & siezing of church land by great nobles spurred them on to grab, by force, what commons they could. Plough land turned into sheep land. Sir T. More objects. Henry VII & VIII seem to object, too. Isle of Wight depopulated, e.g., & unemployment created – as sheep were subbed for peasants. Towns pulled down, etc. Not too widespread. (But why did change in ownership have to accompany change from ~~sheep to~~ "husbandry" to sheep? Force) 1549 riots against inclosure, Kett the leader hanged. During later 16th, & 17th, inclosure slackened, but never stopped. (The old land system was bad, but the new worse. Evidently sheep were more profitable, but were not put on by the peasants) It was an attempt to increase productivity.

→ 157-8

VI ↘ Flocking to towns began at beginning of 18th, before machines. Productivity low – much uncultivated land, & much tenantry. Cattle breeding just promiscuous. ⅓ fallow each year, great waste. 1731, Jethro Tull, new practical suggestions for intensive cultivation. Rise of bourgeoisie (& other things?) woke lords up to make estates pay more. Townshend started off Norfolk ~~Revolution~~ lords, & 1730-60, 10× increase in L.V. Change of lords all over Eng. – from hunters to gentleman farmers. Improved methods everywhere. Long term leases, etc. Arthur Young, propagandist of new efficiency. Agr. rev. preceded machines.

→ p. 160-1

→ p. 164

p. 168 →

VII The open fields the obstacle to new efficiency. Improvements impossible, progress hamstrung by lack of a field for private

initiative. 16th & 17th cent. enclosures done against king's will, 18th cent. with his help. But, by force & fraud, legal cunning, big landowners got all, little ones dispossessed. Pmt. all big lords – situation entirely was that before, inclosure e. ½ land was in big holdings, messily run, but enough land was parcelled to small owners & in commons that wages were kept up & unemployment down. Inclosure was big lords, inspired by new efficiency & new attitude of living, tricking acts small owners.) "Commissions" of great landowners did the redividing – theoretically was to be redivided in proportion as before, but actually not – & small farms, without commons, were not big enough to be independent.

p. 170 →

all good material

VII, VIII Creation of landless proletariat. Engrossing & new improved methods made to seem inseparable, mistakenly. Unemployment ~~appears~~ results. But definitely a more efficient system of production, & rents rose everywhere (margin going down should have affected rents, too)

IX Landless moved to towns.

Part II - Inventions & Factories

Chap. I - The beginnings of machinery in the textile industry.

Distinction between machine & tool is motor power (poor – Black Grenville punching drill, hand & motor operated; & many others) No, machine is thing that does complicated act with crude power (poor ⅔ – machines generally do simple things) Cotton the 1st machine ind. c. 1600, 1st machine opposed for making unemployment. By 1700 in, a knitter, "stocking frame," used at home, machine rented. A "corporation" (union) hindered down from middle ages, power soon destroyed. Workhouse children sold as apprentices – c. 1700.

S. 14 - Spital fields weavers were Huguenots, came in 1685. But 1st. machine did it much cheaper, smuggled in. 1716, Lombe learns it's secret. 1718 got it patented, built big factory on Derwent, water power, 1st, in Eng., success. Many soon came, & new rich

soon got social & pol. prestige. But silk not favored by nature, never grew very much - It. & Fr. did better.

II. 17th cent. cotton began, & wool got protective legislation. — but this rather encouraged home production. Lancashire - raw cotton from E. & W. Indies, China, ~~etc~~ Smyrna, Etc. Constant humidity & even temp. of Manchester favored it - cotton needs them. Linen & cotton mixed. Not as skilled as Indians. Tariff of 1700 responsible for present industry. Wool kept objecting but failed

III. A cottage ind. at 1st. Wet, misty climate. Still small by 1760. Class of big risk-takers, the Flemish masters, who bought cotton & farmed it out to cottagers. 1st improvements made by mechanics, not scientists. 1733, John Kay invents fly shuttle, 1st important patent. Kay hounded, but shuttle in full use by 1760. New spinner had to be found to keep up with new weaving speed.

IV. Wyatt & Paul invention Patents '38. Contained principles that Arkwright & Hargreaves later used. But was faulty, & failed to make money - both when backed by much capital, & when not.

V c. 1770, Hargreaves Spinning Jenny & Arkwright's water wheel both. Jenny - a fingerless spinning wheel, simple, indefinite no. of threads at once. Like Kay, was mobbed, & lost patents to sharpies. Lancaster then threw over wool for cotton completely.

Chapter II - The Factories

Arkwright plenty patent. Built up business.

I A barber & hair-dealer, had no 1st hand knowledge of textiles. Invented machine like Wyatt's, author thinks no better, his business capacity made difference. Started poor. (as so many of them have done, not partly disproving "capital" idea.)

The "water frame," a spinning jenny run by water power. Spun strong enuff cotton thread so linen warp could be done away with. Factory at Cromford-on-Derwent. Goods up to Indian. Attempt to tax out of existence failed. Many improvements in spinning by Ark, so all done by machines. Expanded, moved back

to Lancashire, famous. Careful ~~the~~ businessman, always kept control. 2 patents, '698 & '75. 13 years. Sued patent breakers, long expensive lawsuits.

III One Thomas Highs, an unassertive man, & poor businessman, revealed as inventor of water frame, & jenny. Arkwright no inventor at all – he pilfered all his devices. His patents drawn in vague language, so no one could get anything from them, or because he did not know. But, an able administrator, he went on granting, & the patents were broken. Best spots on rivers, he put plants there. Whopping profit. Social & political prestige followed quickly. 1st great capt. of industry, hated worker.

—238-7

IV Weavers now behind spinners. Crompton - mule. - the acme of spinning machines, still used. ~~[redacted]~~ A great improvement, but not patentable - too similar. Gift to public. Discouraged later inventions, disappointed. No organizer. By 1790, mule replaced jenny. Fineness & strength of threads made Eng. surpass India.

V Cartwright a young student, no mechanic at all, invented power loom, so weaving could keep up with spinning. But Cart. no businessman. & weavers burned his factory down, 1790. But Scotch put it to use (like mule), & by 1809 widely used, no profit to C., who just got a grant from gov. Weavers' wages fell so low that for a while it was cheaper to use men than machines. 1785 – Bell, a Scot, invents rotary press, for printing cloth. Dying improvements. Chlorine bleach, 1789.

Importance of Iron

VI Cottage & mill industry had gradually merged, with improvements of machinery. Water power at foot of Pennine range, to north, east, & south east located mills. (& Clyde valley, too) But other water power districts lacked climate. Meagre beginnings of joint stock organization.

best land in locating industry.

VII Colossal increase of cotton production, ~~1~~ 1780 – 1800. Expanded Depressions begin. 1788-89. '93, '03, '10, more dep. Each time a recovery. '88 just cotton, but '93 general, with no "overproduction" theory possible – as markets called for more. '93 precipitated by financial panic – banks stopped paying, & all '29 symptoms. Canal speculation. & "over" expansion of trade, booms, preced-

Manteux

ed it. ('93)

VIII Terrific gov. regulation at this time. Cotton protected, & exports subsidized, tho it was unnecessary. Protectionist sentiment hard to overcome – even exports opposed. '85, Pitt tried to put excise tax on cotton, failed. (Because land valuations were not revised, new city & mill-site landowners were not properly taxed, resistance pas?) Freedom responsible for cotton's growing so fast – old industries, even wool, were hamstrung with medieval regulations on production – which cotton avoided. Freedom of exchange limited at this time.

p. 267 →

IX Localism kept 18th cent. wool inventions from spreading fast. Wages & machining in Yorkshire wool. p. 268 Coal in Yorkshire made industry there beat Norwich, etc. Inventions made in free cotton industry, i.e. jenny, were often used in wool. More robs. Jenny used in cottages. Needs for wool. Cott the 1st, c. 1790, rivals grew fast – cloth merchants turned manufacturers. (weavers) Cottagers object, tho not at 1st-hit hard. Cottages last till 1850.

→ p 270

As no wool-combing machines had been made, combers unions & strikes were potent.

Cartwright invents combing machine. Common use by 1830.

Lancashire cotton continues to lead Yorkshire wool, due to freedom. Wool soon got it.

→ p. 276

Chapter III · Coal & Iron

Iron & steel inventions came at same time as textiles. More than a coincidence.

I. 18th cent. imported iron from Sweden. (& Am. colonies – cf. Myers) 16th & 17th iron mining. nobles owning them. Secondary ind. at Birmingham & Sheffield. Joint stock co.s mined coal. Individual nobles mined coal. Identity of miners & industrialists. Vertical combination, & horizontal. This combination & division of labor, started c. 1750. Ireland & U.S.

→ p. 283

mining encouraged, manufacture forbidden.

II Lack of fuel reason for backwardness in iron making. Charcoal used. Deforestation due to other causes, too (conversion into pasture), & threatened ind. Coal in use at time, but not for smelting, as its sulfur ruined pig iron. Newcastle sea coal. Thruout 17th cent, experiments unsuccessful, hindered by wars & riots of time. Darby's use coke with partial success, c. 1720.

III Now pig iron had to be turned into malleable, new bottleneck. Onions & Cort simultaneously invent "puddling", Cort gets credit. Rolling mill part of invention. 1784. Like Kelly Knight, but for different reasons, he lost patents & invention became widely used. (Eternal appeals to state at this time - everyone protected.) Chemical inventions, not machining, made difference in iron ind. Many small mechanical inventions. Huntsman invents cast steel. - very high quality.

IV So, with fuel problem solved, great iron foundries appeared. Darby family, Wilkinsons. - industrialists. Wilkinsons, ditto. Built own canals & r.r.s. Triple presence of iron, coal, & water power located factories. New South Wales mines. Scotch Lowlands. Roebuck, Bacon, Cramshay. The Cannon Works - Roebuck's, in the Lowlands. Sheffield & NewCastle grew. Partnerships the usual organization. - sleeping partners. 5-6 a business.

V By 1800, Sweden outdone. Iron ~~bridges~~ bridges 1st built. Wilkinson, no inventor, the driving force. He also made 1st iron ships, pipes. Now machinery could be indefinitely produced, & steam engine could not have come without iron improvements.

Chap. IV - The Steam Engine

Empirical origin of most discoveries.

I. Steam engine 1st used to pump water for power. Most of Eng. could not have industries - too flat. 1698, Savery's pump, for drying co. mines. Suction from contracting steam the power - 100 ft. the limit. Unsatisfactory. Newcomen's replaced it - steam working a piston. Widely used. Far from perfect.

II. Watt. Greenock, Scotland. Highly cultured, mechanical too. Improved on Newcomen: '69 1) Steam condensed in different chamber from cylinder. 2) Use steam on the other side of the

Montcux.

Watt's invention

pistons, instead of just atmosphere. Many minor improvements, which changed steam engine from pump to source of power in self. Pump motion changed to rotary by variations of simple eccentric. - "the train today."

Allies, & practical development Soho

III John Roebuck of Carron & Matthew Boulton of Soho helped make going industry out of it. 1st, partnership with Roebuck, a friend. But then Roebuck went bankrupt - he was no landowner, only an entrepreneur.

Boulton took over partnership, 1774.

Patent power

IV Boulton a landowner, & efficient manufacturer. After vicissitudes, 25 year patent & success. Had to sue for patent royalties. Also mined one Hornblower, competing inventor, by suit.

V c. 1780, Watt's engines used for textile power. Many valuable helpers & co-inventors, but Patent of 1775 - gave all to Watt & Boulton.

Canals, coal

VI Canals carried coal everywhere, suitable factory sites multiplied. But factories did not move much on that account, as they already were located with some regard for coal.

Part III - The immediate Consequences.

Chap. 1 - The Factory system & population.

pop. spurts

I. Pop. slowly growing up till c. 1780-1800, started up. 1798, Malthus wrote, when pop. rate was going up to keep it down.

moves north

II c. 1800, pop. moved north, so now it predominates there, about 7-5 over S.E.

→ p. 366

III Move to cities came slightly before machine age.

p. 370 →→

Southern towns, even with coal, steam, etc., decayed. (New uses for land, new land values. cf. rotten boros, etc.)

IV —

374

Chap. 2 - Industrial Capitalism

I. 18th cent. cap.ist types - landowner, banker; also manufacturers, a very few. - but not very potent, (as they did not exploit.) Gradually industrialists assumed modern shape.

II Men of business ability, not technical knowledge, rose to top. Daring souls, who made great outlays & took

great risks, & often lost; ~~made money~~ rose to top. South had ready made merchant-cap. class, but ind. went north. Genealogically, cap.ists were gromen, (live wire advancers), as were many of the new proletariat.

II Organizing ability made the successful businessmen. Most knew nothing but their work, but there was also an:

III Intellectual élite. Boulton - artistic very, loved fame more than gain. "Honesty is the best policy." But others worked differently. Philanthropic, etc. But also spent a lot of money on self & family. Wedgwood artistic, sensitive, cultured. Chemist. Democrat & pro-revolution. Anti-slavery. Not class conscious. Nice to his workers. Refused to take patents (save 1, an undiscovery). Welcomed competition. But most of them brutal, grasping, immoral, shortsighted.

IV Pitt's taxes on production unpopular. Boulton intelligently objected. But Ass. of Manf.s, led by Wedgwood, stifled free trade with Ireland. But free trade sentiment began to grow. - French treaty. Armed front against strikes, which destroyed property. Employers blacklist (George's point) Laissez-faire came in, c. 1800.

p. 404 → V Industrialists owned lots of land - whole towns. Robert Peel. Ats son became the 1st Ind.ist prime minister - but was landowner interest representer.

Chap. III The Ind. Rev. & Labor

I. Machines universally rioted against. Laws passed to prevent this.

II Poor law authorities sold pauper children to industrialists as slaves. Child labor a normal thing then. The worst conditions you ever heard of. c. c. i. 1825

VII Helplessness of laborer preceded revolution - rev. accentuated it. (exploiters became liver wives, probably the expl.)

p. 428 → Ind. money wages higher than agr. But, c. 1793, depressions started reining them. High wages drew many from farms,

→ p. 435 then depressions threw them out of work. Unemployment became general - an industrial policy. (?) Women &

Manterx

recap.

441 →

442 →

443 → Pento.

children widely employed.

IV. War brought double prices. 1801, enclosure speeded to grow potatoes. Drunkenness the result of poverty. Ind. rev. not the cause - agr. France worse off at this time. Great "housing" problem in new cities. Labor, even so, in debt.

V. Poor Law. Dates from Elizabeth. (Atha - 1st income) Object - to "suppress" the professional beggars & vagrants who came. They were cruelly jailed & maltreated if they moved, & refused to work. Object of laws to prevent their moving from common to common. Law lasted till c. 1790, when ind. rev. destroyed it - free movement of labor necessary. Poor rate supplements to wages given. - & as result, people stopped working. Also, wages were lowered (Troeltsch take note - "subsidizing housing is subsidizing employers who pay low wages," you to contrary.) Industrious employees the only sufferers.

Chap. IV - Intervention & Laissez-Faire.

Workers organized soon, as wages tended to minimum.

I. Dispossession caused unionism. Very strong. 1799 Act against them, in "laissez-faire" spirit of times. Till c. 1825, unions horribly persecuted. Secret societies. (So, observe, abject subjection has never been the worker's lot. Unions will maintain themselves with no help from us.)

→ 462 II Unions reactionary - they tried to keep the medieval regulations. Their aims: apprenticeship regulations, legal settlement of wages, destruction of machinery. Parliament was not completely on the owners' side because it wanted to keep its own power (?) But hamstringing rules, designed to create a small privileged labor monopoly group, gradually were disregarded.

III Regulation of wages, too, revival attempt failed. Around Pitt's time, laissez-faire view A. Smith came fashionable. Regulation temporarily recognized, but laws not potent. Laissez-faire as engine of exploitation became popular.

IV Some philanthropic movements at time. Various ideas current.
Some industrialists humanitarian. - Boulton, Wedgwood, David
Dale, Robert Owen.
V 12 etc. hour days. 1802 Peel gets thru humanitarian
Factory Inspection Act - little effect
Conclusion.

History 42

Suggested Topics for Written Reports

(20-30 pages)

The topics listed below are to be regarded only as general suggestions; the student's further reading will suggest more appropriate titles. The reading material mentioned is to be regarded as suggestive rather than exhaustive; it is supplied here so as to aid the student in finding quickly some of the basic materials needed for a satisfactory essay. Additional bibliographical information can be obtained in the works of Williams, Grose, A. T. Milne, the Subject-Index of the British Museum, and the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.

A. Political and Constitutional

1. Burke and the Responsibilities of Empire.

   a. Burke's Works (1865 - var. eds.)
   b. Sabine, History of Political Theory
   c. Beer, G. L., Old Colonial System, 1660-1754
   d. Beer, G. L., British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765
   e. Hotblack, K., Chatham's Colonial Policy
   f. Egerton, H. E., Short History of British Colonial Policy
   g. Laski, H. J., Political Thought in England

2. Interpretations of the Constitutional Justification for the American Revolution.

   a. Trevelyan, G. O., American Revolution
   b. McIlwain, C. H., The American Revolution
   c. Coupland, R., The American Revolution and the British Empire
   d. Keith, A. B., Constitutional History of the First British Empire
   e. Egerton, H. E., Short History of British Colonial Policy
   f. Hertz, G. B., The Old Colonial System
   g. Holland, B. H., Imperium et libertas

B. Economic

1. Defoe and laisser-faire capitalism.

   a. Defoe, The Complete English Tradesman in Familiar Letters(1726) esp. pp. 53-69; 363-388
   b. Defoe, Plan of the English Commerce (in Scarce and Valuable Tracts on Commerce, ed. J. R. McCulloch) pp. 105-144
   c. Laski, H. J., Political Thought in England, pp. 281-316
   d. Biscoe, M. A., Economic Policy of Walpole
   e. Perris, G. H., Industrial History of Modern England
   f. Mantoux, P., The Industrial Revolution in 18th Century England

Mason: Please don't lose the $5.00 under this syllabus in your typewriter. Bice

g. Rees, J. F., "Phases of British Commerical Policy in the 18th Century", in Economica, v. 14 (1925)
h. Lipson, Economic History of England
i. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, Chs. IV & V
j. Bland, A. E., Brown, P. A., Tawney, R. H., English Economic History, selected documents

2. Locke and Smith; A Comparison of their Individualistic Attitude toward Society and the State: The Secular Roots of Laissez-faire Capitalism.

a. Locke, Of Civil Government (Everyman ed.)
Introduction, pp. vii-xviii
Ch. I, pp. 117-18
Ch. IV, pp. 127-128
Ch. V, paragraphs, 26-28; 33,34,36,39,40,43-45,50-51
Ch. VI, paragraphs, 54,57,63
Ch. VII, paragraphs, 85,87,88,93,94
Ch. IX, pp. 179-182
Ch. XI, pp. 183-190
b. Smith, Adam, Wealth of Nations
c. Wagner, D. O., ed. "Adam Smith", in Social Reformers, pp. 3-26
d. Laski, H. J., Political Thought in England, pp. 281-316
e. Laski, H. J., Rise of Liberalism
f. Stephens, L., History of English Thought in the 18th Century, 2 v.

C. Religion

1. Wesley and the Industrial Revolution

a. Warner, W. J., The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution
b. Curnock, N., et al. eds., Journal of John Wesley, 8 v., 1909-16.
c. Winchester, C. T., Life of John Wesley, 1906
d. Creed, J. M., and Boyes Smith, Religious Thought in the 18th Century
e. Bogne, B., and Bennett, J., History of Dissenters from the Revolution in 1688 to the Year 1808. (1808-12 ed. in 4 v.; 1833-9 in 3 v.)
f. Abbey, C. J., and Overton, J. H., The English Church in the 18th Century, 2 v. (1878)
g. Morley, H., ed., Illustrations of English Religion, Ch. XII. From 1714 to 1789, pp. 345-85
h. Mantoux, P., The Industrial Revolution in 18th Century England.

D. Social

1. England through Purefoy Eyes: A Review of the Purefoy Letters, 1735-53 (2 v. G. Eland, ed.)

2. Theories of Philanthropic Institutions in the 18th Century

a. Eden, F. M., The State of the Poor
b. Leonard, E. M., The Early History of English Poor Relief
c. Gray, B. K., A History of English Philanthropy
d. Marshall, D., English Poor in the 18th Century
e. Jones, M. S., Charity School Movement of the 18th Century
f. Bowden, W., Industrial Society in England towards the End of the 18th Century
g. Lipson, E., Economic History of England, v. 3
h. Botsford, J. B., English Society in the 18th Century as Influenced from Overseas

E. Military and Naval

1. Marlborough as Strategist

a. Churchill, W. S., Marlborough
b. Belloc, H., The Tactics and Strategy of the Great Duke of Marlborough
c. Fortescue, J. W., History of the British Army

2. Chatham as an exponent of the strategy of "total warfare".

a. Hotblack, K., Chatham's Colonial Policy
b. Corbett, J., England in the Seven Years' War, 2 v. 1907
c. Mahan, A. T., Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783
d. Fayles, C. E., "Deflection of Strategy by Commerce in Eighteenth Century", in Royal United Service Institute Journal, vol. lxviii (1923)

F. Science

1. The influence of the Royal Society on the development of any branch of science in the 18th century.

a. See B. Williams, The Whig Supremacy 1714-60, pp. 435 and 436 for bibliography

G. Historiography

1. The Hammonds' Use of "Evidence": - an examination of "historical truth".

a. An analysis of either the Town Labourer or Village Labourer, or any specific chapter in either. Compare other parallel works and check the reviews in learned periodicals.

2. Who was Hannah Lightfoot? A Judgment on John Lindsey's The Lovely Quaker. (1939)

Towels 1

Sheets 2

Socks 15½ prs.

Hdkfs 8

Shirts 4

underpants 1

" shirts 2

Read Gardiner - he backs up Oppenheimer.

Perkins, Nov. 23

Pitt - Newcastle	1757-61
Newcastle	Oct 1761 - May 1762
Bute	May 1762 - April 1763
Grenville	Apr. 1763 - July 1768

D. of Bedford 10, Devonshire 12, Lord Rockingham 10, Pownall 11
Anson 15, Hardwicke 14, Henry Fox 12.

Politics from politicians viewpoint
Narrative to Grenville
Politics from scholars viewpoint.

King looked too as prime mover, ministers his stooges, just as in 1688. George not divine righter, but looked to self as leader. Good politician. No organized political parties as there have not been all along. Parties personized. c. 1760, "Whig" & "Tory" labels his general character, but not how he would vote. Leaders would have 10-15 followers. Universal desire for middle of the road, accounting for Whig long success. As Whigs were moderate, no opposition could grow up, & Whig ties loosened. Newcastle worked thru 36 intermediary Whips, rather than directly, as today. Aristocratic, territorial, professional, factional bonds held people in these small packs. They voted on special interest lines. Many landlords, owners of pocket boros. H. Fox the factional type, the most common types. Prof. types were sailors & sojers.

George had advantage - crown was a permanency. Men who stuck to King, were King's friend, you were safe, kept your offices & interests & sinecures no matter what. As long as patronage was only weapon to be used vs. crown, crown won. Idea of patriot King. Popular support of George

Pitt would not co-operate with anyone but King, e.g. Even good Rockingham ministry, which repealed stamp act, but was opposed by King.

1762, Newcastle had to resign, under attack from Bute. Whigs then broke up, went over to King. Bishops, all appt. by Newc, even left him. Bute curried favor by ending the war. G. made Bute Treas. He was a court favorite & Scot, both unpopular. Wilkes came along with anti-Scot paper. Temper like anti-Semitism today. Bute passed laws by wholesale bribing. Hirelings not inspired, Bute a bad speaker. Medmenham Abbey debauchery, terrific, Dashwood one o'm, made Exchequer, ridiculous. Peace not pop., walking out on Fred., carried by bribing, making peers, sinecures. Purge of Newcastleites, very thorough & disagreeable - widow's pensions taken, etc. King grew less popular. Mobs & riots vs. Bute, so he resigned. Hoped to rule thru Grenville. Gr. not a Tory, nor was any leading politician. True Tory loves crown, but hates power of central gov.

Political effectives
- Territorial magnates - still on top by '39
- official class
- country gentry
- merchants
- town laborer

(country labor, bulk of pop., not effective, because they could not riot)

Berkowitz - Fri 2-5
sat. 10-1

Perkins Nov. 25

at least 20 pages in report

write on inclosure movement

Finished by end of vacation

Chatham Ministry July 1766 - Oct. 1768

Discordant elements
Grafton - his character
Townshend Acts 1767
France gets Corsica 1768
Wilkes ~~[illegible]~~ disqualified 1768
Grafton ministry Oct. 1768 - Jan 1770
North " Sound conservatism

George's personal difference with ~~Grenville~~ Pratt brought in Chatham. ~~He~~ Pratt only good ministry in 1760s. A Whig family connection ministry, mobs always rioted vs. Whigs, they could not go on demagoguery.

Pitt pro G. III, patriot King idea. Bad coalition of under ministers. Many King's friends. Lord Treas. the traditional prime minister's office, Pitt refused it, made Grafton it. Big landowner, only 24. (When Pitt was made Lord Chatham, he went into House of Lords, left Commons, as all new lords did) Grafton indolent, immoral publicly, fired for it. Letters of Junius - all time high in political invective - Junius still anonymous - Grafton his victim. Pitt got complete breakdown, gout (from drinking port wine) Methuen treaty of 1703 responsible - free trade with Portugal, tariff on Fr. wine)

France buys Corsica. Taxes on America revived. Pitt not allowed to resign for some time, then does, Grafton left, he actually had as much power in '67 as '69. 1770 a new era, with North ministry. George III's system of gov. working - he the head of administration.

In 1780s, as 1938, Eng thought finished.

North subsisted on more than bribery. There was some genuine support. - convinced King's friends

N. conservative, not Tory. Country squire conservatism. Wilkes trouble. But mob violence kicked back, reaction. This supported North. He proposed to

stand still a while. Most Eng. hist. written by 19th & 20th cent. liberals, who are unjustly harsh on North. North led Commons ~~well~~ well, best since Walpole. Pitt did well because he had war spirit behind him. North had no presence. No personal enemies. Brainy, worthy. Burke & C.J. Fox & Sheridan, brilliant Whig opposition. - North held them.

Agitation for corn law repeal. - Burke, Free trade.

(King's friends the bribed ones, others had principles)

Lipson - relevant parts
→ Manteux - whole thing
Bland, Brown, Tawney - relevant parts
Hammond - The Village laborer.

Standard ec. hist. ies, like Cunningham.
Look up some of my own material.

Hasbach:

Chap. 1 - Development of a Free laboring class

Bring 2 methods of getting giving, & 2 methods of making social system, into this. report.

4) The transition period.

From death of Queen Eliz. (c. 1603?) to beginning of 18th cent. enclosures. Germs of change are in this period. Enclosure, when it came, turned a landed but regulated class into a free but propertyless class.

Henrys VII & VIII bounced hand on the weakened nobles, forcing them to sell lands, & some bourgeoisie took them over; & being more thrifty, kept them. H. VIII distributed land among his favorites. After H. VIII 1) Military tenures were abolished, but not the rents which were originally a return for mil. protection. 2) Gentlemen went into business, & families intermarried, concentrating wealth. 3) 1660 Act forbidding wool export, & others commending use of wool. Wm. III tried to get landlords favor by giving them other privileges - corn laws etc., as wool laws were hard on landowners (rural). This protection made colonies necessary, to trade with, & so wars, & Am. rev. resulted. Under protection, food prices gradually went down, with increased efficiency, 18th cent. Improved transportation a factor. 1800, to pop. in London, & so food was produced "for the market"; & "prices" became important. 1740, animal growing cut in on corn growing. Rise in corn prices in Nap. war brought new enclosures to grow corn. Landlords a) Became more definitely masters of soil b) Became more efficient managers. (a) by enclosure, (b) by concentration.

Mil. tenures

p. 49. action of rent

Despite this 18th cent. rise (c. 20%) in real wages, they were ¼ as high as 15th cent.

p. 58

The ~~latter~~ former had been done mostly in later part of century. The latter involved turning very small farms into medium ones. But efficiency was not usually the motive - rather exploitation, p. 60. Lives of expensive luxury. Having political power, & much ec. power, active big lords enclosed, & there was no power to stop them. (Often it was less efficient the new way) Church favored it, as it raised tithe (by adding to taxable land & or raising rent of present land?, or by raising rent on commons?)

Effect on rent →

Rents increased (lowering margin) but tax on land did not. Expense of inclosure considerable. 1541-1702, prices rose faster than wages. - but as long as commons were available, this did not matter. Enclosure brought low wages & unemployment, p. 68. Women labored, before & after inclosure.

Free land
Low wages & unemployment

Chap. 2. The Development of an agricultural proletariat.

1) pre-inclosure 18th cent. villages, engrossing, & prices rev.

Appendix II - Enclosures & the Revolution in Prices.
This only to cover one aspect of it.

1) Not pasture to arable, but vice versa, was done with enclosed land. More profit per acre in wool than corn. (18th cent.) Better land used for pasture than corn. Bad seasons (wars & taxes too?) & trend to wools going too far raised corn prices. Poor land brought into use for corn then, & imports increased.

p. 370

2) 3)

Chap. III Demoralization of the Laborer.

1) Laws of Settlement & Removal

1795 (?) Settlement Act, 1663. - (evidently for removing vagrants from towns) not widespread important till 1796. Its effect - to prevent mobility of labor, till 1834 when gotten rid of. I guess this law provides that a man's home parish must care for him - so he did not move.

Hasbach: A Hist. of Eng. Agr. Laborer

London, P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster

Remember how straight slavery produced manors produced rents. – bad origin.

Chap. II – The Development of an Agr. Proletariat

1) 18th cent. pre-inclosure village, engressing of farms, & price revolution.

Landowners big, gentry, yeomanry, copyholders. All different gradations of degree of exploitation, among the general types listed. Lack of capital makes bad farmers. "Farmers" & "freeholders" other terms used – but amount of land owned made difference. Cottagers, or squatters, cultivated the commons, were relatively prosperous. – & landowners could get no servants nor laborers p. 78. This considered a great wrong, & squatters were accused of laziness because they had some leisure time. System of common rights etc. Much inequality & rent collection even so. Interests of conservation neglected where a common wood may be chopped by anyone. Great disadvantages in commons, disease spreading, etc. But commons were not always wastes. Cottagers (squatters on commons) were ∴ better off than present-day (1908) agr. laborer. Even before inclosure was considered cottagers were disliked by large farmers – (because they used commons too) & by estate agents (they made so much work. Pop. increased slowly while people were on the land. Good analysis pop. table, p. 102.

2) Break up of village.

Enclosures contributed to raising prices. Small owners taxes heavy c. 1815, high Nap. corn prices brought spec. in land, many enterprising yeomen ruined by depression afterwards. Yeomen disappeared, up & down. Commissioners of Enclosure were hard on small owners, in the redistributions from strip to square, & they lost pasture rights, too. Only a few could "prove" common rights.

Highwaymen

p. 88

Bad commons system

Is this progress? Bring in dependence of all wages on those of lowest. p. 67

injustice

& holdings were usually so small as to be impracticable, esp after small man's share of inclosure expenses was taken, so they lost land. Got to towns, "capitalist" - "proletariat" relations begin.

3) Position of Laborer, 1760 - 1800.

Price rise

War & indirect taxes raise prices, while wages go up less. pp. 116 - 117, 123. Public opinion had to be solved by "economists" drivel about advantage to nation of making the lowts work harder. Labor was immobile before - so inclosure contributed to ind. rev. - by freeing labor from restrictions. Actually dispossession encouraged idleness - unemployed man now had nothing to do but drink, previously he worked. They became less industrious & thrifty on the whole. Poor law's bad effect. £4,000,000 by 1800. Some families earned only 60% of their maintenance (were they ∴ uneconomic? No!)

Freedom

Idleness

Stress analytical character of my interp. - freedom & land goods, & always bring good results. etc. Inclosure not always good nor bad.

4) W. Madison types blamed on selves by some, on economics by most, p. 149. Bad use of commons was much over emphasized - actually they were much cultivated. Engrossing of farms was really bad - they were too big. Reason for it - easier to collect rent from one big farmer than many small ones. Under Tudors inclosure had been tried & Tudors stamped on it (presumably to weaken nobles) Marriage later & less frequent under enclosure. One group of writers took ethical, another an "economic" point of view, - someone (me) should synthesize the 2. Young finally discovers that small farmers may be more efficient than big ones in certain conditions. "Magic of property". - misinterpretation.

Hit the issue - did inclosure help ind. rev.? How?

Effect on individuals

HISTORY 42

This is a schedule of the general run of the lectures in the course, week by week, and of the reading as it falls by weeks. It should be remembered that some of the reading is rather specialized, and that everyone should get a general chronological plan of the period by reading some good standard texts. S. R. Gardiner's Student's History of England is again suggested as possibly the best for this purpose. There are other perfectly sound English history text books, but on the whole Gardiner gets in more facts with less effort to himself and to the reader than anyone else.

Of the text books that might be read, Hall and Albion A History of England and the British Empire is recent and sometimes suggestive. W. E. Lunt's History of England is a solid sort of text. G. M. Trevelyan's History of England is, like all Trevelyan's books, brilliantly written, full of suggestive thought and interpretation (some of which may annoy you, but that's no harm caused) and assuming a very considerable foundation of knowledge on the part of the reader. Basil Williams' The Whig Supremacy has it good and bad points. Its great merit is that it reminds the reader that there was a lot to life besides parliamentary manoeuvre and international war.

Anyone intending seriously to study eighteenth century England should turn to Lecky's monumental History. It is old, its interpretation of the development of parties is definitely dated, but it remains about the best single picture of eighteenth century England that you can find. It is quite easy to retouch Lecky's treatment of parliamentary development in the light of recent work by Namier. It is unnecessary to retouch his sketches of personalities and of foreign affairs.

October 2 - 14 The Social and Economic Background

Required:

Macaulay, History of England, Chap. III

Namier, L. B., England in the Age of the American Revolution - 1st 45 pp.

Namier, L. B., The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III, Chap. I (pp. 1-75)

The selections should be read in the order named. Macaulay is describing England about 1685, Namier deals with the social and political ideas that obtained about 1760. Social and political ideas, however, changed surprisingly little over the intervening years, and the two discussions join together very well.

Suggested:

Defoe, Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain

Trevelyan, Blenheim, Chaps. I-IV

This above all

To thine own self be true
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not, then, be false to any man.

October 16 - 30 — The Restoration, The Wars Against Louis XIV, The Foundation of Parliamentary Government

Required:

One of the following:

Clark, The Later Stuarts, Chaps. III-V, OR
Trevelyan, England Under the Stuarts, Chaps. XI-XIII

The Reigns of William III and Anne

Required:

Clark, The Later Stuarts, Chaps. VI-VIII

November 2 - 6 — The Whig Supremacy in Politics and Thought

Required:

Morley, Sir Robert Walpole

Suggested:

Macaulay, Essay on Horace Walpole
Hervey, Memoirs (ed. Sedgwick), pp. 132-184
Vaucher, Walpole et la Politique de Fleury
Smollett, Roderick Random, Chaps. 24-36

November 9 - 13 — The Mid-Century Wars, India, The Opening Stages of Political Struggle Between George III and Parliament

Required:

Mahan, Influence of Sea Power Upon History, Chaps. VII-VIII
Macaulay, Essay on William Pitt (the elder)

Suggested:

Critical Standards of the 18th Century
John Steegman, The Rule of Taste

Methodism
Lecky, England in the 18th Century, Vol. II, Chap. 9

November 16 - 27 — Further Parliamentary Developments, Early Reform Ideas

Required:

Trevelyan, G. O., The Early History of Charles James Fox, Chaps. III, V
Mahan, History of England, Vol. V, Chap. XLIV
Veitch, The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform, Chaps. I-V

Tutorial

Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian Wars

Don't have to finish it if I don't like it.
Probly won't finish it in 2 weeks - read about 200 pp.
Write a paper - take an hour, after having thought about it. "Thucydides as a social historian."
Come at 2:45 next time.

58 Day St.; Leighton school, - designed for defense, machine shop
Boston Trade School (if Pindge does not come thru) has begun
Sewer course - go visit.
Franklin Tech - Auto maintenance Diesel

Woke on Fortune p. 102, Sept, 1942

1. Clothes to laundry
2. Pants to pressers & cleaners
3. Self to S. Station for train to Dt.
4. Dr. Tisdale
5. If 6555, remember to return stuff, get pass.
6. Write home for bicycle, etc.
7. Write Julie

Macaulay on Wm. Pitt

Politically inconsistent. Personally affected. Not as base as many contemp. - wanted power, not petty gain. Appealed to men's minds, not their pockets as was customary, & had support of middle class. His family owned rotten boros. - old Sarum, b. 1708. Had great grandfather. Decided to go into army, commission was bought for him. '35, went for old Sarum. Walpole by his inability to share power drove all ablest men of times into Whig Opposition, the Patriots. Pitt of them. Pr. of Wales. (4 Pr. of W. in row hd Oppesition) This silenced Jacobite accusations '36, "Fred." m. Princess Saxe Gotha. Pitt caught eyes by maiden speech. - good dramatist, tho he said little. Spoke ex tempore, terrific at flourishes. Sincere - sanding. W. turned him out of army. W. now bought over Opp. - this breeds more Opp. Pitt made P. of W.'s Groom. Wommanger, '39, later penitent. Unjust persecutor of fallen W. Pitt hot out by new gov., so in opp., still. Attacked Hanover subsidies. Butchers of Monthars wills him 10 000 £. Pelhams expel Contents, make Broad Bottom. '45, Pelham & Newcastle force King to accept Pitt, at crisis. - Paymaster of Forces, where he refused to be corrupt, as was customary, & gained general admiration.

388

Macaulay - Essay on Wm. Pitt (cont.)

p. 387 From

Pitt excluded from Pelham & Newcastle's broad bottom gov. because King disliked him - so he turned coat, left pr. at W. P. & N. get him in, '45, foiling Contest simul. '51, pr. Fred. d. '45 — ?, oppesition slight. Pitts Hanover & Sp. policy opposite of '40. Murray & (elder) Fox, potential but insignificant. '54, Pelham d. Newcastle made Sec. of Tr. (Newc. was Pelham's bro.) But Newc. too short-sightedly power-seeking to make gov. work. - excluded good men (Fox). Pitt & Fox led powerful opp, tho '54 elections were favorable to gov. War brewing. Fox taken into gov. Russian subsidies, debate, '55, Pitt defeated, but becam famous. Loss of Minorca, & Byng, roused national passion. Byng killed to save Newcastle. Fox resigns, fearing to be next. Newc. resigns, King calls Fox & Pitt, but Pitt refuses to act with Fox. Pitt became Sec. of State, & leader of Commons. Seeming kicks him at, but a pop. hero. But Commons, not people, had to be reckoned with. Newc. had Court, aristocracy, boro interest, patronage, secret-service money. Both needed what the other had. Coalition, Pitt leading House & being Sec. of State. '58 Louisburg taken '59 - Gorea, Guadeloupe, Ticonderoga, Niagara Talon Squadron destroyed. Quebec. Pitt credited: Quiberon Bay. '60, Montreal. India taken. Pitt subsidized Fred., protected Hanover (turning coat again) '59, Fr. beaten at Minden, out of Hanover. Pitt's turning overlooked. Commune formed. National spirit deserves more credit than Pitt for victories. Everything good, '63.

Perkins, Nov. 18

India
  Its condition c. 1700
    Mogul Empire
The E. I. Co.
  Companies in general
  E. I. Co. chartered, 1600
  "New General Stock", 1657
    1689-1702
  Combination 1702
  Merger 1709
  End of Monopoly 1813
India 1740-60
  Eng. — Bombay, Madras, Calcutta
  Fr. - Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mauritius
Elements of struggle.

Problem of gov. regulation of business figures in this (monopoly, of course, is the reason why) E. I. Co. was not imperialistically intended. But (1740-60) it was easy to get sucked into imp. 1740, someone had to take over — they would move out to pacify someone, then stay there — keeping order necessary to trade (1765-85) 1900 miles each way, 130 m. pop. then, more now. Big as non-R. Europe. Language, caste, & race split Indians - no nation when Eurs came. When dutch came, Baber's Mogul Emp. was ruling - 1525-1725 app. Eurs founded factory, could do nothing more. Moguls were Mohammedan Mongols - set against their Hindu subjects, so could not use church as arm of state, as Turks could. Their gov. a matter of manoeuvre, divide & rule, depended on character of emp, — gov. from top, no local allied govs. 1707, death of Aurungzeb, last able Mogul, meant period of disorder, Eurs grabbed it. Changed in 1760 when they took Bengal, from S. Oil-like to real gov.ing body. (E.I. Co, i.e.) Joint-stock co.s a method of regulating trade - each co. had

its own territory monopoly. It was then impossible to trade as an individual, or even plow alone in Eng. Co. had to provide its own navy & diplomats. (Even so, monopoly was unnecessary.) Monop. lasted 213 years. Co. went thru all stages - had law powers

New general stock, '57, was keeping some profits for co. instead of putting them all back to holders. E.I. Co always open to great criticism, profit not considered justification. Its bullion exports worried bullionists of day. Criticized for having so high prices. Also for importing calico instead of exporting wool to India! Criticized for everything & anything they did - inevitable with privileged group, feeling vs. monopoly (& identification of joint stock co. with monop.!!) 1689, a 2and co. founded. Commerce was whig, & land was Tory. By 1702, competition shown impractical, they merged, turned from trading co. to sovereign power. Much corrupt money rolling in. Burke's impeachment of Hastings. Accidental nature of this empire. Mauritius way down by Madagascar. Fr. E.I. Co. had guaranteed dividends, so people did not develop it, it was sott. Fr. had great leaders, Dupleix & La Bourdonnais.

'48-'54, War in Carnatic by D.P. Moguls empire breaking up, era of pretender candidates, nawabs, & D.P. played with them successfully. No backing from home, he finally weakened as Br. strengthened (like Nap., L. 14, & Hitler) '54, recalled.

	Line	Frigates	
Fr.	67	31	1755
Eng.	131	81	

Same story as in Can.

Trevelyan, G.O
1880

The Early History of Charles James Fox

Ch. III Charles James Fox the son of Stephen Fox, Lord Holland, who figures in Pitt's history.

Small aristocracy ruled country, had been playing politics among selves, ignored others. Very unaffected, to each other - knew each other so well, no point in it. Wildlike, open immorality. Weymouth, Grafton, Sandwich - unusually libertine, & George III's ministers - he kept good men, Burke, Rockingham, ect. In this den of iniquity, young Fox received with open arms. Brooks' Society, a gambling club. Enormous gambling. Died young, with gout. Healthy, temperate G. III. Purpose of being at court was just to repair one's fortunes. Today patronage is paltry, thru some reform. Sinecures of Irish positions, &c, & then American. Complete venality of Pmt. - get in, make yourself obnoxious, & be bought off, the road to success. But Fox resisted, was fairly ill.

Ch. IV - 1768-9

Hastings

Wilkes wrote that minister was responsible for king's statements & king tried to kill him. Wrote the North Briton. Outlawed for 4 years, lived in Fr. Wrote, warning of king's desire for power. Returned, '68, running for office. London mob elects him, mob tactics. Pmt. jails him, crowd objecting. 22 mo. sentence, £1000 fine. Pmt. excludes him, on grounds of seditious writings, which were really pretty good. Popular movement for him Merchant Macquirk pandered by Grafton, Junius effectively attacks him. Partisan Luttrell opposed to Wilkes, Fox supports L, Wilkes wins 4-1, at another election, P. gives Luttrell the seat, Burke &c objecting. Blackstone vs. Wilkes. Grenville, George, pro-Wilkes. Burke objects to principle of House majority's expelling anyone. Fox vs. Wilkes, good speech. The issue of Wilkes - was king to be allowed to tax in the name of P.? (Wilkes elected from Middlesex) Petitions started. Pitt speaks for Wilkes.

185

174, Wilkes finally accepted quietly.

Perkins, Nov. 20

George III & Parl.
New issues & new men after 1760
The Constitutional situation.
Still pre-Cabinet in theory
Practical politics
Strength of Pitt-Newcastle ministry
Growing weakness
The War

After Quiberon Bay, 1759, no doubt about outcome of war - invasion of Eng. impossible. The Gettysburg of the war. Domestic issues became, after 1760, more important than war; became restless under Pitt, & his war expenses.

Constitutional struggle - G. III. How an executive can grab power. "Practical" politicians never look very far ahead. '62, G. took Eng. out of war, fired Pitt, left Fred. to be crushed - he was saved by death of Cath. of Russia. No Pr. has ever trusted Eng. since. Personal rule, '62-'84 (when younger Pitt comes in) 1760 a "watershed" date. - After it, problems are different, treaty of Utrecht & Locke no longer good answers to problems. Pitt considered Guadeloupe more important than Canada, & mercantilist views but changing ideas. Folks decided to take Canada. Industrialism comes along. Rights of man idea comes. New type of man in politics, new generation. (2 significant deaths - Pelham & Fr., prince) By '68, 330 new men in P., old ways put away, an unusual turnover. G. III tried to manage. according to theory of 1688 - King, not P., the prime mover. Change was made easily & naturally, no objections. Patriot King. Opposition is factious, wrong, shameful. Idea was in the air (like Marx today) Open opposition to King still inconceivable. W.'s ideas in disrepute. - Hardwicke. King's prime minister, if he dismisses ministry it falls. Modern cab. is a unit, unlike G.'s. Individuals played as such, turned coats often. Walpole used to

stick by friends (& some would again)

He perished because 1) Parl. had developped 2) His character. - no inspiration, a fool, pig headed. Practical politics had gotten to the point where you had to have patronage to carry on an administration, '60. Feeling that old gang should go, King seemed like man to do. First English king since 1714, popular. (Time of experimental farms) Desire for simplicity to turn things over to someone.

Pitt-Newc. ministry strongest since W. Newc. the greatest wire puller in hist. "Tories" of G. III were turncoat whigs. Quiberon Bay finished war, but Pitt wanted to continue & maintain balance of power, because Fr. continental victory would mean they'd have to trade back Can. & India - grabbed Bullion & helped Hanover. But tells that he was going ~~too far~~ running up a debt, etc. Pitt refused a moderate peace. When he heard Sp. were going to war, he wanted to sieze treasure fleet, & on this issue was kicked out, '61. George strong.

Perkins, Oct. 16

The Restoration, 1660-88
The legacies to the 18th cent.
tolerance
Professional Parliament men
Parties
The 17th Cent. search for absolutes (perfect state, some to tolerance)
Later Stuart policy & its results
"The Restoration Settlement"
Cavalier Parl. (1661-79)
Shaftesbury & the Whig Party, 1673-81
Declaration of Indulgence, 1672
Test Act, 1673

You must not disagree with your opponents in principle, but only in detail, in order to run parl. gov.

17th cent., all leading bodies of opinion had chance to impose their perfection on others, & be imposed on, to tolerance the result. Opposition to Laud as intolerant as he. Absolutist tendencies of later Stuarts, Cath. & Fr., but 85% Eng. were Prot., at James II's accession, settled differences & united vs. him.

Chas. wanted someone to bring back Cath., undo Parl. Divide & rule his policy. - dissenter vs. Anglican. But twas a superficial cleavage, fundamental unity. Even Cav. P. watched powers. Cath. hated, represented Sp. Arm. & Louis XIV. 1672, Chas. Decl. of Indulgence, he passed the line dividing 2 groups, tho previously to it he was on road to absolutism. King could, legally, suspend any law - but he had not the power. Test Act meant to keep Puritans out, but failed. 1673-1829, Cath.s out of politics.

1688 a permanent step. Professionals, & nucleus of party org., developped, in 30 years of Test. Prerogative Courts, & ship money & fines wiped out permanently during interregnum. Only money of Chas II rises from Parl.

Parl. gave too little $, (inflation) Dutch Wars put him in red, so he had P. in session nearly once a year, more than any previous P. by far, so professionals developed for 1st time. Cav. P. changed character - men died, bye-elections replaced him.

Before 1660, trips infrequent, squires not at home in London. But in Chas. II's time they were often in London more often, began to examine executive, itemize money grants. King's officers turn gradually into Parliament's officers. Now going to P. becomes desirable for 1st time. Power, pleasure, money. Men who have power always want more — 12th cent. French bureaucracy, e.g., & Washington today.

MPs were finally organized by Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury, to control King. (House of Lords could not originate financial bills, had only veto power, up to 1911.) Shaftesbury took advantage of break twixt King & Anglicans,

Sh. dismissed as L. Chancellor by King whom he helped pass Test Act, so he org. P. to pass Exclusion Act. '74, King tried to get him back, he refused, having more power in P., a real landmark. Shaftesbury beat him, so Chas went to Louis 14 for money &c.

Macaulay T. B. - History of England

Chap. III

Mac. understands free trade, etc. Gradual increase in capital over these centuries. Population c. 5½ million, 1690. Northumberland, etc., wild, lawless. Raided by Scots, full of freebooters, two-gun justice. By c. 1800, great northward migration. Coal discovered, north of Trent.

Chas. II collected much less revenue (⅕) than France. Excise, 585,000 £. Customs, 530,000. Chimney tax, being direct, caused greater objections. Collected by tax farmers, most rapacious (tribute to individualism) p. 268. These 3 plus crown's private revenue, brought 1,400,000 £. Debts of king not honestly paid 'til Wm. III. Eng., unlike continentals, not loaded with armys, etc. Militia of 130,000 horse & foot soldiers provided by landowners (L. V. T.) This rustic militia scorned by well trained & gigantic European armies - but. Landowners, remembering Cromwell, wanted no standing army out of their control. Charles II started private army to protect from London mobs, which grew to Brit. army. 276 Military penalties not by civil courts, = to =, not colonel to private. Army, then, small & impotent. But navy large & popular. However, was shamefully corrupt & inefficient in Ch. II's day. Till c. 1700, land & sea commanders interchanged. Civil gov., cost 0 in taxes - (L. V. T.) - squires. c. 20,000 £ annd to richest landowners - but officers of army could get as much or more thru corruption. 1700-1850, 30 fold increase in revenue - corresponding increase in production. 1675, much unenclosed land yet - but it was wasteland (???) Since it has been brought to productive use. Extinction, since then, of wildlife. Increase in cattle & importation of horses. Tin mined in Cornwall, its copper neglected. Salt neglected. Discovery of coal opened iron mines. Coal, used for fuel, not manufacture. Rent of land, on average, quadrupled since then. Squires not polished, educated, travelled, as in 1850, but locally minded. Squire Westerns

all. Some military experience. Supported monarchy & Church of Eng. 302 Charles II stood, & James II fell, because of attitude toward church.

Clergy supported by Tithe, tory. Since then, tithe has increased more than proportionately to rent. Before H. VIII, Clergy rich, luxurious, held high pol. positions. Ref. made them poorer, less political office-holding, identified with laymen rather than with nobles. Lived in lay houses, did menial serving jobs, the country clergy. A few city clergy were really intellectual. But country clergy kept the tyranny over men's minds.

Yeomanry, 1/7 pop., small freeholders, admirable in most ways. (opinions good) Comfortably off. (£70. annō)

London, Bristol, Norwich the big towns, none over 30,000. Bristol & Kidnapping. Norwich & "manufacture" (of what?) Hallamshire & Sheffield, now producing iron, then produced 0 to speak of - too much gov. restriction. Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Liverpool; Cheltenham, Brighton, Buxton, Tunbridge Wells, Bath.

London - then 11 times pop. Bristol or Norwich, now but 6 x Manchester ½ million. London fire damage rapidly repaired, city almost blessed thereby. - it was changed from be merchant's residence to a business center. Chas. II took away old charter but Tories in. City a potent military influence. Ruffians, both rich & poor, in streets Whitefriars, notorious. Chas. II a central figure, pursued by patronage seekers, & getters, unlike impotent Georges. Coffee houses - vents for public opinion; C.H. orators a real power. Country folk very different from Londoners. Internal transport terrible. 6 days per year road labor required by all, parochial rates making up the difference. - this unjust, as the towns connected, not the parishes past thru benefited. Highway robbery common. - a feudal set up, robber-baron like, cf. Oppenheimer. Inns & joviality. - a business ruined by travel improvements. Postal service made monop. of Duke of York, & post horses, too; lucrative. Newsletters - when Chas. II firmly in power, only Tory London Gazette published, 2ce weekly. Scholarship at a very low level.

Macaulay, Ch. 3 (2)

17th the French century - supreme in war & arts. The Puritans were terrible tyrants, much dreaded. Reaction to them was terrific. Morals degraded. Authors wrote for low taste, & got money from dedications - intellectual panders. Revolutionary spirit, thwarted in politics, went into science. 1660 Royal Society founded. Agriculture changed. London Fire, 1666, plague, 1665. Rebuilt more sanitarily. Newton. Wren. Revival of the arts, importation of foreigners.

Wages fixed by local magistrates - 4-5 shillings a week. Wheat cost 70 s. a quarter. Soldiers got 7 s. week. 1850, 12-14 s. week average wages. (But nothing is told about real wages.) Manufactures' labor gets more. 1680, protectionist says English high paid labor ~~work~~ in textiles needs protection from Indian low wage workers. Children of 6 worked. This in 1680, some time before ind. rev. Real wages lower in 1650 than 1850, too. Rye, barley, & oats more eaten than wheat. ✓ $\frac{1}{5}$ pop. on charity, poor rate stiffest tax. Very poor land was common, affording subsistence to some. Same land is now rich - advance of science?

People brutal, loved to see torture, etc. Reason & compromise little used, fighting more usual. We have come a long way.

Clark, Later Stuarts

Chap. III

Religion, taxation, & form of gov. the great issues. 1661, Cavalier P. elected, kept till '78. Tough on nonconformists. Clarendon & King kept P. down; by '78 3/5 of it was new. Many objected to lack of elections. Charles ruled alone, 81-85. Charles tolerant, P. wanted Uniformity Act, Clarendon bungled. War on with Spain, peace made, Dunkirk to France, Jamaica to Eng. Allied with France. Chas. m. Cath. of Braganza, got Bombay & Tangier, both worthless, with her. France kept Dutch
p. 59 down, helping Eng. - commercial war anti-Dutch, & the State aiding the merchants, 1664-7. See-saw naval battles, both sides exhausted. Plague in London, 1665-6. Investigation by House showed King used money poorly, corruptly. Peace needed, Brit. got New Neth., gave Surinam & Polaroon, eased Navigation Laws. Friendly relations ensued. France invaded Flanders, Aust. allied. '67, Clarendon thrown out, unable to get along with P. France got Flanders in peace Dutch alliance ("triple"), by Temple. Charles pro French. 1670, secret treaty of Dover, subsidies to Chas. The Cabal supported him, & started 3rd Dutch war, '72, French advance by land. Chas. makes Decl. of Indulgence to dissenters, gets in trouble. A bloc of Eng. opposed France, autocracy & popery. Gave money for war, but passed Test Act, repealed Indulgence. Stalemate war at sea, Eng makes peace. '74, King dismisses Shaftesbury who heads opposition, which wanted Constitutionalism, tho Chas. had conceded popery & France. John Locke his friend & servant, & doctor, - doctrine, gov. & the P. by consent of governed, to preserve property. Dutch make many German alliances, held off French, Wm. of Orange. Cabal had bankrupt Eng '69-72, Parl. stopped paying int., banks went under. Chas. sold his land to live on. Parl became treas. '72 from things well. Some Eng. troops with French, others with Dutch. Shaftesbury jailed till '78. Parl. declares war, but Louis makes peace at Nymwegen too fast for 'em. Protectionism against France, forces Parl united with those of civil & rel. liberty.

Chap. IV - Crisis & Reaction

After Nymuegen, Titus Oates & Israel Tonge iment the Popish Plot, 1678, legal massacre ensues. '78, more rigorous Test Act passed, directed vs. James, but Lords exempt him from it.

Horse attacks Danby, so King dissolves it, '79, new one is much more independent, imprisons him, James to Flanders. King abolishes priv. council, sets up cabinet, with Shaftesbury, leader of opposition, in it, but finally has to dissolve P., rule alone, rev. from customs. This P. passed Habeas Corpus Amendment, making H.C. work. James returns, '79. 2 more abortive P.s. Charles disowns Monmouth. Terms whig & tory come into use. - pro. & anti- Jacobites. Chas. dissolves last P., '81, & gets £ from Louis. Shaftesbury dies, '82. Monmouth plot to kill King found, reaction. (p. 102) King has to stop promotion (Rye House) according to ability in judiciary in order to get supporters, in reaction. Aristocracies & privileged corporations opposed autocracy. Municipal corps independent. Popular juries successfully defied King. King revoked municipal charters - London, 1683. 1684-87, a depression. Whigs worried about Louis XIV. Navy weak, York & Pepys being removed, '79, corruption reigning. Louis advances, Chas. has to choose twixt calling P. & revolution, but Louis asks Chas. to arbitrate, nothing comes of it. Things look rosy for Chas. when he dies.

Chap. V - James II

Called Parl. Played for Anglicans, not dissenters. New P. pro-court. Titus Oates & others punished cruelly, reaction. Monmouth lands, is butchered- poverty & unemployment among workers were his recruiting agents. Argyle, too, fails. Bloody assizes, reaction. James says he needs standing army, puts Cath.s in it. Louis revokes Nantes, James tries to revoke Test, P. balks, is prorogued. James makes army, brings over Irish. Cath.s fill high positions. Sets up "high commission court", suspicions. Anglicans alienated, J. had to withdraw. Then another Deel of Indulgence, which was not read, bishops accused, found innocent, Cath. heir born. 1688, league of Augsburg, +

Namier, Eng. at time of George III

I Why men went into Parliament

To "make a figure" or achieve an end, not help country.

a) Predestination: the inevitable parl. men.

Parl. families existed. Also hangage boroughs (pockets) in families, 25-30 o'm. One was expected to benefit from being in Parliament.

b) ~~No~~ Honour with ease: The Coming gentleman.

2 types in parl. - family men & squires. Latter independent & indifferent. Backed Pitt, left George III. Cared more for prestige at home than work in Commons.

c) The treasury bench - the politicians

A group of men ~~of~~ could enter politics. Field general, like Pitt, needed. King commanded numbers, but not leaders & had to surrender to Pitt. Newcastle a rich & assiduous politician, but could never get many votes behind the scenes. Personality, not politics, got one somewhere. A fair field to ability, not high rank. (among the privileged few, i.e.)

d) Coronets, the social climbers

A great social distinction to be an M.P. Creation of peers a cheap way to reward political service.

e) "Private & pecuniary": Placemen & Purveyors of favors.

Votes often sold, esp. after 1750. Civil service & military appts. a commerce, a seat an investment with return expected.

Professional advancement: the services & the law.

Army officers would run for Parliament, to get along. - c. 50 o'm. Promotion often dependent on influence in P. Only Hanoverian desire for army efficiency limited this. Navy run the same. Civil service made up of personal dependents, changed with every election. Ass. Sec. of state, e.g., would run for P. Lawyers had to work hard, rise from below. Courts of Law & a "Court of Parliament" similar.

Note on what opportunity in war industries does to hobos & prisoners

g) Contracts, remittances, loans: the Merchants & Bankers.

Merchants in P. served their own ends. Gov. contracts a big factor in early growth of "capitalists." Gov. loans given. A bank trusted with a public sum could go into

undermine? business with it. Foreign merchants scrambled for contracts
to feed troops, & fortunes were made. – more nobles made by graft than
p. 59 by fighting (Meaning Normans, I guess). Service in commons, graft, &
borrowing went together. 1761, 37 of 50 merchants in House had
great "dealings" with gov. Gov. used merchants to win unusually
"expensive" seats in house, then gave them contracts.

h) Immunity

Robbers, like Indian nabobs, joined P. so their sins could not
be discovered. Muddlers could get away with things as MPs.
Bastards made cheap by seats in P. Bankrupts, if elected,
were free from creditors, & brokages were worth $.

Perkins - Oct. 14

No hour exam

The old electoral structure
Survival from middle ages
Original purpose taxation
Almost wholly English rep.
Features of structure
Distribution of seats
Franchise requirements
* { Scot & lot, freemen
{ Corporation, burgage
The structure in action
Distrib. nat. enterprise

Eng. - 489
Wales 24
Scotl. 45
558

40 Eng. counties
203 boroughs
4 University members

Like open field system, good once. Worked well till 1760 (meaning there was little dissatisfaction), but it was not representative. Old Sarum, had 2 members till 1832, no pop. Pitt family owned. Cobbett, unlike Defoe, condemned this strongly, along with landlordism in general. Walpole accepted it & used it; let sleeping dogs lie, as did other politicians.

Early kings (Edw. I & on) had parl. as an instrument for taxation, not a rep. body. Then the towns had to be rep'd in Parl., in order to be taxed. Certain towns could vote, some could not. The Cinque Ports, along south coast. These ports were silted up, lost pop., kept votes, (2 MPs).

By 18th cent., the terms *, ~~freeman~~ which once included everyone, were small classes. Welsh members same as Eng., Scotch voted as a bloc on Scotch interests, little on other things.

E. Anglia + South had 56% MPs. London had 4 members, E. Lond & W. Lond had 4, etc.

Vote in 40 shilling freeholds. - a pretty high property

qualification.

4 classes

Scot & lot, burgage, freeman — all solid citizens, landowners, from medieval times.

Corporation post-medieval, when voting was desired. 15th & 16th centuries.

freeman boros - just like there, have freeman inheritance. Those with title deeds got elections with less money than bribers, who had to spend lots of money every time, so Commons was slightly rep.

How it worked.

1. Geographical - southern 56% district most industrials
2. Property rather than people, represented.

Today, delegates are rubberstamps for ~~reps~~ const.'s, unlike 18th cent.

When squires became travellers, who did not know their const., agitation for reform started. Then, landlord interests became divergent from those of people. Corn laws passed to keep rents up, different from other interests. London, with ½ pop., had but 1/55 proper rep. But rotten boros really rep.d London.

Perkins Oct. 9

The Squires

Conditions that produced their predominance
Basis of that predominance social rather than economic

The English concept of the gentleman
- Public Function
- Estate
- Birth

The gentry in action
- Not a closed caste
- The small squire
- Squire always a country man

Individualism

Commons, 1741

Squires,	245	Merchants	40
Army officers	25	Lawyers	30
Navy "	8	Peers	61
		?	104 (mostly squires)
			513

Landed gentry were looked to to provide leadership. We are shaped by frontier (Jacksonian Dem.) & class struggle philosophy, both unknown in 18th cent. Eng.

Eng. workers were content, static. Expected little in this world. Considerable trade, tho little moving. London the center of country. So to keep his leadership, he went to Parliament.

By end of century, thru inclosure, squires had more ec. power than at beginning. ∴ their power was social, not ec. (true enough - cause & effect) But pol. power was then less (??) Land now worthless (bull)

Gentleman - a man's behavior the criterion in Gentleman had a function, a profession, in Eng. They were civil servants, without pay.

But one could be drunk, utterly non-functional, & still be a gentleman, & vice versa. The essential part of a gentleman was the estate, tangible embodiment of privilege. 18th cent. feeling that landlord had to be interested in home country.

Birth, rather essential. - but 1 or 2 generations of £ made birth.

But if they had not been functional, they would have lost their grip. The upper class is of continually changing blood. Bourgeoisie & aristos thereby united, unlike as in France. follows de Tocqueville?

Squires & up all =. But smaller squires did not go to London. Still, they talked with bigger ones, & told them what the countryside wanted.

Squires presented no united front. Some Westerns, some Allworthys, some Walpoles. Some wanted toleration, of Catholics, others wanted persecution. (minor issues - but watch them unite on L. V. T.)

Perkins, Oct. 5

The 4 cornerstones
wool & coal
cattle & corn
The trade in farm products
The wool trade
Location
Labor - a "cottage industry"

	Wheat (Winchester)
1690-99	$1.55 per bu.
1716-25	$ .79
1746-55	.68
1750-60	1.22
1760-70	1.60

General living conditions of the people

No sharp distinction twixt lowland & highland peoples. Very local viewpoint, national issues of little import. Agriculture & secure social conditions. Poorhouse does not appear till 1830. "Poor rates" a local affair, generous & widely accepted.

Wheat prices deceptive, not correlated with real wages. But years of low food price are those of greatest contentment. 1750, unrest started. Wheat, the cash crop, meant little to subsistence farmers. 1750, began to leave land.

Wool & coal the manufacturing industries. But coal trade depended on ships, which took it from Northumberland to London. Lord Lonsdale owned Whitehead, a port, &c. Geese & turkeys driven to London. Cattle driven, till 1914 from Highlands to Midlands.

Wool commerce was London's greatest industry.

Cloth -	8	000	000
Corn	9	—	—
Rent	7½	—	—

} 1688

Sheep raised ubiquitously, spinning & carding a cottage industry. Weaving, early 18th, in 3 districts concentrated. Cottage worker was worse off than today's ind. worker. "Clothiers" were often not working men, but big "capitalist" employers. They

bought raw wool, put it out to carders, weavers, spinners, sold it. Did not oversee details. Work by piece. 4 A.M. to 8 P.M, hours. Weaving & farming are mutually exclusive, because of hours & different physiques necessary. Child labor in cottage system, no objections. Outburst against it waits till factories brought it into the open.

Gregory King, Richard Baxter, & Defoe, c. 1690, good pictures of scene. c. 1700, things started to get better, was a low pt.

5 ½ million people in Eng & Wales, "more than ½ unable to support themselves", needed charity. $50.00 per family per year, $12 ½ in red. — King.

150,000 families of solvent tenant farmers, $220. - King

$250. - artisans, skilled workers, blacksmiths, - King

Exploitation thru rent, & truckling to lords - Baxter. It's never been quite so bad since. Later 18th century, Eng. much better off than rest of continent.

Perkins, Oct. 3

Read Ch. 3, Macaulay's Hist. of Eng., Farmers. Then S.R. Gardiner, 1660-1688 (get in lib.) or some other text.

1st 3 lectures are for background. Defoes "Tours" good. The Political Economists - Gregory King, 1680s & 90s. Open field system gives way to inclosed farm. ~~Little~~ Little change up to 1740.

Counties, 17th & 18th, localism, little travel, more localism than in America (Kemp to contrary).

Map - highland in n. & w., lowland in s. & e. Hills are low, aids to transportation because they are less muddy. Scotch highlands the opposite. 40 per sq. mile, but parts are very sparsely pop. c. 1800, present suburbs of London were wasteland. But this not typical. At that time, 18th, transp. poor, cities small, pop. spread out. Farm units smaller, towns smaller, workshops & cottages for industry. S.W. winds in Channel make hard sailing. Industry, trade, was being built up. Most lived by agriculture.

Villages - large country towns, central limestone houses, s.w. cobbs, cornwall whitewashed stone. Village pub, like country store, talking occurs. Church local vicar a real power this country (18th). Squire the other power, house at edge of village, big parks. They were England, politically speaking. Vicar & squire cooperated.

Open field agriculture described ~~in~~ c. 1800 by those trying to break down the system - they did it injustice. It gave countryside different appearance, - no ditches & hedges, which date from c. 1760-1820. Farm land around village in 3 big fields, ⅓ fallow, ⅓ wheat, ⅓ legume, & common meadows, for hay, & common waste, with fuel. Common meadows wettest, farm land next, waste at top.

This came down from Saxons - communal, but

not collectivist - i.e. product to producer, individual initiative. Plowing & harvesting a communal enterprise. Some had no land.

This from early middle ages - most effective way of working till 1750. "Reformers" then attacked it. Long strips, separated by turfs, & widely separated. Open field could grow but one crop a year.

Seebohm, great historian, said they were deliberately inefficient to maintain equity. Not so. Best way with their knowledge.

Rent low - dispossession hard, & most were landowners. Much satisfaction.

Perkins, Sept. 30 1st meeting.

No assigned text, but get S.R. Gardiner, Students Hist. of England. No ass. in it, but it replaces reading notes - don't bother to take them.

Buy only last volume.

Written work - a 30 page report, either semester.

Few Fridays off, some after Thanksgiving.

18th century - 20 years ago not considered significant. 1688, men tried to perfect existing institutions, not change or justify them. Pope's perfecting heroic couplets, e.g. Accepted rules were the criterion of goodness. Hogarth, e.g., was scorned, for breaking rules. "Century of the rule of taste", "age of reason, rationalism". In U.S.A., no "tribalism" at revolution, much in 1920, less now. People have different class relationships at different times, should be noted.

Two aspects of study

1. Development of political institutions in Eng., the working of the Parliamentary machine.
2. Foriegn relations of England. 1688, Eng. emerged from isolation. She had to keep her trade routes open. 1694, Smyrna wool convoy taken by French, ⅓ wool trade ruined, since then Eng. has intervened continually.

Balance of power policy started. He favors it. But Eng. did not really follow balance policy enough. Did a ½ job. 1713 Utrecht

good balance. 1730s, Walpole isolationist. Parallel
1933. Free

Namier, Eng. c. 1776

Reading notes

Social foundations (18th cent.)

1) The Unreformed House of Commons.

No matter what the forms, it always represented the "live forces". Originally akin to jury service, but it got power & became prized. Crown able to make members somehow, till after Geo. III. Rotten boroughs, corruption in populous ones due to general stupidity. - & they were the only ones not landed gentry. Best minds & leaders came from corrupt units, & since 1832 (reform) rich Conservatives have mostly been elected. Rotten boros also a place for entrance of nouveaux riches into politics.

Conclusions. Social, political, economic, & intellectual & military power go together — sometimes one comes first, sometimes another. Livest wires generally come thru.

2) The Social Structure.

Money determined elections in Eng. more than in Scotland or Wales. p. 6 Membership in House in actuality based on property in land, but no hereditary caste system. Wealth, however acquired, always respected. Effect of insularism on militarism important to Britain. Feudal meant landownership for military service, but in Eng. lit. the mil. service. Younger sons get no title or land, breaking caste. Great fluidity among classes, as Plato wanted. p. 11 Wealth got thru trade used to buy land, particularly near big cities.

3) The upper classes

alderman philogamic

Those with money, rents, are upper classes. Owners do not immediately supervise work, as in Eur., but rent land to tenants, used leisure time for culture. It. landowners lived in cities, German & Eng. on land. Eng. landscape gardening. Puritan rectitude had to be superimposed on p. 20 British vanity in 18th cent. to turn him into a ruler.

The Land as basis of Citizenship

Good quotes, p. 20. 28 Ownership of land means everything. Landowners much more interested in defending gov. than non-holders. Freehold carries a vote with it. Commons represented the land, not the people, of G.B. Early 18th cent., with no secret ballot, lords voted tenants - later mere tradition did the trick.

The State

image

Paternal theological theory. Filmer, confuted by Burke.

Government & Trade

Commerce & wooden walls replaced militarism. Locke the philosopher of 18th cent. Eng. Trade, Profits, Contract, Property the catchwords. Mercantilism - men collected money as a hobby. Adam Smith not the only exponent of trade.

The Imperial Problem

Colonies maintained for sake of trade.

Perkins, Oct. 26

17th century political thought
Sovereignty - its nature & resting place

Sir Robert Filmer	Patriarcha	1680
Thos. Hobbes	Leviatham	1651
John Locke	Civil Govt.	1690

The cabinet

Compromise found necessary during 17th cent. Locke gave Rev. of 1688 explicit statement of its creed, which it needed to make it progressive, instead of just an objection. Locke the main influence for about 100 years. - many affected by him without reading him, like many are by Marx. Locke first to say that state exists for individual, not vice versa. Also supplied method for doing it. 18th century, much speculation on sovereignty, where it came from & why, whereas previously they assumed King, Lords & commons. Bodin said sov. was "highest power over citizens & subjects, free of the law."

Filmer & Locke influential at time. Hobbes despised in his day, but logical & interesting. Filmer - standard bible of Tories, '81 - '88; Doctrine of non-resistance. State of nature is family, father with complete power, state analogous. Locke, 2 essays on civil government. One a pt. by pt. refutation of Patriarcha. Hobbes: orig. state of nature, absolute freedom, intolerable, because mankind is bad, by himself (Cavaliers hated this) There is no distinction twixt right & wrong, save what you want or do not want to do. Brutal war. So they entered into social contract (all 18th cent thought has this idea), & gave up individual rights in return for peace. Similar to Filmer, but hated while Filmer was popular. Hobbes said religion was just a state tool. 2nd essay on civil gov. standard for 100 years. Montesquieu,

Esprit des Lois, 1848, combination of reading Locke & mis-observation (separation of powers) of Eng. parliament - to keep state weak. Locke now out of vogue with armchair philosophers - he's full of holes, he is so loose. His one contribution, sovereignty of people - the good in human nature outweighing the bad. e.g. of stupidity of detail - gave executive power to gerrymander at will. Thought that in freedom men lived peacably under law of nature, sanctity of life, liberty, & property. To him property rights & human rights equivalent. Hobbes took rights from individual when he entered social contract, Locke preserved them. Locke's individuals give up only the right to enforce the law personally.

Problems after 1688 unforeseen, worked out finally by cabinet. - originally King's servants, but now instrument of legislature, yet forms are continued. 1694, Whig Junto, start of evolution of Cabinet. Balance of constitution of Eng. altered by '88. Perfect balance from 1660-88, nothing got done. 1688, P. became boss. 1688 a revolution of conservatives against reactionaries. Cab. is selected from leaders of party that won last election. 1689, Parl. voted money for 1 year only, been doing it ever since. 14th cent., impeachment of ministers introduced. 17th, Buckingham, Strafford (by attainder) Clarendon, Danby executed. Awkward way of changing ministers. Wm. wanted money, knew he could get it thru right men, had to choose cab. in proportion to present make-up of Commons.

Perkins, Oct. 23

The Peace of Ryswick, 1697
  Barrier Forts
Diplomatic interlude
  Spanish empire
  Partition Treaties, 1698-99
  Chas. II's will
The war
  Louis sizzes Barrier forts - Mar - 1701
  " recognizes "James III" Sept. 1701
  Blenheim 1704 Ramillies 1706
  Oudenarde 1708 Malplaquet 1709
  Treaty 1711, Peace of Utrecht, 1713

Ryswick sincere on both sides. Louis exhausted. Allies got what they wanted. Protestant succession. Barrier forts manned by Dutch troops with Spanish officers (Ostend to Luxembourg) But the aggressor had left strength. When Chas. II died, balance threatened, Sp. empire large. Eng. isolationist sentiment.

Homeland is where one lives and the surrounding territory which is in the same political unit

1st treaty good: Bavaria got most, France a lot, Austria some. Bav. elect. d. suddenly, no one knows if murder.

2nd treaty: (Wm. & Louis, not Emp.) Milan & Sicily & Tuscany to Fr., Sp. & Indies to Aust. — the lion's share. Louis was being very peaceful. Emp Leopold & grandees of Sp., however, caused war. Leo. wanted all, grandees wanted to keep all for selves. But Aust. helpless by self, needed Dutch & Eng. help.

Chas. left heritage entire to Philip of Anjou, &, fearing that, to the Hapsburg claimant. Louis forbidden to do it by treaty, but did it anyway. (He would have had to fight no matter what, if Hapsburg had got it anyway)

English not going to fight, but Louis made 2 errors in 1701! In taking barrier forts, Sp. & Fr. cooperated too well. Wm. died.

War, of movement, unlike most wars of time. Marlboro

particularly. Sea power not spectacular. Br. had it, kept it. Gib. taken, 1704, in private, by accident.
Flanders the center of the war. 1702 & 3, Marlborough hampered by Dutch conservatism, "never risk an army."
But Louis already had what he wanted, this would not work. Time worked for him. Louis sent force to take Vienna, Marlboro chased 'em to Blenheim. He had to steal the army from the Dutch to do it - he told them he was going to flank Flanders, got out of reach, marched to Danube. Infinite capacity for taking pains. Fr. used to live off country, were hated for it. Marlboro paid one day after requisitioning. Arranged with Gm. bankers for cash.

Perkins, Oct. 21

1688 - Louis 14's choice
Oct. 19 - Wm. sails - beaten back (westerly gale)
Nov. 1 - The Protestant Wind (N.E.)
War of L. ~~14th~~ A., 1688-97
Sea aspect - 1689-94
Ireland War, 1689 - June 1690
Beachy Head, 10 July, 1690
Boyne 12 July, 1690
La Hogue - 1692
Barcelona - 1694
Flanders: - defensive strategy.

Tories always stood for legitimate succession to crown, etc., doctrine of non-resistance. Birth of heir followed by invitation to Wm. Wm. could not leave Holland if Louis attacked. Louis assumed Eng. would not fight. He should have invaded Holland, but this would have given first time to take care of Turks. Sept, Louis struck for upper Rhine. Never fought in winter, so, Dutch free. Protestant N.E. wind bottled Eng. fleet, blew Wm. to Torbay. Then, at Torbay, S.W. wind blew Wm. in, held Eng. back. Bloodless rev. James ran. 1694, Bank of Eng. founded. 2 wars, L. of A., & Sp. Succ., really 1, diplomatic maneuvering in between. Eng. in wishful isolation, her modern position, ever since. But Eng.'s far flung "interests" required war.

L. of A. war 1st in which sea power was important, army & navy were used together. Unpreparedness of English. Terrible conditions for soldiers. Eng always been unprepared, faced prepared power.

Ireland Louis' great opportunity, he lost it. He did not get idea of use of fleet. S. Ireland pro-James II. People willing, but terrifically poor & unorganized. Their political institutions never got past the clan. They needed arms

& leaders. Armed only with scythes & pitchforks. Cath. Irish held all south. Lavis did 2 things, should have done just 1 o'm. Sent too few men, then left rem, brought fleet home. Should have left fleet in Irish Sea. Beachy Head a French naval victory, but Wm. sent myriad troops to Ireland, won Boyne. French Adm, Tourville, held back from following up victory by totalitarian stickiness, (which Germans do not suffer from). 2 years later, La Hogue beat French, outnumbered 2-1, should have won, but Lavis 14's orders were to fight. Not beaten worse than allies at B.H., but never took sea again.

French besieged Barcelona, Eng. fleet raised it, Fr. fleet under Tourville ran.

Eng. hated militarism, & standing army, had no martial law. Then parl. gave mil. power & martial law for 6 months at a time.

Wm. sent Huguenot Schonberg over to Ireland, scandalous unpreparedness, 1689, no success.

Flanders - siege & counter siege, wars of fixed positions.

Perkins (2)

Danby - Osborne, Danby, Carmarthen, Leeds, all his different names. As Danby he did best work. Harley, similarly. St. John is Bolingbroke.

Country Party. - independent, anti-executive (as power) Basis of its feeling is constitutional. A negative position. A great force for moderation.

Act of Settlement their measure. Not a dissenting vote. Privy Council should have exclusive privilege of advising king. something else That would have wrecked House of Commons later taken out. Till 1701, judges held office during king's pleasure. Since 1701, on good behavior. A Lockeian, Country Party, bill.

Tories voted Country because Wm. was a Dutchman. Whigs had to be court party, 1715-60, because obstructionism gets nowhere.

The middle group got 4. tremendous personal power, due to financial, & peer power. 1st loyalty to selves, to get in office But once in, loyal to govt, took backing of any group.

1694, Godolphin thought whig & Tory. 1695, she 4 built whig supremacy, bt + + etc. etc. Marlboro & Godolphin always close.

Basic principles. Church & King, parl. & toleration, all played big part.

1690 Tories ran war poorly. Loss of Smyrna convoy, & Whigs in.

Harley, country party & Act of Settlement

Perkins Oct. 29

The year 1689
- Problems of settlement
  - Coronation oath
  - Toleration Act
  - Test Act
  - Comprehension bill
- Whig intransigence
  - Annual supply Dec. 1689
  - Sacheverell Clause Jan 1690
- New Parl. (Tory) Mar. 1690
- The business of 1689
  - Tory consience
  - Whig manners
- Problems & parties - generally
  - Taxes
  - Parties - off. Whigs - Junto
    - Shrewsbury
    - Godolphin
  - off. Tories
    - Country Party
    - Sunderland
    - Marlborough
  - 5th party

After 1688, cab. officer had to know who was behind him in P., after 100 years it worked out. Tories had to revamp philosophy, non resistance out. Whigs had to revamp policy - resistance & obstruction no good.

4 bones of contention. ("Bill" till adopted, then "Act")
Coronation oath - should bind him to protect church, but not put him in hands of church extremists.
Toleration Act - did not repeal old laws, but said if you comply with certain ceremonies you will be tolerated. Old laws could be reinforced if things looked dangerous.

Test Act - Whigs tried not to repeal it, but it was not enforced. Typical of revolution settlement - compromise, nothing clear cut.

Comprehension Bill would have taken moderate dissenters into church, not pushed hard.

1689, Louis won in Flanders & Ireland. Whigs lost their heads, took revenge. Complained against Tory Danby in Wm.'s cabinet. Blocked Wm., who distrusted them, thought they were potential republicans, heirs of Commonwealth tradition. Still, they were the war party. Wm. wished Tories would put monarchical longings toward him, instead of James.

Whigs went too far, in supply Bill, which tried to hamstring him. Then Sacheverell Clause, (not Case which is something else), attempt to disfranchise Tories, for 7 years. Crown acted as umpire, for 1st time. Dismisses Whig ministers, dissolves P., election brought slight Tory majority. Revolution, settlement stage, is over. with this March, 1690, P. This is type of party see-saw till 1714. Overstepping power, crown intervenes, other party gets in. Tory conscience, feeling for crown, (something Americans cannot understand), which, 1714, broke the Tory party. But in 1689, monarch was somewhat Stuart, at least, & Louis was thundering at gates. But 1714, protestant heir pretty tenuous, & semi-Jacobite Tory feeling cooled & Tories swung too far, reaction against them kept them out for 45 years. Whigs learned "manners", co-operation with crown.

'90-'95, Wm. got 1/3 of what he asked. Squires were taxpayers, land tax the source of rev., $25 to 30 million a year. Funded nat. debt. Wm.'s tax fell on politically articulate (Congress member today has no such worry). Effect of this war was, unlike us, to weaken executive, strengthen P. Stop talking of 2 parties, here - no party org. - 4 groups & 1 group of middlemen.

Perkins, Oct. 27

The Nature of Party

Halifax — Character of a Trimmer — 1688
Bolingbroke — Ideal of a Patriot King — 1738

The Crown as umpire 1688-1711
The parties - Theory
Their difficulties - practice.

Practice-theory bull.
Realist-idealist bull.
Get to Wellesley.
Ornithological Club.

Locke provided philosophy of revolution, but no machinery of gov. Cabinet provides channel twixt leg. & exec. parts of gov. Cab. changed from King's to P.'s servants. 18th cent. theory did not recognize that Cab. minister's authority was from P.'s support, altho it was. He had to have P. support, but also many other things. Cab. grows out of fact, annual bills of supply, . Had to work out some way, other than impeachment & execution, for removing Cab ministers. Took 100 years to work out method. Cab minister is a party minister, today. Full development of system waits on party development. Parties embryonic in 1688. Shaftesbury 1673-81, first idea of independent parties then had to leave country. Tory reaction till '88. Parties held in disesteem. Party loyalty an indispensable for legislative action - 500 men cannot debate all points, so leaders must know general trend of party thoughts put three minor bills in a lump. 18th cent. party Political suicide for all but a few outstanding individuals to break party line, in our present Congress. Eng, Bod, not so. Personalities & groups of pers, counted, would present selves as champions of Whig or Tory cause.

2 books. Halifax - opposition & King is faction, bad. King can have no ambition, being at top already. Trimmer should support King if he's threatened. Bol. similar.

Against that is historical fact that only 2 party basis has made democracy work - France & Weimar had too many parties. Party leadership went to

extremists, at this time. Tories wanted to repeal Toleration Act of 1689 Whigs wanted more Toleration than public mind was ready for. King as umpire - found that power has responsibilities as well as privileges. Crown's patronage power, like administration here today, influenced elections. Had to have popular party as ministers.

Wm. wanted prerogative power disliked Anglicanism Wm. appt.d latitudinarian bishops. 1694, Wm. picked Whig ministry when he had to, threw it out when he didn't. Queen Anne, strong character, fanatic high church & Tory. Only war kept her, like Wm., from internal objectionability. 1711, war ended.

Parties- extremists in both, but rank & file were moderates, voted each question on its merits, so P.g debate very important. Tories for church & king, Whigs for toleration & P. Difference really just a matter of expression - all wanted security & moderation. Disillusion with absolutes. Party leaders always missed the point, always tried extreme measures, & were overthrown, the crown leading the overthrow, in accord with national sentiment. To many, "Tory" means constructive conservatism. ~~Tories~~ Recently Tories have nationalized coal mines, made New Deal look stand-pat. Whigs, 18th cent., just a little more up to date. Squirearchy rallied to Tories. Whigs got new ideas & men, commercial interests behind them. Economic determinism. (?) Clear division territ / landed & commercial interests. Individual merchants - ½ actual Tory. Party distinction based on state of mind, liberal or conservative, rather than background. (In other words, their programs were insignificant) Lowther said worst result of revolution was revival of whig & tory names. Rev. ruined both party platforms. Tories realized in '88 that non-resistance meant losing church. 1689, critical period, Clarendon got Tories to accept abdication myth. Whig tradition of opposition to crown no good when they were in power, & they had to learn co-operation.

Whig interpretation of ec. determinism.

Perkins, Nov. 4

Whig stabilization 1717-21
Stanhope's extremism
Repeal Occ. Con. & Schism 1719
Peerage Bill 1719
Proposed repeal Test & Corporation Acts
S.S. Bubble. death of Stanhope & Sunderland
Whig supremacy 1721-58
Two periods, 1721-39
1739-58

Walpole 1721-39 (42)
Potential dangers of time
Fiscal achievements
Political achievements
The Newcastle gang 1742-58
Lessons of the period

Walpole shared understanding of Cabinet solidarity by going out when Townshend did. St. & Su. wild Whigs, pendulum about to swing way over to the Whig side. But St. & Su. taken out accidentally almost. 2 repeals not extremism. But Peerage Bill was. Bol. & Harley got time to create 12 new Tory Peers to put peace across - Whigs thought this was too much crown power. So Whigs set out to freeze no. of peers - this would have created a closed caste. Walpole opposed it, & won. Reform Bill of 1832 only put thru by threat of peer creation, saved revolution. St. tried to repeal Test & Corp'n. Acts. Corp.'s very powerful in electing people to Pmt. People did not want this, it is lucky they did not get thru - were stopped by S.S. bubble burst. - a small % only of people invested. S. & S. accused of corruption with S.S. Co., both died of worry. Walpole was luckily in opposition at time of burst, so he took over afterwards.

War in '39 ruined Walpole's power - his genius

was for peace.

'58, elder Pitt, great war minister emerges, '60 George III. While Walpole was in, there was a purpose. Pelhamites or Newcastleites were just corrupt & self-seeking.

Walpole suspected of great corruption, too. Cynical - "All men have their price." Lowered tone of politics. Spent time keeping sleeping dogs chloroformed. He knew that getting into continental war meant Jacobite uprising, as it did.

Planks with Peel, Gladstone, as fiscal genius. Found a mess. Customs - enumerated article system - certain colonial products had to go to England. Basis of mercantile philosophy is preparation for war. But had import duty + enumeration, Walpole repealed duty. Then allowed them to go directly to Medit. with rice & sugar. Repealed high raw silk duty, thus drawback on exports. Stopped smuggling & shoddy goods frauds by lowering customs on ~~spices~~ pepper. 1733 Excise Bill - a mistake. County squire the politically articulate group. Land tax the main one - Walpole always trying to lower it. Assessment of 1692 still used, no longer valid. 75¢ on $5.00 annual rental.

Taught lesson that cabinet is under one minister. Imposed good hard discipline on cabinet. Improved methods of political corruption. Pmts could not be bought nor intimidated. Kept peace, tried to allow people lots of freedom. Used machine methods. Did lots of good - but when he went out the machine remained, but the spirit did not. He did well for himself.

Newcastle - power for its own sake. But an essential member of every administration from '17 - '68, some 6 mo.s under Pitt. His papers show how Pmt. worked. Controlled 15 seats, influence with many more. No group of men ever got decisive electoral power at this time.

See Gardiner and/or Ploetz

Clark

shift of ministers, partial, then complete God. & Mard.
Peace sentiment & Tory victory

take office. 1702, occasional conformity Bill going pretty low, defeated. God. & Mard. shifty politicians. Whig Junto - Orford, Sunderland, Somers, Wharton, Halifax, by 1708 had office, & ministry ceased being coalition, became whigs backing God. & Mard. People tire of war. Harley (with Defoe & Swift vs. Addison & Steele) unites Tories, & whigs make 2 slips, Sacheverell & Spain, which throw them out. Mrs. Masham replaces Mrs. Marlboro. Harley slips in Shrewsbury, God. & Sund. go out. 1710 election, like 1702, unlike 1705 & 08, after victory, complete. Harley on top.

VIII The Tory Peace

Peacemaking politics
Separate Peace
Terms
Land commerce
Occ. Conf. bill
Perfidious Albion
Dutch terms
Mercantilism
Civil liberties
Succession

Had queen's favor, & a definite job - to make peace. But played with Jacobites. Removed from Sp. Marlboro still winning in France. Disregarding Grand Alliance promise vs. separate peace. Nova Scotia & Newf. to Eng (tho not conquered) Gibraltar & Port Mahon, Philip K. of Sp., but no entrance Eng. = trading with Sp. Fr. in Sp. emp. Dutch & whigs opposed this. Whigs made Occ. conf. bill for Nottingham's support, 1711. (little effect) God. d., Marlboro out, for good. Walpole to Tower. Harley claims there will be no separate peace, while it is being made. Eng. quit, & Fr. start to win. 1713, peace with Dutch, who, thanks to Bolingbroke, had lost Eng. support, as he feared commercial rivalry. Barriers for Fr. Some Fr. tariffs lowered to Dutch. Fr.-Eng. free trade considered, but rejected. Complete commercial regulation of the sort (so our recent freedom is not so old) Whig long the mercantilist party. October Club, high Tories, Boling., Jacobites. Passed / enacted restriction on being MP. Pamphlets taxed - means of censorship. Bol. extreme, personally ambitious of Harley. Succession question. James III tries to invade, Tories turn Jacobites against him. Harley dismissed. Ordinances George of H. active fighting Jacs. 1714, Dutch & Fr. peaced Rastadt. James sticks to Catholicism, this ruins him. Hanover mad at Tories for perfidious Albion peace, so Tories feared

Review - who voted at this time? Not everyone.

their accession. Hanover Tories, who opposed free trade on anti-French grounds. But they were protectionists (because their land was protected) first, & anti-Jacobites. .·. Tories split Whigs united. - Hanover Tories went to Whigs, Xmas 1713, when Anne got sick. Jacobites given army control, etc. Bol. tries to get rid of Harley. His Schism Bill forbids nonconformist education. Dead letter from start. Aug. 1, Anne dismisses Harley. Anne dies, having made Stransbury treasurer. Not corrupt personally. Skillfully managed, 1707, the Union, so much more important than Continental victories. But this threatened est. church, & caused alarm. 1709, act to naturalize foreign protestants added to this. Church making great racket, & reaction about to set in. Sacheverell lights the fuse, 1709. Sunderland & Cod. insist on impeachment, Walpole does it.

From here down is Walpole by Morley, to be interpolated in notes on that

Ch. II The last 4 years of Queen Anne.

Anne takes the opportunity to change ministers, all but Marlboro. Harley Chanc. of Xchecker, St John Sec. of State. Election, terrific turnout. Tories persecuted old Whig ministers. Harley sought some Whig aids, to hold down his extremists, but. Walpole refused. Accused & convicted, rightly, of corruption (tho it was not bad by standards of the times, as it was for someone else's benefit), he went to Tower, till '12. 1713, Peace of Utrecht, a Tory achievement. Marlboro feared, & cast out. Walpole & others attacked the treaty, which left France strong. Eng. general in Holland ordered to checkmate his ally, the Dutch, during secret negotiations - height of perfidy. Betrayal of Catalans criminal. Eng. got land, slave trade. French Protestants released from jail, James III to Lorraine. Swift & Defoe write for Tories.

Perkins Nov. 2

The Parties 1708-21
Whig excess 1708-10
Tory problem 1710-14
Bolingbrokes extremism
Occasional Conformity Act 1711
Property Qualification Act 1711
Schism Act 1714
The Hanoverian succession, Bolingbrokes downfall
Whig Problems, 1718
Church fanaticism (convocation)
"Foreign entanglements"
Whig schism 1717
Septennial Act, 1716
Peerage Bill 1719
Repeal Occ. Con. & Schism Acts, 1719

Whigs were war party. Tories said they kept it going to keep party in power, & Marlboro after dictatorship Gertruydenburg, 1710, peace offered by Louis, a good one, Whigs lost it by trying to go too far, Fr. defensive rallied. Impeached Sacheverell (the case), & going too far, were kicked out. Bullied Queen Anne (kicking Harley out, 1708), interfered in church on low church side.

Tory chance. Backed by Queen Anne. Harley & Bolingbroke the leaders, power for 4 years. Personality played big part. (Harley, 1698-1708 his big years. Tried to build new Tory party on country base, get away from "church & king", get to middle of road Toryism, like Act of Settlement & He lacked ruthlessness, & was a drunk) Bol. vigorous, resolute, & ruthless, but unable to take a long view. Tories not united. By 1710, Tory conscience had risen again. Louis & James no longer threatened Anne allowed no correspondence of her ministers with Hanoverians. — so Whigs got influence over them.

Harley & Bol. seem split, Bol. taking high Tory stand, an opportunist, not moral, grounds. To stay moderate would be to stay 2end fiddle to Harley.

Occ. Conf. Act outlawed Whig practice of taking Test & then forgetting it.

Prop. qualif. Act — feeling that landowner was only one to trust. Stockholders can change to negotiable securities & beat it (but so can landowner, tho Perkins does not think so) Eng. L. values expressed in yearly rental, not capitalized. £600 for some, £300 for others.

Schism Act - can teach no religion save bishop's sanction - bishops now Wm's apptees, & no oppression now, but would be someday. Extreme High Tory Act. By 1713, Boling. had to go on, not stop nor go back, & was in trouble. Had he been moderate, he would have been supported. So he worked (as he was losing support) for coup d'état. Removed all Whigs from office, Local Peace Justices would nip things in bud, etc. But he had to get Harley out 1st. 1714, 27 July, did this. Needed 6 weeks to change officers - but Anne d. Aug. 1. 1715, Bol. fled to Fr., & discredited Tories. Bill of Attainder (Strafford, 1641) used on Bol., then. Walpole let him back to Eng., 1725, but never back to House of Lords.

Then Whigs did not repeat the error.

Church fanaticism - danger that Whigs thru toleration might bring reaction, as they did in 1710, when mobs objected. (18th cent. Eng. mobs always conservative) Country vicar's power would have started it.

Convocation the focal point - Parl. of church of Engl., meets yearly. 1717, Conv. got going on Bangorian Controversy (Hoadley & the latitudinarians' ideas) Then Whig ministry dissolved Convocation (before they could censure Hoadley) This cut church communications, as Chas. II's not calling Parl. Kept opposition

disunited. Till 1861, it was kept dissolved, & church scattered all that time, & church impotent. Good, politically, but rationalism, toleration, laissez-faire develop. But killed church as a moral force. Big cities not sufficiently churched, people did not go. Clergy became rationalists, went into politics, or bribing grounds. 19th cent. Oxford movement the 1st revival.

Foreign entanglements - Hanover & George I. 1714 - 1837 (when Victoria lost Hanoverian inheritance, being a woman) minister has to worry about Hanover, esp. Georges I & II, who cared more for Hanover. Minister had to regard Hanover to keep King, but not offend P. by going too far.

Whig Schism - Sunderland (son of Wm's Secd.) & ~~Stanhope~~ Stanhope, vs. Townshend & Walpole. 1717, former got power, dismissed T., but kept Walpole.* S & S pro-crown, T. & W. pro England. W. more consciously conceived of Cabinet system, but in practice he did it very well.

1716, Septennial Act, replacing Triennial act, so no new election till 1722. By then, schism had cured itself.

*, However, Walpole resigned, having concept of ministerial solidarity.

Clark

Business organization

~~Call/Mary or Phyl~~. New Bank

~~See Mrs. Barnes~~ & boys

Land Banks

Call employer.

fail

Financial crisis

More to bank — p. 172

Mass production

Huguenots

Tariffs

Politics

Whigs on top

Obstructionist

Civil Liberty

Demobilization

Land grants

Act of Settlement

Spain

separated from management. Purpose of nat. bank to get money to loan to gov. at 8%. Inc.; 1st Eng. joint-stock bank, no monopoly yet. Forbidden to lend to crown. Existing bankers, business rivals, objected. Landlords feared monopoly of credit would raise mortgage-rates (so even big landholders lost their land this way). They also feared it's political power (privilege getting power). So got started 4 Land Banks, '95-'6, lending on land at 7% - all failed. B. of Eng. financed Navy. Bk issued beyond deposits, inflation, "crisis's monetary" (depression??) in '96. Was saved by moratorium. After Restoration, more capital & privileges given, credit improved. Ec. effects - certain mass production industries stimulated - W. Riding clothing, lead, copper, munitions. Bad harvests. Huguenots in Eng. had chance to get started, due to war's protectionism - & were kept going by tariffs afterwards — silk, glass, & paper. Linen failed. Joint-stock co.s grew in no. & significance. /Eliz. Villiers, King's mistress, gets land grants/ -p. 173

Jacobites retired from public life. Godolphin turned coat at last respectable moment. (Our being imperialistic will not stop other nations from being so too - it will only be a tremendous drain on our resources, & threatens our democracy.) Danby principle minister till '95. Halifax, Clarendon, Nottingham all in still, but majority were whigs. Tory philosophy abandoned for J. Locke. "Court" vs. "country" parties, rather than "opposition" party. Whig majority, obstructionist. Churchill friendly with Anne, no one else. Whigs waved the Popish plot rag all over. '96, Act passed - to weaken prosecuting power of state. Mary d., '95. '96, real plot discovered. Shrewsbury & Godolphin implicated.

'97, army mostly disbanded, Wm. dissenting. Jacobite's land in Ireland given to Wm's favorites. 1701, Act of Settlement gives crown to George I, also takes away some monarchical power. King's control of judges. died with Stuarts, was officially revoked by Settlement, 1701

Chas. II d., names Philip of Anjou Louis' grandson, his

heir. This ok with Wm., but pmt. objected. But, 1701, Wm. had to team for Holland, war spirit reigned. Dutch might have staid out had Louis, ruling Sp., left them trading privileges and barrier forts - but he took forts. Then he stopped trade with Eng, & called James III king, & this brought war.

War
Parliament
Wm.

New election, war pmt. elected, principle of electoral power over representative asserted. 1702, Wm. dies. Opposing Pmt., he was one of greatest forces in its power's growing. (Tut tut - he not such a great force, just the man for the times)

Ch. VII Marlboro's war. p. 192

Anne

Queen Anne's reign corresponds almost exactly to it. Great Northern war at same time, no connection. Marlboro hampered by Dutch overseers. Eng. proved superior to Holland in this war. Savoy quits Fr. for Alliance. Fr. & Bavarians threaten Austria. Portugal goes with Allies - commercial treaty with her, wool for wine & gold. Luther falls for mercantilism.

Dutch

Savoy
Austria
Portugal

Blenheim

1704, went for Bavaria, to stop Fr. Blenheim, 1st Fr. defeat in Louis' time, & 1st Eng. victory since middle ages. (but it was largely Bavarians vs. N. Germans)

Gibraltar

Gibraltar taken. Savoy in trouble

Peace sentiment

Dutch jealous of Eng.'s growing power, commercial interests, who wanted to go back to trading with Fr., wanted peace)

Ramillies

1706, Ramillies, Fr. practically out of Netherlands. Eugene drove Fr. from Savoy. But Allies lost Sp. to French for good.

Spain
Aust. & peace

Aust. took Italy, making peace with Fr., & allies mad. Eng. take Minorca & Sardinia. 1708, Oudenarde. Peace feelers, but allies asked too much. 1709, Malplaquet a Pyrrhic victory. France coming back. Collectively, the allies asked too much for France to give. Her game - deal with one, lick the rest. She chose England.

Fr. revives, seeks good peace

Anne & Politics

Queen Anne - dumb, not commanding. Anglicom, but promised Toleration. Marlboro & Godolphin in. Both Tories in spirit, but not good party men. 1710, war spirit gone. Narrow high Tories argued fight on sea, never on land, failed. Harley & Sunderland

Peace sentiment

Brandenburg – Aust. alliance, when Lou's threatned Palatinate. Protestants under fire everywhere. Innocent XI mad at Louis. Wm. watched Eng. Spong Dutch party wanted French friendship. '88, Lou's starts terrific war with Dutch. Wm. gets, at request, written invitation from ~~Wm~~ many Eng.-min. He lands, James runs away, gets caught, is permitted to go.

Chap. 6 – The revolution / settlement & the French war.

Convention, not Parl. elected. Regency plan rejected. Abdication myth. Declaration of Right. Wm. refused to be regent, said king or nothing. So Wm & Mary made joint monarchs. Tories had put to get by with their myth. Locke returns, justifies revolution. & moderate revolution, radicals & reactionaries both objecting. Wm's work all external, as general. Wm. had Chas. II's attitude. Whigs had to support war & Wm. – but he was wholly dependent on P. for $, it has met each year since. Chas's Triennial Act repealed, so elections had to be 3 yearly at least, over Wm.'s opposition. 3 "place bills", aimed to stop king's appointment power & ease impeachment, failed. Wm. his own prime minister. Annual or biennial Mutiny Acts, granting martial law, for army. Bill of Rights enacted Declaration. Active persecution of Catholics ceases, tho not legally. Toleration act passed for Pr. non-conformists. 1695, Licensing Act of Restoration runs out, not renewed – but tough libel laws also helped censor. – judicial interpretation the censor. High, non-resisting bishops withdrew. Qu. Mary influenced new promotions, distinction duirst upper & lower Clergy grew. Missionary spirit developed, for slave dwellers & heathen subjects. Objections to slavery, etc., first appear. Voluntary religion came up – clerical interference went down. The war very expensive – the 1st modern war, waged in colonies & everywhere. Holland in worst spot, Eng. refuses to change commercial restrictions. Emp. licking Turks, centimos advance, so still useless. Grand Alliance, Vienna, '89 Aust. Hol. & Aust & Eng. vs. Louis, + secret article to keep Sp. from

Wm. & Parl. (Locke)

↑ Do this on all hist. notes ↓

Parl. & army reform, pol. liberties

Censorship

New bishops

Social conscience

New religion

War p. 154

Diplomacy

use Plaetz' Date Dictionary

War starts — France (they liked it weak). Louis declares war on Sp., '89.
Louis isolated — Germans, & Savoy, oppose Louis, too. (Rulers of, e.g. Denmark, hired out fighters.) Brand. & Denmark stayed out. (tho Br. joined the "coalition") 5 theatres of war on continent, + sea, Sc., & Ire.
Brest
Toulon — Till '92, Fr. = in the sea. - but they did not stop Eng.'s getting
Cotentin Pen. — guns to Ire. Fleets meet, Eng. (under Torrington) win,
French victories — gov. in London makes 'em fight, Beachy Head, June 30, slight Fr. victory. Next days, Boyne. '92, La Hogue, Fr. outnumbered 2-1 & licked. Fr. raided Eng. commerce successfully -
Fr. privateers — privateering. Eng. merchants complain. Fr. in Flanders. Terrain made victory impossible, but living off country was profitable.
Eng. army — Eng. army well disciplined, etc., - Chas. & James' work. Jas. had 35,000 standing army. Militia, untrained, of 70,000, never fought. Wm. had 45,000 in Flanders, 1694. $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ were foreign hirelings. Jas' officers ok, but administration (corrupt, & got worse. - but never down to Fr. level. '89, slight allied successes.
Fr. win more — But '90, Louis won 2 battles, & Turks revived. '91, Louis wins more, Savoy'd. But Fr. still with, & Wm. despairs. ('92, after La Hogue)
p. 165 — '93, small allied colonial victories, Smyrna convoy taken. Savoy doing badly. '95, financial & administrative reforms made allies better. Eng. fleet in Mediterranean, off Barcelona.
Bank of Eng. — Bank of Eng. founded, eased problems greatly.
Allied victories — Wm. takes Namur, great Fr. fortress, great psych. effect. '96, little doing, peace hoped for.
Fr. Comeback, — Chas. of Sp. sick, so Louis wanted peace. '97, Fr. finish in blaze of victories, peace of Ryswick signed.
Peace

Internal Eng. War Cost Debt Taxes — During war, Eng. ruling class got loss. New era in finance. War cost 40 million, nat. income 4 million. Debt at end, 14 million. Yearly money voted. Corrupt administration. 1691, commissioners of public accounts set up. Hearth tax repealed. New taxes for revenue. Land value tax, most important, threw out 18th cent. 1692, 2 million £ Remit, at 4 shillings the £. (So 12,000,000 £ was annual rental value) Borrowing, credit poor, at 14%. Lotteries. Nat. debt grew ever since.
I do not understand all, p. 169. Hsh someone.
Privileged — loans made thru privileged companies. Investment being

Perkins, Nov. 6

Rationalism
- Merits & Defects
- 17th cent. origins
- Effect on religion
- Effect on life & conduct

London Statistics

	Baptisms	Burials
1680 1700	681	1000
1700-1720	721	1000
1720-1740	649	1000
1740-1760	638	1000

Gin consumption

1720	3,000,000	gal
1743	8 — —	"
1750	11 — —	"

Pop. 1740, c. 6,000,000

Methodism

John Wesley, 1703-91

1740, Methodism set in vs. rationalism providing emotional kick it lacked. Meth had its effect because it came in a rationalist period. Unlike modern revivalist movements, it kept going & growing. Rationalism brought too much materialism, to London working classes. Methodism saved from this, raised laboring classes spiritually (Pie in the sky) Humanitarian movement, characteristic of 19th cent., came with Wesley. Newton. Mathematical physics. Galileo vs. Aristotelians, experiment vs. authority. Halley's comet, he worked out 75 year orbit (1910, 1985), so it ceased to be regarded as an omen, but a scientific fact. Twas thought that social sciences would soon be solved, too. Not peasants in pub, but literati thought these things. Salvation thru inductive reasoning. No Atheism, that is just 19th cent. Deism, rather. Swift tolerant in

G.'s Travels, as was whole rational 18th cent. Rationalism was in part a reaction to theology – & they overdid it (bull) They got into cheap cynicism, & neglected to educate lower classes. (Dammit, everyone confuses cynicism, realism, mystg dupe, idealism, economic desires & materialism, etc.) People went to church, but cared nothing. Lack of church activity.

1720-60, the gin drinking epoch. Bapt. & burials not quite synonymous with births & deaths.

Relation of b.r. to prosperity not clear. Immigration into London. Gin the killer – because of too much rationalism. They landlord Pmts. wanted to encourage corn prices (& ∴ land values) (just like farmers & synthetic rubber) Gin made of alcohol, too. Rum, brandy, imported, had always been too expensive. New landlords set liquor production free – it had been excised out of existence. Needed licence to sell ale. 1720 Mutiny Act, retailers who were distillers were exempted from having soldiers quartered on them, which had been the great disadvantage. Countrymen did not drink – industrial workers did – tragic drunkenness – Hogarth's prints. 1736, a prohibition Act, with no effect. 1751, middle & trading classes force prohibition. Beer bring mellow drunkenness, gin bestial, fighting drunkenness. By 1750, Methodism influence vs. gin felt. Failure of est. Church to reach people. Open field preaching a Methodist inst. – Whitfield addressed 30,000 at once. Forerunner of Reform Bills.

~~Call Ether~~ See Windy

Mahan - Influence of Sea Power Ch. - 7

agendum - read Money in Elections, by Overacker

Learn some archeology psychology physics anthropology

'39 war, G.B. vs. Sp. The 1st war of primarily colonial significance. Fr. colonial expansion a popular movement, not aided by rulers, who let navy fall into disrepair (bull !!!) Free self governing Eng. colonies. Paternal, military, monkish Fr. colonies. Conflicting land claims. 1,200,000 pop. of Eng. colonies, 80,000 Fr. Rich West Indies, pawns of sea power.

India - both countries rep. ed by rival E. India Co.s, who governed Eng. at Madras, Calcutta, & Bombay, 3 independent presidents. Fr. had Du Pleix & Bourdonnais, who quarreled. Corrupt condition of Fr. navy. Eng. seamen better - had steady employment (& probly other things) The impressed Eng. seamen were very poor - the others were the good ones. Political influence picked too many officers, Fr. & Br. '40, failure (Br.) in W. Indies, featuring corruption & failure to co-ordinate land & sea power. Eur. wars & undeclared Fr.-Br. war, importance of Br. definite sea superiority in W. Medit. Sea battle of Toulon, a draw, showing up Eng. corruption etc., waking up Eng. - but fleet continued weak. Sea power featured little from now on, save in India. Fr. success in Belgium (Maestricht) forced peace. La Bourdonnais, running Fr.'s 2 islands, built Fr. sea power, was forbidden to use it, for political diplom. reasons, til '45, when Eng. sent fleet to India & war started. Du Pleix planned to take India by Eng. means - intervention & usurpation. Naval inferiority stopped him. (Is not Du Pleix analogous to the brilliant type of Russian officer of today, who fails only because of lacking men of right spirit?) Fr. win 1st sea battles, but D.P. & L. Bourd. quarrel, L.B. sent home, D.P. holds gains anyway. Then, '48, A.-La-Ch., Madras back to Eng., & sea power meant inevitable Fr. defeat. Status quo ante bellum peace, mostly. Fr. commerce suffering by war. High ins. in Fr. at time of greatest strain in the war - (scarcity & exp.) Fr. had upper hand, were it not for navy, had to give up land conquests on account of it. Eng. failed to use sea superiority to greatest advantage.

Ch. 8.

Du Pleix controls ½ India by '54, but Eng. begin to head opposition & with no navy D.P. is recalled. Ohio Valley in dispute. Great disadvantage of French, bad system. Wash. '54, Braddock '55, & Boscawen '56. Fr. threaten invasion but then Sieze Minorca & Pt. Mahon. Biscay sieze es by Br. (Byng's fear of court martial made him inefficient, as had Matthews subordinate - 286) Pt. Mahon (Minorca) battle, Fr. advantage, Byng's withdrawal. Fr. defensive tactics, avoiding fight whenever possible, due to numerical inferiority. Great Fr. land victories always nullified by their sea weakness. After this considerable war had started, Aust., Fr., Pol., Russ., Sued., germ up on Prussia, '56, start 7 years war. Fr. entered on basis of mistress' disliking Fred. Pitt made minister. Eng. concentrated on colonies, as Fr. should have. '58 took Louisburg. Montcalm blocked Champlain drive, but not St. Lawrence, which depended on sea power. '59, took Quebec. '60, Montreal, end for Fr., all due to sea power. (commando raids insignificant (hmm) Fr. prepare to invade Eng., But Toulon & then Brest (Quiberon Bay) fleets beaten, '59. '60, G. III d., & Pitt kept war going ~~to keep power~~ L.15's mistress kept it going to spite Fred. India & Am. decisively got in '59, the year of victories.

India - Chandernagore above Calcutta, Fr. stronghold. '56, Bengalese take Calc., Black Hole. Clive sailed, retook, then [illegible] Fr. abstaining, but even so Clive then took Chand. Then, '57, Plassey won vs. great odds - 3:50. (Division had much to do with this, I am sure) Fr. fleet won some, letting land forces get ahead, but finally, then lack of supplies, had to go home, & inevitably Eng. won, finally by '61.

Sp. declaration of war came at bad time. Fr. already down in Sp. just gave self over. '61, Family Compact. Pitt learned of Sp.'s hostility, tries to declare war, forced to resign, '61. War '62. Ansolites to Eng, all lesser. Pocock takes Havana, important trade-naval base. Sp. invades neutral Port., Eng. drives them out. Indian gov. takes Manila. (Eng. had the strength of freedom + the low designs of imperialism). Tremendous growth of Br. commerce, 8,000

312

ships asail, '60, Fr. privateers get ⅓ o'm, great nat. prosperity. Portuguese alliance. Eng. closer to Port. than Sp, & so more threatening. Havana back to Sp. for Fla., all but La. of Fr. to Eng. Fr. gave La. to Sp., in view of their failure to give them Minorca, as agreed, cause Eng. took it. Fish in Newf. & trade in India left to Fr., + few lesser Ant. The mistake — Fr.'s sea power was encouraged. Huge debt — £122,000,000. (c. 42 million in W.'s day, it having started in '94 - remember?) Fred. got status quo ante bellum - opponents missed things terribly. An imperialistic plea for a large U. S. navy — disgusting. Eng.'s success due to good gov. & sea power.

Perkins, Nov. 16

The Diplomatic revolution
1755 Eng & Aust. vs. Fr. & Prussia
1756 Eng & Prussia vs Fr. & Aust.
Elements of the Rev.
Silesia
Convention of Westminster Jan 1756
Treaty Versailles May 1756
America
French must be aggressor
Events, 1755
Braddock
Boscawen
Convention Eng & Russia Sept. 1755
" Westminster Jan 1756
Treaty Versailles June '56
The War
Pitt Plan

Peace after '42 war was stalemate. Aust. starts to look north, rather than west as traditionally. Aust. wants continental ally, Fr. rather than Eng. As shocking as Russo-Gm. alliance, '39. Westm. convention, aim to build up balance to avert war. Dutch stay out of it.

Trade of Louisberg for Madras, not so much as for Netherlands, which Fr. were ready to conquer. Aix la Chapelle peace - Am. geography little known, so just general boundaries drawn, with Indian country between, both sides free to trade. '53, Fr. expelled Eng. traders, Eng. built Duquesne, Fr. took it. Fr. in wrong, expelling traders. Eng. did not contemplate expelling Fr., but just getting spheres of influence. Fr. were thinking of empire

Eng. were more mercantilist. By 1753, they were imperialist. Eng had to keep Fr. isolated, to deal with her at all. If Eng. started the war, Pr. would take Hanover, & Eng.'s allies would desert. You must make good your continental influence before taking colonies. Had to make Fr. the aggressor, or Pr., Aust., & Sp. would join her. '65, sent 3 forces vs. Fr. aggressions, as defensive measures. Fr. sent defensive force to Canada. Eng. sent Boscawen with fleet to St. Lawrence mouth, to catch them - this was going too far; might have been ok had he succeeded, but they got by in fog. Fr. now in good position — but Louis 15 too desirous of peace. Undeclared war in Bay of Biscay — most 18th cent. wars not declared till after they started. '55, G. II signed Convention with Russia, R. to attack Pr. if she attacked Han., £50,000 annu paid for this. Pitt fights this in house. '55, 5 years later did it himself. Personal dislike of Versailles mistress & Queen of R. for Fr. Great a strong international factor. Alliances set up so no one could attack anyone without breaking alliance - but this did not stop war. Fr. take Minorca (Adm. Byng executed), & threaten invasion. '56 Treaty of Versailles twixt Maria Theresa & Fr., Eliz. of Russ. signs too, on purely personal grounds. 7 years war: Netherlands not in. Overseas war on large scale. Pitt Plan combination of land & sea power - Fred. provided land power, on defensive vs. Aust. & Russia. Raids on French coast, hit & run. Fr. had to keep ½ forces on coast, never had enough troops to get them to Fred. Overseas, Montcalm & Wolfe, etc. Mass on Pacific war parallel - conservative attitude at start by military. '58, Wm. Pitt emerged as war minister - a few great years, '58-'61. Picked good underlings. Had eye for detail + grand strategy. Both Wolfe & Montcalm terribly stupid at Quebec - superior Eng. muskets won battles.

Walpole

powerful.

Ch. 8 - Fiscal policy (pp. 166 - 182)

Worth quoting, & rereading

A tax reformer. For free trade. Harley & Bolingbroke's abortive Utrecht attempt at it with France. Arthur Moore. (Evidently foreign trade was always forbidden, save to special companies - we've come a long way) '21, W. got both export & import (on raw materials) duties repealed, same. '30, let Georgia & Carolina send rice to Europe, if in Br. ships. Sugar fraud. Let colonies alone, as did all till Grenville, who lost them as a result. Colonial trade jumped. His excise tax - a sub. for tob. & wine tariff, not much different that I can see. - but this Tobacco Bill the forerunner of free trade, that it failed, &, like Sacheverell & S.S. bubble, produced epidemic of unreason. Objections were to excise, not free trade (& what's unreasonable about that?) (esp. as one object was to decrease L.V.T.) Popular clamor, tho W. kept firm, & Commons & royalty stood with him, but he decided to drop it. Purged opponents that he could. (Because of difficulties of entering.

Nat. debt - '17, 54 million, 6½%. Reduced int. to 4½%, & made sinking fund, but had to draw from it to avoid increasing L.V. tax, so reduced debt only to 47 m. (Morley uses many curious clichés, etc.) W.'s objects - bring Hanoverians to favor with landed; & not paying debt gratified 1) creditors, there being no =ly secure investment, & 2) taxees. Refused to lower i.r. further because he wanted to keep Ed mun on his side. This weakened J. III, who would have repudiated debt.

placemen? pensioners?

Ch. - 9: Domestic Affairs

Condition of peasant better than that of Fr. - because of juster taxes, inter alia. Proportion of produce going to labor greater than in other times (why? & what is connection with L.V.T. & abominable conditions of preceding cent.?) No great reforms by W. (Observing Burdett - he is a terribly rapid reader - evidently he is skimming - just getting the bare outline of what is said, in order to write a good exam - the

p. 184

He fingers the corner of the page he's to turn next from the start - reading just to get thro with it.
probably not a deep thinker - Keene, T. Drake, Alcorn not so much, are similar - a definite type - thoughts will all be superficial, witty & quick, but not significant. Such study must be awfully uninteresting.) He just kept good things already established. Avoided disputes - let Test Act stand, to avoid trouble. (One in his position does well to let sleeping dogs lie - only educater can safely stir men up) Occ. con. act & rel. educ. act having been repealed, & W. not enforcing Test Act much, no trouble. '17, Convocation closed.

'25, tax on ale, aimed at Scots, who object. Porteous riot. Punishment cannot be enacted. (But tax remains, evidently) Prince "Frederick" (G. III ?) a fool, allied with opposition so it could not be accused of Jacobitism. Hated his pa (seems to be a family tradition), & ma. Tried to increase allowance from 50,000 £ to 100,000 £, & dependence from pa to Pmt. - & failed, thro W.'s cleverness, (& 900 £ bribing) Carteret, Pulteney, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield & prince - the opposition. '37, queen d. W. stood alone.

Ch. X - foriegn policy

to 4s. the £ (c. $\frac{1}{5}$)

Avoided war because it meant increased LVT, & he wanted to pacify land. Remarkable advance in trade & manufacture. Ownership of Han. & Gib. made war inevitable (like owning islands) (Nations today are in Hobbes' state of nature - where nothing has been decided, some by force, & restrain no higher sanction. - Freeman article) Thro Fleury, Walpole allied with Fr., to keep peace. '25 - 27, thro crises, avoided wars. '33 - '34, Stanislaus etc, avoided war, but thro such territorial rearrangements (Tuscany to Lrd., Naples & Sic. to Sp., & Lorraine to Fr.) as caused future wars.

207

'39, a colony quarrel - over smuggling to Sp. colonies, under Asiento. Unreasoning passion (as 3 times before) aroused, Eng. went to war, Walpole dissenting. Why did he not resign? Not a power seeker, or he would have supported war.

Walpole

He hoped he could still stop war. None of the opposition was a decent leader, he may have learned to distrust the country to them. 1740 repeat list.

Ch. XI · W.'s fall

People were in mood for a war of plunder. '41, Opp. put motion to House that W. be removed. - it failed, wide margin. Elections of '42, petitions & commons decisions. W. resigns, made Earl of Orford. Confusion & split among victors, who had promised too heavily. Pulteney, the leader, fell to pieces. W.'s colleagues remained, only change being Carteret for W. as Sec. of St. W. this a year W. regained popularity, was a potent behind-scenes figure. Pelham in power, '43-54, under W.'s influence. Carteret was too high-handed, fell. W. rose & fell with majority in Commons, Cart. never had it. 1745, d.

Europe 1713-48

1713 Utrecht
1732-35(38) Polish succession
1733 - Family Compact
1739 - Jenkins' ear
Dec. 1740 - Fred. Great invades Silesia
Feb. 1742 - Walpole resigns, Carteret foreign min.
1743 - Dettingen
1743-4 - Fall of Carteret
Mar. 1744 Eng. declares war on France
1745 - Fontenay
1748 - Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle

Walpole could have avoided war by early war action 1713 the greatest balance of power peace. Balances always fail because nations' strength is always changing. Lasts till 1793 - but broken often, in between. Time of little nationalism. Wars fought on business basis, & no one expected permanent peace. Utrecht did not unduly ~~conquer~~ oppress the vanquished. France was beaten, but not badly. She lost no Eur. territory - only Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay Territory - but kept St Lau. & Miss. valleys, the Lake's shore. Sp. lost Netherlands, Italy (save Sicily & Milan) & Gibraltar, Minorca. But Fr. man on Sp. throne. Eng. got foundations of empire, but at time it was nothing important. Gibr. was for wool trade to Medit. - a naval base. N.S. & Nfd. also N.B., & Hudson's Bay for furs. Eng.'s aims strategic & trading, not (yet) imperial. & also got greatest navy afloat. Holland got security, but never was but a 2nd rate power from here on. Got Barrier forts, Aust. got Sp. lands in Italy, Netherlands. Sp. & Fr. balanced Aust., Sp., Eng., & It., till diplomatic rev. 1740, Fleury in Fr. - old & wise, he played peace, to strengthen Fr. for another war.
Fleury's greatest dip. success is Polish succession, Munich of

18th cent. Stanislaus & Augustus, Elector of Saxony, vied for Pol. throne. St. is Fr. candidate, Aug. is Aust., Aug. wins. Aust. thrown out of It. Fleury get Lorraine, by diplomacy. - St. gets Lorraine, to go to Fr. when he d. (Self-determination impossible, always minorities, no privilege the only solution, etc.) Walpole urged (Baldwin, not Chamberlain, to blame for Munich - unpreparedness) (not till recently did people think that war was bad - Eng. spoiling for a fight, then) (Smollett's Roderick Random tells the story well) to fight. A pure economic grab war, & Mahan thinks it is ok. (Remember what Pete said in Mil. Sci. reading - "How about a little less internationalism, & more nationalism) 9/10 d. in Jenkin's Ear War. Stupidly won. Failure to unite command.

140, Pragmatic Sanction, Charles 6 & Maria Theresa. Fred. Great breaks it, & guarantors then all followed him. Walpole's peace actions mind him, Carteret, a 1st rate international statesman, but he could not handle Pmt.

1742, Peace of Breslau, Fred. withdrew. Then they got France back home, so, to keep balance, allies withdrew.

143, Dettingen, George led troops into battle, last time in Eng. hist.

144, Carteret broken, as Eng. sentiment swung back to peace & isolation.

Fontenay the great 18th cent. battle, typical, Br. defeated. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle - Status quo ante bellum peace. Lorisberg for Holland, etc.

Morley - Sir Robert Walpole 1676-1745

Chap. I - Early Years & first stages of public life.

Ancestry & estate — Country gentleman, good estate & ancient lineage. - 18 generations from ~~1066~~ 1066. Knights of Shire by Edw. II. Designed for church, went to Eton & King's College, but elder bro. d., he learned to be squire, £2,000 annuities. 2 pocket

Pocket boroughs — boroughs with it, Lynn & Castle Rising, held office from one of these 2 for his whole career. Poor speaker at 1st, learned to be a good one. Prince George of Denmark Anne's husband, &c.: Lord of Admiralty, corrupt & inefficient. Walp. ~~was~~ put on his

Education & character — council - exact & efficient. Godolphin impressed. Anne's 1st commons Tory - the House of Lords whig. Godolphin & Marlboro her ministers till 1710. - 1st with Nottingham & high Tories, then by moderates, Harley & St John, then ~~Sunderland~~ added Whig Sunderland;

Politics — 1708, M. & G. resign when Anne refuses to give Harley, she gives him, they return. From ~~then~~ Tory to Whig & Tory to Whig, with

1st cabinet action — Godolphin & M. on top all the time, & devoted to winning war.

War Party — 1708, Walpole made ~~Treas.~~ War Sec., replacing Bol. God., Treas., an indispensable, quiet, terrible, of Cornish Squires.

See other page - of Clark

Ch. II — Back from other page

Writers in politics — Addison & Steele for Whigs. Swift the court favorite, but duped. Harley slow, no leader, hated Bol. - both had odd personal motives, intrigued with pretender. Bol. could not get along with Hanover, so only way of staying in power was to bring in James. Tory devotion to church alone kept him out.

Bol. & Jacobites — 1711, all knights of shire had to have £600 a year from land, & burgesses £300. Occ. Conf. Act passed, & Schism Act. on education of dissenters

Land restriction — Walpole resisting. Anne dies Harley d., making Shrewsbury replace Harley.

Anne d.

Ch. III The New Reign - Whig Schism

Whig politics — No disturbance at accession. Townshend Sec. of State 1st minister. Walpole Lord, as paymaster. Straight Whig set up. - Coalition shown by recent experience to be bad.

Cab. idea

call T. This history is too much politics, & not enough fundamentals.

Condemn Tories — Whigs censure Tory peace, Walpole investigating. Ormond, Bol., & Harley impeached - last time in history, for political reasons, persecution finally dropped. King brought over German favorites, gave them privileges. Townshend & Walpole retired when they could.

German court

Whig Schism — Whig split - T'sd. & Wpk. stood together, vs. Sunderland, republicans. King hated his son. G. I used to go to Hanover, leaving work & power to ministers, & not being at Cabinet meetings. - which gave present system its chance. King knew when Walpole & Townshend retired to fight Hanover's wars, thought they were working with hated prince.

Cab. develops

p. 51 — Stanhope & [illegible] looks up to King, who fires Townshend, Walpole resigns, as S. & S., in royal favor, are going to war. 1716, Septennial Act secured Whig majority for years to come, repealing 1694 Triennial Act. Increased power of commons. '17-'20, Outcast Walpole opposed S & S even when they were right - Mutiny Bill, & repeal of Schism Act. W.'s power from his efficiency with money. Sunderland, out of favor with Kings G. I, tries to limit royal peer-making power, create closed college of peers. Walpole

p. 61 — opposed, won out.

Ch. 4 - Rise to Power - Boling broke

Walpole healed 2 schisms - Whig & royal. Got Wales to be nice to dad. & having destroyed Peerage Bill, was asked in, with T., '20, sub. pos., not active Gov. helps friends of S.S. Bubble, Walpole publicly denouncing it. S. & S. out, Walpole as Treas. takes over, with T. S of State. Walp. stayed there for 21 years, always fighting cabals, being magnanimous. Jacobites still threatened. Using tolerant & non-oppressive ministry, to keep public favor. Carteret replaces ~~Walpole~~ Sunderland, '22, as Walpole's chief rival. '24, Carteret defeated, but W. kept him around, as he was a good man. Sent him to Dublin, where he urged minor correction of abuses, & got 'em, pacifying Irish. Considered landholder influence first. Stuck with Commons the seat of his power. not Carteret. Opposition rising. Tory - Jacobites under Wyndham. - joined in Commons by rebel Whigs under Pulteney - in lords under Carteret. Pulteney pure Jacobite - no

Perkins, Nov.

Scotland

Union of Crowns	1603
Postnati Act	1608
Bishops Wars	1639 - 1640
Cromwell	1650 - 51
~~Cromwell~~	~~1650~~ "Killing Times" - 1670s & 80s

Scots conditions of life
- 3 divisions
- Poverty
- Agriculture

The Union

Act of security	1703
Aliens Act	1705
Treaty of Union	1707

Jacobitism

Long tradition of enmity. Bannockburn, Edw. I. 1603 - James 6 of Scot. becomes J. I of Eng. Mss trooping stopped. Smuggling continued. Postnati Act - Scots could buy Eng. land if born post 1603. 1651, Cromwell conquered Sc., & they became identified with Stuart cause. Killing times, attempt to root out Presbyterianism. Wm. III always thought of Union. Internal divisions - 3 of em 1) S.W lowlands, Presb. fanatics, covenants. 2) N.E. Lowlands, episcopalian, Squires, called lairds, like English. Law church. 3) Highlands - wild country, cut off, kilt, talked Gaelic. Many Cath.s & presb., but ignored religion mostly. Clan loyalty.

Jacobite efforts always failed, due to their diverseness. Scotland disliked union, but was too divided to stop it.

Starvation & famine common. Agriculture unscientific, open field system, yearly leases & ∴ no improvements as they would mean raised rents. North Eng. like Montana & Wyoming. Farms on mt.-sides, tho it was worse, because valley soil was too thick, & they were too

lazy. Cottage ~~in~~ work, but not an industrial rev. idea, done by individuals. Coal, workers serfs. Landlords in Scot. & raw wool tariffs (~~I~~ did not quite get it)

Laird with £500. annō a rarity. Took rent in kind. In Eng. £500. annō comfortable but low. Scotch squires always in debt, unlike Eng. (?!?), not so independent. Glasgow, 15 ships. Yarmouth, 1000. 1707 Act provided - they pay their share of land tax. £160,000 from Sc., £5,570,000 from Eng.

Politics - Eng. had aristocratic hierarchical church. Dem. pol. system. Scot, vice versa. Dem. church, endem. Parl., removed from people. Few Scotch had vote - 10% a high estimate. No Parl. tradition, just military. Great nobles, ∴ had more influence than in Eng. To be impertents, fight, not vote. Mercantilists in Eng. always kept Scots. trade out. 1690, Darien affair, Sc. fail. By 1700, religious fervor slackening, commercial benefits of Union appealed.

1703 Act of Security gave mercantilists a shock - on death of Anne Sc. P. Shall meet to choose Prot. successor, but this should not be Eng. king, a decl. of independence, expressed feeling of Sc. nation. A French base potential, more formidable than Ireland. God. advised Anne to accept it (she was Scotch anyway) but Parl. disliked - only Blenheim saved God. 1705 Alien's Act - provided for commissioners to settle union, dire results if it failed, but it succeeded. Act of Union left individuality to Scotland. Had civil law, like La, unlike Eng. Pop ⅛, wealth ⅟₄₀ that of Eng. Land tax ⅟₄₀. Also had to pay part of Eng. nat. debt - but Sc. got pretty favorable financial treatment. Ec. advance began, by 1735 it was real, soothing effect.

Jacobitism - 1745 finished it. Charley a good leader. Only Highlanders entered it. - others were too well off.

principles, &: a failure. (Do likewise, Caffery - Faction is only a means to an end - born dancer, or Georgism) Bolingbroke led them all behind the scenes - brilliant, but pointless. None trusted him. '35, he went back to Fr. forgoed.

Chap. V - The Court

1727. G. I d. G. II expected to kick out Walp., put in Compton, but Walp. knew his wife too well, & Compton was a fool, as G. discovered, so he kept W., Newcastle, & Townshend. Fleury of France sent peaceful message to keep it up, &: keep friendship, influenced King. Walp. offered King more money than Compton did, too. Causes for misanthropy. Queen Caroline - remarkable woman. King - physically brave. Abounded of wills, but above standards of time. Character, strong. Mean. Quiet in interviews, like one who is not sure of himself. A waiter, & political coward - afraid to be considered not own master. Queen, Walpole's steerage, gave him all his ideas, subtlety. He loved queen, but was a small-time tyrant. She suffered, in order to rule the country. King & queen resented parl.'s power. Queen intellectually active - latitudinarian, Newton, Handl appreciated by her. Rationalist. King at Commons' mercy but he could, within limits, determine 1st place, so his favor important to W. W. never popular, never undisputed. Townshend his mate for 20 years, till G. II - then a Hanoverian entanglement treaty by T. which Walpole objected to brought Hughes, T. resigns, '29.

Chap. VI Characteristics

No lustre, heroism. Intelligent, constant. Cool temper, never mad. Lover of company. Dabbled in corruption. Not a drunkard. Industrious. Swift & methodical, but not restless, like Newcastle. A huntsman. Great sleeper. Immoral. Informal. Not well read, but good speaker.

Interested in art, not lit. Not a high patrician, just a country gentleman. Sound & penetrating judgment; ample & accurate knowledge; tenacity of will, strength of character. Used whatever means the end needed. Liked power, identified personal & public policy. - for public or personal good, we know not. Never bore malice. Dutiful to party over self, but sometimes gave up opinions for self-seeking friends' sake. Kept dangerously talented men down, not for self alone, but to prevent faction. Not given to petty intriguing, tho others were always at it. Accused of great bribery, but not as bad as most. Not as cynical as accused. Said "All these men have their price", not as quoted usually. Usual way for MP to get seat & was to support Govt. W. governed by party attachments, not corruption. Persuaded 1st, bribed last. Gave sinecures to sons - as did all. His palace at Norfolk - accused of peculations. But his ability to be so lavish was really due to (1) rise in rents of his land. - average up ⅓. £2,000 to £5,000. (2) Wife had fortune, too. (3) Made much in speculation in S.S. stock. (4) Left large mortgage & debts when he d., '45. (5) 25 years' emoluments. - £7400 ann. amo. So probly not corrupt.

p. 128

Ch. VII - The Cabinet.

W. wanted P. to control exec. wholly - & had to have mechanism for it. Whig majority in Commons W.'s power. To keep administration in accord with leg. - the party Cabinet. Tories tried to unite Privy Council in Act of Settlement. - no commons member to be a minister. Both repealed. Whig Junto of '95, 1st. 1705, Cod. forced Anne to take Sunderland, & Stewart Harley - significant 1st. Withdrawal of G. I from Cab. meetings significant. 4 features of cab. 1) Collective responsibility 2) known to have majority 3) 1 party 4) Prime minister the keystone. He selects the others, & can, in fact, dismiss them. None of these accepted in W.'s day. Term "Prime Minister" in disrepute, Pitt accepted it, but North & Grenville objected. 1805, Pitt got term accepted. Walpole always had to be careful not to appear too

157

Perkins Oct. 19

Louis XIV (most important man in the rev. of 1688)
1643 - succeeds to throne
1661 - takes control
1665-67 - Anglo-Dutch war
1668 - Triple Alliance (Eng., Holland, Sweden)
1668-70 - Louis' treaties with Emp., Elect. Bavaria, Chas. II
1672-78 - Louis invades Holland
1685 - Edict of Nantes revoked
1686 - League of Augsburg formed.
Wm. of Orange
1677 - m. Mary, daughter of Jas. II
1685 - Head of Eng. opposition

2nd of 4 rulers of Europe. (Chas. V, Nap., Hitler)
France Cath. at home, anti-Cath (Sp. & Aust.) abroad.
The balance ~~was~~ lost meaning at time of Louis - ~~Aus~~ Spain weak, Aust. busy with Turks. Chas. II liked Louis. Holland split '68, plan to dissect Spain on death of imbecile Chas. II of Spain. Triple Alliance - Eng. out by '70, Sweden by '72. Louis invades Holland. Eng. & Holland traditional rivals, but English made Chas. leave war by '74. All Eu. attacked Louis, he had to withdraw, 78. Diplomatic war results - one error, revocation of edict, exodus of Huguenots to Eng. & Prussia, Europe scared. League just talked, didn't scare Louis. By 1689, Louis' advantage gone - Wm. of Orange; Aust. rid of Turks; League potent.

Wm. last of hereditary stadtholders, leader of popular group vs. business interests. Republicans under De Witts had a great fight with Wm.'s father, he died, Wm. brought up among enemies, became an able man. Never made political mistakes in Eng. At 22 made Capt. General of Dutch forces, resisted in long defensive war. Not personally ambitious, man of real principle.

presuming James has no more children

His marriage made him heir presumptive to Brit. throne. Exclusion Bill brought him into limelight. - should it be he or Monmouth? Ex. Bill defeated. Lesson from Monmouth's failure - you must work thru the politically articulate class. Bloody assizes brought reaction, just as '81 brought royalist reaction. Chas. handled things gently. But James was arrogant, disliked. Maintained standing army, gave commissions to Catholics. Here Wm. might have made mistakes, caused reaction. Proposal of Wm. Penn, that offices be split ⅓ to Cath., Diss., Anglicans, toleration for all kings. Wm. would have nothing to do with it. - he knew he had to work thru Ang. squires. He was a Calvinist. 1687, he opposed Penn's idea.

Then birth of Mary of Modena's son lit the fuse.

Veitch (2)

& Mahon

Write Martin & Bob & Duke

Pitt tries to reform, '85, aided by petitions, fails, never tries again. Society & agitation gradually died. '88, commemoration Revolution Society, & slight revival.

Chap. V - Beginning of Fr. Rev.. Influence on reform movement

Reform & reaction both strengthened.

Mahon: England vol. 5, chap XLIV

'65, King's sickness, mental?; Grenville's stupidity, in outlawing his ma as successor, vs. Commons' will. Spital fields, weavers demand tariff, riot when refused. Dull

Stamp Act

Perkins, Dec. 9

Pitt & Europe

Last Years of Utrecht Eur. 1780-92

The Austro-Russian "Axis"

Austria: Western & Eastern opportunities

Russian ambitions

Austria – The Scheldt question 1784

Franco-Dutch rapprochement

Bavarian move 1786

Holland → The Furstenbund 1786

Holland → 1787

Triple Alliance 1788 Eng. Holland Prussia

Pacification: Sistova 1791

Jassey 1792

The Fr. Rev.

Failure to cope with it.

3 stages of war

1793-97; -1807; -1815.

Virile new rev. France against rotten Europe.

Pitt completely misunderstood strength of rev. – so played game of bluff & power of threats, rather than power.

Russia swallowed up France's Eastern Eur. clients.

Non-fanatic attitude toward war.

Jos. II in Aust. got Aust.-Russ. axis going.

Aust. wanted to open Scheldt, so Antwerp could trade. '84, Joseph tried to open Scheldt, Holland isolated, but France came to rescue, Jos. backed down. Franco-Dutch rapprochement, bad for Eng.

Furstenbund a union of Ger. states, led by Fred. Great, to stop Joseph's proposed Bavaria for Belgium trade.

Dutch civil discord-anistos vs. business. Stadtholders for Br. alliance, burgers for France. Pitt asked to intervene, refused.

Then, Irish. Fr. Great d., his son mandi's into Holland, to help related stadtholder, France mandi's too, Eng. scared rem out, allied with Prussia,

1792, Pitt loaned taxes to free industry. Failed to see war.

Aus. & Prussia move into France, get licked at Valmy & Jemappes, French get empire idea.

Perkins, Nov. 25

20 page report soon — WOW!!!

Newcastle	Oct 1761 - May 1762
Bute	May 1762 - Apr 1763
Grenville	Apr 1763 - July 1765
Rockingham	July 1765 - July 1766
Chatham	1766 - 69
Grafton	69 - 70
North	'70 - 82

Geo. III as an individual
The Wilkes Case
The Grenville & Rockingham ministries.

Rapid turnover of ministers, indicates failure of policies, till North. None of them rep.ed anyone but King.

Territorial, official, country gentry, trading, town poor — the politically potent. Rural labor impotent. 18th cent. riots often & bad. Pimentary reform finally stopped them. Yeoman farmers, 17th cent. & early 18th, a great force. Voting took a day or 2, or 3. By 1760, yeoman out of the picture (inclosure?) To 1st 2 classes, politics a profession or main interest. 18th cent. leaders were from country gentry, small landowners, Walpole, Pitts, Fox, e.g., supported by magnates. (as poor D. Webster rep.ed Boston merchants) True Tory objected to central party, could not take power without changing principles. 1770, Tories come back, (till 1832,) Conservatism often a potent force because radicals appeared. '84, G. III thrust in background, Pitt, rep.ing mass sentiment, took over. Grenville of official class, whig, but looked like Tory. Court support all that mattered, all were party durbroats.

Geo. III himself. A very influential individual, by his own acts. Caused our rev. Bad court influence. Purged his pol. opponents. Obstinate, honest, prejudiced, indolent. Became industrious. Mind for details.

Succeeded in dominating county, but not in accomplishing anything. (Bill Dodds please note)

Wilkes case reps new democratic forces. George laughed it. Should P. continue to be unrepresentative, upper class body, or become more democratic? - this underlay Wilkes. '63 flareup, & '68-69. '63, liberty of individual from siezure the issue. #45 an paper attacking king's speech announcing the peace. Warrants for arrest of authors, publishers, & printers, 49 arrested. Ct of Common Pleas decided vs. crown. - Landmark. a) M.P. free from libel, & b) General warrants for arrest illegal.

Then essay on Women, published for Medmenham Abbey crowd. Sandwich brought out charges of obscenity, Wilkes went to France.

'68, elected to P. from Middlesex. London Defeated Luttrell by large majority. Wilkes rejected, reelected, rerejected, rereelected. P. then decided Luttrell was elected. This makes P. self-perpetuating body. Wilkes finally kept out, but great pop. support. Petitions from 17 counties, requesting new election. Good men in P. for Wilkes, but failed.

Grenville replaced personally unpop. Brute. Big army in U.S.A. to protect officers. Stamp tax riot. But king dismissed him because he was independent.

Rockingham repealed stamp act, condemned gen. warrants, restored officers who had been kicked out for voting vs. king. Only good ministry under G., & he opposed them, so they could not stand. Pitt opposed them.

Pitt's admin. pitiful.

Perkins, Dec. 11

The Wars

Pitt's defensive attitude

The war a naval war — Mediterranean & Atlantic blockade.

The Atlantic blockade

General strategy - caution

Irish expedition, 1796 never landed

The Mediterranean

Peace Terms 1796-7 pro Finch.

The upswing at sea

St. Vincent Feb. 14 1797

The Nile, 1798

Copenhagen 1801

Trafalgar 1805

Commercial war

Berlin decree Nov. 1807

The Peninsula, 1809 — Wellington cautious.

"They do such queer things in Washington"

Peace time commanders are too cautious, defensive; war, aggressive operators must be trained, who will gamble. Only the Germans started with a gambling staff, a tremendous jump. Similarly, France got jump

Pitt had naval outlook. Battle of Cape St. Vincent a great naval victory which snapped Eng. out of defeatist attitude.

Pitt thought it ok to snag Fr. colonies, he took west Indies, but not ok to interfere in France.

Nile, Copenhagen, Trafalgar, all Nelson.

Lazy Home replaced by energetic Jervis, Lord Vincent. Reform of luxury loving captains.

Perkins, Dec. 14

India 1760 - 1805

Clive 1765-67 Hastings 1772-86

Cornwallis 1786-93 Mornington 1798-1805

North's Regulatory Act 1773

Pitt's India Act, 1784

Industrial Revolution

	1740	1782
Imports raw cotton	1,500,000 lb.	32,500,000
Pig iron	17,000 tons	1806 260,000 tons
Gen'l. exports	£8,000,000	1815 £58,500,000

Population Eng. & Wales

1700	1750	1801
5,500,000	6,000,000	9,000,000

Weights of stock

	Beeves	Calves	Sheep
1710	370	50	28
1790	800	148	80

Social attitude is important.

E. India Co. grew from dots to streaks, thru use of force, & in central & western India allied with native princes. Attitude toward imperialism was favorable. 4 men supra did it. Problem of keeping co. agents from skinning natives Clive failed to solve. Hastings expanded much. Cornwallis "reformed" administration. Collection of Bengal still on his basis - tot. Mornington frankly imperialist, Du Plein methods, allying with native rulers. Bengal taken by Plassey. very rich, very submissive. Ganges valley the key to Ind. - Brit. took it 1st. Both the great expansions, Hastings & Mornington, came when France threatened. '60-'65, outrageous exploitation. Agents poorly paid, made it up by graft Bengal farmed out to a Nawab, who got it from dues on the rivers, but co. would not pay, so he had to grind natives. Then Clive had to take Oudh, border

squabble. - & kept it. Disunity of India made good excuse, & made it easy. Only other Europeans a problem. Moguls breaking up, all squabbles.

North's Act set the company's dividend rate, because of famine, & made governor of Bengal gov. of whole. - Hastings.

P. H's ~~Act~~ Act, '84, - gov. gen. the apptve. of minister, not company, & responsible thereto. 1857, gov. took whole thing over.

Industrial Rev.

Advance in medicine. 1740-50, great change. John & Wm. Hunter founded modern surgery & medical education.

Growth of humanitarianism - none at all at beginning of cent., but it came by end.

Med. science helped increase population.

Steam engine known in 1705, but skills not great enough to make it work - no one could make a piston rod. But things caught about 1750. 18th cent. did not expect change, as we do.

(Industry demands freedom & stability)

Most people thought population was declining. (Bricking up windows to avoid taxes - relation to Covenant - Grave Rite)

→ A. Smith did not advocate laissez-faire, his disciples twisted it (?) Enclosure movement which pauperized the rural laborer, the result of new efficiency - profit ideology. No regard for yeoman, homeless. Poor got poorer, rich richer. Rise in land values. - due to 2 causes.

→ 1880-1840 a very bad time for Eng. lab.

Perkins, Dec. K

English aristo idea of governmental responsibility closely tied up with landownership - (a feudal hangover)
An exam question on party will be.
Exam: choice, plenty of room. Maybe a map question, on big places - well, not so big. Spithead, Blenheim, barrier forts.
Little Hall 11-12 handin reports.

Perkins Dec. 7 (1942)

Pitt & Eng. 1784-92

The Coalition defeated Dec. '83 - Mar. '84

(Machintosh, Vindiciæ Gallicæ, Apr. '91)

Whig mistakes

Election of 1784

Pitt's problems

Morals, finance, reform

H of C Dec. '83

F-N 210 Indep. c. 300, Pitt c. 50

H of C Apr. 1784

F-N 155 Ind. 123 Pitt 280

but Court 185, Pitt 52, E.I. 15, Scot 10,

Lonsdale 9, Lansdowne 9.

'92 divides Pitt's reign in 2. (French Rev.) (He was adequate pre-'92 ('84-'92), not so sharp afterwards. Beat coalition, straightened G. III's mess.

G. disliked F-N coalition, got rid of it over India Bill, replaced it with Pitt younger, frankly his own man, without Pmt. support. Vindiciæ Gallicæ a reply to Burke's thoughts on France, incidentally accuses Pitt of ending Pmty. power - speaking for young Whigs. But there was a great popular support. - mobs, etc. Pitt worked against Pmt. for some time, For leading obstructionists, became unpopular, then '84 election, reminders Pitt victory. From here on, popular control of Pmt. more settled. But not a spontaneous upsurge of pop. feeling. Fixed, lots of money & offices used, as usual. Lansdowne, who owned land, & shipped tenants all over Eng. to win elections.

Write book.

Great nat. debt from rev. war. Great social unrest. labor trouble.

Pitt's "court" followers were not usual, but pro-King & stability. His other scattered followers all had to be

appeased.

Pitt solved these problems. Finances, cleaned up. Politics cleaned up. Europe's respect regained. Prime minister's strength reasserted. - greatest contribution to cab. system. 18th cent. rationalism being replaced by 19th cent. emotionalism - Pitt could not handle latter. Eliminated much patronage - it was no longer the top moving force. Pr. Min. now more than King's tool. Saw king as embodiment of nation, but ---. Disciplined cabinet, more successfully than most. 1788-95, Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings. Pitt defied King successfully. But, 1801, King refused to let Irish Cath. hold office, Pitt resigned.

He ended policy of ~~giving~~ borrowing money at absurd i.r.s, (privilege to bankers) ~~the~~ Tariff reforms, which ended smuggling, & increased revenue. Taxed luxuries of politically powerful (not land). Free trade with France, '86.

Dodged reform - cleaned up existing structure, did not change it. In '90s led repressive movement, very bad. - red scare, universal franchise demanded. He believed in rep. of interests.

Perkins, Nov. 30

Mantoux pp. 140-190; 349-373, assigned.

North resigns, 20 Mar 1782
Rockingham { Fox / Shelburne } Mar - July 1782

Rockingham d. } 1 July, 1782
Shelburne P.M. }
Shelburne resigns 24 Feb, 1783
I = N. Coalition 2 Apr - 18 Dec 1783
Pitt 19 Dec. 1783 - 1801

1760 privatized politics, no positive beliefs, could be pushed by whatever came along - & G. III came. 7 ministries in 10 years - a leader must have something to lead. 1770, positive conservatism arises again, resulting from Wilkes. North their man. 12 year ministry. After that, Whig failure, botched good chance, in 2 years, out till after Waterloo (some 1808-7) '80, res. of Dunning put thru, censure on North. Burke's Bill for Ec. re- form brought in, killed in committee. North tried to get out, G. kept him, obstinate. Pitt elder desired, but G. refused. Yorktown makes N. resign. Younger Pitt a puppet of King at 1st, minority, in Comm. But Pitt too honorable to do all that King wanted. 1st Ring losing vigor. - present relations to crown begin to emerge.

Vera Cruz?

2 reasons for Whig failure - 1) machinery, terms badly used. Misunderstood party terms. 2) Were not yet oriented to the new liberalism. - rather aristocratic liberalism. Office & pol. power their objects. Burke ahead of his time, bored his fellow MPs. - talked too much. Whigs pro-Am. at this time, but then offered alliance with King - office & authority, not principles, their objects. Nothing came of it, but shows attitude.

Fox-Sh-Rock. ministry insisted on stopping war & stopping crown influence thru corruption. Sh. the big man in his min., but trusted by no one - very able, but considered venal. Split up soon, Fox wanted them to get thru ec.

reform 1st. Thurlow — supervenal King's friend.

Most of petty politics

Personalities enter in, as in Wash. today.
50,000 out of 300,000 electorate (pop. 8,000,000) were gov. employees. Rockingham whig party of low ec. reform - but not democrats, more like today's socialists.

Fox & Burke the greatest whigs. Fox a gambler & drunkard. Burke too wordy, not good organizer.

They made the defeat peace, which always irks people, 1783.

Shelburne, North, & Fox groups. 140, 120, 90. S.'s men were King's men. F.'s a personal following. F:N. coalition finally overthrows Shelburne. '74-83, Fox had been North's great enemy. Fox regarded as sell out. King broke them, occasion of Fox's India Bill. proposed 7 Commissioners of 4 years terms, to completely run E. I. Co., territories, trade - enemies accused him of grabbing for patronage. Commons passed it, Lords veto, by King's influence.

Pitt replaces coalition.