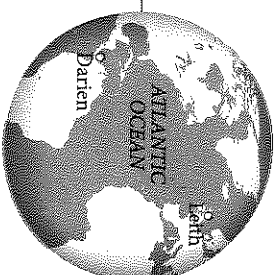


CHAPTER 1

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION AND THE CREATION OF “BRITAIN,” 1688–1707



William Paterson explaining the Darien scheme to potential investors, Edinburgh, 1694.

In July 1698, 1,200 men and a handful of women and children set sail from the Scottish port of Leith to Darien—on the isthmus of Panama—where they planned to settle a new colony. Supplied with a year’s worth of food, drink, and a ridiculously inappropriate array of goods they planned to offer for trade with local Indians, they made their way across the Atlantic Ocean, arriving at the site they would name New Edinburgh in November, having lost 44 of their party to “fever” and the “flux”—dysentery—en route. They planned to establish an entrepôt, or trading center, on the isthmus that would facilitate trade between both the East and the West Indies, thereby positioning Scottish merchants at the center of a lucrative commercial enterprise that would enable Scotland to claim an equal position of power with England.

The Darien venture proved to be a disaster. Not only were the settlers woefully unprepared for the environmental challenges posed by the climate and diseases of the region and incapable of defending themselves against the Spanish troops sent to recover the territory claimed by Spain, but they were also undermined at every turn by an England determined to see the colony fail. By October 1699, the roughly 700 survivors of the colony departed Darien: malnourished, beset by storms, and ravaged by disease, fewer than 300 made it back to Scotland. In the meantime, a second fleet of colonists had set out from Scotland to join what they had been led to believe was a thriving settlement. “Expecting to meet with our friends and countrymen,” recalled one member of the second expedition, “we found nothing but a vast howling wilderness, the Colony deserted and gone, their huts all burnt, their fort most part ruined, the ground which they had cleared adjoining to the fort all overgrown with weeds; and we looked for Peace but no good

came, and for a time of health and comfort, but beheld Trouble." In April 1700, that group surrendered to the Spanish and abandoned the colony altogether.

From its inception to its ignominious failure, the Darien venture played a crucial role in the events that would lead to the creation of "Great Britain" in 1707 (the union would be augmented by the addition of Ireland in 1801). Its very conception lay in the inequities suffered by the Scots in their relationship with England, whereby they shared a king but nothing else. The circumstances of the Glorious Revolution—by which the Catholic James II lost his throne to the Protestant William and Mary and England entered into war against France—helped turn the dream of a colony in Darien into a concrete effort. Its abysmal failure, which involved the loss of about one-quarter of all the cash in Scotland, compelled powerful factions in both England and Scotland to admit of the necessity of a real union between the two kingdoms. Darien thus stands at the crossroads of the currents that would bind together the individual kingdoms of England and Wales, Scotland, and ultimately Ireland in a union known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688, when William and Mary were invited to England to oust James II, exacerbated the tensions among the various countries that would comprise Great Britain, even as it ultimately created the conditions for formal union among them. These tensions—religious, ethnic, and political—would continue long after union was effected. Great Britain, in other words, far from being a united nation based on a common set of characteristics, was torn by rivalries, conflicts, and divisions. Only when it came to empire do we see any kind of common identity that we might describe as "British." Britishness thus constituted an imperial identity, not a national one; at home, Scottishness, Irishness, Welshness, and Englishness prevailed. And within each country, even these broad categories of belonging were frequent matters of contestation.

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THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

William, Prince of Orange of the Netherlands, landed his troops in Devon in the West Country of England on November 5, 1688, setting off what contemporaries liked to style the Glorious Revolution. The revolution of 1688–1689, ostensibly bloodless, has conventionally marked the establishment in England of constitutional monarchy and the rule of law, dramatically transforming the nature of the English constitution and the relationship of the crown to Parliament. Parliament had, in essence, asserted its authority to remove one king from the throne and replace him with others. In combination with the Bill of Rights of 1689, which restricted the power of the monarchy by placing it under the law and asserted the sovereignty of Parliament, the revolutionary settlement implied that a social contract between crown and subjects existed, one that could be revoked and a monarch removed if he or she failed to fulfill its terms. Hereafter, sovereignty, the source of authority in the state, it might well appear, resided in the nation, marking a constitutional change of immense proportions.

But in Scotland and especially in Ireland, the Glorious Revolution and the revolutionary settlement it spawned had significantly different outcomes. In the short term, Scots found themselves economically disadvantaged vis-à-vis the English kingdom, a situation that brought about financial disaster and ultimately compelled them to give up their independent legislature and join with England in the United Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707. The Irish, riven by sectarian and ethnic divides, fared far worse, their country reduced to the status of a colony, to the surprise and dismay of the Protestant Anglo-Irish elites who had seen in William a champion of their cause. As a prominent Irish Member of Parliament (MP) noted a hundred years later, "glorious it certainly was for England—for Ireland it was disastrous in the extreme, and was attended with the most pernicious effects—the annihilation of her woollen manufacture—the extinction of her commerce, the total loss of her legislative independence."² The Bill of Rights that had secured the liberties of English subjects had placed Ireland in a position of subordination to the English monarchy.

William's landing evoked mass popular fervor for revolution across English towns and cities, a demonstration of support that was intensified by widespread rumors of Irish soldiers in James's employ intent on "cutting English Protestants' throats." James II had indeed brought troops from Scotland and Ireland to strengthen his garrison in Portsmouth in September and October, and an incident between some of the Irish troops and local townspeople had resulted in the deaths of 40 citizens. Knowledge of this event helped give credibility to the "Irish Fright" in November, when some of William's supporters warned Londoners that some 8,000 "armed papists" were on their way to carry out a massacre. From London the fright spread along roads and through the mails across the kingdom, leading Englishmen everywhere to take up arms. The Irish Fright convinced many potential supporters of James that armed resistance to William's forces was futile.³ The Duke of Beaufort had committed himself to raising a force of 10,000 Welsh fighters for James, but was unable to make good on his promise. Many of the gentry of Wales, moreover, who as staunch Tories would have expected to support James, found his use of Irish troops anathema and stayed out of the fray.

As William's troops marched toward London in November and December of 1688, James fled the country for France. His flight provoked a constitutional crisis because now the throne was vacant, and what had started out as a campaign merely to secure the Protestant succession for James's daughter Mary, William's wife, turned into something quite different. William had not been asked to invade England to become king; nor had he intended to take that role in accepting the invitation. With James's abdication, however, there seemed to be little alternative. William summoned a convention in January 1689 to address the crisis, and after two weeks of wrangling, the MPs agreed to settle the crown jointly on William and Mary, which they did formally in April.

The Whigs and Tories who made the revolution of 1688–1689 had profound reservations about what they had done. They did not wish to be seen as revolutionaries, nor could they come to any agreement about what their actions constituted. Crises of conscience compelled contemporaries to devise various stories to

justify what was in fact the overthrowing of a legitimate monarch by his rightful subjects. Furthermore, all kinds of questions concerning the relationship of the monarchy to its ministers, to Parliament, to political factions of court and country, and to the public arose, as did those seeking to inquire into the nature of loyalty and virtuous citizenship. Because many of these problems could not be resolved by the law, they were often framed in terms of gender. In other words, the uncertainties about authority and the exercise of power thrown up by the revolutionary settlement found their most satisfying expression in stories about or references to gender and sexuality. In each case, the resolution of issues articulated in gendered terms had profound implications both for women's relationship to power and for the relationships of men and women outside the political arena.

We have seen this already in the case of the warning pan scandal being used to explain William's invasion of England to oust James from the throne. This particular justification for the Glorious Revolution could not be sustained for long, however, because it flew in the face of William's political ambitions. The warning pan story gave rise to the claim that Mary's right to succession had been violated by the introduction of a suppositious son; the logical conclusion would have been for Parliament to crown her as James's legitimate heir, as indeed a number of MPs asserted it must. William, however, would not accept a situation in which he would be but his wife's "gentleman usher," as he put it. Insisting that "he would hold no power dependent upon the will of a woman," he demanded full executive power, which he refused to share with Mary or relinquish in the event of her death.⁴ In the face of William's threats to withdraw his troops from England, leaving the door open for James's return, Parliament capitulated to his demands. In early February 1689, it placed the crown jointly in William and Mary's hands and made William the sole executive authority of the kingdom. In doing so, MPs made allusions to women's nature. Their assertions about the nature of women served to uphold a gender ideology that relegated women to private affairs.

The dangerous times, some Williamites claimed, meant that it was not "safe to trust the administration of affairs to a woman" and called for "a vigorous and masculine" administration. "A Man, by nature, education, and experience, is generally rendered more capable to govern than a woman," wrote one of William's supporters in 1689, and thus "the husband ought rather to rule the wife, than the wife the husband." William would protect and defend his wife and her kingdom, removing all of the disturbing aspects of rule and enabling her to "enjoy all the pleasure of being queen without any thing of trouble." Others argued that Mary constituted a security risk to the country, fearing that the guilt that "will perpetually assault her tender breasts" would induce her to let her father James back in. Evoking notions of women as weak-willed, frivolous, emotional, and inconstant, these arguments purportedly drawn from "nature" about femininity enabled the revolutionaries to obscure the contradictions of their actions. Mary, the legitimate heir to the throne, would succeed in name only. The de facto power of the monarchy rested with her husband, who possessed few legal grounds for his claim.⁵

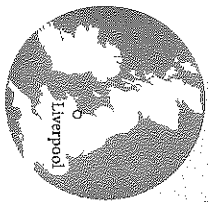
Parliament dealt with William's lack of any constitutional claim to the throne by references to gender hierarchy within and legal strictures that pertained to marriage. Just as it was unthinkable for a woman to rule over her husband in marriage, so too was it unthinkable for William to subject himself to his wife's authority in the kingdom. "Does any think the Prince of Orange will come in to be a subject of his own wife in England?" scoffed one pro-William MP. "This is not possible, nor ought to be in Nature." The argument from marriage proved to be an effective one because it also raised the issue of coverture, under which a wife's property became the possession of her husband. Mary's property, including her estate in the crown, belonged to William. The law of coverture provided a legal coloration to William's claim to power, giving him, he insisted, "such a right as all the world knows to the succession of the crown." As it turned out, Mary herself invoked current thinking about gender to ratify the joint settlement of the crown. It was "unsuitable and ungrateful" and "not to be expected," she maintained, "that so generous and warlike a prince [as William] . . . would suffer his wife . . . to become his sovereign." "My opinion," she wrote later in her *Memoirs*, "has ever been that women should not meddle in government."⁶

In Ireland, news of William's landing in November 1688 sparked a protracted and bloody civil war between factions organized along religious lines. Some 2 million people inhabited the island, a large majority of whom were Catholic. Perhaps 25 percent of the Irish counted themselves as Protestants, and among those were a large number of Presbyterians of Scottish heritage living in the northern counties of Ulster. Protestants of the established Church of Ireland regarded themselves as the English-in-Ireland, or the Anglo-Irish, as historians have come to call them, and it was only the common threat of Catholicism that bound the two sectarian groups together. Protestants had felt themselves under threat in the years of James II's reign because he imposed Catholic administrative and military commanders on the country and instituted land policies that gave Catholics land formerly held by Protestants. The predominance of Catholic power in Ireland in the three years preceding the Glorious Revolution strongly influenced the response of Protestants to William's invasion of England.

Catholic Ireland gave its loyalty to James. In the countryside, poverty-stricken Catholic farmers rose against their Protestant landlords, killing thousands of cattle. Protestants in Derry (which Protestants always called Londonderry) in Ulster closed the city gates against the army led by the Catholic Earl of Tyrconnel (1630-1691) and declared their allegiance to the Prince of Orange. Irish Protestants in London persuaded William that a promise to give land confiscated from the Catholics to Protestants would supply him with an eager military force with which to confront the Catholic rebels, a move that forced the compromise-minded Tyrconnel to turn to France for assistance. By March 1689, when James returned to Ireland from France, Tyrconnel had placed virtually all of Ireland outside Ulster under Catholic administration.

James sought to make his stand against William from Ireland, which he regarded as the jumping-off point from which to secure Scotland. His attitude

A PLACE IN TIME

The Glorious Revolution in Liverpool

When William of Orange arrived in England in 1688 to overthrow James II and place his wife, Mary, on the throne, Liverpool became involved in the conflict almost immediately. One of the local landlords, the Catholic Lord Molyneux, sided with the king, and a force of regular soldiers occupied the town for a brief period. The other great lord in the area, Lord Derby, although a supporter of the king in the past, read the sentiment of the town notables correctly and declared for William, setting up the possibility of significant violence as the two factions squared off against one another. James's flight to Ireland in 1689 altered the situation entirely, eliminating the capacity of Molyneux to effectively oppose the usurper and freeing up the port to provide the ships that would ferry William's soldiers across the Irish Sea to Ulster in pursuit of the erstwhile king.

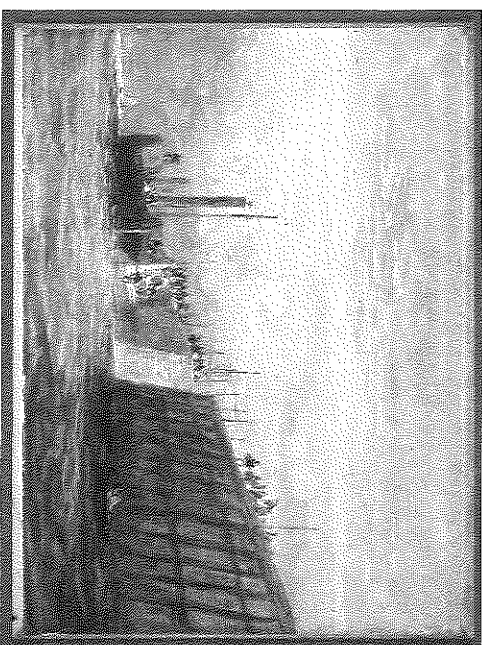
William's wars with France benefitted Liverpool at the expense of those port towns in the south, especially London. As the French navy and French pirates patrolled the waters of the English Channel, merchants from London and Southampton determined that it would be much safer to transport their American imports by way of Ireland and land them at Liverpool, thence to carry them overland to London rather than risk them being taken in the English Channel. Pirates trolled the Irish Sea, certainly, and posed a threat to English ships, as one report from 1690 attests: it noted "fifteen privateers and two French men-of-war waiting nigh the north channel for the return of the West India ships belonging to Liverpool."⁷ The dangers of piracy and sinking by French ships in the channel, however, proved to be far greater than those of the Irish Sea, and the merchants of the south turned increasingly to the Liverpool fleet to conduct their trade with the Americas and the Caribbean, expanding it considerably in the twenty-five-year period during which hostilities with France occurred.

The Glorious Revolution dramatically altered the political landscape of Liverpool, establishing the Whig faction's dominance in power in Liverpool for the next century. Supported by the bulk of the town's residents and especially by its wealthy merchants, Liverpool's Whig politicians in Parliament persuaded the new king and queen to issue a new charter in 1695. This document, which remained in place until 1835, granted the burgesses the right to elect their mayor and created a forty-member town council. Whig merchants took by far the majority of seats on the council and ushered in a new regime that reflected the commercial character of the borough. The merchant interest—which included some Tories as well—proceeded to

implement a series of reforms and improvements that led to remarkable changes to the status and the physical layout of Liverpool, positioning it to become in a short amount of time a world-class imperial city.

In 1697 the mayor of Liverpool initiated steps to make the borough its own parish, separate from that of Walton, under which it currently operated. Town councillors petitioned Parliament for an act that would do so, pointing out that because their municipality had "become a place of great trade and commerce, and very populous," the chapel that served them was not sufficient to meet the needs of its residents. Moreover, and indicative of the importance residents had begun to recognize they held in the affairs of the country, the petition noted that Liverpudlians "are desirous to be a parish of themselves."⁸ Parliament granted parish status in 1699, at which point the townspeople commenced the building of a new church befitting its new standing, St. Peter's.

More significantly for Liverpool's future, the town councillors in 1708 voted to build a dock. Ships had to drop anchor in the Mersey and load and unload their cargoes onto and from small boats that plied the river from shore. The tidal flow of the Mersey made the transfers difficult at times; a dock would enable ships to tie up and lie without having to worry about the ebb and flow of the tides and facilitate the movement of cargo. Completed in 1715 at great expense, the dock gave Liverpool a pronounced competitive advantage over rival port cities. After seeing the newly built dock when he visited the town, Daniel Defoe declared Liverpool "one of the wonders of Britain."⁹ Within a short few years, its role in global commerce and the prosperity it produced would make it one of the most important cities in the world.



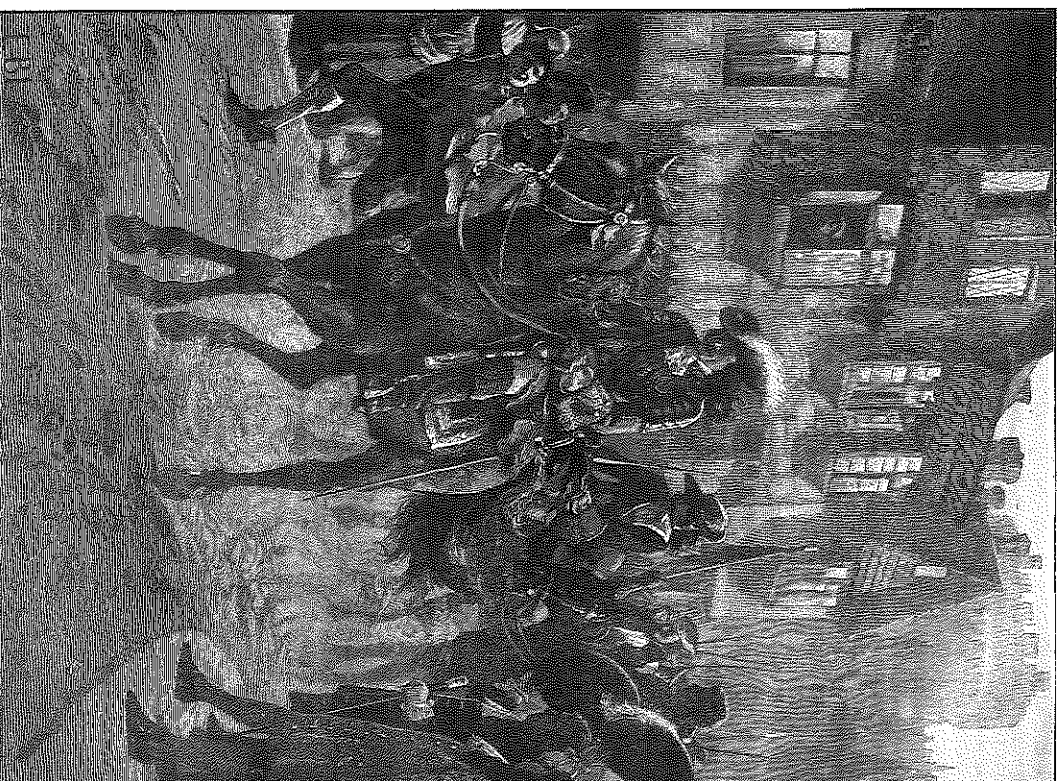
Liverpool docks, c. 1830.

toward Irish Catholics, despite his own Catholicism, proved ambivalent because he needed to present a reasonable face to English and Scottish Protestants if he hoped to regain his throne. That and his own interests led him to resist many of the efforts of Irish Catholics in the Irish Parliament of 1689 to restore the Catholic church to a position of supremacy or to separate the country from England. His hopes of reconciliation with Protestants created a great many anxieties for his Catholic supporters. In the meantime, in Derry, 30,000 Protestants determined to withstand a siege by Jacobite forces (so called because *Jacobus* is the Latin term for James). For three months the Derry Protestants held their ground, starving off starvation by consuming the dog, cat, and rat populations of the city, until they were relieved by forces loyal to William.

In August 1689, a Williamite army of some 20,000 arrived in Ireland, causing tensions between Catholics and Protestants in Dublin to intensify. But little military confrontation ensued throughout the fall and winter because weather conditions made it difficult for both the Jacobite and the Williamite armies to successfully position themselves. In the spring of 1690, French troops reinforced James's army, frustrated by the inaction of his general, William himself landed near Belfast in June with 15,000 additional soldiers, intent on defeating his rival once and for all.

The armies met at the Boyne River, northwest of Dublin, on July 1, 1690. After extensive bombardment and fierce hand-to-hand fighting, William's forces prevailed, sending James's troops—and James himself—scurrying south. James's commanders fired on their soldiers to regain control and establish an orderly retreat, although James continued his headlong flight, overnighing in Dublin on his way to Duncannon, whence he embarked to France, never to return to his kingdoms. War continued without him, although the Battle of the Boyne has been seen as the decisive campaign in the Jacobite wars against William. Dublin fell to the new king, as did Athlone a year later, which opened up Galway to English depredations. The final battle between Jacobite and Williamite troops took place in Aughrim in July 1691, resulting in horrific casualties for the Irish army. Retreating to Limerick, where it could still assemble a force of 20,000, the soldiers awaited French aid. When it was not forthcoming, the Jacobites, more demoralized than defeated, sued for peace.

The Treaty of Limerick, signed on October 3, 1691, ended the conflict between Ireland and England, but it served to inflame the passions of the very Anglo-Irish Protestants who supposed themselves to have emerged victorious because William's agents failed to take Anglo-Irish interests into account as they drafted the terms of what they regarded as an instrument merely to end the war, not to establish a postwar civil administration. To that end, the articles of Limerick guaranteed that Catholics should "enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King Charles II," and they gave the privileged group of Jacobite landowners who were in Limerick at the time of the surrender the right to retain their estates, practice as barristers and attorneys, and enjoy exemption from suits for acts of war or debt. Other Catholics enjoyed no such provisions, nor did Anglo-Irish



James II entering Dublin after the Battle of the Boyne, 1690.

Protestants, whose resentment over this slight would color their attitudes toward the English Parliament and the English king in subsequent years. It also set the stage for the draconian legislation aimed at Irish Catholics, known as the penal laws, that would flow from the Irish parliamentary sessions of 1692, 1695, 1697, and 1698–1699, as we shall see below.

If Anglo-Irish approbation for William and for the English Parliament proved inconstant in the years following the defeat of James's forces, the Welsh, whose Tory leanings might have inclined them in the same direction, positively embraced William's Irish policies. William's defeat of Jacobite forces in Ireland had

rendered the Welsh coasts secure, an achievement that overrode whatever differences they might have had with him. Welsh elites increasingly turned their eyes toward London, where they would play a significant role in the governance of their own country and that of what would become Great Britain in 1707.

In Scotland, the ancestral home of the Stuart line to which James belonged (when he became king of England as well as Scotland in 1601, the Stewart James I anglicized his name to Stuart), the news of William's landing in Devon did not provoke a rising against the Scottish king. Presbyterians did riot in the capital city of Edinburgh, burning a Catholic monastery, and Covenanters throughout the Lowlands forced Anglican ministers from their livings, but James felt secure enough in the loyalty of the Scots to actually send his Scottish army south to fight William's forces. That turned out to be a mistake, and when James fled to France in December 1688, his supporters did not know what to do. Many of them, eager to be seen on the side of the victor, traveled to London to declare themselves for William. He capitalized on this development to call for a convention parliament in Scotland, just as he had in England. When it met in March 1689, the supporters of James and those of William were about evenly matched.

James, however, squandered his strength. Where William sought to placate convention members, offering conciliatory gestures, James threatened them with treason. His behavior led his former supporters to abandon his cause; in April, the convention proclaimed that James had "Forefaulted the right to the Crowne" and offered the crown to William and Mary. In a Claim of Right, the Scottish convention also established parliamentary supremacy over the monarchy, dissolved the Episcopalian church in favor of the Presbyterian church, and declared that no Catholic could ever become king of Scotland. A separate Articles of Grievance sought to cripple the authority of the crown by abolishing the Lords of the Articles, the committee appointed by the monarch that conducted the business of the Scottish Parliament. William chafed against these restrictions, but his dependence on Scotland for military support in his struggles against France's Louis XIV limited his room to maneuver.

The actions of the convention provoked opposition among some of the Scottish Highland clans. Moreover, William had not appreciated the extent to which his appointments in Scotland inflamed an already feuding clan culture. Viscount Dundee (1648–1689) rallied a number of Highland families to his standard and in July 1689 marched them into battle against a larger Williamite army. Vastly outnumbered, they nevertheless soundly defeated the royal forces at the Pass of Killiecrankie. The Glorious Revolution might have turned out differently had Dundee not been killed in the battle; his death left the Jacobite forces without the kind of leadership they would need to emerge victorious. The next two years saw a series of bloody encounters between Jacobites and Williamites; neither side could prevail, and the impasse led William to offer an amnesty to the Highland rebels in return for their oath of allegiance to him.

It was left to William's Scottish secretary of state, Sir John Dalrymple (1648–1707), the Master of Stair, to carry out the arrangements of this truce. Dalrymple

despised the Highland clans and hoped that by imposing a strict deadline for the oath-swearing he might catch some of them in violation of it. Most of the clans came in on time, however reluctant they were to capitulate to their enemies. One family, however, the Macleans (part of the Macdonald clan), got caught in a blizzard and missed the deadline by six days. Dalrymple sought his revenge in a despicable act of dishonor.

He sent a company of Campbells—bitter foes of the Macdonalds—to the Glencoe site of the Macleans, where the troops claimed hospitality. To have refused it would have gone against all Highland tradition, so the Macleans allowed the Campbells to ensconce themselves in their homes and enjoy room and board there for two weeks. In the middle of one night in February 1692, the Campbells rose from their beds and murdered all the Maclean men, women, and children they could lay their hands on. Many escaped, but some forty Macleans lay slaughtered in what came to be called the Massacre at Glencoe.

William may or may not have known about the massacre in advance, but whatever his involvement, the incident discredited him in the eyes of Highlanders for the remainder of his reign. The fact that he did nothing to punish the offenders only strengthened the case against him. Glencoe served in the short run to bring the Highlanders to heel, but they never forgot the treachery of William's Master of Stair and would continue to foment instability in Scotland for the next fifty years.

In the colonies of the Americas, the Glorious Revolution produced a wave of political upheaval. Rumors of a variety of plots to institute "popery and slavery" by French Jesuits, Irish servants, and enslaved Africans swept through Barbados in late 1688; in modified form, including Indians now, they reached New England in January 1689 and took hold in the western reaches of Maryland and Virginia in March. By April news of William's invasion, James's abdication, and the creation of a new government under William and Mary had arrived, setting off demonstrations calling for political change, first in Boston and then throughout many of the other colonies. These protests compelled the ouster of a number of colonial governors, leaving political disorder in their wake.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SETTLEMENT AND THE FINANCIAL REVOLUTION

The revolutionary settlement of 1688–1689 marked the establishment in England and Wales of constitutional monarchy and the rule of law, transforming the nature of the English constitution and the relationship of crown to Parliament. Parliament's assertion of its authority to remove one king from the throne and replace him with others, along with its passage of the Bill of Rights of 1689, which restricted the power of the crown by placing it under the law and asserted the sovereignty of Parliament, dramatically altered the nature and practice of government in England and Wales. The revolution concretized the radical notion that a social contract between crown and subjects existed, one that could be revoked and a monarch removed if he failed to fulfill its terms. Indeed, John Locke

published his *Two Treatises on Government* in 1689 (although he wrote it in 1679 at the time of the exclusion crisis), a work that explored the conditions under which a monarch might be overthrown by his or her subjects. It came to serve as the theoretical justification for the settlement of 1689 by establishing men's right to resist tyranny and stands as a founding doctrine of liberalism. Hereafter, sovereignty, the source of authority in the state, the revolution suggested, resided in the people of the nation. MPs differed from this interpretation, seeing Parliament and its elite representatives as the "nation" and therefore the source of authority, but the notion of the right of "the people" to determine their government would endure and inform later campaigns to broaden the scope of political participation to include first middle-class men and women and then working-class men and women. For the next seventy-five years or so, however, the Glorious Revolution ensconced in power an oligarchy of Protestant landed and financial elites who ruled by virtue of their domination of Parliament and of the financial institutions that grew out of the deal struck with William to oust James. The alliance of these elites—gentlemen whose wealth derived from land and financiers whose riches came from banking, investment, and the provision of financial services to commercial enterprises—and the political and economic regime over which they presided has been described by two historians as "gentlemanly capitalism."¹⁰ It determined the shape of things to come for the next century and a half.

The Bill of Rights (1689) established the supremacy of Parliament through a series of provisions stipulating that no laws should be made or suspended without the consent of Parliament; that no taxes could be raised without consent of Parliament; that no army could be maintained in peacetime without consent of Parliament; and that Protestants possessed the right to bear arms for their defense. The religious qualification had significant ramifications for Catholics in Ireland and Scotland, in particular, singling them out, among other things, as subjects underserving of the protections and rights afforded their Protestant brethren. Parliament insisted that William and Mary accept the Bill of Rights as a condition of their rule. The two monarchs agreed to the constraints on their power; the opportunity, especially for William, was simply far too great to pass up.

William had agreed to invade England to obtain English resources with which to fight Louis XIV of France. The revolutionary settlement of 1689 obligated England to assist him in that battle, a commitment that had unforeseen consequences in a continued series of continental wars throughout the eighteenth century. To provide the troops and revenue necessary to prosecute King William's War (also known as the War of the League of Augsburg, 1689–1697), the government created a number of institutions of public credit that enabled it to tap the wealth of the country without resorting to taxation or short-term borrowing. Chief among the mechanisms developed by the government to facilitate access to private caches of money and treasures that were literally lying around in safes or buried underground were the creation of the national debt and of the agency charged with administering it, the Bank of England. By 1696, a system of permanent borrowing was in place whereby investors could buy annuities from the bank that would

guarantee them an income from the state, thus transforming what had once been short-term loans to the state by individuals or corporate entities into government securities. These investments provided the government with much of the cash necessary to prosecute the wars with France that took place over the next century.

The financial revolution of the 1690s, but most particularly the creation of the Bank of England and the national debt, provoked heated political debate. At issue was the question of personal independence of the sovereign power: the Bank of England, in establishing the means by which government could tap the wealth of the country and of Wales by inducing investors to lend capital and, not incidentally, greater political stability to the state, rendered those investors captive to the state for their material survival. Also, by financing the creation of larger armies and permanent bureaucracies, it enlarged the fund of patronage available to the court. As the volume of investment grew ever greater, the English—and then, after 1707 with the Act of Union with Scotland, the British—government expanded the scope and range of its activities beyond what the investment could cover, guaranteeing creditors that they would be repaid with revenues collected and investments made in the future. Mobile property in the form of government shares based on credit emerged as the engine of capitalist expansion; the financial revolution succeeded in enriching, enlarging, and stabilizing the postrevolutionary regime, making possible the commercial revolution and the pursuit of empire in the eighteenth century.

Scotland had carried on a robust trade with a number of European countries, but neither it nor Ireland could gain a foothold in the commercial ventures that appeared to make England so powerful. English tariffs on such vital Scottish exports as linen, cattle, salt, and coal reduced Scotland's commercial prospects even further. Moreover, William's war with France, lasting from 1688 to 1697, crippled Scotland's trade with the continent. Reduced trade combined with bad harvests to produce terrible economic conditions in Scotland in the 1690s. The years 1696 to 1699 saw outright famine among the poorer classes in certain areas.

A number of Scottish merchants joined with colleagues from London in 1693 to try to create for themselves a monopoly company like the East India or Royal African companies. Led by the Scot William Paterson (1658–1719), who had played a central role in the establishment of the Bank of England, these merchants formed the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. Two years later, while the Scottish Parliament was preoccupied with the report of a commission formed to investigate the massacre at Glencoe by William's secretary of state for Scotland, John Dalrymple, it passed a law authorizing the company. The great outcry caused by the Glencoe commission report, which blamed Dalrymple for the bloody massacre, enabled the supporters of the Company of Scotland to persuade MPs to seek immediate royal assent from the king's beleaguered commissioner to Parliament, the Marquess of Tweeddale (1625–1697). Faced with a Parliament full of men eager to wreak vengeance on the perpetrators of the massacre, Tweeddale capitulated. William returned from his campaign against Louis XIV on the continent to discover that his Scottish Parliament

had passed an act deeply harmful to English commercial interests and had done so without his knowledge or his permission. "I have been ill-served in Scotland," he railed, and added, portentously, "I hope some remedies may be found to prevent the inconveniences which may arise from this Act."¹¹

The king dared not repeal the act because of his need for Scottish troops and resources with which to fight France, but his displeasure with it emboldened the monopoly companies and their bought men in the English Parliament to forbid English participation in the new company. This and the king's comment enraged the Scots, compelling Andrew Fletcher (1655–1716) of Saltoun to remind his contemporaries that "we voted His Majesty a standing army, though we had more need to have saved the money to have bought bread, for thousands of our people that were starving. . . . Have not the Scots ever since the Union of the Crowns been oppressed and tyrannised over by a faction in England, who will neither admit of an [sic] Union of the Nations, nor leave the Scots in possession of their own privileges, as men and Christians?"¹² Their patriotism aroused, Scots from across the Lowlands paid subscriptions into the company, raising the £400,000 necessary to launch the Scots Company in just more than five months.

Fully capitalized now, the directors of the company had to decide where they would establish their colony. William Paterson, who had spent a number of years in the Caribbean in his younger days and had heard tales of Darien from buccaneers and pirates he associated with, proposed Darien as the ideal place for establishing factories (warehouses) and forts from which goods from the west could be traded for those of the east and vice versa. Straddling the isthmus of Panama, the colony would serve as a trading post between the Atlantic and the Pacific, making it unnecessary for merchants to travel the long route to the east along the coast of Africa to the Indian Ocean. "The time and expense of navigation to China, Japan and the Spice Islands," he insisted, "and the far greatest part of the East Indies will be lessened by more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactories will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus this door of the seas, and the key of the universe, with anything of a sort of reasonable management, will of course enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Caesar."¹³

Paterson regaled the directors with descriptions of the area provided by a buccaneer and surgeon of his acquaintance, one Lionel Wafer. Wafer offered an enchanting vision of the isthmus, charming the directors with descriptions of a sunlit paradise by a turquoise sea, a land teeming with animals and birdlife, possessed of valuable woodlands, fertile soil, and grassy pastures. The Indians were friendly, he assured them. The directors also read but paid no attention to Wafer's accounts of the rain—endless rains, rains lasting from April till December, rains that swamped the marshes and flooded the rivers, rains that brought scores upon

scores upon scores of mosquitos. "Uneasy vermin," he called them. But to men ensconced in their counting houses in squalid, dirty, gray Edinburgh, dreaming of the riches to come, it was easy to overlook the warnings issued by Wafer and to fail to ask themselves why, if Darien possessed such wonderful qualities, the Spanish had not settled there when they had established themselves in the lands to the east, west, and south of it. The directors chalked it up to stupidity and convinced themselves that because Darien was not inhabited by Spaniards, it was open to any country who wished to claim it.

The fantasies of the company directors gained momentum from the desperate economic conditions faced by Scots. The long, cold winters of 1696–1698 decimated the harvests so that food shortages turned into famine for many families. Starvation, malnutrition, and disease carried off untold thousands, and thousands more unemployed—many of them men returning from William's wars with France—crowded the streets and public houses of towns and cities. To them, the Darien scheme, offering each settler fifty acres on which to build a house and plant their fields, seemed an opportunity they could not let pass them by. As Andrew Fletcher put it, the Darien venture appeared to be "the only means to recover us from our miserable and despicable condition."¹⁴ This kind of despair probably led the Scots Company to buy up virtually all the provisions Scotland had to offer, leaving little behind with which to feed a hungry population or to resupply the colonists if it came to that. Along with the stores of grain and wheat carried on board the five ships headed for Darien were inventories of goods the directors intended to trade with local inhabitants: hats, wigs, men's and women's hosiery, combs, 25,000 pairs of shoes, cloth, needles, thread, pewter jugs and basins, and 1,000 glass drinking cups. In London in the meantime, although the Scots did not know it, the directors of the East India, Royal African, and Hamburg companies schemed to thwart the Scots Company by any means they could. Such was their influence that they persuaded the Lords Justices and the Commissioners for Trade to declare the colony antithetical to the interests of the English and their Spanish allies and compelled William's agents to issue a royal proclamation forbidding the governors of any English colonies to offer even the slightest bit of assistance to any ship flying the flag of the Company of Scotland. At a time when Spain's support of William's efforts to oppose Louis XIV's efforts to establish a "universal monarchy" over Europe was crucial, William could not afford to antagonize the Spanish.

The colonists arrived in what they would call New Edinburgh in October 1698 and began to build a fort to defend their entrepôt. The site chosen made good sense militarily, but in other respects it proved entirely wrong-headed. The colonists situated the fort on low-lying marshy ground, the perfect environment for mosquitos. Within seven weeks of landing, thirty-two Scots died, a rate that came to five per week, ten times the rate Europeans experienced back home. And this at the healthiest time of year on the isthmus! As the rainy season began in April 1699, death rates resulting from illness—probably a combination of yellow

fever, malaria, dysentery, and dengue fever—doubled to roughly ten persons per day. Food and drink began to run out; old clan rivalries arose; conflicts among the expedition's leaders broke out. When colonists sailed to seek help from other English settlements in the Caribbean, their ship foundered. Worst of all, news of the king's proclamation to all of his subjects in the New World to refuse help to the Scots Company reached the Darien colonists, destroying their morale. Then word that the Spanish planned to attack the colony arrived in early June; four days later, panic stricken, the colonists fled. Their trip home was, if possible, even more lethal than their stay on the isthmus: only 300 survivors returned to Scotland.

A second fleet of colonists left Scotland just days before the first arrived home, landing in New Edinburgh in November 1699. Once again, rains brought mosquito-borne illnesses and rotted food supplies. By late March 1700, 100 Scots per week died from fever; when Spanish troops attacked the outpost, about a third of the remaining colonists could not stand, leaving just 300 men to defend the colony. Facing impossible odds and almost certain death from fever, they surrendered to the Spanish and in April departed the colony entirely. Of the 1,300 who had set out on the second voyage, only 100 made it back. The total losses among the two sets of colonists amounted to 2,000 of 2,500, or some 80 percent. Investors lost all of the £300,000 they had shelled out, a crippling blow to the finances of the kingdom.

Scots reacted to the disasters of Darien with rage. They attacked Englishmen in the streets wherever they could find them; they set on the poor survivors of the expeditions, whom they identified by their sallow yellow complexions and their tattered scarlet uniforms. They excoriated Scots Company directors. Most of all, they blamed the king, whose obstructions of and failure to support the colony of Darien, they believed with all their heart, lay at the core of the catastrophe. When the king dismissed out of hand Scottish MPs demands to call Parliament into session to investigate the events of Darien, riots broke out in Edinburgh. National feeling in favor of the Scots Company and the Scottish Parliament, and against the king and the English Parliament, rose to a fever pitch. When the Scottish Parliament met in the summer of 1700, MPs wished to discuss only two issues: whether to make another claim to Darien despite William's opposition and whether to agree to provide William with the military support he needed to continue his wars with France. These two issues, seemingly independent of one another, soon became fused in the minds of MPs as they deliberated.

The death of the Duke of Gloucester (1689–1700), the last surviving child of Anne, Mary's sister and heir to the throne, in August 1700 and the accession of Philip of Anjou, Louis XIV's candidate, to the Spanish throne three months later, sharpened the debate further. Mary had died childless in 1694; William continued to rule but his lack of heirs meant that Mary's sister, Anne, would ascend to the throne on his death, which occurred in 1702. Anne had tried valiantly to produce an heir, undergoing seventeen pregnancies. Tragically, seven of them ended in miscarriages and five in stillbirths; two infants died within a day of

their births and two others before they reached the age of two years. The death of the Duke of Gloucester meant that the succession of the Stuart line now appeared unsettled at best, and the prospect of a universal French monarchy in Europe looked all the more possible. In 1701, the English Parliament passed the Act of Settlement, which placed the succession of the throne in the hands of the German Hanoverians, without consulting the Scots.

THE ACT OF UNION, 1707

In this atmosphere of tension, distrust, and uncertainty, the actions of Scottish MPs vis-à-vis their king took on enormous significance. The Edinburgh Parliament passed the Act of Security in 1703, giving the right to proclaim the Scottish monarch to the Scots themselves in their Parliament. It also declared that the monarch so chosen must hail from the Stuart line, must be a Protestant, and could not be the same monarch who sat on the throne of England unless England recognized the sovereignty of the Scottish Parliament, acknowledged its religious liberties, and allowed for free trade between Scotland and England. These provisions outraged the English, who responded with the Aliens Act of 1705, which threatened that the Scots would be declared aliens unless the Act of Security was rescinded. Such a designation would have stripped Scots of their rights of citizenship in England, enabled Scottish ships trading with France to be captured or destroyed, and blocked all trade goods coming into England. Things could not have been any hotter.

Nor, ironically, could they have been more promising for an act of union between the two kingdoms. William had long sought a formal union between England and Scotland, but could not persuade elites in either country to go along with his plans. Anne, who became queen in 1702 following her brother-in-law's death, continued his war against France and could not afford an unstable Scotland through which the French might mount an attack on England. The Scots had been so financially devastated by the losses of Darien and made so completely aware that their economy could not hope to survive against a hostile England that they were willing to compromise. It helped a great deal that the English were willing to offer, in the form of an "Equivalent," a significant sum of money with which to compensate Scottish elites for the extra taxes they would be required to pay by joining England in formal union, but also to cover their huge losses from the Darien debacle.

The Scots agreed to suspend the Act of Security at the end of 1705, allowing commissioners appointed by Anne to write up an agreement of union in the summer of 1706. By it, both Scotland and England would disappear as sovereign entities and be recreated as northern and southern components of a single, sovereign United Kingdom of Great Britain. Scotland would give up its Parliament, but not its legal system or its Presbyterian church, and it would gain, in the long run, significant economic benefits as an integral part of the British empire.

Forty-five Scottish members would sit in the House of Commons in Westminster, representing the counties and burghs (towns or cities), and sixteen Scottish peers (aristocrats) would sit in the House of Lords.



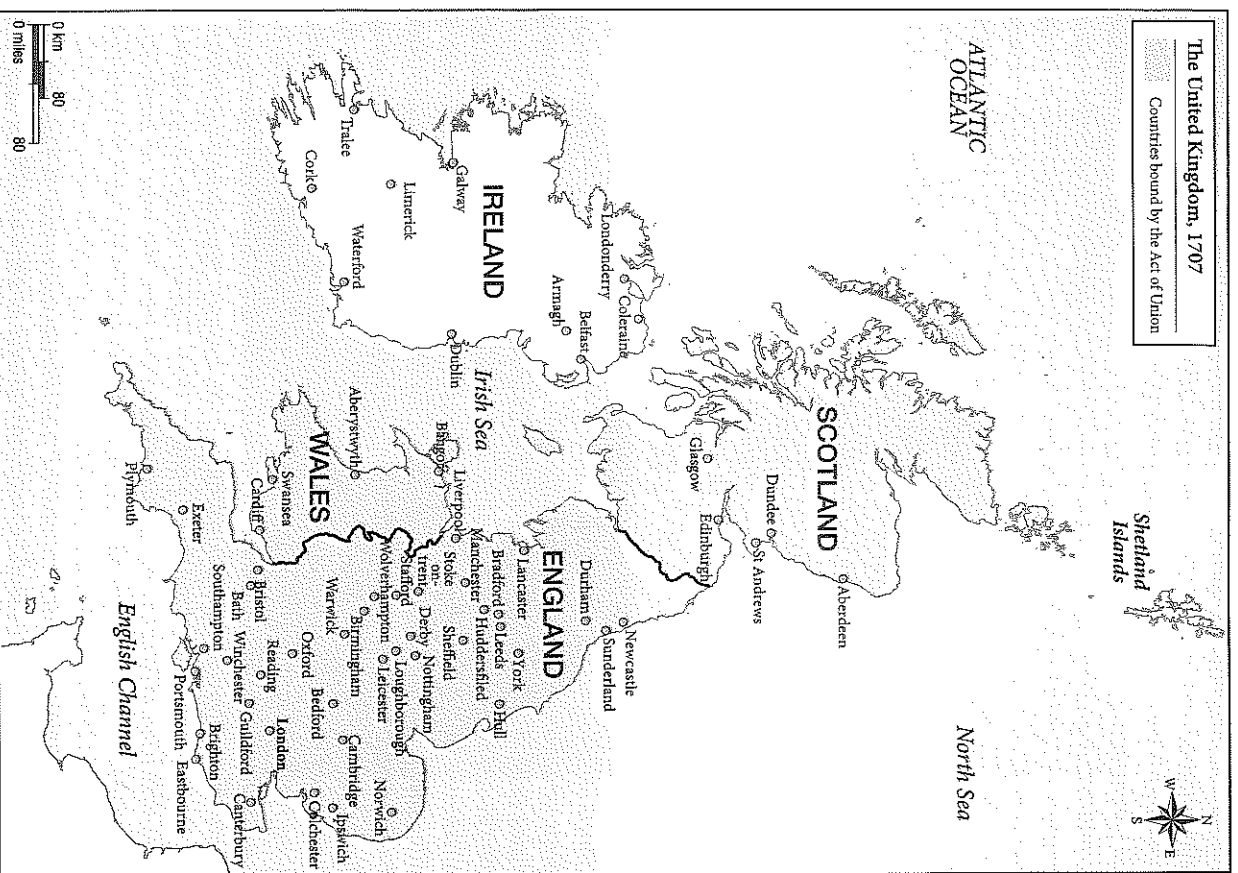
Act of Union between England and Scotland read before Queen Anne in 1707.

Relative to the English and Welsh Members of Parliament, who numbered 513 in the House of Commons alone, these figures vastly underrepresented Scotland's population, but when seen against the revenues it would contribute to Great Britain's overall tax revenues counted in 1706 pounds, Scottish MPs found it hard to quibble. The English Parliament passed the Act of Union with hardly a word of dissent, but the bill faced significant opposition inside and outside the Scottish Parliament. After much heated debate and extraparlimentary demonstrations that turned riotous, the Equivalent and, it must be said, additional monetary bribes, carried the day, and the Scots agreed to the Act of Union in 1707. With ratification of the bill, the Company of Scotland—and its signature failure, Darien—ceased to exist.

Almost immediately, the Act of Union provoked a resurgence of the Jacobite cause. Supporters of the Stuart line—exemplified after the death of James II in 1701 by his young son, James, styled James III (1688–1766)—regarded the union as perpetuating the Glorious Revolution and ensuring that the Stuart pretender could not regain his rightful crown. Their implacable opposition to the revolutionary settlement and now the union received a powerful shot in the arm by the willingness of France, engaged with Britain in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), to supply military resources to the Jacobites. With the public commitment of France the credibility of the Jacobites soared, attracting additional followers who in the past would have been wary of joining a losing effort. In March 1708, the French gathered an invasion force of ships and soldiers and sailed with the twenty-year-old James to the Firth of Forth, where a large contingent of Scottish Jacobites awaited them. Bad weather and incompetent piloting thwarted the rendezvous, and then a squadron of the Royal Navy scared off the French, but had they landed and formed up with the Jacobites, a significant force could well have overwhelmed the 1,500 troops available to defend Edinburgh. As it turned out, Scottish authorities took few punitive actions against the Jacobites in the aftermath of the failed rising of 1708; in response, the United Kingdom Parliament extended the English law of treason to Scotland in 1709, despite the efforts of Scottish MPs to block the measure. For now, the supporters of the Stuarts went underground, but their efforts to destabilize the new United Kingdom of Great Britain would continue to cause great concern in London.

The Act of Union between Scotland and England struck Protestant Ireland like a hammer blow, for it contrasted sharply with the position Ireland found itself in after the Treaty of Limerick. Protestants, especially the Episcopal Anglo-Irish, had expected to be treated as partners in the Glorious Revolution; they would have dearly loved to form a union with England. The Treaty of Limerick gave the first sign that such hopes were misplaced. Appointments of Englishmen rather than Anglo-Irishmen to prominent positions in the Irish established church, the legal system, and the armed forces, as well as the granting of Irish peerages to Englishmen who had no relationship with the country, caused deep resentment. England's viceroy to Ireland, Henry Sidney (1641–1704), reported with alarm in 1692 that Irish MPs spoke of “freeing themselves from the yoke of England, of taking away Poyning’s Law, of making an address to have a habeas corpus bill, and twenty other extravagant discourses.”¹⁵ (Poyning’s Law of 1494, as we saw in the Introduction, had subordinated the Irish Parliament to that of Westminster.) Commercial interests in England regarded Ireland as a threat to their trade and were sufficiently well placed to push through legislation in 1696 that prohibited goods of any kind from the American colonies from landing in Ireland. England treated Ireland not as a partner or a sister kingdom, but as a colony. It rankled.

In 1697, two events provoked a showdown between the Irish and English parliaments. In the first instance, MPs representing the woolen manufacturers in the West Country of England introduced a bill that would make it difficult for the Irish wool traders to export their goods to England. In the second, England



MAP 1.1
The United Kingdom, 1707

questioned the right of the Irish House of Lords to act as an appellate body, as it did in England. These provocations led the Bishop of Derry to declare that England had reduced Ireland to a state of slavery; they also compelled MP William Molyneux (1656–1698) to write *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by*

Acts of Parliament in England Stated, in which he argued that if union with England could not be achieved (“an Happiness we can hardly hope for”¹⁶), Irish parliamentary rights must be strengthened and protected. Ireland should not be lumped in with those “colonies of outcasts in America,” he insisted¹⁷; rather, it should be recognized as a crucial component within England’s empire, an equal to England, with Irish representation in the English Parliament as a means of defending Irish interests. Molyneux’s treatise raised the hackles of the English, who pretended to hear in his writings a call for separation from England. They painted him and those many others who thought the same way he did with the brush of “independency” and “Jacobitism,” levying charges that the Anglo-Irish could not possibly allow to stand. Although support for Molyneux’s position was fairly broad, the Anglo-Irish community backed off from his demands.

The union of England and Scotland in 1707 added insult to injury. Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), the Anglo-Irish satirist, penned *The Story of the Injured Lady, Being a True Picture of Scotch Perfidy, Irish Poverty, and English Partiality* in response to the slap in the face he and others experienced with the Act of Union. For now, in light of the Scottish and English union, Ireland looked more and more like a colony, a position the Anglo-Irish could do little to improve. Conflicts and contests between the two parliaments continued, until in 1720, with the Declaratory Act—“An Act for better securing the dependency of Ireland”—the now-British Parliament explicitly established that it had every power to enact legislation for Ireland. As it turned out, the Declaratory Act was rarely invoked because Westminster knew well that Ireland could not be governed by force; a significant amount of cooperation from the Anglo-Irish was necessary for things to run as smoothly as they did after 1720. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Irish sense of wounded pride, economic deprivation, political oppression, and cultural disrespect remained high throughout the eighteenth century.

A “UNITED” KINGDOM?

Despite the Act of Union of 1707, the lands that made up the British Isles could not be said to constitute a kingdom united by a common culture, religion, political structure, or history. We have seen how the individual kingdoms responded politically to the Glorious Revolution, fomenting rivalries and even hatreds against one another, and will develop this theme in the next chapter. Divisions within each component country rendered some individuals less eligible for various “rights” established by the revolutionary settlement than others. Established churches in Scotland and Ireland—Presbyterian and Episcopalian, respectively—discriminated against other sects and religions and held dominant positions in public, political, and social life. Even in England and Wales, where the Glorious Revolution found nearly universal approbation, differences based on religion made some people subject to laws that restricted their ability to participate in public and political affairs.

The revolutionary settlement accepted by William and Mary included a Toleration Act, which allowed dissenters to conduct their religious lives openly and

without harassment. Beyond that simple measure, however, toleration encompassed little else. It did not apply to Catholics or Jews. Earlier acts—the Corporation Act of 1662 and the Test Act of 1673—that prohibited dissenters from holding local or national political office remained in force. Anglicans enjoyed preeminence in virtually every secular institution in England and Wales, dominating the political landscape, the universities and public schools, and the offices of the army and navy. To be sure, dissenters found ways to get around the restrictions on their activities, such as taking communion in the Anglican church once a year to qualify for public office, a practice known as occasional conformity. They also built their own institutions of higher learning in London and other cities where their numbers thrived. Jews maintained a relatively low-profile presence, protected by William himself, who had long-standing dealings with Amsterdam Jews as *stattholder* of Holland and who relied on Jewish funds for pay for his armies on the continent. But memories of the momentous events of mid-century, during which a monarch was not only toppled but also killed by Protestants dissenting from the principles and organization of the Anglican church in 1649, and a new monarch and the Anglican church restored in 1660, kept religious tensions, distrust, and outright hostility alive and active for years after the Glorious Revolution. Tories in particular objected to the capacity of dissenters to circumvent restrictions on them and sought continually to undermine toleration. Some of their antipathy to toleration extended to the Glorious Revolution itself and manifested itself in adherence to the Jacobite cause, as we shall see in the next chapter.

In Scotland, religion combined with geography and culture to produce deep divisions among Scots. Unlike in England and Wales, Presbyterians became the masters of the established church, ousting Episcopalians in the course of the Glorious Revolution and imposing their own kirk organization and principles. This involved abolishing the episcopacy of bishops, a course that more than half of them refused to accept. Many Episcopalians also refused to swear an oath of allegiance to William and Mary because it flew in the face of their oath to submit to royal authority and their belief in the hereditary principle of kingship. These nonjurors, as they were called, inhabited a large portion of the Scottish Highlands and, along with their compatriots in the Lowlands, they would contribute significantly to the Jacobite cause following the Glorious Revolution. Catholics, too, although constituting only a tiny proportion of the overall Scottish population, would play a larger role in Jacobite risings than their demographic strength would suggest. Living in parts of the northeastern and western Highlands and discriminated against by penal laws passed in 1689, they brought a commitment to the cause that other Scots did not necessarily possess. They could also appeal to the Catholic powers of Europe, particularly France, for assistance in returning the Stuarts to the throne.

But it was the Presbyterian Lowlands that achieved ascendancy in Scotland. Although they might have been divided over issues of religious purity, Presbyterians dominated in the church, in the law, in politics, and in the extraordinary educational system of the country. Their culture, their attitudes, and their values prevailed, and it was they who benefitted from the union with England. Their

relationship with Episcopalians, Catholics, and Highlanders would remain fraught right into the nineteenth century.

The Anglo-Irish who so resented their colonial status vis-à-vis England established their own colonial-style rule over Catholic and, to a lesser extent, Presbyterian Irish men and women. The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy secured both power and wealth in Ireland on the basis of a penal code directed at Catholics, which over time came also to be applied to dissenting Presbyterians. The penal code emerged from a number of laws passed by the Irish and English parliaments between 1695 and 1704: in 1695, the Irish Parliament made it illegal for Catholics to own a horse worth more than £5, to carry firearms, or to attend foreign universities; two years later, it banished Catholic clergy from the country and made intermarriage between a Protestant and a Catholic grounds for disinheritance of the Protestant under the law. In 1704, an English Act "to prevent the further growth of popery" extended the English law that forbade Catholics to buy or inherit real estate to Ireland; it abolished the rights of Catholics to inherit from each other, and it prohibited them from taking up a profession or participating in public life. "Test" clauses in the act made it impossible for Catholics—or for dissenters—to hold office. Catholics also lost ownership of their land under laws finalizing the Treaty of Limerick in 1703; although they constituted between 75 and 80 percent of the population, they owned only 14 percent of the land. Fifty years later, that figure would fall to 5 percent.

Three distinct groups had emerged from the maelstrom of late-seventeenth-century politics as they played out in Ireland: a minority Episcopalian elite that looked toward England and established itself as the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy; a minority Presbyterian culture deeply suspicious of the established Episcopal church and the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy that looked to Presbyterian Scotland for inspiration and support; and a Catholic, Gaelic, and Jacobite majority that looked toward France for its redemption. The established and dissenting Protestants had joined forces against Catholicism during the Glorious Revolution, but once William and Mary's victory was secured, fissures among the two groups reappeared, and it would not be long before the dissenting Presbyterians found themselves at a disadvantage relative to Episcopalians under the law and in holding political and administrative offices. In many respects, they were treated not much better than Irish Catholics, who despite the Treaty of Limerick were subjected to harsh penal laws designed to ensure that they would never again threaten Anglo-Irish interests.

The penal code probably sought more to destroy Catholic economic power than to eliminate "popery." The prohibition against priests, for example, was softened by the 1704 act's tacit recognition of them in the clause that required them to be registered, and Irish people of all faiths resisted "priest-catching," although it carried a monetary reward. And one could always find a priest saying mass on any given Sunday in the myriad mass-houses that existed across the country. But whatever the Anglo-Irish motives, the Catholic Irish never ceased to consider themselves a colonized people whose fortunes were governed by a cruel imperial master of alien culture and religion. Nor did the English or the Anglo-Irish conceive of them in anything other than these terms. From the time of the Tudors

onward, the English had justified their depredations against the Irish by portraying them as barbarous, primitive, pagan people whose country it was the responsibility of the English to “inhabite and reform.” One commentator described Irish society as a collection of people living like “beastes, void of lawe and all good order,” they were, he asserted, “more uncivil, more uncleanly, more barbarous and more brutish in their customs and demeanures, then [sic] in any other part of the world that is known.” Just as the Romans had once brought civilization to a backward, uncivil, and uncouth England, declared Sir Thomas Smith, so too would the English persuade the Irish to engage “in vertuous labour and in justice, and . . . teach them our English lawes and civillite and leave robberyng and stealing and kilyng one of another.”¹⁸ The Anglo-Irish descendants of the settlers who had conquered Ireland differed little from their forebears in this respect.

Depicting the Irish as by turns savage yet subtle, warlike but lazy, proud and cowardly, primitive yet cunning, English conquerors and observers of Ireland demonstrated a complicated mixture of attraction to and repulsion by Irish people and their mores. The Irish were dirty, violent, dishonest people who lived under inequitable and unjust laws, the English claimed, but they had nonetheless seduced and “degenerated” many an Englishman with their “corrupt customs.” The “wild shamrock manners”¹⁹ of women, in particular, both shocked and titillated English travel writers, who saw in their refusal to wear corsets an intentional assertion of sexual invitation. Because Irish women partook of strong drink, presided over public feasts, and greeted strangers with a kiss; because their marriage laws permitted them to retain their names on marriage and to divorce their husbands with relative ease and material support; because Irish custom permitted sexual relations within degrees of kin affinity far closer than those constituted by either English law or the Catholic clergy, English writers concluded that the women of Ireland held positions of authority over men at home and in public. Unmanly men and aggressive, sensualized, licentious women, they insisted, characterized social relations in Ireland, undermining good order and necessitating English intervention if civilization were ever to be established there. English observations of Irish culture and society contained frequent mention of exotic sexual activities and unconventional gender arrangements in languages of sexuality and gender that would later serve to legitimate the English conquest of foreign peoples. Long before Britain acquired an empire of people of different races, religions, and cultures in Africa and Asia in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Catholic Ireland served as a model of subject peoples in need of British “civilization.” The Irish, wrote Philip Luckombe in 1783, echoing decades of Anglo-Irish and English sentiments, “seem to form a different race from the rest of mankind.”²⁰

In the American colonies, King William’s War catapulted colonists into a fight against the French and their allies—Indians in New England and the mid-Atlantic region and Irish servants in places like Barbados. Plantation owners in the American South and the Caribbean believed that enslaved Africans had also been recruited by French agitators against them. The French attacks on local

communities on the mainland and in the islands enabled English administrators to cast the struggles as a war to preserve Protestantism; the participation or refusal to assist the English on the part of Irish servants in the West Indies cemented the perception. The English could claim victory in conflicts in the Leeward Islands of the Caribbean and in the northern frontier territories of New England and New York, but failed to take the French stronghold in Quebec. Enemies—whether French, Indian, Irish, or African—still threatened—and terrified—English colonists throughout America, who came to appreciate that their defense against such formidable foes required greater intervention from the imperial center. Royal governors seized on the opportunity to promote not only financial and administrative but also emotional ties to England. They especially drew on anti-Catholic fears to position themselves—and their government at home—as protectors of Protestant freedoms and interests. By and large, they succeeded in establishing a new political culture in the American colonies, transforming the colonies from individual units into more self-identified English participants in a larger empire.

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The Glorious Revolution and the revolutionary settlement determined the struggle for supremacy between the crown and Parliament in favor of Parliament, ushering in the rudiments of a liberal regime even as they cemented the domination of landed and financial elites over the rest of the country. They culminated in the uniting of England and Wales and Scotland in a single kingdom and the reduction of Ireland to the status of a virtual colony, albeit one with its own legislature. The American colonies, desiring protection from the French, Indians, and enslaved Africans, accepted closer association with the metropole, thus strengthening imperial ties with Britain. The Glorious Revolution and the revolutionary settlement also obligated Britain to involve itself in a series of wars with Europe that played out on a worldwide scale. These wars would have a profound effect on the development of politics, society, and the economy in the new British state and its empire, as we shall see in the following chapters.

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TIMELINE

- 1688 The Glorious Revolution: William of Orange invades England, King James II flees to France
- 1688–1697 Nine Years' War
- 1689 William and Mary crowned king and queen
- Bill of Rights issued
- Supporters (Jacobites) declare for James in Scotland and Ireland
- 1690 War between forces of William and James
- James defeated in the Battle of the Boyne
- 1691 Treaty of Limerick ends war between Jacobites and Williamites
- 1692 Glencoe Massacre in Scotland

FURTHER READING

- David Armitage, “The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture,” in John Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*. Cambridge, 1995.
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- 1695–1704 Penal laws against Irish Catholics passed
- 1696 Establishment of Bank of England
- 1698 Scots depart for Darien colony in Panama
- 1699 Scots abandon Darien; 1,200 lost on voyage home
- 1701 Act of Settlement gives monarchical succession to Hanoverian line
- War of the Spanish Succession breaks out
- James II dies; French King Louis XIV recognizes James's son as James III
- 1702 William III dies; Anne ascends throne
- 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland
- 1708 Jacobites rise in Scotland