Notes

Introduction

- 1 Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII* (1622), ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England* (1615, 1625), 4th edn (London, 1688); Thomas Carte, *A General History of England*, 4 vols (London, 1747–55); William Guthrie, *A General History of England*, 4 vols (London, 1744–51); David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Revolution in 1688* (1754–62), 6 vols (London, 1762); Paul de Rapin de Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre depuis l'invasion de Jules César*, 13 vols (La Haye, 1724–27); Thomas Salmon, *Modern History, or the Present State of all Nations*, 31 vols (London, 1724–38). With regard to James I, the principal accounts to be consulted are John Stow and Edmund Howes, *Annales, or a General Chronicle of England* (London, 1631); Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London, 1643); Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James, written and taken by sir A.W.* (London, 1650); William Sanderson, *Aulicus Coquinarie, or a Vindication in Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled the Court and Character of King James* (London, 1650); Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain* (London, 1653); William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, And of Her Son and Successor James the Sixth, King of Scotland; And (After Queen Elizabeth) King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland* (London, 1656); Roger Coke, *Detection of the Court and State of England* (1694), 2 vols, 3rd edn (London, 1697).
- 2 Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740–1820* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Noelle Gallagher, *Historical Literatures: Writing About the Past in England, 1660–1740* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,

- 2012). See also Ben Dew and Fiona Price (eds), *Historical Writing in Britain, 1688–1830: Visions of History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014).
- 3 Gallagher, *Historical Literatures*, pp. 63–110.
 - 4 Gallagher, *Historical Literatures*, pp. 111–56.
 - 5 Gallagher, *Historical Literatures*, pp. 13–62; Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, pp. 295–321; Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670–1820* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 28–60.
 - 6 Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, pp. 131–46; Karen O'Brien and Susan Manning, 'Historiography, Biography and Identity', in Susan Manning (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature, Volume 2: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 142–52. Older, although still useful, is Judith H. Anderson, *Biographical Truth: The Representation of Historical Persons in Tudor-Stuart Writing* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984).
 - 7 Philip Hicks, 'Women Worthies and Feminist Argument in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Women's History Review*, 24:2 (2014), 174–90; Philip Hicks, 'Female Worthies and the Genres of Women's History', in Ben Dew and Fiona Price (eds), *Historical Writing in Britain, 1688–1830: Visions of History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014), pp. 18–31; Barbara Taylor, 'Enlightenment and the Uses of Woman', *History Workshop Journal*, 74:1 (2012), 79–87; Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
 - 8 For some useful comments on the status of history writing in this period, see Karen O'Brien, 'The History Market in Eighteenth-Century England', in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays* (London: Continuum, 2003), pp. 105–34. See also Philip Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); Anthony Grafton, *The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). The extensive literature on Hume will be discussed in the chapter concerning his work.
 - 9 Everett Zimmerman, *The Boundaries of Fiction: History and the Eighteenth-Century British Novel* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); William Ray, *Story and History: Narrative Authority and Social Identity in the Eighteenth-Century French and English Novel* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990). A similar point has been made by Karen O'Brien, who notes that 'although many have argued that the boundary between history and fiction was porous, they have, in fact, tended to treat history as an unchanging kind of writing against which

- the evolution of the novel can be measured and mapped'. See Karen O'Brien, 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *The Uses of History in Early-Modern England* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, University of California Press, 2006), pp. 389–405 (p. 390).
- 10 Laird Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991); Duncan Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 233–323. In relation to Rapin, see also Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 17–19. A notable exception to this trend is Noelle Gallagher, 'Early-Enlightenment Historiography in Britain', in Sophie Bourgault and Robert Sparling (eds), *A Companion to Enlightenment Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 343–71.
 - 11 See: J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926–38); Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688–1959: Trends and Structure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).
 - 12 Donald Coleman, 'What is Economic History?', *History Today*, 35:2 (1985), 35–6 (p. 35). See also Douglass C. North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (London: W.W. Norton, 1981).
 - 13 Coleman, 'What is Economic History?', 35.
 - 14 The literature on contextualist approaches to intellectual history is large, but see in particular Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', in *Visions of Politics, Volume 1: Regarding Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 57–89; J. G. A. Pocock, 'Introduction: The State of the Art', in *Virtue, Commerce and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 1–36.
 - 15 Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image Music Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), pp. 142–48 (p. 146).
 - 16 Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, p. 10.
 - 17 Political economy was closely tied to political polemic for much of the period under discussion. For a useful discussion of political economy's emergence as a genre, see Julian Hoppitt, 'The Context and Contours of British Economic Literature', *The Historical Journal*, 49:1 (2006), 79–110.
 - 18 Such an approach has something in common with that outlined by Hayden White in the introduction to *Metahistory*. White argues that 'the historical work represents an attempt to mediate among [...] the *historical field*, the unprocessed *historical record*, *other historical accounts*,

- and an audience'. And for White, the manner in which historians completed these acts of mediation was a product of a series of interconnected ideological and narratological concerns. Despite forwarding such a model, however, 'what one [...] misses in White', as Dominick Lacapra has argued, is 'an analysis of the way in which the formalized schemata and patterns he elicits actually function in texts'. It is just this sort of detailed textual analysis that I aim to provide. See Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 1–42 (p. 5); Dominick Lacapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 81. See also Herman Paul, *Hayden White: The Historical Imagination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), pp. 73–4.
- 19 Translated as Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).
 - 20 Arendt, *Human Condition*, p. 28.
 - 21 Arendt, *Human Condition*, p. 30.
 - 22 Arendt, *Human Condition*, p. 29.
 - 23 Arendt, *Human Condition*, p. 28.
 - 24 J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003 [1975]); for Pocock's comments on Arendt, see p. 550. He also makes reference to Arendt in *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 135. For other accounts of Pocock's debt to Arendt, see Ellen M. Rigsby, 'The Failure of Success: Arendt and Pocock on the Fall of American Republicanism', *Theory & Event*, 6:1 (2002); Mira L. Siegelberg, 'Things Fall Apart: J.G.A. Pocock, Hannah Arendt, and the Politics of Time', *Modern Intellectual History*, 10:1 (2013), 109–34.
 - 25 Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, p. 445.
 - 26 See Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 423–505; Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: the Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Politeness and manners constitute a major thread in accounts of the relationship between wealth and virtue. On this issue, see Nicholas Phillipson, 'Politics and Politeness: Anne and the Early Hanoverians', in J. G. A. Pocock, Gordon J. Schochet and Lois G. Schworer (eds), *The Varieties of British Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 211–45; Lawrence E. Klein, 'Liberty, Manners, and Politeness in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 32:3 (1989),

- 583–605; J. G. A. Pocock, 'Virtues, Rights and Manners: A Model for Historians of Political Thought', in *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 37–50; Nicholas Phillipson, 'The Scottish Enlightenment', in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 19–40.
- 27 Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, p. 8.
- 28 Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, p. 8.
- 29 Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, p. 30.
- 30 Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, p. 33.
- 31 See Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, pp. 182–8.
- 32 Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. 16.
- 33 Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, pp. xii, 16.
- 34 Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. 16.
- 35 Philips sees commerce as a 'principal agent' shaping these changes, but also demonstrates that for Hume and his followers, the 'possibilities of political action were shaped in a hundred ways by the often invisible movements of economy, custom, or opinion'. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. 17.
- 36 Mark Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 65.
- 37 Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p. xii.
- 38 The public, political aspect of financial affairs is also discussed by Aristotle. In his account of 'the art of acquisition' in the *Politics*, he noted that 'cities, like households, but to an even greater extent, are often in want of financial resources and in need of more ways of gaining them. This is the reason why some of those who adopt a political career confine their activity to matters of finance'; Aristotle, *Politics*, tr. Ernest Baker, rev. tr. R. F. Stalley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), I, 11, 1259a. In such passages, as Ricardo F. Crespo has argued, 'elements of both house and *polis* realms are mixed up' and the economy is viewed as 'dealing not only with the house, life and needs, but also with the *polis*, with what is useful and free and, thus, moral, as well as with the good life or happiness (*eudaimonia*)'; Ricardo F. Crespo, *A Reassessment of Aristotle's Economic Thought* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 25.
- 39 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Origins and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), ed. R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. B. Todd, 2 vols (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, 1981), IV.i–viii. For Smith's view on mercantilism, see Lars Magnusson, *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 25–8.

- 40 Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, IV.i.35.
- 41 Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, IV.i.34.
- 42 Joseph A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1954), p. 473. Schumpeter's discussion of Ricardo draws on the work of the English economist Herbert Foxwell. On this connection, see Erik S. Reinert, 'Schumpeter in the Context of Two Canons of Economic Thought', *Industry and Innovation*, 9:1–2 (2002), 22–39 (p. 32). Schumpeter, it should be emphasised, saw Keynes's work as rooted in the 'Ricardian vice'. See Schumpeter, *History*, p. 473, n. 3.
- 43 John Maynard Keynes, *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes: Volume 7, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (London: Macmillan for the Royal Economics Society, 1973), p. 33.
- 44 Robert Skidelsky, 'Economists vs the Economy', *Project Syndicate*, 23 December 2016, www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/mathematical-economics-training-too-narrow-by-robert-skidelsky-2016-12 (accessed 9 December 2017).
- 45 See Schumpeter, *History*, pp. 159–60. See also Magnusson, *Mercantilism*, p. 41.
- 46 Keynes, *General Theory*, p. 333.
- 47 Erik S. Reinert, *How Rich Countries Got Rich... and Why Poor Countries Stay Poor* (London: Constable, 2007). See also Sophus A. Reinert, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
- 48 Reinert, *How Rich Countries Got Rich*, p. 308.
- 49 Reinert, *How Rich Countries Got Rich*, pp. 23–4.
- 50 Contributors to this project include Ha-Joon Chang, Jürgen Backhaus and Patrick O'Brien.
- 51 www.othercanon.org/documenting
- 52 See Steve Pincus, 'Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 69:1 (2012), 3–34. This article provides an expansion of Pincus's earlier discussion in Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009) pp. 366–99; Carl Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit, The English Financial Revolution, 1620–1720* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
- 53 The first reference in the *OED* to this conception of 'finance' is from 1770 (see n. 7). It quickly became popular and begins to feature frequently in the titles of pamphlets from 1776 onwards. See, for example, John Shebbeare, *An Answer to the printed speech of Edmund Burke [...] In which his Knowledge in Polity, Legislature, Humankind,*

History, Commerce and Finance, is candidly examined (London, 1776). Hume, writing in the 1750s, opts for the plural form, 'finances', in the marginal notes to his *History* to refer to the same concept. As this account demonstrates, the cluster of ideas associated with the term 'finance' had a long-standing connection before the term was coined.

- 54 When discussing historical material, I do not use the term 'the economy' as this might be seen to imply the existence of a separate economic sphere, independent from political control. As such, it is not in line with the understandings of commerce and finance which inform accounts of economic statecraft.
- 55 My focus on political histories of finance or commerce should not be taken to imply that that these were the only form of writing to discuss the economic aspects of England's past. Coexistent with the economic statecraft tradition were a series of discussions of what Francis Bacon labelled the 'history of trades', which included notable contributions from William Petty, John Evelyn and Thomas Boyle. Equally significantly, there were a number of attempts from writers interested in commercial affairs to provide historical or partially historical accounts. English works of this sort included John Evelyn's *Navigation and Commerce: their Original and Progress* (1674), the anonymous *A Brief History of Trade* (1702) and Daniel Defoe's *A General History of Trade* (1713). However, while these accounts addressed some similar issues to those I deal with, they were rarely engaged with by narrative historians, and thus do not form a part of the story outlined here. For the history of trades, see W. E. Houghton, Jr, 'The History of Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth-century Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 2:1 (1941), 33–60; K. H. Ochs, 'The Royal Society of London's History of Trades Programme: An Early Episode in Applied Science', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 39:2 (1985), 129–58. For histories of commerce, see N. S. B. Gras, 'The Rise and Development of Economic History', *Economic History Review*, 1:1 (1927), 12–34.

Chapter 1

- 1 Markku Peltonen, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, October 2007. This paragraph draws on material from Jonathan Marwil, *The Trials of Counsel, Francis Bacon in 1621* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1976); Brian Vickers, 'Introduction' to Francis Bacon, *The History of King Henry VII*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998);

- Michael Kiernan, 'Introduction' to Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the seventh*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- 2 Peltonen, 'Bacon'.
 - 3 Kiernan, 'Introduction', p. xxvi; Francis Bacon to James I, 21 April 1621, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, 14 vols (London: Longman, 1857–74), 14: 242.
 - 4 Polydori Vergilii, *Anglicæ Historiæ* (Basel, 1532). I have used the following translations. For the 1513 draft of the text: Polydore Vergil, *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. and tr. Denys Hay (London: Office of the Royal Historical Society, 1950). For later versions of the text: Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia* [1555 edn], tr. Dana F. Sutton, www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/1e.html. Edward Hall, *The Union of the Famous and Illustre Families of Lancastre and York* (London, 1548); John Speed, *History of Great Britaine* (London, 1611). The pioneering study of sources in the *History* was Wilhelm Busch's *England Under the Tudors. Vol. 1 – King Henry VII*, tr. Alice M. Todd (London: A.D. Innes, 1895). Busch's finding have been supplemented by the work of Marwil and Kiernan.
 - 5 Peter's pence was an annual tax paid to the papal see at Rome.
 - 6 Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III and Selections from the English and Latin Poems*, ed. R. S. Sylvester (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976).
 - 7 Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England ii, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1982), p. 425. See also F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1967), pp. 33–78; Paul Dean, 'Tudor Humanism and the Roman Past: A Background to Shakespeare', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41:1 (1988), 84–111.
 - 8 *Anglica Historia* (1555), 1: 1.
 - 9 *Anglica Historia* (1555), 1: 1. For a discussion of Vergil's specific stylistic debts to Roman historians (principally Sallust), see Thomas S. Freeman, 'From Catiline to Richard III: The Influence of Classical Historians on Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*', in Mario A. Di Cesare (ed.), *Reconsidering the Renaissance* (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), pp. 191–214.
 - 10 Scott Lucas, 'Holinshed and Hall', in Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 203–16 (p. 203).
 - 11 Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Twelve Caesars*, tr. Robert Graves, rev. J. B. Rives (London: Penguin, 2007); Bartolomeo Platina, *Lives*

- of the Popes* (1479), ed. and tr. Anthony F. D'Elia (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
- 12 Hay, 'Introduction', p. xxx.
 - 13 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), 1: 1.
 - 14 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), 1: 1.
 - 15 Livy, *The Rise of Rome, Books 1–5*, tr. R. J. Luce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 4. For a discussion of the significance of this passage and Livy's approach to *exempla*, see Jane D. Chaplin, *Livy's Exemplary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
 - 16 Hay, 'Introduction', p. xxxiii.
 - 17 Alexander Barclay, 'Dedication' to *Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre by Sallust*, tr. Alexander Barclay (London, 1525). A 'mony-cion' or 'monition' is an 'instruction, direction [or] prompting' (*OED*).
 - 18 Thomas Blundeville, *The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories* (London, 1574), dedication. Blundeville's work was an abridgement and translation of Ancesco Patrizi's *Della Historia Diece Dialoghi* (Venice, 1560) and Iacob Acontius' unpublished manuscript *Della osservationi et avvertimenti che haver si debbono nel leger delle historie*.
 - 19 For example, Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, tr. Michael Grant (London: Penguin, 1996), pp. 76, 308; Livy, *The Rise of Rome*, pp. 80, 172, 280, 303–4, 309.
 - 20 For example, Tacitus, *Annals*, p. 206; Livy, *Rise of Rome*, pp. 106, 126, 230, 243.
 - 21 For example, Tacitus, *Annals*, pp. 207–8; Livy, *Rise of Rome*, p. 97. Tacitus also provides discussion of regulations used to control luxury, e.g., *Annals*, pp. 92, 143.
 - 22 Polybius, *The Histories*, tr. Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 124.
 - 23 Blundeville, *True Order*, n.p.
 - 24 Blundeville, *True Order*, n.p.
 - 25 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 145.
 - 26 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 147.
 - 27 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 147.
 - 28 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 127.
 - 29 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 127.
 - 30 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 127.
 - 31 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 129.
 - 32 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 129.
 - 33 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 129.
 - 34 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 131.
 - 35 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1513), p. 147.

- 36 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), 26: 51. For Empson (or Hemson as he is referred to) and Dudley, see 26: 46.
- 37 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), 26: 50.
- 38 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), 26: 50.
- 39 Hall, *Union*, Kyng Henry the vii, Fol. iiiii, lxi.
- 40 Speed, *History*, p. 728. Speed is quoting from a manuscript by John Davies of Hertfordshire.
- 41 Speed, *History*, p. 728. Stow is Speed's source here.
- 42 Hall, *Union*, p. lvii.
- 43 Speed, *History*, p. 750.
- 44 Speed, *History*, p. 728.
- 45 Speed, *History*, p. 729.
- 46 Peter Burke, 'A Survey of the Popularity of the Ancient Historians', *History and Theory*, 5:2 (1966), 135–52 (p. 149). Burke estimates that at least 110 commentaries on Tacitus were published between 1450 and 1700 and has identified 87 such works from the seventeenth century. The literature on the influence of Tacitus in the early modern period is large. The classic account is Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 31–119. I have also drawn on the following: Alan T. Bradford, 'Absolutism and the "Utility" of Tacitus', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 46:2 (1983), 127–55; J. H. M. Salmon, 'Stoicism and Roman Example: Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 50:2 (1989), 199–225; David Womersley, 'Sir Henry Savile's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts', *The Review of English Studies*, 42:167 (1991), 313–42; Alexandra Gajda, 'Tacitus and Political Thought in Early Modern Europe, c. 1530–c. 1640', in A. J. Woodman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 253–68.
- 47 Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, p. 251.
- 48 See F. J. Levy, 'The Making of Camden's *Britannia*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26 (1964), 70–97 (pp. 84–5). See also Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, p. 251.
- 49 Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, p. 251, n. 27.
- 50 Robert Johnson, 'Of Histories', *Essaies, or Rather Imperfect Offers* (London, 1601), pp. 17–23 (the page numbers used in the copy I consulted are handwritten).
- 51 Johnson, 'Of Histories', p. 17.
- 52 Johnson, 'Of Histories', p. 17.
- 53 Johnson, 'Of Histories', p. 17.
- 54 Johnson, 'Of Histories', p. 18.

- 55 Johnson, 'Of Histories', pp. 18–19. 'Sithens' is an archaic form of 'since'.
- 56 The term is particularly associated with the work of Émile Durkheim. See his *Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), 2nd edn, ed. Steven Lukes (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013).
- 57 Johnson, 'Of Histories', p. 18.
- 58 Francis Bacon, 'Letter of Advice to Fulke Greville', in *The Oxford Francis Bacon Early Writings 1584–1596*, ed. Alan Stewart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 207–11 (p. 210).
- 59 Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 14.
- 60 Francis Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, in *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. John M. Robertson (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), pp. 413–638 (p. 573). *De Augmentis* is an expanded Latin translation of *The Advancement of Learning*.
- 61 *The Advancement* used a quadripartite division of history into natural, civil, ecclesiastical and literary forms.
- 62 Bacon, *De Augmentis*, p. 427.
- 63 Bacon, *De Augmentis*, p. 431.
- 64 Bacon, *De Augmentis*, pp. 432, 431.
- 65 Bacon, *De Augmentis*, p. 431.
- 66 Bacon, *De Augmentis*, p. 432.
- 67 Bacon, *De Augmentis*, p. 433.
- 68 Francis Bacon, *The History of King Henry VII*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 203–4.
- 69 I have not been able to establish which version of the *Anglica Historia* Bacon consulted. His analysis bears most resemblance to the 1513 draft, but it seems highly unlikely he would have had access to this.
- 70 Bacon, *History*, p. 18.
- 71 Bacon, *History*, p. 174.
- 72 Bacon, *History*, p. 178.
- 73 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), 27: 19. For the equivalent passage in the 1513 edition, see p. 51.
- 74 Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), 27: 21. See also (1513), p. 57.
- 75 Bacon, *History*, p. 84.
- 76 Bacon, *History*, p. 94.
- 77 Bacon, *History*, p. 84.
- 78 Bacon, *History*, pp. 84–5.
- 79 Bacon, *History*, p. 133.
- 80 The King's avarice is also shown to have made him more merciful than other monarchs, although Bacon's attitude to his leniency is distinctly ambivalent. In relation to the battles at Exeter and Blackheath, it was

- noted that 'there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood drawn'. However, this leniency was attributed not to Henry's merciful nature but rather to his avarice. As Bacon wryly observed: 'the less blood Henry drew the more he took of treasure'. See Bacon, *History*, p. 198.
- 81 Bacon, *History*, p. 64.
- 82 Bacon, *History*, p. 65.
- 83 Bacon, *History*, p. 195.
- 84 Bacon, *History*, p. 31.
- 85 Bacon, *History*, p. 40. In addition, see p. 93. Vergil also emphasised Maximilian's poor finances: *Anglica Historia* (1555), 27: 20. The 1515 version presents Maximilian as 'unprepared' rather than suffering from a dearth of funds (p. 53).
- 86 Bacon, *History*, p. 199.
- 87 Hall, *Union*, Kyng Henry the vii, Fol. iiii. Bacon does not provide an account of the law-making process under Henry VII. However, although the origins of specific laws are described in a variety of ways, the majority of legislation is attributed to the King. The laws of the Parliament of 1487 are presented as reflections of Henry's personal 'cares' at that point in time (pp. 56–60), while the description of the Parliament of 1489 begins the majority of its paragraphs with 'the King made a law that [...]', 'he ordained [...]' or a similar construction (pp. 63–9). In the King's 'character', meanwhile, it is noted that 'he did much maintain and countenance *his laws*' (my italics), and throughout the text law-making is conceived of as one of the King's principal virtues. Such a presentation does not appear to be based on any documentary evidence. Bacon did not have access to records of debates, draft legislation or parliamentary diaries.
- 88 Seldon to Bacon, 20 August 1621. Reprinted in Daniel Woolf, 'John Seldon, John Borough, and Francis Bacon's History of Henry VII, 1621', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 47 (1984), 47–53.
- 89 For Hayward's comments, see John Hayward, *The Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth* (London, 1630), p. 47.
- 90 Bacon, *History*, p. 68.
- 91 Bacon, *History*, p. 121.
- 92 Bacon, *History*, p. 64.
- 93 'An act that no foreigner or denizen shall carry any woollen out of this realm [...]', 3 Henry VII, c. 30; 'An act against bringing wine into this realm in foreign vessels', 4 Henry VII, c. 39; 'For silkwomen', 19 Henry VII, c. 31. Please note, I have used the chapter numbers from the Rolls of Parliament not *Statutes of the Realm*. The Rolls of Parliament can be accessed at www.sd-editions.com.

- 94 'An act that denizens shall pay custom and subsidy', 1 Henry VII, c. 69 [74]; 'An act that all foreigners and denizens shall pay customs', 11 Henry VII, c. 54.
- 95 'An act against the excessive price of longbows', 3 Henry VII, c. 31; 'Woollen cloth', 4 Henry VII, c. 25.
- 96 'An act for weights and measures', 7 Henry VII, c. 19; 'An act for weights and measures', 11 Henry VII, c. 44; 'An act for weights and measures', 12 Henry VII, c. 9.
- 97 'Merchant Adventurers', 7 Henry VII, c. 10.
- 98 'An act against usury and unlawful bargains', 3 Henry VII, c. 29; 2 [29]; 'An act against usury', 11 Henry VII, c. 48.
- 99 'An act against exchange and rechange without the king's licence', 3 Henry VII, c. 28.
- 100 'An act against counterfeiting foreign coin', 4 Henry VII, c. 47; '[...] For the reform of the coinage', 19 Henry VII, c. 12.
- 101 'An act for fifteenths and tenths', 12 Henry VII, c. 12; 'An act for a subsidy to be granted to the king [...]', 12 Henry VII, c. 13.
- 102 On this issue, see Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 150–68.
- 103 For a useful discussion of these issues in relation to Bacon, see Markku Peltonen, 'Bacon's Political Philosophy', in Markku Peltonen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 283–310 (see pp. 300–6). See also Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 190–228. Peltonen presents Bacon's account of greatness as straightforwardly Machiavellian. The discussion that follows aims to show that while Bacon employs elements of Machiavelli's account, he also substantially modifies the Florentine's analyses of wealth and trade.
- 104 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy* (1531), tr. Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 36.
- 105 Machiavelli, *Discourses*, p. 177.
- 106 Machiavelli, *Discourses*, p. 178.
- 107 Machiavelli, *Discourses*, p. 114.
- 108 Machiavelli, *Discourses*, p. 100.
- 109 Machiavelli, *Discourses*, pp. 317–18.
- 110 Machiavelli, *Discourses*, p. 318. Machiavelli's analysis of the relationship between wealth and virtue was not entirely consistent. On occasions, he acknowledged that private wealth could contribute to a nation's

- greatness, and elsewhere he advocated that Princes should allow their subjects to pursue both agriculture and commerce in tranquility. See *Discourses*, p. 160; Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (distributed from c. 1513), tr. and ed. Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 79. See also Mark Jurdjevic, 'Virtue, Commerce, and the Enduring Florentine Republican Moment: Reintegrating Italy into the Atlantic Republican Debate', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62:4 (2001), 721–43 (p. 739).
- 111 See Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, pp. 31–119.
- 112 Justus Lipsius, *Sixte Bookes of Politickes or Civil Doctrine*, tr. William Jones (London, 1594), p. 136.
- 113 See Giovanni Botero, *A Treatise, Concerning the Causes of the Magnificencie and greatness of cities*, tr. Robert Peterson (London, 1606).
- 114 See, for example, Botero, *Treatise*, p. 53.
- 115 Cunning in the sense of 'knowledge [of] how to do a thing; ability, skill, expertness, dexterity, cleverness' (*OED*).
- 116 Botero, *Treatise*, p. 52.
- 117 Botero, *Treatise*, p. 52.
- 118 Botero, *Treatise*, p. 52.
- 119 Botero, *Treatise*, pp. 52–3.
- 120 For an account of the relationship between Machiavelli and Bacon, see Michelle Tolman Clarke, 'Uprooting Nebuchadnezzar's Tree', *Political Research Quarterly*, 61:3 (2008), 367–78. See also Howard B. White, 'The English Solomon: Francis Bacon on Henry VII', *Social Research*, 24:4 (1957), 457–81.
- 121 Francis Bacon, 'Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain', in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 7, ed. James Spedding (London: Longmans, 1872). The dating of this work has been the subject of a good deal of dispute. For a summary, see Markku Peltonen, 'Politics and Science: Francis Bacon and the True Greatness of States', *Historical Journal*, 35:2 (1992), 279–305 (p. 282, n. 9).
- 122 Bacon, 'True Greatness', p. 48.
- 123 Bacon, 'True Greatness', p. 55.
- 124 Bacon, 'True Greatness', pp. 56–7.
- 125 Bacon, 'True Greatness', p. 58.
- 126 Bacon, 'True Greatness', pp. 60–1.
- 127 Bacon, *History*, pp. 53–4. This speech is presented as having been authored by Henry, but delivered to Parliament by his Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Morton. Like the other speeches in the *History*, it is not based on historical record, but was invented by Bacon.
- 128 Bacon, *History*, p. 68.

- 129 Bacon, *History*, p. 181.
- 130 Bacon, *History*, p. 54.
- 131 Bacon, *History*, p. 60. 'An act against usury and unlawful bargains', 3 Henry VII, c. 29; 'An act against exchange and rechange without the king's licence', 3 Henry VII, c. 28. Similar language is used to discuss usury in Henry's speech to Parliament; Bacon, *History*, p. 54. However, in his 1625 essay on usury, Bacon argued that since 'there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart, as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted'. What was required, however, was government regulation which would control money lending and reduce interest rates. See Bacon, 'Of Usury', in *The Essays or Counsels* (London: J. Booth, 1818), pp. 157–62.
- 132 Bacon, *History*, p. 68; 'Woollen Cloth', 4 Henry VII, c. 25. The preamble to the law notes that 'Drapers, tailors and others in the city of London and other places in this realm who sell woollen cloth retail by the yard, sell a yard of cloth at an excessive price and make unreasonable profits, to the great harm and impoverishment of the king's liege people who buy the same cloth, against equity and good conscience.'
- 133 Bacon, *History*, p. 133; 'Merchant Adventurers', 12 Henry VII, c. 10; Bacon, *History*, p. 181; 'Against the making of private and unlawful statutes', 20 Henry VII, c. 17. The latter law notes that 'wardens and members of guilds, fraternities, and other corporate companies dwelling in various parts of the realm [...] had often made among themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances both for the prices of goods and for other things, for their own private profit, and to the common harm and damage of the people'.
- 134 Bacon, *History*, p. 18. 'An act that denizens shall pay custom and subsidy', 1 Henry VII, c. 69[74].
- 135 Bacon, *History*, p. 67.
- 136 'An act against bringing wine into this realm in foreign vessels', 4 Henry VII, c. 39.
- 137 4 Henry VII, c. 39.
- 138 Bacon, *History*, p. 67.
- 139 Bacon, *History*, p. 67.
- 140 Bacon, *History*, p. 67.
- 141 'An act against pulling down towns', 4 Henry VII, c. 48.
- 142 Bacon, *History*, pp. 65–6.
- 143 Bacon, *History*, p. 65.
- 144 Bacon, *History*, p. 66.
- 145 Bacon, *History*, p. 66.
- 146 Bacon, *History*, p. 66.
- 147 Bacon, *History*, p. 66.

- 148 Bacon, *History*, p. 66.
- 149 Bacon, *History*, p. 67.
- 150 Bacon, *History*, p. 67.

Chapter 2

- 1 William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England* (1615, 1625), 4th edn (London, 1688), 'The Author to the Reader'. Subsequent references to this work use its standard Latin title, *Annales*. For a discussion of the importance of the Latin edition, see Patrick Collinson, 'William Camden and the Anti-myth of Elizabeth: Setting the Mould?', in *This England: Essays on the English Nation and Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 270–86.
- 2 Camden, *Annales*, 'The Author to the Reader'.
- 3 For an account of 'politic history', which stresses the links between Bacon and Camden, see F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, CA: Huntingdon Library, 1967), pp. 237–85. See also F. J. Levy, 'Hayward, Daniel, and the Beginnings of Politic History in England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 50:1 (1987), 1–34.
- 4 Camden, *Annales*, 'The Author to the Reader'. Similar comments are to be found elsewhere in the text: Camden, *Annales*, pp. 110, 233.
- 5 Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 48. This paragraph draws on Herendeen's account.
- 6 Wyman H. Herendeen, 'Camden, William (1551–1623)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Herendeen, *William Camden*, p. 102.
- 7 William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1586).
- 8 Camden, *Annales*, 'The Author to the Reader'.
- 9 Camden, *Annales*, 'The Author to the Reader'.
- 10 Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Elizabeth's First Historian: William Camden and the Beginnings of English 'Civil History'* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971); Daniel Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early-Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology and the Light of Truth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 115–25.
- 11 See George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582).
- 12 For the former opinion, see Daniel Woolf, 'Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory', *Canadian Journal/Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire*, 20:2 (1985), 167–91. For the latter, see Kevin

- Sharpe, 'The Foundation of the Chairs of History at Oxford and Cambridge: An Episode in Jacobean Politics', in *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England* (London: Pinter, 1989), pp. 207–29.
- 13 Camden, *Annales*, 'The Author to the Reader'.
- 14 See Trevor-Roper, *Elizabeth's First Historian*, p. 24; Sharpe, *Politics and Ideas*, p. 214; Herendeen, *William Camden*, p. 398.
- 15 The discussion of Cecil is based on material derived from Frederick C. Dietz, *English Public Finance, 1558–1641* (London: Frank Cass, 1964 [1932]), pp. 30–85; Norman Jones, *Governing by Virtue: Lord Burghley and the Management of Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 137–69.
- 16 Dietz, *English Public Finance*, p. 33.
- 17 Anonymous, *The Life of the Great Statesman, William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, ed. Arthur Collins (London, 1732), pp. 68–71.
- 18 Jones, *Governing by Virtue*, p. 141.
- 19 Anonymous, *Life of Burghley*, p. 71.
- 20 Anonymous, *Life of Burghley*, p. 70.
- 21 Anonymous, *Life of Burghley*, p. 70.
- 22 Anonymous, *Life of Burghley*, p. 70.
- 23 Anonymous, *Life of Burghley*, p. 69.
- 24 Anonymous, *Life of Burghley*, p. 69.
- 25 Anonymous, *Life of Burghley*, p. 71.
- 26 The manuscript is to be found at SP12/255 f. 142–161. The comments on it are from Dietz, *English Public Finance*, p. 85.
- 27 SP 12/255 f. 157.
- 28 SP 12/255 f. 157.
- 29 SP 12/255 f. 157–8.
- 30 SP 12/255 f. 158.
- 31 SP 12/255 f. 158.
- 32 SP 12/255 f. 158.
- 33 SP 12/255 f. 158.
- 34 SP 12/255 f. 158.
- 35 Camden, *Annales*, pp. 439–40. For a discussion of the sources of the figures Camden uses here, see Howell A. Lloyd, 'Camden, Carmarden and Customs', *The English Historical Review*, 85:337 (1970), 776–87 (p. 778). Lloyd concluded that cross-referencing the *Annales* with extant state papers demonstrates 'Camden's remarkable reliability in factual matters' (p. 786).
- 36 Camden, *Annales*, p. 440.
- 37 Camden, *Annales*, p. 440.
- 38 Camden, *Annales*, p. 440.
- 39 Camden, *Annales*, p. 440.

- 40 Camden, *Annales*, p. 441.
- 41 These comments are placed between his discussion of Elizabeth's reforms to customs, and his discussion of taxation.
- 42 Camden, *Annales*, p. 440. Caermarden is Richard Carmarden (sometimes rendered as 'Carmarthen'), surveyor of the custom-house at London.
- 43 Camden, *Annales*, p. 440.
- 44 Camden, *Annales*, p. 440.
- 45 Mervyn James, 'English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485–1642', in *Society, Politics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 308–415.
- 46 James, 'Concept of Honour', pp. 340–1.
- 47 James's conception of an abrupt transformation of honour has, in recent years, been developed by a number of accounts which, in the words of Richard Cust, seek to show the 'simultaneous existence of a variety of concepts, or discourses of honour in early modern England'. However, while honour was undoubtedly multifaceted in the period, and a variety of ways of discussing it were available, Camden's account is rooted in the humanist-inflected version of the concept identified by James. Richard Cust, 'Honour and Politics in Early Stuart England: The Case of Beaumont v. Hastings', *Past and Present*, 149 (1995), 57–94. See also Linda A. Pollock, 'Honour, Gender, and Reconciliation in Elite Culture, 1570–1700', *The Journal of British Studies*, 46:1 (2007), 3–29; William Palmer, 'Scenes from Provincial Life: History, Honour, and Meaning in the Tudor North', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53:2 (2000), 425–48.
- 48 James, 'Concept of Honour', p. 375.
- 49 James, 'Concept of Honour', p. 375.
- 50 Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 18–53. Machiavelli also maintained that 'glory' could be achieved through both political and military means. For a useful discussion, see Hillay Zmora, 'A World Without a Saving Grace: Glory and Immortality in Machiavelli', *History of Political Thought*, 28:3 (2007), 449–68.
- 51 Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*, p. 39.
- 52 Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*, p. 43.
- 53 Camden, *Annales*, p. 558.
- 54 Camden, *Annales*, p. 191.
- 55 Camden, *Annales*, p. 191.
- 56 Camden, *Annales*, p. 596.
- 57 Camden, *Annales*, p. 596.

- 58 Camden, *Annales*, p. 125.
- 59 Camden, *Annales*, p. 125.
- 60 D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England Under the Tudors, 1547–1603*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Longman, 1992), p. 157.
- 61 See ‘Summary of certain reasons which have moved the Queen to proceed in the reformation of her base and coarse moneys’, TNA SP 12/13 fols 109–119. A draft version of this document with annotations by Burghley can be found at TNA SP 12/13 fols 103–107. For a discussion of these documents, see Jones, *Governing by Virtue*, p. 143. Burghley’s role in the re-coinage was discussed by Robert Cotton and his contemporary biographer. See Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 162; Anonymous, *The Life of Burghley*, p. 15.
- 62 John Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of Englande* (London, 1570), f. 395, v.
- 63 Raphael Holinshed, *The First Volume of the Chronicles of England* (London, 1577) p. 1814; John Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England* (London, 1575), p. 506; John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London, 1592), pp. 1099, 1101; John Stow and Edmund Howes, *The Annales or a Generall Chronicle of England* (London, 1615), pp. 646–7.
- 64 Camden, *Annales*, p. 48.
- 65 Camden, *Annales*, p. 48.
- 66 Camden, *Annales*, p. 48. ‘A Summary of Certain Reason’ notes that ‘by continuing of base monies, divers persons both in foreign partes, and within the Realm, have counterfayted from tyme to tyme no smal quantitie [of coin]’ (TNA SP 12/13 fol 113). The pamphlet also discusses the advantages of the re-coinage for ‘all meane gentlemen that lived upon pensions and stipendes, all souldiours and serving men’ (TNA SP 12/13 fol 114).
- 67 Camden, *Annales*, pp. 49, 48.
- 68 ‘Brass’ was used as a term for ‘copper’ in this period. Camden had made a similar comment about the copper mines at Keswick in his *Britannia* where he had noted that ‘the mines not onely serve England over, but also afford great plenty beside, that is carried yeerely forth of the Realme’. See William Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Dana F. Sutton (2004), <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/cumbeng.html#cumb1>, para 7.
- 69 Camden, *Annales*, p. 119.
- 70 Camden, *Annales*, p. 119.
- 71 Camden, *Annales*, p. 205.
- 72 Camden, *Annales*, p. 205.
- 73 Camden, *Annales*, p. 206.
- 74 Camden, *Annales*, p. 206.

- 75 Camden, *Annales*, p. 214.
- 76 Camden, *Annales*, pp. 215, 466.
- 77 Camden, *Annales*, p. 538.
- 78 Camden, *Annales*, p. 538.
- 79 Camden, *Annales*, p. 169.
- 80 Camden, *Annales*, p. 206.
- 81 Camden, *Annales*, p. 466.
- 82 David Harris Sacks, 'The Countervailing of Benefits: Monopoly, Liberty, and Benevolence in Elizabethan England', in Dale Hoak (ed.), *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 272–91.
- 83 For the Parliament of 1601, see J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584–1601* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957).
- 84 Camden, *Annales*, p. 635.
- 85 Camden, *Annales*, p. 635.
- 86 Camden, *Annales*, p. 636.
- 87 Camden, *Annales*, p. 636.
- 88 Camden, *Annales*, p. 636.
- 89 See John Cramsie, 'Commercial Projects and the Fiscal Policy of James VI and I', *The Historical Journal*, 43:2 (2000), 345–64 (p. 347); Simon Adams, 'The Patronage of the Crown', in John Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 20–45.
- 90 In 1603 James launched a review of monopolies made under Elizabeth, insisting that the Privy Council review all grants. Monopolies continued to multiply, however, leading to complaints from Parliament in 1606 and 1610. A monopolies Act followed in 1621, which was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. A revised version of this bill was passed in May 1624. See Chris R. Kyle, "'But a New Button to an Old Coat": The Enactment of the Statute of Monopolies 21 James I cap. 3', *The Journal of Legal History*, 19:3 (1998), 203–23. See also John Cramsie, *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI and I* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002).
- 91 One other partial exception here is the Queen's legislation of clothing. While, for Camden, her measures were well-intentioned, they did not succeed in restricting extravagant practices. See *Annales*, p. 206.
- 92 Hunter, cited in Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 23. Hunter is referring specifically to the East India Company, but the same point can equally well be made in relation to other trading bodies.
- 93 The key account of this issue is Astrid Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade: The Commercial Policy of England in its*

- Main Aspects, 1603–1625* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 149–56. See also Theodore K. Rabb, ‘Sir Edwyn Sandys and the Parliament of 1604’, *American Historical Review*, 69 (1963/4), 646–70; Robert Ashton, ‘The Parliamentary Agitation for Free Trade in the Opening Years of James I’, *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), 40–55; Theodore K. Rabb, ‘Free Trade and the Gentry in the Parliament of 1604’, *Past and Present*, 40 (1968), 165–73; Robert Ashton, ‘Jacobean Free Trade Again’, *Past and Present*, 43 (1969), 151–7; Pauline Croft, ‘Free Trade and the House of Commons’, *Economic History Review*, 28:1 (1975), 17–27.
- 94 The bills were tendered on 18 and 19 April and were ‘for all the merchants to have free Liberty of Trade into all Countries and is used by other Nations’ and ‘for the Enlargement of Trade for his Majesty’s Subjects in foreign Countries’.
- 95 *The Journals of the House of Commons*, 117 vols (London, 1803–63), 1: 218–19.
- 96 See Croft, ‘Free Trade’.
- 97 *Journals*, 1: 220. Sandys labelled the Muscovy Company ‘a strong and a shameful Monopoly’ (1: 220).
- 98 On this issue, see K. N. Chaudhuri, ‘The East India Company and the Export of Treasure in the Early Seventeenth Century’, *The Economic History Review*, 16:1 (1963), 23–38. See also Lawson, *East India Company*, p. 36.
- 99 See Lynn Muchmore, ‘A Note on Thomas Mun’s “England’s Treasure by Forraign Trade”’, *The Economic History Review*, 23:3 (1970), 498–503. See also Thomas Mun, *England’s Treasure by Forraign Trade* (London, 1664). This work was written at some point in the 1620s.
- 100 Camden, *Annales*, p. 596.
- 101 Camden, *Annales*, pp. 285–6.
- 102 SP 91/1 f. 59. A translation of the original letter can be found in George Tolstoy (ed.), *The First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553–1593* (St Petersburg: A. Travshelya, 1875), pp. 350–3.
- 103 Camden, *Annales*, p. 14.
- 104 J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 431.

Chapter 3

- 1 The scholarly literature on historians of James I is less extensive than on Bacon and Camden. The best account is to be found in Daniel

- Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology, and 'The Light of Truth' from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), pp. 243–65. Other useful discussions can be found in Marc L. Schwarz, 'James I and the Historians: Toward a Reconsideration', *Journal of British Studies*, 13:2 (1974), 114–34; Royce Macgillivray, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).
- 2 Christina DeCoursey, 'Howes, Edmund (fl. 1602–1631)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. See also David B. Quinn, 'Advice for Investors in Virginia, Bermuda, and New Foundland, 1611', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 23:1 (1966), 136–45 (pp. 140–3); Gabriel Heaton and James Knowles, "'Entertainment Perfect", Ben Jonson and Corporate Hospitality', *The Review of English Studies*, NS, 54:217 (2003), 587–600 (pp. 588–9).
 - 3 John Stow and Edmund Howes, *The Abridgement or Summarie of the English Chronicle* (London, 1607); *The Abridgement of the English Chronicle* (London, 1611); *The Abridgement of the English Chronicle* (London, 1618); *Annales, or, a generall chronicle of England* (London, 1615); *Annales, or, a generall chronicle of England* (London, 1632). Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent references are to the 1632 edition.
 - 4 A short account of Charles I was also included in the 1632 edition.
 - 5 Howes, *Annales* (1615), 'To the right high and mightie Prince Charles...'; *Annales*, p. 1087.
 - 6 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1087
 - 7 Barrett L. Beer, *Tudor England Observed: The World of John Stow* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 12.
 - 8 Heaton and Knowles, 'Entertainment Perfect', p. 588.
 - 9 Susan Myra Kingsbury (ed.), *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 2: 16.
 - 10 *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625–1629*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1884), p. 668.
 - 11 *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China and Persia, 1630–1634*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1892), p. 342.
 - 12 Beer, *Tudor England*, p. 13.
 - 13 It is also noteworthy that Richard Hakluyt was both an investor in, and propagandist for, the Virginia Company.
 - 14 Howes, *Annales*, 'To the Honest and Understanding Reader' and 'An Historicall Preface to this Booke'.
 - 15 Howes, *Annales*, 'To the Honest and Understanding Reader'.
 - 16 Howes, *Annales*, p. 866.

- 17 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1021.
- 18 Howes, *Annales*, p. 868.
- 19 Howes, *Annales*, p. 866.
- 20 Howes, *Annales*, p. 868.
- 21 Howes, *Annales*, pp. 866–70, 898, 1040.
- 22 Howes, *Annales*, p. 867.
- 23 Howes, *Annales*, p. 870.
- 24 Howes, *Annales*, pp. 895, 897 (these are consecutive pages), 869.
- 25 Howes, *Annales*, p. 869.
- 26 Howes, *Annales*, p. 869.
- 27 Howes, *Annales*, p. 869.
- 28 Howes, *Annales*, p. 869.
- 29 Howes, *Annales*, p. 869.
- 30 On this issue, see, for example, Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 [1998]), pp. 69–133. See also David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 31 Howes, *Annales*, pp. 993–5, 1022.
- 32 Howes, *Annales*, pp. 1017–21.
- 33 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1017.
- 34 The focus here is predominantly on very recent history – the 1615 edition of the text continued its narrative right up until 1614 – a move which enabled Howes to cover events not discussed by Hakluyt in the final, 1598 edition of the *Travels*.
- 35 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1020.
- 36 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1021.
- 37 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or Over Land* (London, 1589), ‘To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham’.
- 38 Howes, *Annales*, p. 994.
- 39 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1018.
- 40 Howes, *Annales*, pp. 1018, 1019.
- 41 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1019.
- 42 Howes, *Annales*, p. 1018.
- 43 Howes, *Annales*, p. 992.
- 44 Howes, *Annales*, p. 992.
- 45 Howes, *Annales*, p. 992.
- 46 Howes, *Annales*, p. 992.
- 47 Howes, *Annales*, p. 894.
- 48 Howes, *Annales*, p. 894.
- 49 Howes, *Annales*, p. 894.

- 50 Howes, *Annales*, p. 898.
- 51 Howes, *Annales*, p. 898.
- 52 Howes, *Annales*, p. 898.
- 53 Howes, *Annales*, p. 845.
- 54 Howes, *Annales*, p. 994.
- 55 Howes, *Annales*, p. 994. A similar account is provided in relation to the charter granted to the Muscovy Company. Here the excessive expenses incurred by the company are said to have resulted in it being given 'certaine priuiledges, confirmed by act of Parliament, granting to them solely, the use both of the said trade, and of what places and lands soeuer should afterwards bee found and discovered by them' (*Annales*, p. 1017).
- 56 Howes, *Annales*, p. 890.
- 57 Howes, *Annales*, p. 891.
- 58 Howes, *Annales*, p. 994.
- 59 Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England from the Time of the Romans' Government unto the Death of King James* (London, 1643). On Baker, see Martine Watson Brownley, 'Sir Richard Baker's "Chronicle" and Later Seventeenth-Century English Historiography', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 52:4 (1989), 481–500. Baker's account is divided into four parts, each of which begins its page numbering from '1'.
- 60 Baker, *Chronicle*, 'An Epistle to the Reader'.
- 61 Baker, *Chronicle*, 'An Epistle to the Reader'.
- 62 Baker, *Chronicle*, 'An Epistle to the Reader'.
- 63 Howes, *Annales*, p. 898; Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 135.
- 64 Howes, *Annales*, p. 994; Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 136.
- 65 Howes, *Annales*, p. 994; Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 136.
- 66 Howes, *Annales*, pp. 890–1; Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 134.
- 67 Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 146.
- 68 Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 146.
- 69 John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, new-England, and the Summer Islands* (London, 1624). Both the specific details that Baker uses, and the order in which he uses them, follow Smith's work.
- 70 John Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (London, 1612); Silvester Jourdain, *A Plaine Description of the Barmudas* (London, 1613).
- 71 Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 157.
- 72 Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 157.
- 73 Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 159.
- 74 See Lars Magnusson, *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 62–4. The discussion below draws on Magnusson's account.

- 75 See Gerrard Malynes, *The Maintenance of Free Trade* (London, 1622). This work developed claims made in Malynes' earlier work, *Saint George for England* (London, 1601) and *A Treatise of the Canker of Englands Commonwealth* (London, 1601). Misselden advanced an argument that was broadly similar to Malynes in his early work. See Edward Misselden, *Free Trade. Or, The Means to Make Trade Flourish* (London, 1622).
- 76 Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (London, 1664); Edward Misselden, *The Circle of Commerce. Or the Ballance of Trade* (London, 1623).
- 77 Misselden, *The Circle of Commerce*, p. 117.
- 78 Magnusson, *Mercantilism*, p. 79.
- 79 Mun, *England's Treasure*, p. 169.
- 80 Malynes, *Free Trade*, Dedication.
- 81 Mun, *England's Treasure*, p. 204.

Chapter 4

- 1 For the effects of the English Revolution on historical writing, see Daniel Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology and 'The Light of Truth' from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1990), pp. 247–65.
- 2 Hamon L'Estrange, *The Reign of King Charles: An History* (London, 1655), The Epistle Dedicatory.
- 3 Peter Heylyn, *Observations on the Historie of the Reign of King Charles* (London, 1656).
- 4 Thomas Fuller, *The Appeal of Iniured Innocence* (London, 1659), dedication. Heylyn had alleged that Fuller was 'BY ASSED'. Fuller responded by confidently declaring that he had used 'as UPRIGHT BOWLES as ever any that enter the *Alley* of History, since our *Civil Dissensions*' (p. 10).
- 5 Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England* (London, 1647), preface.
- 6 May, *History of the Parliament*, preface.
- 7 Fuller, *Appeal*, p. 1. L'Estrange also echoed these sentiments, arguing that while writing about 'recent times' made good history, it usually brought 'the *Relater* under a cloud'. L'Estrange, 'The Preface'.
- 8 J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 [1957]), p. 46.
- 9 David Norbrook, 'The English Revolution and English Historiography', in N. H. Keble (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the*

- Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 233–50 (p. 234).
- 10 Michael Sparke, *The Narrative History of King James for the first fourteen years* (London, 1651). Detailed discussion is also to be found in Thomas Frankland's *Annals of King James* (London, 1680), pp. 9–12.
 - 11 In its examination of the economic debate between supporters of the Stuarts and their critics, my account has some resemblance to Steve Pincus's recent work on mercantilism. For Pincus, the economic thought of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was not structured, as has been widely assumed, around a universally supported mercantilist consensus. Rather the period saw the emergence of a series of politically charged debates, which eventually generated competing Whig and Tory conceptions of commerce. Tories, he argues, conceived of property as 'finite and tied to the land and its products' and trade as a zero sum game between competing nations. In contrast, for 'Whig polemicists, traders, and politicians [...] property was potentially infinite and depended on the product of human labour'. Pincus's account provides a useful corrective to more schematic approaches to mercantilism, and the Whiggish position he discusses clearly informs some of Coke's arguments. Generally, however, the battle-lines in the historical accounts discussed here were not drawn around land, but rather Livian/exemplary ideas of virtue and vice. See Steve Pincus, 'Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 69:1 (2012), 3–34.
 - 12 References are to the 1651 edition: Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James* (London, 1651). For Weldon, see Joseph Marshall and Sean Kelsey, 'Weldon, Sir Anthony (*bap.* 1583, *d.* 1648)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008.
 - 13 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 173. For an account of the considerable impact this image of James has exerted, see Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I: Two Kings or One', *History*, 68 (1983), 187–209.
 - 14 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, tr. David Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 82.
 - 15 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 53.
 - 16 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 170.
 - 17 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 51. The Latin section can be translated as 'By lawful or unlawful means'.
 - 18 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 60.

- 19 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 80. The kennel is 'the surface drain of a street; the gutter' (*OED*).
- 20 Weldon, *Court and Character*, pp. 154–5.
- 21 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 11.
- 22 Weldon, *Court and Character*, pp. 11–12.
- 23 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 171.
- 24 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 171.
- 25 Weldon, *Court and Character*, p. 53.
- 26 Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain* (London, 1653).
- 27 This section is derived from information in Graham Parry, 'Wilson, Arthur (*bap.* 1595, *d.* 1652)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Arthur Wilson, 'Observations of God's Providence', in F. Peck (ed.), *Desiderata curiosa*, new edn, 2 vols in 1 (1779), pp. 460–83.
- 28 Wilson, *Observations*, p. 475.
- 29 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 30 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 31 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 32 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'. Wilson's comments are rooted in a Galenic understanding of medicine, and the idea that particular illnesses were the product of a build-up of humours in specific parts of the body. For a clear explanation, see Thomas Wright, *Circulation: William Harvey's Revolutionary Idea* (London: Vintage, 2013), pp. 30–4, 150–1.
- 33 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 34 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'. By 'personating' Wilson means 'describing' or 'depicting'.
- 35 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 36 Wilson, *History*, p. 146.
- 37 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 38 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 39 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 40 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 41 Wilson, *History*, 'Proeme'.
- 42 Wilson, *History*, pp. 185, 177.
- 43 Wilson, *History*, p. 185.
- 44 Wilson, *History*, p. 185.
- 45 Wilson, *History*, pp. 148–9.
- 46 Wilson, *History*, p. 91.
- 47 Wilson, *History*, p. 91.
- 48 Wilson, *History*, p. 190. This idea was then supported with a quotation from Livy: *Instum id bellum quibus necessarium*.
- 49 Wilson, *History*, p. 91.

- 50 Wilson, *History*, p. 91. For similar comments, see Wilson, *History*, p. 190.
- 51 Wilson, *History*, p. 91.
- 52 Wilson, *History*, pp. 289–90.
- 53 Wilson, *History*, p. 289.
- 54 Wilson, *History*, p. 171.
- 55 Wilson, *History*, p. 91.
- 56 This paragraph draws on Daniel Woolf, ‘Sanderson, Sir William (1586–1676)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Anita McConnell, ‘Sanderson, William (1547/8–1638)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.
- 57 William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the lives and reigns of, Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her son and successor, James the Sixth, King of Scotland, and (after Queen Elizabeth) King of Great Britain, France and Ireland* (London, 1656), ‘Proeme to the Second Part’. These comments are given further credence by the fact that Sanderson’s wife, Margaret (née Snedale) was to become a maid of honour to Catherine of Braganza and Mary of Modena, rising to the position of Mother to the Maids of Honour.
- 58 The monument is located in the west aisle of the north transept.
- 59 Carew Raleigh responded to some of the criticisms Sanderson made of his father, Sir Walter Raleigh, in *Observations upon some particular persons and passages* (London, 1656). Sanderson countered with *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet* (1656). Sanderson also produced an account of Charles I shortly after his accounts of Mary and James (*A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles* (London, 1658)) and a work on drawing (*Graphice: Or, the Use of the Pen and Pencil* (London, 1658)).
- 60 The phrase appears repeatedly through his account. See, for example, Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, pp. 333, 360, 431, 494.
- 61 See W. Sanderson, *Aulicus Coquinariae, or a Vindication in Answer to a Pamphlet, entitled the Court and Character of King James* (London, 1650), pp. 58–8, 204; Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 360.
- 62 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 410.
- 63 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 366.
- 64 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 366.
- 65 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 366.
- 66 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 366.
- 67 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 367.
- 68 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, ‘Proeme to the Second Part’.

- 69 Sanderson, *Aulicus Coquinariae*, pp. 160–1. See also *History of Mary and James*, pp. 495, 572.
- 70 Sanderson, *Aulicus Coquinariae*, p. 161; *History of Mary and James*, p. 572.
- 71 Sanderson, *Aulicus Coquinariae*, p. 161; *History of Mary and James*, p. 572.
- 72 Sanderson, *Aulicus Coquinariae*, p. 162; *History of Mary and James*, p. 572.
- 73 Sanderson, *Aulicus Coquinariae*, pp. 184–5. See also *History of Mary and James*, p. 384.
- 74 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, pp. 413, 409.
- 75 Sanderson, *History of Mary and James*, p. 573.
- 76 Roger Coke, *Detection of the Court and State of England* (1694), 2 vols, 3rd edn (London, 1697). For Coke, see John Callow, 'Coke, Roger (c.1628–1704)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. See also Henry Snyder, 'David Jones, Augustan Historian and Pioneer English Annalist', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 44:1 (1980), 11–26.
- 77 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 6–7.
- 78 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 7.
- 79 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 3.
- 80 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 5.
- 81 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 4.
- 82 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 5.
- 83 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 5.
- 84 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 5.
- 85 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 59.
- 86 Roger Coke, *A Discourse of Trade* (London, 1670); *England's Improvements* (London, 1675). His other publications on commercial themes included *Reflections upon the East-Indy and Royal African Countries* (London, 1695) and *A Treatise Concerning the Regulation of English Coin* (1696).
- 87 For England's advantages, see *Discourse on Trade*, p. 40. For Coke's comments on the importance of greater numbers of people, see *England's Improvements*, p. 3.
- 88 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 55.
- 89 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 55.
- 90 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 56.
- 91 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 56.
- 92 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 84.
- 93 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 56.
- 94 Coke, *Detection*, 1: 56–7.

- 95 Coke, *Detection*, 2: 681.
 96 Coke, *Detection*, 2: 681.

Chapter 5

- 1 Philip Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 82–109.
- 2 John Milton, *The History of Britain* (London, 1670). Milton got as far as the Norman invasion. Temple's plans for a history were discussed in his *An Introduction to the History of England* (London, 1695). Swift's history was never published. For discussion of his historical endeavours, see Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, pp. 101–2. See also James Tyrrell, *General History of England, both ecclesiastical and civil*, 3 vols (London, 1696–1704); Robert Brady, *A Complete History of England*, 2 vols (London, 1685–1700).
- 3 John Hughes (ed.), *A Complete History of England, Volumes 1 and 2* (London, 1706); White Kennet, *A Complete History of England, Volume 3* (London, 1706). For Kennet, see Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, pp. 112–14; Laird Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), pp. 27–32.
- 4 Laurence Echard, *The History of England*, 3 vols (London, vol. 1, 1707, vols 2 and 3, 1718). For Echard, see Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, pp. 102–9; Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing*, pp. 32–9; Deborah Stephan, 'Laurence Echard – Whig Historian', *Historical Journal*, 32:4 (1989), 843–66.
- 5 Paul de Rapin de Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre depuis l'invasion de Jules César*, 13 vols (La Haye, 1724–27).
- 6 The translations were Paul de Rapin de Thoyras, *The History of England*, tr. and ed. Nicholas Tindal, 15 vols (London, 1725–31); *The History of England*, tr. and ed. John Kelly and Joseph Morgan, 3 vols (London, 1732–7); *The History of England*, tr. and ed. J. Templeman, 2 vols (London, 1734). A final translation followed in the nineteenth century: Paul de Rapin de Thoyras and Henry Robertson, *The History of England from the earliest periods*, tr. and ed. Henry Robertson, 2 vols (London, 1820). Unless otherwise stated, references to Rapin's *History* are to the first edition of the Tindal translation. In addition, page references have been provided for the first French edition – these have been labelled *Histoire*.
- 7 For Rapin's sales figures, see Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, p. 147.
- 8 See, for example, John Lockman, *A New History of England, in English and French by question and answer. Extracted from the most*

- celebrated English historians particularly M. de Rapin Thoyras (London, 1729). Lockman's text proved to be enduringly popular, running to twenty-five editions, the last of which was published in 1811. Tindal and Robertson also extended Rapin's narrative beyond its original end point, the former taking it to the accession of George II and the latter to 1820. See Robertson above and Paul de Rapin de Thoyras and Nicholas Tindal, *The History of England*, tr. Nicholas Tindal, 2 vols (London, 1744–47).
- 9 Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Our First Whig Historian', in *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1992), pp. 249–65 (p. 262).
 - 10 Trevor-Roper, 'Whig Historian', p. 263.
 - 11 See D. W. L. Earl, 'Procrustean Feudalism: An Interpretive Dilemma in English Historical Narration, 1700–1725', *The Historical Journal*, 19:1 (1976), 33–51; Duncan Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978 [1975]), pp. 238–40; Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing*, p. 60; Steven Stryer, 'The Style of Discontinuity: Prose Patterning and Historical Change in Paul de Rapin de Thoyras and Thomas Salmon', *Clio: A Journal of Literature Philosophy and the Philosophy of History*, 42:2 (2013), 137–60.
 - 12 Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing*, p. 61.
 - 13 Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing*, p. 61.
 - 14 This biographical information is drawn from M. G. Sullivan, 'Rapin de Thoyras, Paul de (1661–1725)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; M. G. Sullivan, 'Rapin, Hume and the Identity of the Historian in Eighteenth-century England', *History of European Ideas*, 28 (2002), 145–62; Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing*, pp. 47–74; Trevor-Roper, 'Whig Historian', pp. 249–65; Nelly Girard d'Albissin, *Un Précurseur de Montesquieu: Rapin-Thoyras, Premier historien français des institutions anglaises* (Paris: Éditions C. Klincksieck, 1969), pp. 18–25.
 - 15 For the significance of learned journals, see Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 142–55.
 - 16 Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, 20 vols (London, 1704–35). For Rapin's abridgement, see Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, abr. Paul de Rapin de Thoyras, tr. Stephen Whatley, 4 vols (London, 1726–27). The word *foedera* is the Latin term for 'pacts' or 'treatises'.
 - 17 For Whig politics, see H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Methuen, 1977); J. G. A. Pocock, 'The Varieties of Whiggism from Exclusion to Reform: A History of Ideology and Discourse', in *Virtue, Commerce*

- and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 215–52. On Whig ideas of political economy, see Steve Pincus, ‘Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 69:1 (2012), 3–34; Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 366–99.
- 18 See S.-J. Savonius, ‘Locke in French: The *Du Government Civil* of 1691 and its Readers’, *The Historical Journal*, 47:1 (2004), 47–79; Lisa Clark Diller, ‘How Dangerous, the Protestant Stranger? Huguenots and the Formation of British Identity, c. 1685–1715’, in D. J. B. Trim (ed.), *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 103–21 (p. 115). Among the important translations published and supported by Huguenots were John Locke, *Du Government Civil* (Amsterdam, 1691); Edmond Ludlow, *Les Mémoires d’Edmond Ludlow* (Amsterdam, 1699); Algernon Sidney, *Discours sur le gouvernement* (The Hague, 1702). For more on Huguenot links with radical Whiggism, see Margaret Jacob, *Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981).
 - 19 Jean Leclerc, *Parrhasiana* (London, 1700). For Leclerc, see Samuel A. Golden, *Jean LeClerc* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972).
 - 20 Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace* (1625), ed. Richard Tuck (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2005), p. 111. For Grotius, see Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 154–201; Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 78–108.
 - 21 Hugo Grotius, *Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*, ed. Martine Julia van Ittersum, tr. Gwladys L. Williams (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2006), p. 23.
 - 22 Grotius, *Prize and Booty*, p. 27.
 - 23 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, p. 138.
 - 24 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, pp. 147–8. For Leclerc’s comments on happiness, see pp. 157–8.
 - 25 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, p. 158.
 - 26 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, p. 205.
 - 27 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, p. 216.
 - 28 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, pp. 161, 160.
 - 29 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, pp. 161–2.

- 30 Leclerc, *Parrhasiana*, p. 162.
- 31 Rapin, *History*, 1: ii, *Histoire*, 1: v.
- 32 The classic summary of the Brady controversy is to be found in J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 [1957]), pp. 182–228. See also Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, pp. 83–98.
- 33 Rapin, *History*, 1: iii, *Histoire*, 1: vi.
- 34 Rapin, *History*, 1: iii, *Histoire*, 1: vi.
- 35 Rapin, *History*, 1: iv, *Histoire*, 1: vii.
- 36 Rapin, *History*, 1: iv, *Histoire*, 1: vii.
- 37 Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London, 1643); Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain* (London, 1653); Roger Coke, *A Detection of the Court and State of England* (1694), 3rd edn (London, 1697). Rapin ignores the major Royalist histories, including the works that William Sanderson discussed (see the previous chapter).
- 38 Rapin, *History*, 9: 334, *Histoire*, 7: 73; *History*, 9: 355–6, *Histoire*, 7: 87.
- 39 Rapin, *History*, 9: 386–7, *Histoire*, 7: 107–8.
- 40 Rapin, *History*, 9: 305, *Histoire*, 7: 53–4; Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 133.
- 41 Rapin, *History*, 9: 361–2, *Histoire*, 7: 90–1; Thomas Frankland, *The Annals of King James and Charles the First* (London, 1681).
- 42 Rapin, *History*, 9: 335, *Histoire*, 7: 74. The methods that James used are also discussed in detail in Rapin, *History*, 9: 356–8, *Histoire*, 7: 87–9, which paraphrases Coke, *Detection*, p. 54.
- 43 Rapin, *History*, 9: 311, *Histoire*, 7: 57–8; Coke, *Detection*, pp. 59–60.
- 44 Rapin, *History*, 9: 311–12, *Histoire*, 7: 58; Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 135.
- 45 Rapin, *History*, 9: 448–50, *Histoire*, 7: 149–51; Wilson, *History*, 155a–158b; Coke, *Detection*, p. 116. The page-numbering in Wilson's book is erratic; sometimes each page is numbered, on other occasions every second page is given a number. The 'a' above refers to the first page of a given number, the 'b' to the second page.
- 46 Rapin, *History*, 9: 360, *Histoire*, 7: 90.
- 47 Rapin, *History*, 9: 282, *Histoire*, 7: 38; Coke, *Detection*, p. 45.
- 48 Rapin *History*, 9: 312, *Histoire*, 7: 58; Baker, *Chronicle*, part 4, p. 135.
- 49 Rapin, *History*, 9: 388–91, *Histoire*, 7: 108–10; Coke, *Detection*, pp. 85–9.
- 50 Wilson, *History*, pp. 289–90.
- 51 E.g. Rapin, *History*, 9: 355, *Histoire*, 7: 87.

- 52 See Rapin, *History*, 9: 283, *Histoire*, 7: 39; *History*, 9: 408, *Histoire*, 7: 122; *History*, 9: 504, *Histoire*, 7: 187–8.
- 53 Rapin, *History*, 9: 506, *Histoire*, 7: 189. On the King's religion, see Rapin, *History*, 9: 611, *Histoire*, 7: 258.
- 54 Rapin, *History*, 9: 608, *Histoire*, 7: 256.
- 55 Rapin, *History*, 9: 433, *Histoire*, 7: 138. See also *History*, 9: 440–1, *Histoire*, 7: 143–4.
- 56 Rapin, *History*, 9: 612, *Histoire*, 7: 259.
- 57 For Alfred, see *History*, 1: 353, *Histoire*, 1: 322. For a discussion of his achievements with regard to commerce, see *History*, 1: 346, *Histoire*, 1: 317–18. For Edward III, see *History*, 4: 274, *Histoire*, 3: 200; *History*, 4: 341, *Histoire*, 3: 247–8. For an example of another high-taxing king, see Rapin's comments on Hardicanute: *History*, 2: 53–5, *Histoire*, 1: 420–1.
- 58 Rapin, *History*, 9: 23, *Histoire*, 6: 360.
- 59 Rapin, *History*, 9: 225, *Histoire*, 6: 496. For the felicitousness of Elizabeth's reign, see also *History*, 8: 294, *Histoire*, 6: 198.
- 60 Rapin, *History*, 9: 225, *Histoire*, 6: 496.
- 61 George Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582); James Melville, *The memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Hal-Hill* (London, 1683); François Eudes De Mézeray, *Histoire de France*, 3 vols (Paris, 1643–51); Hugo Grotius, *Annales et Historiæ de Rebus Belgicis*, ed. C. and P. de Groot (Amsterdam, 1658).
- 62 Rapin, *History*, 9: 175–6, *Histoire*, 6: 461; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 537–9.
- 63 Rapin, *History*, 9: 23, *Histoire*, 6: 361; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 273–4.
- 64 Rapin, *History*, 8: 398, *Histoire*, 6: 269; Camden, *Annales*, p. 119.
- 65 E.g. Rapin, *History*, 9: 137–9, *Histoire*, 6: 435–6; Camden, *Annales*, p. 440.
- 66 See Rapin, *History*, 9: 214–15, *Histoire*, 6: 488–9; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 635–6.
- 67 See Camden, *Annales*, pp. 235, 325, 397.
- 68 Camden, *Annales*, p. 32.
- 69 Rapin, *History*, 8: 259, *Histoire*, 6: 175.
- 70 Rapin, *History*, 8: 265, *Histoire*, 6: 178.
- 71 Rapin, *History*, 8: 509, *Histoire*, 6: 345; *History*, 9: 87, *Histoire*, 6: 403.
- 72 For France, see Rapin, *History*, 6: 351–2, *Histoire*, 4: 454–5; Rymer, *Foedera*, 12: 489. For Brittany: Rapin, *History*, 6: 279, 324–6, *Histoire*, 4: 403, 435–7; Rymer, *Foedera*, 12: 303, 362. For Spain: Rapin, *History*, 6: 439, *Histoire*, 4: 515; Rymer, *Foedera*, 13: 142. For Flanders: Rapin, *History*, 6: 388, *Histoire*, 4: 380; Rymer, *Foedera*, 12: 576–8. For the Holy Roman Empire: Rapin, *History*, 6: 422, *Histoire*, 4: 504; Rymer, *Foedera*, 13: 3, 6–22.

- 73 Rapin, *History*, 6: 323, *Histoire*, 4: 434.
- 74 Rapin, *History*, 6: 354, *Histoire*, 4: 457.
- 75 Bacon, *History*, p. 85.
- 76 Rapin, *History*, 6: 348, *Histoire*, 4: 452.
- 77 Rapin, *History*, 6: 348, *Histoire*, 4: 452; Bacon, *History*, p. 85.
- 78 Rapin, *History*, 6: 424–6, *Histoire*, 4: 505–6; Bacon, *History*, pp. 180–3.
- 79 E.g. Rapin, *History*, 6: 426–7, *Histoire*, 4: 506–7; Bacon, *History*, pp. 194–5.
- 80 Rapin, *History*, 6: 315, *Histoire*, 4: 428.
- 81 Rapin, *History*, 9: 452, *Histoire*, 7: 152.
- 82 Bacon, *History*, p. 133.
- 83 Rapin, *History*, 6: 433, *Histoire*, 4: 511.
- 84 Rapin, *History*, 6: 451, *Histoire*, 4: 524; *History*, 6: 424, *Histoire*, 4: 505.
- 85 Rapin, *History*, 6: 451, *Histoire*, 4: 524.
- 86 See Rapin, *Histoire*, 4: 523. Tindal mistranslated this section in the first edition as ‘They are your Conquerors that make the greatest Kings’, *History*, 6: 450. He corrected this in later editions to the more accurate: ‘Conquerors do not always make the greatest kings’, Rapin, *The History of England*, 4th edn, 12 vols., tr. and ed. Nicholas Tindal (London, 1757), 5: 363.
- 87 Rapin, *History*, 6: 450–1, *Histoire*, 4: 523.
- 88 Rapin, *History*, 6: 450, *Histoire*, 4: 523.
- 89 Rapin, *History*, 6: 451, *Histoire*, 4: 524.
- 90 Rapin, *Histoire*, 1: preface (my translation).
- 91 See Rapin, *History* (1757).
- 92 Rapin, *History* (1757), 5: 360, note b.
- 93 Rapin, *History* (1757), 7: 414, note y; 7: 455, note q; 7: 568, note j. For Russia, see 7: 325, note u.
- 94 For the influence of antiquarian writing on neoclassical history, see Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, pp. 30–6.
- 95 Illustrated discussions of coins were a standard feature of antiquarian histories. See, for example, Camden’s *Britannia* (London, 1695), p. lxxxvii. They are less common within narrative histories, but some detailed material on ‘médailles’ can be found in the ‘character’ sections of Mézeray’s lavishly illustrated works on the history of France. See, for example, Mézeray, *Histoire*, 3: 660–83.
- 96 Thomas Madox, *History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England* (London, 1711), p. 548. For Madox, see Harold Hazeltine, ‘Thomas Madox as Constitutional and Legal Historian 1–2’, *Legal Quarterly*, 32:3 (1916), 268–89; 32:4 (1916), 352–72.
- 97 On the importance of numbers and economic calculation in this

period, see William P. Deringer, 'Calculated Values: The Politics and Epistemology of Economic Numbers in Britain, 1688–1738' (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2012).

Chapter 6

- 1 Douglass C. North and Barry R. Weingast, 'Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of Economic History*, 49:4 (1989), 803–32 (pp. 822–3). North and Weingast's post-1688 figures are derived from B. R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- 2 On the guarantees that the bank was able to provide, see Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: Britain and the Industrial Revolution, 1700–1850* (London: Penguin, 2011), p. 225. For paper money and the growth of the market in government bonds, see P. M. Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 184–5.
- 3 P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 457.
- 4 North and Weingast, 'Constitutions and Commitment', 822.
- 5 Karl Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit, The English Financial Revolution, 1620–1720* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 5, 169. See also J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003 [1975]), pp. 425–6; Julian Hoppit, 'Attitudes to Credit in Britain, 1680–1790', *The Historical Journal*, 33:2 (1990), 305–22.
- 6 Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit*, p. 169.
- 7 On Court Whig writing, see Isaac Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992 [1968]), pp. 48–55; H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 121–62; Thomas Horne, 'Politics in a Corrupt Society: William Arnall's Defence of Robert Walpole', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 41:4 (1980), 601–14; Reed Browning, *Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Simon Targett, 'Government Ideology during the Age of the Whig Supremacy: The Political Argument of Sir Robert Walpole's Newspaper Propagandists', *Historical Journal*, 37:2 (1994), 289–317.
- 8 Anonymous, *Some Considerations on Publick Credit* (London, 1733),

- p. 5. This passage has been widely discussed. See Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle*, p. 52; Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, p. 151; Hoppit, 'Attitudes to Credit', 316–17.
- 9 *London Journal*, 666 (1 April 1732), quoted in Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle*, p. 53.
 - 10 J. Hervey, *Ancient and Modern Liberty Stated and Compared* (London, 1734), p. 5.
 - 11 Isaac Kramnick, 'Augustan Politics and English Historiography: The Debate on the English Past, 1700–1735', *History and Theory*, 6:1 (1967), 33–56 (p. 43). See James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana and a System of Politics*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
 - 12 *London Journal*, 768 (16 March 1734).
 - 13 *London Journal*, 768 (16 March 1734).
 - 14 Hervey, *Ancient and Modern Liberty*, p. 60.
 - 15 For the Country/Patriot opposition, see Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle*; Quentin Skinner, 'The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole', in Neil McKendrick (ed.), *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J.H. Plumb* (London: Europa, 1974), pp. 93–128; Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, pp. 163–92; Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry and National Myth, 1725–1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); David Armitage, 'Introduction', in *Bolingbroke: Political Writings*, ed. David Armitage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
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 - 17 Lord Bolingbroke, *Remarks on the History of England* (London, 1743). It is worth adding, as Max Skjönsberg has noted, that 'almost all of Bolingbroke's political writings are historical to a greater or lesser degree'; Max Skjönsberg, 'Bolingbroke's Theory of Party and Opposition', *Historical Journal*, 59:4 (2016), 947–73 (p. 950).
 - 18 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 28. For a detailed discussion of Bolingbroke's views on faction, see Pat Rogers, 'Swift and Bolingbroke on Faction', *Journal of British Studies*, 9:2 (1970), 71–101.
 - 19 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 108.
 - 20 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 138.
 - 21 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 166.
 - 22 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 211.
 - 23 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 169.
 - 24 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 211.
 - 25 For Salmon's life, see Thompson Cooper, 'Salmon, Thomas (*bap.* 1679, *d.* 1767)', rev. Philip Carter, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,

- Oxford University Press, 2004. See also Laird Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 1991), pp. 99–113.
- 26 Thomas Salmon (ed.), *A Compleat Collection of State-tryals*, 4 vols (London, 1719). Salmon went on to edit *Tryals for High-treason, and other crimes*, 9 vols (London, 1720–31).
 - 27 Thomas Salmon, *The Life of Her Late Majesty Queen Anne*, 2 vols (London, 1721).
 - 28 Thomas Salmon, *An Impartial Examination of Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Times*, 2 vols (London, 1724).
 - 29 This work had originally been published by Salmon's father. See Thomas Salmon (1648–1706), *Historical Collections* (London, 1706). His son added a new preface and altered the title, issuing the work as *The History of Great Britain* (London, 1725).
 - 30 John Henley to Lord Carteret, 28 January 1724, SP 35/48 f. 68. For Henley, see Graham Midgley, *The Life of Orator Henley* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).
 - 31 See *Evening Post*, 1 February, 1724.
 - 32 John Henley to Lord Carteret, 4 February 1724, SP 35/48 f. 78.
 - 33 John Henley to Lord Carteret, 4 February 1724, SP 35/48 f. 78.
 - 34 *The Daily Post*, 19 May 1724. The *Post's* account noted that 'Mr Rivington, Bookseller, and Mr Bethenham Printer, being concern'd in a Book entitled, *A Review of the History of England. By Mr Salmon*, appear'd in their Recognizances, and were discharg'd.'
 - 35 Thomas Salmon, *Modern History, or the Present State of All Nations*, 31 vols (London, 1724–38).
 - 36 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: introduction.
 - 37 This summary is from the dedication to the third edition of the text. Thomas Salmon, *Modern History*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London, 1744), I: dedication.
 - 38 *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, 16 September 1732.
 - 39 *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, 16 September 1732.
 - 40 Salmon, *The History of Great Britain*, preface.
 - 41 Salmon, *The History of Great Britain*, preface.
 - 42 Salmon, *The History of Great Britain*, preface.
 - 43 Salmon, *The History of Great Britain*, preface.
 - 44 Salmon, *Modern History*, 24: 41.
 - 45 Salmon, *Modern History*, 26: 133. See Doohwan Ahn, 'The Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1713: Tory Trade Politics and the Question of Dutch Decline', *History of European Ideas*, 36:2 (2010), 167–80. For the origins of anti-Dutch feeling, see Steven C.A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English*

- Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 58–61. The most famous of the anti-Dutch texts is Jonathan Swift's *Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry* (London, 1711).
- 46 Salmon, *Modern History*, 25: 102.
- 47 Salmon, *Modern History*, 26: 193.
- 48 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 21*; 20: 285.
- 49 John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 4 vols (London, 1709–31). For examples of Salmon's references to Strype, see Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 19, 25, 78. References are also made to Strype's *Life and Acts of John Whitgift* (London, 1718); see Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 117.
- 50 See Salmon, *Modern History*, 15: 382–3.
- 51 Rapin, *History*, 8: 265, *Histoire*, 6: 178.
- 52 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 361.
- 53 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: i.
- 54 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: i.
- 55 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: i.
- 56 For Russia, compare Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 93–4; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 123–4. It is significant, however, that whereas Camden presented the interlopers who disrupted the company's trade as German, Salmon referred to them as Dutch. For the Huguenots, see Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 91; Camden, *Annales*, p. 119. On sumptuary legislation, see Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 136; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 243–4.
- 57 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 263.
- 58 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 93.
- 59 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 94.
- 60 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 37.
- 61 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 258.
- 62 Salmon, *Modern History*, 25: 102.
- 63 Salmon, *Modern History*, 18: 343.
- 64 For the excise bill, see Paul Langford, *The Excise Crisis: Society and Politics in the Age of Walpole* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); Michael Jubb, 'Economic Policy and Economic Development', in Jeremy Black (ed.), *Britain in the Age of Walpole* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), pp. 136–42.
- 65 Jubb, 'Economic Policy', p. 138.
- 66 The opposition campaign was led by the *Craftsman*, and the paper, aware of the government's plan for a 'general excise', devoted eight consecutive issues (330–7) to the matter between 28 October and 16 December 1732. The campaign was continued the following year, most notably through the republication of long excerpts from the

- 1706 pamphlet *Remarks on the horrible Oppressions, Insolencies, and unjustifiable Partialities of the Commissioners of the Excise (Craftsman, 342)*. For examples of pamphlet literature, see Anonymous, *The Nature of the Present Excise*, 2nd edn (London, 1733); Anonymous, *Excise Anatomis'd* (London, 1733).
- 67 *The Craftsman*, 16 December 1732.
- 68 Anonymous, *Nature of the Present Excise*, p. 10. See also *An Excise Elegy, or the Dragon Demolish'd* (London, 1733), which argued that the right of officers to gage the 'stocks' of merchants not only threatened liberties, but also made it possible for officials to gage what lay under their wives' and daughters' smocks.
- 69 Salmon, *Modern History*, 18: 368. The passage quotes from Bacon, *History*, p. 182.
- 70 Salmon, *Modern History*, 18: 368.
- 71 Salmon, *Modern History*, 18: 368.
- 72 Salmon, *Modern History*, 18: 368.
- 73 Salmon went so far as to argue that it was Elizabeth who had 'granted more Monopolies, took up Money by Loans, Benevolences, and Privy-Seals out of Parliament, and imprison'd more Members for speaking disrespectfully of her Administration, and disobeying her Orders, than ever King James did'; Salmon, *Modern History*, 21: 31.
- 74 Salmon, *Modern History*, 21: 54.
- 75 Salmon, *Modern History*, 21: 33.
- 76 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 415.
- 77 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 415.
- 78 Salmon, *Modern History*, 21: 55.
- 79 Salmon, *Modern History*, 21: 55.
- 80 Salmon, *Modern History*, 21: 55.
- 81 Salmon, *Modern History*, 21: 55.
- 82 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 451.
- 83 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 450.
- 84 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: 368.
- 85 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: 368.
- 86 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: 237.
- 87 Salmon, *Modern History*, 1: 321.
- 88 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 420.
- 89 Salmon, *Modern History*, 20: 451.

Chapter 7

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- Daniel Szechi (eds), *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), pp. 132–48; Laird Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), pp. 135–54; Philip Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 159–69; Stuart Handley, ‘Carte, Thomas (bap. 1686, d. 1754)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, May 2015. This paragraph and the next are based on these sources.
- 2 Thomas Carte, *History and Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, 3 vols (London, 1735–36); *General History of England*, 4 vols (1747–55).
 - 3 See Eveline Cruickshanks and Howard Erskine Hill, *The Atterbury Plot* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), p. 157.
 - 4 See Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing*, pp. 136–7.
 - 5 Thomas Carte, *A Collection of Several Papers* (London, 1744), p. 6.
 - 6 Monod, ‘Thomas Carte’, p. 135.
 - 7 Whig supporters of the venture included the Speaker of the House of Commons, Arthur Onslow.
 - 8 See *Jacobite’s Journal*, 20 February 1748; 27 February 1748; *General Evening Post*, 14 January 1748. For Carte’s response, see *General Evening Post*, 20 February 1748.
 - 9 Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing*, p. 147.
 - 10 Monod, ‘Thomas Carte’, p. 133. See also Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 [1957]), pp. 368–9.
 - 11 Corbyn Morris, *A Letter from a Bystander to a Member of Parliament* (London, 1742). The date printed is 1741. Carte’s reply was *A Full Answer to the Letter from a By-Stander* (London, 1742). Morris responded with *A letter to the Reverend Mr Thomas Carte* (London, 1743), and Carte concluded the spat with *A Full and Clear Vindication of the Full Answer to a Letter from A By-Stander* (London, 1743).
 - 12 Morris, *A Letter*, p. 9.
 - 13 Morris, *A Letter*, p. 28.
 - 14 Morris, *A Letter*, pp. 15, 25.
 - 15 Morris, *A Letter*, p. 31.
 - 16 Morris, *A Letter*, pp. 33–4.
 - 17 Morris, *A Letter*, p. 58.
 - 18 Carte, *A Full Answer*, p. 177.
 - 19 Carte, *A Full Answer*, pp. 11–12.

- 20 Carte, *A Full Answer*, p. 29.
- 21 Carte, *A Full Answer*, p. 29.
- 22 Carte, *A Full Answer*, p. 167.
- 23 Carte, *A Full Answer*, p. 168.
- 24 Carte, *A Full Answer*, p. 168.
- 25 Carte, *A Full Answer*, p. 200.
- 26 Morris, *A Letter*, p. 30
- 27 Robert Filmer, 'Anarchy', in *Patriarcha and Other Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 138.
- 28 Filmer, 'Anarchy', p. 138.
- 29 Filmer, 'Anarchy', p. 138.
- 30 Carte, *General History*, 1: 8.
- 31 Carte, *General History*, 1: 8.
- 32 Carte, *General History*, 1: 8.
- 33 Carte, *General History*, 1: 77.
- 34 Carte, *General History*, 1: 77.
- 35 Carte, *General History*, 1: 177.
- 36 Carte, *General History*, 1: 177.
- 37 Carte, *General History*, 1: 177.
- 38 Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution*, p. 369.
- 39 Carte, *General History*, 1: 376.
- 40 Carte, *General History*, 1: 363.
- 41 Carte, *General History*, 1: 363–4.
- 42 Carte, *General History*, 1: 14.
- 43 Carte, *General History*, 1: 14.
- 44 Carte, *General History*, 1: 21.
- 45 Carte, *General History*, 1: 21.
- 46 Carte, *General History*, 1: 75. See also 1: 25.
- 47 Carte, *General History*, 1: 321, 307.
- 48 Carte, *General History*, 4: 301.
- 49 Carte, *General History*, 4: 301.
- 50 Carte, *General History*, 4: 301.
- 51 Carte, *General History*, 4: 5.
- 52 Carte, *General History*, 4: 5; 4: 276.
- 53 Carte, *General History*, 4: 5.
- 54 Carte, *General History*, 4: 133; 4: 39. Similar comments are made at 3: 727.
- 55 Carte, *General History*, 3: 330.
- 56 Carte, *General History*, 3: 330.
- 57 Carte, *General History*, 3: 279.
- 58 Carte, *General History*, 3: 727.

- 59 Carte, *General History*, 3: 761.
- 60 Carte, *General History*, 4: 253.
- 61 Carte, *General History*, 4: 181.
- 62 Carte, *General History*, 4: 181.
- 63 Carte, *General History*, 4: 24.
- 64 Carte, *General History*, 4: 24.
- 65 Carte, *General History*, 4: 17.
- 66 Carte, *General History*, 3: 727.
- 67 Carte, *General History*, 4: 134.
- 68 Carte, *General History*, 4: 134.
- 69 Carte, *General History*, 4: 134.
- 70 Carte, *General History*, 4: 134.
- 71 Carte, *General History*, 4: 134. For Charles's abandonment of feudal duties, see *General History* 4: 187–8.
- 72 Carte, *General History*, 2: 866.
- 73 Carte, *General History*, 2: 865.
- 74 Carte, *General History*, 2: 866.
- 75 Carte, *General History*, 3: 1.
- 76 Carte, *General History*, 3: 1.
- 77 Carte, *General History*, 3: 699.
- 78 Carte, *General History*, 3: 700. On Russia, see Carte, *General History*, 3: 700, 577; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 102–4, 285–6. On Turkey, see Carte, *General History*, 3: 555; Camden, *Annales*, p. 235. On coin and copper (or 'brass' as both writers refer to it), see Carte, *General History*, 3: 398; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 48–9. On the benefits brought by Huguenot immigrants, see Carte, *General History*, 3: 481; Camden, *Annales*, p. 119.
- 79 Carte, *General History*, 3: 398; Camden, *Annales*, p. 49.
- 80 Carte, *General History*, 3: 398.
- 81 Carte, *General History*, 4: 129.
- 82 Carte, *General History*, 3: 784; Howes, *Annales*, p. 894.
- 83 Carte, *General History*, 3: 784; Howes, *Annales*, pp. 993–5.
- 84 Carte, *General History*, 3: 784–5; Howes, *Annales*, pp. 1018–21. The discussions of America were supplemented with material by the Flemish writer Emanuel van Meteren and the French diplomat Antoine Lefèvre de la Boderie.
- 85 Carte, *General History*, 4: 129.
- 86 Carte, *General History*, 4: 29.
- 87 Carte, *General History*, 4: 4.
- 88 Carte, *General History*, 4: 258.
- 89 Carte, *General History*, 4: 305.
- 90 Carte, *General History*, 3: 788.

- 91 Carte, *General History*, 3: 788.
- 92 Carte, *General History*, 3: 788.
- 93 Carte, *General History*, 3: 788.
- 94 Carte, *General History*, 3: 787.
- 95 Carte, *General History*, 3: 788.
- 96 For Carte's description of this process in relation to England's early history, see *General History*, 1: 78.
- 97 Carte, *General History*, 3: 789.
- 98 Carte, *General History*, 3: 789.
- 99 Carte, *General History*, 3: 788.
- 100 Carte, *General History*, 3: 788.
- 101 Carte, *General History*, 4: 129.

Chapter 8

- 1 See J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, Volume 2: Narratives of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 17–25; Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 11. O'Brien goes on to make the important point that attitudes to this assumption varied: 'the idea registers, in some instances as a glow of confidence in the historian's own age and country, but is more often received as a soberly responsible recognition of the benefits and limitations of living in a modern world, less spectacular, heroic or culturally innovative than that which had gone before'. For further discussion of eighteenth-century ideas of progress, see John Robertson, *The Case for Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 28–30; R. L. Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
- 2 The clearest account of the interconnectedness of different aspects of learning comes in Hume's essay 'Of Luxury', in *Political Discourses* (Edinburgh, 1752), pp. 23–40.
- 3 The literature on conjectural history is a voluminous one. See, for example, H. M. Hopfl, 'From Savage to Scotsman: Conjectural History in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of British Studies*, 17:2 (1978), 19–40; Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740–1820* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 171–89. See also Frank Palmeri, *State of Nature, Stages of Society: Enlightenment Conjectural History and Modern Social Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

- 4 Philip Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 7–22.
- 5 Pierre le Moyné, *Of the Art of Writing & Judging of History*, cited by Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, p. 8.
- 6 James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 85. For another account, see John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century from the MSS. of John Ramsay*, ed. Alexander Allardyce, 2 vols (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1888), 2: 547–9. Modern discussions can be found in Duncan Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978 [1975]), pp. 253–8; Laird Okie, *Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), pp. 171–95; Laird Okie, 'William Guthrie: Enlightenment Historian', *Historian*, 51:2 (1989), 221–38; Hicks, *Neoclassical History*, pp. 156–65. David Allan, 'Guthrie, William (1708?–1770)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Gabriel Glickman, 'Cultures and Coterie in Mid-Century Toryism: Johnson in Oxford and London', in Jonathan Clark and Howard Erskine-Hill (eds), *The Politics of Samuel Johnson* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 57–89 (pp. 72–81).
- 7 For Guthrie and Johnson, see Peter Martin, *Samuel Johnson: A Biography* (London: Phoenix, 2008), pp. 155–7. See also Gillian Williamson, *British Masculinity and the Gentleman's Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2016), p. 22.
- 8 For Guthrie's involvement with the periodical press, see Laurence Hanson, *Government and the Press, 1695–1763* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967 [1936]), pp. 119–20; Bob Harris, *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 38–42; Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1987), pp. 130–1. For *Common Sense*, see Thomas Lockwood, 'The Life and Death of *Common Sense*', *Prose Studies*, 16:1 (1993), 78–93.
- 9 See Bob Harris, *Politics and the Nation: Britain in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 42–3.
- 10 For the arrest warrant, see SP 36/60/1, f.86–87. The material taken from Guthrie can be found at TS 23/6. The *London Daily Post* of 23 March 1743 noted that 'Last Night William Guthrie, Esq.; the suppos'd Author of Old-England, or the Constitutional Journal, was discharged out of Custody.'
- 11 Public Records Office North Ireland, T 3158/251 and *Parliamentary*

- History*, xiii, 564–5, both quoted in Harris, *Politics and the Nation*, p. 43.
- 12 *Old England, or the Constitutional Journal*, 5 March 1743. A similar argument is made in relation to Henry III and Edward II in the number of *Old England* published on 31 March 1744.
 - 13 *Old England*, 5 March 1743.
 - 14 *Old England*, 5 March 1743.
 - 15 *Old England*, 5 March 1743.
 - 16 *Old England*, 5 March 1743.
 - 17 *Old England*, 24 November 1744.
 - 18 *Old England*, 24 November 1744.
 - 19 *Old England*, 2 March 1745.
 - 20 *Old England*, 2 March 1745.
 - 21 *Old England*, 2 March 1745.
 - 22 *Old England*, 2 March 1745.
 - 23 *Old England*, 2 March 1745.
 - 24 *Old England*, 2 March 1745.
 - 25 *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 11 February 1744.
 - 26 Hanson, *Government and the Press*, p. 119.
 - 27 BL. Add. MS 35397, f. 53–5: Birch to Yorke, 11 July 1747, quoted in Harris, *A Patriot Press*, p. 42.
 - 28 Guthrie, *General History*, 1: iv.
 - 29 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 1393.
 - 30 Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 788.
 - 31 Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 788.
 - 32 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 1394.
 - 33 Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 795; Bacon, *History*, pp. 65–7; Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 803; Bacon, *History*, p. 86; Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 838; Bacon, *History*, pp. 174–8.
 - 34 Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 832.
 - 35 Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 796; Bacon, *History*, p. 67. See also the discussion of the regulation of silver coin (Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 841; Bacon, *History*, pp. 215–16) and the prohibition of the manufacture of silks (Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 841; Bacon, *History*, p. 841).
 - 36 Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 849.
 - 37 Guthrie, *General History*, 2: 771.
 - 38 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 834.
 - 39 Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, p. 108.
 - 40 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 378. For further comparisons with Henry VII, see 3: 365.
 - 41 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 489.

- 42 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 308; Camden, *Annales*, p. 119.
- 43 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 401, 553; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 235, 596.
- 44 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 301, 322, 420; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 103, 124, 285–6.
- 45 See Camden, *Annales*, pp. 102–4.
- 46 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 301.
- 47 Camden, *Annales*, p. 169.
- 48 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 357.
- 49 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 471.
- 50 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 471.
- 51 e.g. Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 625.
- 52 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 380.
- 53 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 819.
- 54 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 642.
- 55 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 691.
- 56 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 669.
- 57 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 683.
- 58 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 683, 821.
- 59 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 647.
- 60 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 821.
- 61 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 896.
- 62 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 896.
- 63 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 925–31.
- 64 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 929.
- 65 Guthrie, *General History*, 4: 929–30.

Chapter 9

- 1 For biographical accounts of this period of Hume's life, see E. C. Mossner, *The Life of David Hume*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980 [1954]); John Robertson, 'Hume, David (1711–1776)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, January 2009; Ian Simpson Ross, 'The Emergence of Hume as a Political Economist', in Carl Wennerlind and Margaret Schabas (eds), *Hume's Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 31–48. See also James A. Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 2 For Hume's political economy, see Willie Henderson, *The Origins of David Hume's Economics* (London: Routledge, 2010); Istvan Hont, *The Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Carl Wennerlind and Margaret Schabas (eds), *David Hume's*

- Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 2008); Eugene Rotwein (ed.), *Writings on Economics: David Hume* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007); Andrew Skinner, 'Hume's Principles of Political Economy', in David Fate Norton and Jacqueline Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to David Hume* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 381–413. For a more general account of the development of political economy which contains useful discussion of Hume, see Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- 3 David Hume, 'My Own Life', in Eugene F. Miller (ed.), *Essays Moral, Political and Literary* (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1985), pp. xxxi–xli (p. xxxvi).
 - 4 These letters and others on economic themes are usefully collected in Rotwein, *Writings on Economics*, pp. 185–224. See also David Hume, *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932).
 - 5 David Hume, *The History of Great Britain, volume 1* (Edinburgh, 1754). Subsequent references to the *History* are given by a short form of the title and the year of publication (e.g. *History of Great Britain* (1754)). For Hume's early references to writing history, see Hume to Henry Home, 1747, *Letters*, 1: 98–100, Hume to James Oswald of Dunnikier, 29 January 1748, *Letters* 1: 108–10. Hume first mentions having commenced work on the project in Hume to Adam Smith, 24 September 1752, *Letters*, 1: 167–9.
 - 6 David Hume, *The History of Great Britain, volume 2* (London, 1757); *England under the House of Tudor*, 2 vols (London, 1759). A revised version of the Stuart volumes also appeared in 1759.
 - 7 David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Accession of Henry VII*, 2 vols (London, 1761–62).
 - 8 David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, 6 vols (London, 1762).
 - 9 David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, 8 vols (London, 1770); *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, 8 vols (London, 1773); *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, 8 vols (London, 1778).
 - 10 Alternative approaches to these issues can also be found in Constant Noble Stockton, 'Economics and the Mechanism of Historical Progress in Hume's *History*', in Donald W. Livingston and James T. King (eds), *Hume: A Re-Evaluation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1976), pp. 296–322; John W. Danford,

- 'Hume's *History* and the Parameters of Economic Development', in Nicholas Capaldi and Donald W. Livingston (eds), *Liberty in Hume's History of England* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1990), pp. 155–94.
- 11 Duncan Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978 [1975]); Nicholas Phillipson, *David Hume: The Philosopher as Historian*, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 2011 [1989]); Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*, pp. 305–407. See also Mark G. Spencer (ed.), *David Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). For the relevance of Hume's history to modern political theory, see Andrew Sabl, *Hume's Politics: Co-ordination and Crisis in the History of England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).
 - 12 Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*, p. x. It should be emphasised that while the idea that Hume was engaged in a political 'project' is a popular one in the critical literature, the nature of that project has been the subject of considerable debate. For a summary, see David Wootton, 'David Hume "The Historian"', in David Fate Norton and Jacqueline Taylor (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to David Hume* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 447–79 (pp. 465–6).
 - 13 Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*, p. x.
 - 14 Such a claim is, in part, in line with the work of Moritz Baumstark, who has argued that modern interpretations of Hume's work 'tend to hinge on the *Essays, Moral and Political* (1741–48), a work of political analysis in which Hume is deemed to have developed the basic elements of the historical views he was to expound in the *History of England*'. Such an approach, Baumstark notes, 'does not sufficiently take into account Hume's later views on subjects as varied as commerce, manners, and the history of religion, some of which are not foreshadowed in the *Treatise* or indeed the *Essays, Moral and Political*'. Moritz Baumstark, 'David Hume: The Making of a Philosophical History. A Reconsideration' (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2007), p. 24.
 - 15 David Hume, 'Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences', in *Essays, Moral and Political, Volume II* (Edinburgh, 1742).
 - 16 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), p. 54.
 - 17 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), p. 54.
 - 18 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), pp. 55–6.
 - 19 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), p. 55.
 - 20 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), p. 56.
 - 21 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), p. 56.
 - 22 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), p. 56.
 - 23 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), pp. 57–8.

- 24 The Homer example is discussed in Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), pp. 58–9.
- 25 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), p. 56.
- 26 Hume, 'Of Commerce', in *Political Discourses* (Edinburgh, 1752), p. 12.
- 27 Hume, 'Of Commerce' (1752), p. 16.
- 28 Hume, 'Of Commerce' (1752), p. 16.
- 29 Hume, 'Of Interest', in *Political Discourses* (1752), p. 75; 'Of the Balance of Trade', in *Political Discourses*, p. 80. Hume also used the term 'groundless' to describe the 'jealousy of trade': 'Of the Jealousy of Trade', in *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London, 1758), p. 187.
- 30 Hume, 'Of Commerce' (1752), pp. 2–3.
- 31 Hume, 'Of Commerce' (1752), p. 3.
- 32 Hume, 'Of Commerce' (1752), p. 3.
- 33 Hume, 'Of Money', in *Political Discourses* (1752), p. 59.
- 34 Hume, 'Of the Balance of Trade' (1752), pp. 97–8.
- 35 Hume, 'Of the Balance of Trade' (1752), p. 98.
- 36 Hume, 'Of Taxes', in *Political Discourses* (1752), p. 115.
- 37 J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, Volume 2: Narratives of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 208.
- 38 For Hume's debts to classical ideas of history, see Philip Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 177–82.
- 39 Hume to John Clephane, 5 January 1753, *Letters*, 1: 170.
- 40 Hume to John Clephane, 5 January 1753, *Letters*, 1: 169.
- 41 See Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion 2*, pp. 207–8; Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740–1820* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 48–55. While Pocock and Phillips both use the term 'philosophical history', their understandings of it are rather different. Phillips, building on the definition of Momigliano, presents 'philosophical history' as an account of general causes, and views its relationship with traditional narrative as one of 'critique'. Pocock, in contrast, sees 'philosophical history' as combining a 'narrative of state' with a 'narrative of manners' and, consequently, as a synthesis of traditional narrative history and more 'general' forms of cultural analysis. See Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion 2*, pp. 17–25; Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Eighteenth-Century Prelude to Mr Gibbon' (1976), in *Sesto Contributo Alla Storia Degli Studi Classici E Del Mondo Antico* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980).
- 42 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 116.
- 43 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 116.

- 44 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 117.
- 45 See Hume to Adam Smith, 24 September 1752, *Letters*, 1: 167–8.
- 46 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 15.
- 47 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 15.
- 48 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 15.
- 49 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 15.
- 50 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 33.
- 51 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 34.
- 52 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 34.
- 53 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 34.
- 54 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 34.
- 55 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 34.
- 56 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 16.
- 57 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 35.
- 58 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 35.
- 59 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 35.
- 60 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 35.
- 61 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 34.
- 62 See Bolingbroke, *Remarks*, pp. 145, 247.
- 63 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 130.
- 64 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 131.
- 65 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 131.
- 66 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 131–2.
- 67 Thomas Rymer, *Foedera* (London, 1714–35). To estimate the number of seamen employed during this period, Hume turned to a work of economic literature, *The Trade's Increase* (London, 1615). He found this treatise in the *Harleian Miscellany*, a collection of material from the library of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. See *The Harleian Miscellany*, ed. William Oldys, 8 vols (London, 1744–46), 4: 202–20.
- 68 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 130. The passages that Hume quoted from are John Stow and Edmund Howes, *Annales, or General Chronicle of England* (London, 1631), pp. 895, 1021.
- 69 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 131–3.
- 70 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 132.
- 71 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 133.
- 72 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 134.
- 73 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 134.
- 74 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 135 (my italics). It is also worth noting that Hume's views on monopolistic trading companies, as expressed in the main body of his narrative, were diametrically opposed to those of Howes. Hume argued that James had done nothing to control these companies and that their monopolies constituted

an ‘enormous grievance, the greatest which we read of in English [history]’. Howes, by contrast, as we saw in Chapter 3, was a semi-official employee of the trading companies, and a staunch defender of their interests. For Hume’s comments, see *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 16–17.

- 75 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 123.
- 76 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 448.
- 77 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 123.
- 78 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 449.
- 79 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 449.
- 80 See, for example, his discussion of the ill-effects of war with Spain on English merchants: Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 123.
- 81 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 165.
- 82 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 123.
- 83 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 448.
- 84 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 123.
- 85 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1757), 2: 434.
- 86 David Hume to John Clephane, 2 September 1757, *Letters*, 1: 264.
- 87 David Hume, *The History of England under the House of Tudor*, 2 vols (London, 1759), 1: 54–6; Bacon, *History*, pp. 174–8.
- 88 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 139–40, 199–200, 264.
- 89 Simonds D’Ewes, *A Compleat Journal of the Notes, Speeches and Debates Both of the House of Lords and House of Commons, throughout the whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth, of glorious memory* (London, 1708).
- 90 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 56, 2: 706.
- 91 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 707.
- 92 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 56.
- 93 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 56.
- 94 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 706.
- 95 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 56.
- 96 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 264.
- 97 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 707.
- 98 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 707.
- 99 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 709–10. D’Ewes identifies the lachrymose Member of Parliament as Robert Wingfield (*A Compleat Journal*, p. 654) and the other as the Speaker of the House, John Croke (p. 657).
- 100 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 707.
- 101 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 65–6.
- 102 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 63.
- 103 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 63.
- 104 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 66.

- 105 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 61.
 106 Hume, 'Of Commerce' (1752), p. 3.
 107 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 61.
 108 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 63.
 109 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 63.
 110 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 63.
 111 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 64.
 112 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 64.
 113 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 65.
 114 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 64.
 115 Hume, 'Arts and Sciences' (1742), pp. 55–6
 116 Bacon, *History*, pp. 67–8.
 117 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 64.
 118 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 1: 63.
 119 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 731.
 120 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 732–3.
 121 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 731.
 122 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 731.
 123 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 731.
 124 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 731–2.
 125 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 731–2; Camden, *Annales*, pp. 102–4, 123–5, 285–6.
 126 Hume, *House of Tudor* (1759), 2: 732.
 127 Guthrie, *General History*, 3: 420.
 128 Carte, *General History*, 3: 576.
 129 For the Saxons, see Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 146–9. For feudal government, see Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 420–1.
 130 See Hume's comments on the Danes, for an example: Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 64.
 131 Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 404.
 132 Drawing on the accounts of Asser and Malmesbury, and treating them with a good deal less scepticism than, for example, Salmon had done, Hume argued that Alfred understood that commerce required not moralistic regulation, but encouragement. Through a combination of government investment and enthusiasm, the King had enabled individuals to benefit from their labours; this, in turn, had prompted improvements in manufacture, navigation and commerce. The introduction of 'the elegancies of life', meanwhile, which were brought to the King from the Mediterranean and the Indies, served to soften and refine the manners and morals of the people. As Hume observed: '[Alfred's] subjects, by seeing these productions of the peaceful arts, were taught to respect the virtues of justice and industry, from which

- alone they could rise.' See Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 68–9. Others whose approach to commerce Hume saw as foreshadowing later developments included Athelstan and the participants in the Peasants' Revolt. See Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 75 and (1762), 2: 246.
- 133 For the low and languishing state of commerce, see Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 144; 1: 303; 1: 404; 1: 420; *History* (1762), 2: 56; 2: 153.
- 134 Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 22.
- 135 Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 22.
- 136 Hume, *History* (1761), 1: 115–16.
- 137 Hume, *History* (1762), 2: 89.
- 138 Hume, *History* (1762), 2: 89.
- 139 Hume, *History* (1761), 2: 90.
- 140 Hume, *History* (1762), 2: 93–4.
- 141 For a summary of the changes Hume made, see Graeme Slater, 'Hume's Revisions of the *History of England*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 45 (1992), 130–57.
- 142 For discussion of such issues, see Moritz Baumstark, 'The End of Empire and the Death of Religion', in Ruth Savage (ed.), *Philosophy and Religion in Enlightenment Britain: New Case Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 231–57.
- 143 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), 1: 35.
- 144 Hume, *History* (1762), 5: 33.
- 145 Hume, *History* (1762), 5: 33.
- 146 Hume, *History* (1762), 5: 33.
- 147 Hume, *History* (1773), 6: 50–1.
- 148 In the first edition of the *History*, Hume had argued that James's financial problems arose, in part, 'from want of oeconomy' (p. 125). This was revised to 'for want of a rigid oeconomy' in 1770. Similarly, the 1754 edition of the text had read 'The King, it must be owned, possessed not frugality, proportioned to the narrowness of his revenue' (p. 125). In all editions from 1763 onwards, Hume changed the latter part of this sentence to read: 'the extreme narrowness of his revenue' (p. 136). Finally, the original version of the *History* rejected the idea that James wished to become an arbitrary monarch, by arguing that his policies were contrary to those 'which [have] ever been practiced by all princes who studied the encrease of their authority'. These comments were supplemented with an extra clause in 1773: 'besides that he [James] had certainly laid no plan for extending his power' (p. 170).
- 149 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), p. 121.
- 150 Hume, *History of Great Britain* (1754), p. 121.
- 151 Hume, *History* (1778), 6: 163.

Conclusion

- 1 *Monthly Review*, September 1790.
- 2 Robert Henry, *The History of Great Britain*, 6 vols (London, 1771–93), 1: vi.
- 3 Thomas Carte, *A Collection of Several Papers Published by Thomas Carte, in Relation to his History of England* (London, 1744), p. 7.
- 4 Carte, *A Collection*, p. 7.
- 5 Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 2 vols (London, 1783), 2: 288.
- 6 Hume, *History of England* (1770), 6: 205–6, 7: 363–4. Hume's source here is Adam Anderson's *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, 2 vols (London, 1764). Indeed, while Hume refers to Misselden, the anonymous pamphlet *The Happy Future State of England* and Mun, as well as Anderson, all of the information used can be found in Anderson. See Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction*, 1: 490, 2: 3–4, 2: 7, 12.
- 7 Hume, *History of England* (1770), 6: 203. See also Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction*, 1: 461.
- 8 Hume, *History of England* (1770), 7: 364.
- 9 Catharine Macaulay, *The History of England from the accession of James I to that of the Brunswick line*, 8 vols (London, 1763–83), 1: 277. For a brief discussion of Macaulay's views on commerce, see Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 159–60.
- 10 See Henry, *History of Great Britain*, 1: General Preface.
- 11 John Sinclair, *The History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire*, 3 parts (London, 1785–90).
- 12 Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction*, 1: v.
- 13 Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction*, 1: v.
- 14 See, for example, Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction*, 1: 313.
- 15 See Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), ed. R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. B. Todd, 2 vols (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1981), Book III (I: 376–427), Book IV (1: 429–2: 662).