plans and ambitions. On the extinction, in 1777, of the reigning branch of the House of Wittelsbach, he schemed to acquire Bavaria. As that would have given back to Austria her ancient predominance in Germany, Frederick II. was resolved to resist the project at all costs, and took the field. But the quarrel was patched up before a battle had been fought by the intervention of Maria Theresa, who had no taste for again trying conclusions with Prussia. The gist of the settlement was that Joseph sacrificed his ambition, and in 1779 the so-called War of the Bavarian Succession came to an end without bloodshed. In 1786 Frederick died at his favorite country-seat, called Sans Souci, which he had built for himself near Potsdam. His memorable reign had lasted forty-six years.

Frederick vetoes Joseph's attempt to absorb Bavaria.

Rivalry between Prussia and Austria.

It has already been pointed out that Frederick won for Prussia a position among the great powers of Europe. A consequence of that success, which is implied in every page of his history, is that he became the rival of Austria for the supremacy in Germany. From now on the open and secret struggle of these two states, the one trying to maintain its traditional ascendancy, the other resolved not to lose what it had won, is the main theme of German history. The fact that one lay in the north and was Protestant, while the other held the south and was Catholic, gave a sectional and religious edge to their rivalry, which continued to disturb and paralyze Germany until a new war in 1866, within the memory of the generation which is only just vanishing, swept the old issue out of existence by giving the victory and its fruits to Prussia. Thereupon Prussia planned and, in 1871, carried to successful issue a new unification of Germany, in which the student will not fail to perceive that Frederick the Great had a hand.

CHAPTER XV

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXXIII. (The English in India and America); ADAMS and STEPHENS, Documents, No. 237 (First Mutiny Act), Nos. 240–58 (including Act of Settlement, Act of Union with Scotland, Act of Union with Ireland); COLBY, Selections from the Sources, Part VII.

The significance of the "Glorious Revolution."

THE "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 put an end to the long civil wars of England. By supplanting James with William and Mary, it secured the *Protestant religion;* by the Bill of Rights, it brought the king in all respects under the law and added the coping stone to the *constitutional monarchy;* and by the Toleration Act, it gave the right of worship to Dissenters, and paved the way for *religious peace.* Protestantism, constitutionalism, and religious peace, these three, are the main pillars of modern England, which may thus be said to have come into being with the advent of William.

William throws England into the scale against France.

For the first few years of his reign William had to secure his throne by fighting. James II. had sought refuge with Louis XIV., and the decision of the French king to espouse the cause of James naturally threw England on the side of the allies, consisting of the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain, with whom Louis had just engaged in the war known as the War of the Palatinate (1688–97). The event marks a turning-point in the fortunes of the French king. His policy of continental aggression had been attended so far with success, especially as he had met with help rather than hindrance from England. Henceforth England was found shoulder to shoulder with the continental nations against the disturber of the public peace. This action her national interests had long ago demanded, but it was one of the penalties she paid for putting up with Stuart rule, that she was governed not for her own but for dynastic ends. It is the great merit of William that he identified himself with the nation and gave an impulse to English affairs, which, steadily gathering strength during the next century, ended not only with checking the ambition of France on the Continent, but also in wresting from her her best colonies and the undisputed supremacy of the seas. To the same reign, therefore, which witnessed the triumph of constitutionalism, we must also set down the launching of England upon her maritime and imperial policy.

William and James in Ireland.

The War of the Palatinate has been dealt with in our narrative of Louis XIV., except that phase which belongs exclusively to England. The story of this takes us to Ireland. In March, 1689, James II. crossed from France, and immediately the Irish, who were enthusiastic Catholics, gathered around him. To them James II. was the legitimate king, while to the English and Scottish settlers of Ireland, who sympathized with Protestant William, he was no better than a usurper. Again the terrible race hatred of Celt and

Saxon flamed up in war. The Protestants were driven from their homes, and for a time it looked as if the island would fall back to its original owners. However, on July 1, 1690, William signally defeated James at the battle of the Boyne, whereupon the Stuart, who was a despicable soldier, hurried back to France, shamefully abandoning to the mercies of the English the people who had risen in his support. The measures by which the victorious William now supplemented the legislation of his predecessors broke the back of Irish resistance for a hundred years.

The relations of England and Ireland.

It will be well before we speak of these measures to review the relations of England and Ireland during the whole seventeenth century. When James I. mounted the throne in 1603, Ireland had been a dependency of the English crown for nearly five hundred years, but the English rule had rarely been more than nominal, for the government generally controlled no more than a few districts of the eastern coast, known as the English pale. The heart of the island was held by the native tribes, who, governed by their chiefs in accordance with their own laws and customs, remained practically independent. If, instead of perpetual local warfare, there had been a spirit of unity among the Irish, their conquerors might have been crowded out entirely, for not till the time of Henry VIII. did the government adopt a vigorous policy toward the smaller island, and not till the very close of Elizabeth's reign was English authority effectively established. Almost her last triumph was the putting down by her army of the great rebellion in Ulster, led by Hugh O'Neill. When James I. succeeded Elizabeth, he took a step fraught with tremendous consequences. He resolved to confiscate the northeastern districts, constituting the province of Ulster, and colonize them with English and Scottish settlers, as the best means for securing the peaceful development of the island. In 1610 the Irish

The colonization of Ulster.

of Ulster were crowded out, with no more said than that they must find subsistence elsewhere. Since that act an implacable hatred has ruled the relations of oppressors and oppressed.

The policy of confiscation under Cromwell and William.

In the year 1641, when the troubles between king and Parliament temporarily annihilated the power of England, the Irish fell upon the colonists of Ulster, and murdered them or drove them from their homes. The English revenge for this outrage had, of course, to be delayed until the execution of the king and the victory of the Parliament had re-established the authority of the nation. At length, in 1649, Cromwell undertook to reconquer Ireland. He was successful, but not without much cruelty and bloodshed. To the long-standing race hatred, it must be remembered, had been added, since the sixteenth century, the incentive of religious passion to trouble the relations between the two peoples. In the conviction that conciliation would be interpreted as weakness, Cromwell resumed the former policy of plunder and confiscation, with the result that two-thirds of the island now passed into English hands. The dispossessed Irish were bidden to go find bread or else a grave in the bogs and forests of the west. When William III. in 1690 overthrew the next insurrection at the battle of the Boyne, the policy of confiscation scored another and a final triumph, and therewith the Irish became a people without land, without rights, and without a future. To complete their misery the Parliament at London presently struck at their commerce and industry by forbidding the importation into England of cattle and dairy products, for which the Irish soil and climate were particularly suitable, and of woollens, which had acquired a merited renown. Thus by a merciless application of the rights of conquest the Irish were made aliens in their own land, and were reduced to becoming tenants, day-laborers, and beggars.

William labors to check France.

It has already been said that William's great merit as sovereign of England was that he enabled her to adopt a policy in harmony with her national interests. He gave his chief attention to creating a system of balance to the kingdom of France, allying himself for this purpose with the powers threatened by France, most particularly with the emperor and the Dutch. Of this combination he became the guiding spirit, and as its head waged with Louis the War of the Palatinate (1689–97), with the result that the French king drew off at the Peace of Ryswick without a gain. William spent the next years in negotiating with Louis an equitable division of the expected Spanish heritage; but when, in the year 1700, the king of Spain, Charles II., died, leaving a will in favor of the House of Bourbon, Louis XIV. disavowed the negotiations by sending his grandson, Philip, to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided Spanish dominions. Out of this presumptuous act grew the War of the Spanish Succession, for which William had hardly prepared, by a renewal of his continental alliances, when he died (1702). Since his wife, Mary, had died some years before (1694), without issue, the crown now passed to Mary's sister Anne, but as it was foreseen, even in William's lifetime, that Anne, too, would leave no offspring, a special statute was passed, called the Act of Settlement (1701), for the purpose of regulating the succession. The act established that the crown could descend only to a Protestant, and accordingly named the Electress Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I. through his daughter Elizabeth, as the next heir after Anne.[1]

The Act of Settlement, 1701.

The Parliament continue to grow at the expense of the king.

We have seen that the accession of William and Mary, secured and consecrated by the Bill of Rights, definitely subjected the sovereign to the law and established the victory of the Parliament in the long struggle with the king Not

[1] See Genealogical Table of the Kings of England.

unnaturally the Parliament now proceeded to take advantage of its hard-won ascendancy by completing the constitutional edifice after its own plan. Without interruption but without haste, act followed act in the following decades. Their general tendency was to enlarge the sphere of the Parliament at the expense of the royal power, until the entire government became gradually vested in the representatives of the people and the monarch was reduced to a position largely ornamental. Let us take note what contributions toward this result were made in the reign of William.

Annual grants and annual Parliaments.

The first subject to be considered is the important matter of supplies. The Parliaments of the past had been in the habit of voting certain revenues for the king's lifetime, thereby securing to the sovereign a relative independence and putting it in his power not to call the legislature at all. William's Parliaments now fell into the habit of *annual* grants, which greatly enhanced Parliamentary influence, since the king, merely to keep the government going, was obliged to summon the Parliament every year. This system necessarily led to the drawing up on the part of the government of an annual budget of expenditures, every item of which fell under the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the Parliament. Annual budget and annual Parliament are correlated terms, which have secured the minute control of the purse, and therewith of the government itself, to the representatives of the nation. Hardly less important was the Mutiny Act, which along with the revenue arrangements just mentioned helped assure the annual return of Parliament. By this statute military courts for the punishment of mutiny and other acts of insubordination were authorized for one year only. It was a clever device for creating an army, which, although permanent, could never become a tool of despotism, because it was always under the hand of the Parliament. Finally let us note that a step, constituting a

Liberty of the press, 1695.

magnificent tribute to the modern spirit, was the refusal (1695) to renew the act subjecting all printed matter to official censorship. Henceforth England enjoyed a free and unfettered press, which is the necessary accompaniment of a free government.

The War of the Spanish Succession.

The event of the reign of Anne (1702–14) overshadowing all others was the War of the Spanish Succession. It has been treated elsewhere, with due regard to the fact that England won in this conflict a leading position among the powers of Europe. But Marlborough's march of victory from Blenheim to Malplaquet did not excite universal approval in England. The Tories, who were recruited largely from the gentry, and who nourished in religious matters exclusive Anglican sympathies together with a sentimental attachment to the Stuart connection, had never looked upon the war with favor. As the taxes grew heavier and the national debt became more burdensome, an increasing part of the population rallied to the opposition. It was chiefly with the aid of the Whigs, who were in control of the Parliament and ministry, and of the duchess of Marlborough, who governed the easy-going, good-natured queen, that the duke was enabled to carry on his campaigns in the Netherlands and Germany. However, the duchess, who was a high-strung and arrogant lady, and not always capable of maintaining that polite discretion which is the secret of success at courts, gradually fell out of favor, and in 1711 the queen, suddenly disgusted with the whole Whig connection, dismissed the Whigs from office. There followed a ministry of Tories, with a policy of peace at any price, and the result was that Marlborough was disgraced, and that England signed with France, in 1713, the Peace of Utrecht. Although the peace involved a breach of faith toward the allies, and although the negotiators did not get all they might have had, some of the results of English success upon land and sea even Tory precipitation could

not sacrifice. England acquired from France Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory; from Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca; but, best of all, she could now count herself without a rival upon the sea.

Union of England and Scotland, 1707.

While the war was at its height an event occurred of the greatest possible importance, the effective union of England and Scotland. Ever since the accession of James I. in 1603, the two kingdoms had had a common sovereign; but, for the rest, they had remained jealously independent of each other. In 1707 the ghost of ancient rivalry and war was laid for good and all by an agreement which merged the two Parliaments in one. Scotland henceforth sent her representatives to the House of Lords and House of Commons at Westminster, and the two nations accepted the same lot in good and evil fortune. The adoption of the common name of Great Britain consecrated the partnership.

Accession of the House of Hanover.

In the year 1714 Anne died, and the crown fell to the House of Hanover, whose family name is Guelph. Since the Electress Sophia, who had been designated by the Act of Settlement as the eventual heir, had preceded Anne in death, her son, George I., now ascended the throne. Some great stroke on the part of the Pretender, the son of James II., was expected, but when it fell (1715), it turned out to be harmless. The man who claimed to be James III. was a dull sybarite, and had hardly landed when his courage failed him and he turned back to France.

George I. leans upon the Whigs.

George I. (1714–27), who owed his elevation to the Whigs, naturally chose his first advisers from that party. As the Tories were more or less compromised by their support of the Stuart claim, George clung to the Whigs for the rest of his life, and thus laid the foundations of that long era of Whig control which puts its stamp upon English history for the next fifty years.

This prolonged power of a single party helped Parliament

in taking another and a final step toward acquiring complete control of the state; with George I. is associated the definite establishment of cabinet government. We have already seen that as far back as Charles II. the Parliament was divided into two parties, each taking its stand upon a definite programme. As things stood then, even if the majority of the Commons happened to be Tory, the king was free to choose his ministry from the Whigs. Sooner or later it was bound to appear that such a division, permitting the ministry to pull one way and the Parliament another, was harmful, and that to attain the best results the ministry would have to be in accord with the majority of the Commons. The change meant a new loss of influence by the king, but under George I. it was duly effected. George was a sluggish person, not deeply interested in England, and not even capable of understanding the language of his new subjects. He made no effort to defend his prerogative against the usurping Parliament. Henceforth the ministry was still named by the king; but as no set of men who had not first assured themselves that they were supported by a majority in the Commons would undertake the administration, the party in majority practically dictated the king's cabinet. With the annual vote of supplies, and with cabinet and party rule established as customary features of the English Government, the constitution may be said to have reached the character which distinguishes it to-day.

Development of cabinet government.

Walpole's rule of common-sense.

George's reign was a reign of peace. Peace was the Whig programme because it furnished just the opportunity wanted to develop the prosperity of the great middle class, upon which the Whigs depended against the combination of Tory landlord and Tory clergyman. The leading man among the Whigs was Sir Robert Walpole. One may sum up his platform by saying that he wished to settle England under the Hanoverian dynasty and give free play to the commercial

and industrial energy of his countrymen. The period which he directed is, therefore, well entitled the era of commonsense. To carry out his programme, Walpole needed a steady majority in the Commons, which, following the dictates of his worldly philosophy, he got, if necessary, by corrupting members. "All those men have their price," he said, referring smilingly to a group of orators, who made a business of displaying a pretended patriotism. In spite of its gross materialism and want of moral uplift, Walpole's government was in accord with the wishes and interest of the nation and enjoyed an unusually long lease of power.

War with Spain, 1739.

It was only when the Whig leader set himself against the people that he lost his hold. George I. had meanwhile been succeeded by George II. (1727–60). The new king was, like his father, without a spark of higher intelligence, but was characterized, like him, by a certain downrightness and solidity. Under the direction of Walpole he continued the peace policy of George I. until a succession of events plunged England, and soon all Europe, again into war. For some time the relations between England and Spain had been growing strained because English merchants were beginning to invade the Spanish seas. The selfish commercial monopoly which Spain had established had been partially relaxed by an agreement called the assiento, granting to England certain trading privileges with the Spanish colonies. When the English overstepped these concessions and the Spaniards answered with penal measures, disputes arose which, growing ever more bitter, at last forced Walpole, against his will, to declare war. The next year the continental powers became involved among themselves, owing to the death of Emperor Charles VI. (1740) and the dispute about the Austrian succession. England, through her kings, who, we must never forget, were also electors of Hanover, had greater interest than ever in the Continent at this time. As Spain

and France attacked Austria hoping to partition her, England, already at war with Spain and in sympathy with Austria, presently saw herself obliged to declare war upon Austria's enemy, France. The two distinct wars, that of England with Spain about commercial privileges and that of Austria with France and Spain, who were trying to dismember her, were, therefore, merged in one. There followed the general conflict known as the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48). As Walpole was unsuited for an enterprise of this nature, and as, moreover, he stood personally for peace, his majority melted away, and in 1742 he resigned. He had directed the destinies of England for twenty-one years (1721–42).

England's war merged in the general war.

The War of the Austrian Succession, as far as England took a hand in it, was principally waged in the Austrian Netherlands, which England agreed to help defend against France, and upon the seas and in the colonies. On the seas the English maintained their old mastery, but in the Netherlands they and the Austrians lost ground, owing chiefly to the superior ability displayed by the French commander, Marshal Saxe. In 1745 the marshal won the great battle of Fontenoy and overran all the Austrian Netherlands; but when peace was signed in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the powers one and all restored their conquests, an exception being made only in favor of Frederick of Prussia, who was allowed to retain Silesia. The Anglo-Spanish war, originating in a vital commercial issue, had become complicated with other questions, and when peace came the English negotiators drew up a treaty which scrupulously avoided the original question in dispute.

The War of the Austrian Succession from the English point of view.

A memorable incident of this war was the attempt of Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Pretender, and known as the Young Pretender, to win back his kingdom. The defeat of the British at the battle of Fontenoy was his opportunity,

The invasion of the Young Pretender, 1745.

and in July, 1745, he landed, with only seven men, in the Highlands of Scotland. The Highlanders were at this time still divided into clans, at the head of which stood hereditary chiefs. As Celts, they were by no means friendly to the Teutonic Lowlanders of Scotland and to the English. Moreover, they were practically self-governed, and were subjected to the Hanoverian king at London in hardly anything more than name. That Prince Charlie, as the Young Pretender was fondly called, had thrown himself upon their mercy, stirred their imagination and kindled their generous hearts to wild enthusiasm. Flocking around him in crowds, they advanced from point to point until by an irresistible rush they captured Edinburgh. For a moment the government at London lost its head, but when the troops had been hurried home from the Netherlands, it was soon found that the wild courage of feudal clans was of no avail against the discipline of a trained army. On Culloden Moor (April, 1746) the Highlanders were defeated with fearful slaughter by the king's second son, the duke of Cumberland. Prince Charlie, after many romantic adventures, made his escape, but broken apparently by his one capital misfortune, he lived ever afterward in indolence abroad, and gave no further trouble (d. 1788). His failure marks the last Stuart attempt to recover the throne.

The Regency in France.

While England, under Walpole, was preparing to assume the commercial leadership of the world, France was doing little or nothing to recover from the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession. When the aged Louis XIV. died, in the year 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV. (1715–74). As Louis XV. was but five years old at the time, the government during his minority was exercised in his name by the nephew of Louis XIV., Philip, duke of Orleans. The regent Orleans, although a man of parts and a celebrated wit, was so passionately given to the pursuit

of pleasure that he only plunged France deeper into economic and financial misery. Perhaps the one good point about his rule was that he did at least recognize the advantage of peace. But it was not enough to make him popular, and when he died, in 1723, he was regretted by none but the companions of his wild nights.

Cardinal Fleury.

Shortly after the regent's death Louis XV. was declared of age, and Cardinal Fleury, the confidant of the young king, assumed control of affairs (1726–43). Fleury fully accepted Orleans's policy of peace and managed besides to reduce the finances to some kind of order. Nevertheless, his administration is marked by two wars, forced on him by circumstances which he was too weak to command. In the year 1733 France became involved with Austria because of the different sides taken by these two powers in the election of a Polish king. The so-called War of the Polish Succession (1733–35) is unmemorable except for the acquisition by France of the duchy of Lorraine. Lorraine was still technically a member of the Empire, though the hold of France had been steadily tightening upon it during the last hundred years. Now it was merged with the western kingdom, thereby completing the long list of conquests which France had been making from Germany since the time of Henry II. (1552).

France acquires Lorraine.

The War of the Austrian Succession from the French point of view.

In the year 1740 the death of the Emperor Charles VI. and the accession in Austria of the young girl Maria Theresa so completely turned the head of the court party at Versailles with the brilliant chance that the situation offered of war and conquest, that Cardinal Fleury had again to yield and against his better judgment to declare war. The War of the Austrian Succession involved all Europe for eight years, as we have seen, but when it was closed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), France recognized Maria Theresa as heir of the Hapsburg dominions, and withdrew from Germany without a gain.