

CHAPTER XIV.

Prince Eugene in London.—Opening of the Campaign under Ormond and Eugene.—Ormond's Secret Instructions.—The Allied army deserted by the British forces.—Subsequent disasters of the Allies.—The Lords' Protest published.—Laws proposed against the Press.—The first Stamp duty on Periodical Works.—Terms of peace announced to Parliament.—Bolingbroke's embassy to Paris.—Treaty of Utrecht completed.—Treaty of Commerce with France rejected by Parliament.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Jacobite Intrigues.—The new Parliament.—Libels.—Swift.—Steele.—Death of the Princess Sophia of Hanover.—The Schism Act.—Oxford dismissed from office.—Death of the Queen.

THE dismissal of Marlborough from all his offices; the hostile vote of Parliament; and a prosecution threatened by the ministry to compel him to refund nearly half a million of that money which he said he had employed in the public service—these adversities in the closing years of a life signally prosperous appear to have been borne by him with a philosophical calmness. He wrote, on the 22nd of February, to M. Schuylembourg, who had served under him as a general of cavalry, "Provided that my destiny does not involve any prejudice to the public, I shall be very content with it; and shall account myself happy in a retreat in which I may be able wisely to reflect on the vicissitudes of this world."* There are several other letters, breathing the same sentiment of resignation—a sentiment which was perhaps as real as in any other case of fallen greatness. But Marlborough's public virtue must have been more exalted than that of most great ones of the earth in the day of humiliation, if he did not inwardly rejoice at the degradation of England when he was thrust out of her service. His constant friend, prince Eugene, had arrived in London at the beginning of January. He witnessed the fall of Marlborough, and testified in the most public manner his sense of the injustice and impolicy of palace-intrigues and parliamentary hatreds. Oxford invited Eugene to dinner, and thus complimented him: "I consider this day as the happiest of my life, since I have the honour to see in my house the greatest captain of the age. Eugene replied, "If it be so, I owe it to your lordship." The "greatest captain of the age" was put aside; and the future associate with Eugene in the approaching campaign was to be the duke of Ormond. Con-

* Dispatches, vol. v. p. 577.

ferences were opened at Utrecht; but the real negotiations for peace between Great Britain and France were being secretly carried on at Paris. The mission of Eugene to the court of St. James's was to prevent any such separate negotiation, by offering a guarantee, that the emperor would double his contingents, if necessary, to carry the war, in concert with all the members of the Alliance, to a successful conclusion. A few months of vigorous exertion might accomplish that object, and complete the series of triumphs which the Allies had won under English generalship. The propositions of the emperor were coldly listened to; mentioned to Parliament; and then laid aside. Eugene went back to conduct the campaign as the commander of the Allied armies; for the States would not entrust those powers to Ormond which they had entrusted to Marlborough. Eugene could expect no hearty co-operation from the ministry of queen Anne; but he could scarcely expect an amount of duplicity and treachery, happily unparalleled in the future conduct of our country in her foreign affairs. On 26th of May, Eugene and Ormond, with a far larger force than had been brought into the field under Marlborough in the previous year, passed the Scheldt below Bouchain. A French army of inferior force, under Villars and Montesquiou, was nearer the French frontier. The position of the Allies indicated an intention to make a forward movement, and a probable advance into the French territory. But Ormond had a letter in his pocket from Secretary St. John, dated the 10th of May, containing these instructions: "Her majesty, my lord, has reason to believe, that we shall come to an agreement upon the great article of the union of the two monarchies, as soon as a courier, sent from Versailles to Madrid, can return. It is, therefore, the queen's positive command to your grace, that you avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle, till you have further orders from her majesty. I am, at the same time, directed to let your grace know, that the queen would have you disguise the receipt of this order; and her majesty thinks that you cannot want pretences for conducting yourself, so as to answer her ends, without owning that which might at present have an ill effect, if it was publicly known. The queen cannot think with patience of sacrificing men, when there is a fair prospect of obtaining her purpose another way; and, besides, she will not suffer herself to be exposed to the reproach of having retarded, by the events of the campaign, a negotiation which might otherwise have been as good as concluded, in a few days."* On the 28th of May, Eugene proposed to attack the French camp, which was open and exposed.

* Coxe, vol. vi. p. 187.

Ormond equivocated, and requested delay. Eugene was indignant; but at length brought the English general to agree to co-operate in the siege of Quesnoy. The trenches were opened in the night of the 18th of June; and on the 4th of July the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. This was the last military operation in which the British forces were engaged. In the middle of July, there having been for some time a secret correspondence between Ormond and Villars, Ormond proclaimed an armistice for four months between England and France. He withdrew his British troops from those of the Allied army; and called upon the foreign contingents in the pay of England to follow the example. With a trifling exception, they all refused; and became a part of the army of the Empire, and of the States, under the command of Eugene. This infamous abandonment of the Alliance—this base desertion of the common cause without notice or explanation—left the field open for France to recover all the ground she had lost. Eugene, weakened in his force; the plans of the campaign altogether paralysed; was beaten at Denain by Villars on the 24th of July. One by one the fortified posts and towns which had been won by the Allies were retaken by the French. There may be differences of opinion as to the policy of the English ministry in relinquishing the original object of the war, and ultimately separating the interests of their country from those of the House of Austria; but there can be no difference in viewing their duplicity to their Allies as one of the disgraces of party-government. The ministry of Anne “were afraid of some brilliant success in Flanders that might derange their plans; and to prevent such a calamity, they gave secret information to the enemy of the military projects of the Allies, and at the most critical moment of the campaign they withdrew their troops from the contest.”* The cold-blooded scoundrelism of St. John goes beyond most recorded examples of the extent to which “low ambition”—even more than “the pride of kings,”—will degrade a man of lofty intellect into the basest political profligacy. When the Secretary sent to Ormond the order to avoid engaging in any siege or battle, he communicated this private direction to Gautier, his agent in the correspondence with Torcy, the French minister. “When I asked him, says Gautier in his dispatch, “what marshal Villars was to do, in case prince Eugene and the Dutch attacked him, he replied, there was only one thing to do, to fall upon him and cut him in pieces, him and his whole army.”†

It could scarcely be expected that, even for mere party purposes, such flagrant violations of national faith should pass un-

* “Edinburgh Review,” vol. lxii. p. 8.

† *Ibid.*

noticed. Halifax, in the House of Lords, and Pulteney, in the House of Commons, made impressive speeches against the dishonour of the refusal of Ormond to co-operate with Eugene. But they were defeated by large majorities. A very effective protest was signed by many peers; and it was printed and circulated in several languages. The ministry endeavoured to repress it; and would have prosecuted the printer, could they have discovered him. The practice of secret printing was one of the means in those days by which prosecutions against libel were evaded. Very shortly after the publication of this protest, a Report was presented from a Committee of the whole House, upon “the great licence taken in publishing false and scandalous libels.” In this Report it was proposed that printing-presses should be registered, with the names of their owners, and their places of abode; that the name of the printer and of the publisher should be attached to every book, pamphlet, or paper; and that no bookseller should sell or disperse any printed paper without the name of the author, printer, and publisher. The Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in accordingly. The Bill dropt through. To suppress anonymous writing would have deprived the government of one of its strongest allies. Swift, in his posthumous work, “The Four last years of Queen Anne,” looks back with horror upon the provision that would have made him utterly useless to Lord-treasurer and Secretary. “In this Bill there was a clause inserted (whether industriously with design to overthrow it) that the author’s name and place of abode should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; to which I believe no man who has the least regard to learning would have given his consent.” Pious men, he says, conceal their names, out of an humble Christian spirit; “persons of true genius have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves upon their first sending their thoughts into the world.” There was something besides the “humble Christian spirit,” and “the invincible modesty,” that made Swift always an anonymous writer. Under that form of publication alone could he defame and misrepresent; and, what is of more importance to us, could he leave to the world the most remarkable examples of the power of influencing public opinion by fearless argument and withering sarcasm, expressed in the simplest language. The benefits of anonymous writing have far outweighed its evils. The scheme for restricting the press in this mode broke down. The other scheme of the ministry for taxing it was successful. In 1711 one of the longest Acts in the Statute Book was passed, which imposed duties upon soap, paper, silks, linen, and many other articles, and upon “certain printed papers,

pamphlets and advertisements."* Those taxes which came under the denomination of "new Stamp duties," were to be in force for thirty-two years, commencing on the 1st of August, 1712. They endured, with various large additions and modifications, for more than a century and a half; till the public opinion, which they were meant to hold in check, swept them away. The well-known passage in Swift's *Journal to Stella* tells how the Stamp duty operated: "Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it pretty close the last fortnight, and published at least seven penny papers of my own, besides some of other people's: but now every single half-sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen. The 'Observator' is fallen; the 'Medleys' are jumbled together with the 'Flying Post;' the 'Examiner' is deadly sick; the 'Spectator' keeps up, and doubles its price; I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with? Methinks it is worth a halfpenny the stamping." We shall have to return to the subject of the beginnings of Journalism and of Periodical Literature, in a subsequent chapter.

On the 17th of June the queen informed the Parliament, in a speech from the throne, of the terms upon which "a General Peace may be made." Her majesty had no authority from her Allies to announce their consent to such terms; and this statement was only a continuance of the duplicity that had attended the secret negotiations with France. The Protestant succession, as by law established in the House of Hanover, was to be acknowledged. There was to be "an additional security, by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France, who has pretended to disturb this settlement." As "the apprehension that Spain and the West Indies might be united to France was the chief inducement to begin this war," that union was to be effectually prevented by the duke of Anjou and his descendants renouncing all claim to the crown of France, and a similar renunciation was to be made by the king of France, his heirs and successors, of all claim to the crown of Spain. Certain cessions of territory in America were to be made to Great Britain. Gibraltar, Port Mahon and Minorca were to be secured to her; and Dunkirk was to be demolished. Various announcements of territorial arrangements connected with the Allied powers were also made. An amendment was moved to the complimentary Address of the Lords, in reply to this communication, recommending a general guarantee of the Allies to the conditions of peace. This was rejected by a large majority; but a

* 10 Annæ, c. 18.

protest was signed by many peers, in which the objections to the proposed Treaty, and to the separate negotiations, were very forcibly put. The chief objection, which long continued to be a source of alarm to Europe, was in these terms: "A perfect union among the Allies seems to us to be more necessary in the present case, because the foundation upon which all the offers of France, relating to Great Britain, as well as to the Allies, are built, viz., a renunciation of the duke of Anjou to that kingdom, is, in our opinion, so fallacious, that no reasonable man, much less whole nations, can ever look upon it as any security. Experience may sufficiently convince us, how little we ought to rely upon the renunciation of the House of Bourbon, and though the present duke of Anjou should happen to think himself bound by his own act, which his grandfather did not, yet will his descendants be at liberty to say, that no act of his could deprive them of their birth-right, and especially when it is such a right, as, in the opinion of all Frenchmen, ought inviolably to be maintained, by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom of France."*

The lapse of time has produced some changes of opinion as to those terms of pacification which were finally concluded by the peace of Utrecht; but there can be little doubt that the dangers set forth in this protest were present to the minds of all that portion of the nation who were not clamorous for peace upon any terms, and who were not infected with that political insanity which hailed the friendship of France as the preliminary condition to the re-establishment of the throne upon the sole principle of hereditary right. Nevertheless, the people were not in a temper to make any very strenuous opposition to any negotiation for peace which would bring them an immediate reduction of taxation. Moreover, a peace would put an end to those advantages which the moneyed interest derived from the necessities of the government—advantages which made the landowners believe that "power, which, according to the old maxim, was used to follow land, is now gone over to money, so that if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the public funds."† The landed interest was still paramount in Parliament; but it saw with dread that the new power was making some inroad upon its supposed exclusive right to legislate for the whole community—"to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants."‡

* "Parliamentary History," vol. vi. col. 1149.

† "Examiner," October, 1710.

‡ "Four last years of Queen Anne."

The withdrawal of the British troops, under Ormond, from that co-operation with Eugene upon which the plan of the campaign had been arranged, was preceded by the announcement to Parliament of the terms upon which peace might be made. But the congress at Utrecht had been no party to these terms; and therefore the surprise and indignation of the Allies was as great as if the British abandonment of their cause had taken place without any announcement that a separate negotiation had been proceeding between the courts of Versailles and St. James's. An old soldier, serjeant Milner, has described the separation from their companions in arms of the twelve thousand brave fellows that were compelled to obey the orders of Ormond, on the 16th of July: "As they marched off that day, both sides looked very dejectfully on each other, neither being permitted to speak to the other, to prevent reflections that might thereby arise; being there was then made a strange revolution between us and our Allies, by our cessation of arms, or entrance on an odd peace with France." Ormond, amidst the contempt of his men as "a stupid tool and a general of straw," made his inglorious way to Ghent and Bruges, the Dutch governors refusing to let him pass through the fortified towns which Marlborough had won. St. John, who had now been created viscount Bolingbroke—to his great indignation at not receiving an earldom—was dispatched to Paris, to settle some points that were still in dispute. He was accompanied by Matthew Prior, who had previously been an agent in the clandestine correspondence between the two courts. Although the wily Secretary remained only about a fortnight in Paris and the neighbourhood—amply engaged with his negotiations and his pleasures—it is asserted that he had two private interviews with the chevalier St. George. In discussing with Torcy the absolute necessity of the removal of the Pretender from the French territory, he said the time might come when the well-disposed [*les bien intentionnés*] would be sorry if the chevalier were at a distance from the British isles. The plenipotentiaries of the emperor at Utrecht had not hesitated to say that the great end of the English management was to bring in the Pretender; and the Dutch had expressed the same belief. The abilities of Bolingbroke were sufficiently tasked to keep Louis firm to his engagements. Torcy says that if the success of Villars at Denain had occurred earlier, the king would not have consented to the renunciation which separated the French and Spanish crowns. When the Allies were afterwards discomfited, Louis rose in his demands as regarded the fortresses to be retained as a barrier by the Dutch. Bolingbroke accomplished one special object of his

embassy—to secure the interests of the duke of Savoy. How far he may have yielded some points to the personal address of Louis XIV., who had the kingly faculty of winning men by politeness, is not evident. He was not directly won after the old French fashion of bestowing "gratifications" upon English ministers. But the present of a ring of the value of four thousand pounds from the magnificent king, was not a compliment which a statesman of later and better times would have accepted. Before Bolingbroke left Paris, a suspension of arms was proclaimed between Great Britain and France. The States refused to accede to this armistice; and their first inclination was to continue the war, in conjunction with the emperor and the smaller German powers. But they saw themselves deserted; they saw that Eugene could not stand up against the military resources of France, and the genius of her commanders. They finally, in December, accepted the propositions made in concert between France and England. But in the proportion that concessions were made to France her plenipotentiaries became more captious and evasive. The treaty would probably have fallen through, and have left its English negotiators exposed to the vengeance of their political rivals, had not the ministers issued peremptory orders to their plenipotentiaries to sign it at all hazards.

On the 11th of April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and the States-General. The emperor refused to be a party to it. Those points which affected Great Britain have been already mentioned in general terms. Those which affected the other powers were accomplished by this treaty of Utrecht, and by subsequent treaties of 1714.* We subjoin a very brief view of the entire arrangement. Spain and the Indies were given to Philip; the French king recognised the Protestant succession, and engaged to make the Pretender withdraw from the French dominions; he renounced for himself, his heirs, and his successors, the succession to the throne of Spain, while Philip renounced in like manner the succession to the throne of France; the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be demolished, and the harbour filled up, an equivalent being first given to France by Great Britain; Hudson's Bay and Straits were to remain to Great Britain, and satisfaction was to be made by France to the Hudson's Bay Company for all damages sustained; St. Christopher's, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland were given to Great Britain, with certain rights of fishing off Newfoundland reserved to France, and, by a separate treaty

* See the Table of Treaties, *ante*, p. 264.

with Philip, as king of Spain, Minorca and Gibraltar were retained by Great Britain; the emperor of Austria received the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was separated from Naples, and given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and the succession to the throne of Spain, in default of descendants from Philip, was settled in the house of Savoy; Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, Ypres, and Nieuport were assigned to the Dutch, in addition to the places already possessed by them.

Upon the assembling of Parliament, the queen announced in general terms the conclusion of the treaty of peace. On the 9th of May her majesty sent a message to the effect, that as it is the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to make peace and war, she had ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with France, and had concluded a treaty with Spain. The treaties were then laid before the Houses. The treaty of commerce contained two articles which had been agreed to by the British plenipotentiaries, upon the condition that they should be binding if they received the sanction of Parliament. They were conceived in a spirit of liberality which was far before the age in which they were propounded. The negotiators proposed that reciprocal advantages should be enjoyed by the subjects of Great Britain and France, by putting the trade of each upon the footing of that of the most favoured nations; and that the laws made since 1664 for the prohibition of French imports should be repealed. The mercantile public clamoured against the proposal as destructive of British commerce. The balance of trade would be annually a million and a half against Great Britain; which was held to be equivalent to the actual loss, according to the absurd delusion of those days, of a million and a half. The manufactures of silk, linen, and paper, would be destroyed. France would not buy our wool or woollen stuffs. We should drink her wines, to the injury of Portugal, who had become our best customer under the Methuen treaty, actually paying us half a million in good, hard, unconsumable dollars. Burnet expresses the popular philosophy when he says, "We were engaged by our treaty with Portugal that their wines should be charged a third part lower than the French wines; but if the duties were, according to the treaties of commerce, to be made equal, then, considering the difference of freight, which is more than double from Portugal, the French wines would be cheaper, and the nation liking them better, by this means we should break our treaties with Portugal," and lose that wonderful balance in our favour.* It never entered into the reasonings of the advocates of

* "Own Time," vol. vi. p. 146.

prohibition and forced consumption, that a supply at the cheapest rate of what a nation liked and wanted, was preferable to a supply at a dearer rate of what a nation did not like and did not want. The treaty of commerce with France was rejected by a small majority of the Commons; and though much has been since done for the removal of prohibitory duties, there still remains much to be accomplished before the two nations, each producing what the other would willingly take in exchange, shall have wholly cast aside the prejudices of 1713.

On the 7th of July there was a public thanksgiving for the Peace, and both Houses of Parliament went in procession to St. Paul's. The Commons had sufficiently manifested their adhesion to the principles which placed Harley and St. John in power, by appointing Sacheverel to preach before them on the 29th of May. Yet this uncompromising body of so-called representatives of the people, who would gladly have annihilated all that the Revolution bestowed upon the people, was happily limited in its term of existence by the Triennial Bill. The Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of July; and very shortly afterwards was dissolved. The elections were conducted with more than usual party-violence. The Tory wore a green bough in honour of the Restoration of the Stuarts; the Whig placed a lock of wool in his hat to mark how he had supported the good old principles of exclusive trade. But the Jacobites were working steadily at their great object of preparing the way for their legitimate shadow of a king, who had, according to the letter of the treaty with France, been removed out of the dominions of Louis, to be seated in Lorraine, which was equally convenient for any enterprise, either before or after the decease of the queen. The Jacobites had great encouragement in their schemes through the ascendancy of Bolingbroke. Oxford had become comparatively powerless; and the bold Secretary, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, reduced the army, particularly the regiments which had been raised by William III.; and they placed their own instruments in the command of various strongholds. The chevalier St. George was in his own person the greatest obstacle to the success of the plans of his adherents. Bolingbroke and other Jacobites who knew how firmly the people clung to the principle of Protestantism, had repeatedly urged him to change his religion, or at least to make a pretended renunciation of his faith. His determination was honourable to himself, and a severe rebuke to his unscrupulous friends. He wrote a letter in 1711, which was shown to many persons, containing this honest sentence: "Plain dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of relig-

ion; and as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I shall never look worse upon any persons because in this they chance to differ from me; nor shall I refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they have to say upon this subject. But they must not take it ill if I use the same liberty I allow to others, to adhere to the religion which, I, in my conscience, think the best; and I may reasonably expect that liberty of conscience for myself which I deny to none.* The son of James inherited the inflexibility of his father in his adherence to the church of Rome, also inheriting the family likeness. Horace Walpole says, "Without the particular features of any Stuart, the Chevalier has the strong lines and fatality of air peculiar to them all. From the first moment I saw him, I never doubted the legitimacy of his birth." †

The new Parliament met in February, 1714. The queen in her speech said, "there are some who are arrived to that height of malice, as to insinuate that the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under my government." Her majesty called upon Parliament to suppress "seditious papers and factious rumours." Both Houses went to work in this congenial duty, according to their respective party-tendencies. The Lords had the printer and publisher of "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" called to their bar. They were committed to the custody of the Black Rod. Swift was the author of this libel against the Scotch nation, but Oxford professed indignation against such libels. Oxford had caused a hundred pounds to be presented to the anonymous writer. Steele had written a pamphlet called "The Crisis," to which he had affixed his name. He was expelled the House by a large majority of his fellow representatives. Steele made an able defence, in which he was assisted by Addison, and Walpole, in a speech of unanswerable truth, showed the atrocious tyranny of this proceeding. "In former reigns, the audacity of corruption extended itself only to judges and juries. The attempt so to degrade Parliament was, till the present period, unheard of. The Liberty of the Press is unrestrained. How then shall a part of the Legislature dare to punish that as a crime which is not declared to be so, by any law framed by the whole." ‡

On the 28th of May an event occurred which, although highly probable, and therefore likely to be familiar to men's thoughts, gave more distinctness to the question of the Protestant Succession.

* Macpherson Papers, vol. ii. p. 225.

† "Memoirs of George II.," vol. i. p. 285. ‡ Coxe's "Walpole," vol. i. p. 44.

The princess Sophia fell dead in an apoplectic fit whilst walking in the garden of the palace of Herrenhausen. She was in her eighty-fourth year. Her son was therefore, under the Act of Settlement, the heir-apparent to the British Crown. George, elector of Hanover—or more properly elector of Brunswick and Lunenburg—was born on the 28th of May, 1660. He had therefore reached his fifty-fourth year on the day of his mother's death. There could be no enthusiasm in England for the succession of an elderly foreign gentleman, who spoke no English, had the reputation of being reserved and morose, and was singularly unhappy in his domestic relations. But he was also known to be a man of courage and honesty; and he was the rallying-point for that great principle of freedom, civil and religious, which was endangered under the Stuart dynasty, and could never be secure if one of that race were carried to the throne upon the shoulders of those who shouted for divine right and non-resistance. Bolingbroke, with a daring which formed a part of his mysterious character, took the occasion, whilst the public mind was necessarily directed to the question of the Succession, to bring forward his Schism Bill, the object of which was to trample on the Dissenters, by enacting that no person should keep a public or private school, or act as a tutor, who had not subscribed the declaration of Conformity, and received a licence from the diocesan. This detestable measure was passed by a majority of a hundred in the Commons, and by a majority of fourteen in the Lords. Bolingbroke moved a second reading. Wharton flung a telling sarcasm at the secretary. "He was agreeably surprised to see that some men of pleasure were, on a sudden, become so religious, as to set up for patrons of the Church." The keen old debater hit both lord-treasurer and secretary very hard, when he said, "He could not but wonder that persons who had been educated in dissenting academies, whom he could point at, and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them." *

On the 9th of July the Parliament was prorogued by the queen in person. A violent rupture had taken place between Oxford and Bolingbroke. On the 27th of July there was a protracted dispute in Council between the two rivals, at which Anne was present till a late hour of the night. It ended in the dismissal of Oxford. Bolingbroke was now supreme. The agitation of the queen brought on a sudden illness. On the 30th she had a seizure of apoplexy. Bolingbroke had no time to carry through his schemes for the

* The Act was to come into operation on the 1st of August. On that day queen Anne died; and its execution was suspended by the new government.

House of Stuart; and when the queen, in an interval of consciousness, delivered the staff of the highest office to the duke of Shrewsbury—who had been in concert with the dukes of Somerset and Argyle—her death, on the morning of the 1st of August, gave the power of the government to the friends of the House of Brunswick.

CHAPTER XV.

Literature and Manners of the earlier part of the eighteenth century.—The Tatler.—News-writers and Pamphleteers.—Dunton's "Athenian Gazette."—Defoe's Review.—The Spectator and the Guardian.—Influence and objects of the Essayists.—Low state of education.—The Essayists diffusers of knowledge.—Joint labours of Steele and Addison.—The Spectator's Club.—Fiction.—Reading for females.—Literary Piracy.—Copyright Act.—Literature as a Profession.—The Poets.—Alexander Pope.

ADDISON has shadowed out an "imaginary historian, describing the reign of Anne I.," some two or three hundred years after his time, "who will make mention of the men of genius and learning who have now any figure in the British nation." He fancies a paragraph which he has drawn up "will not be altogether unlike what will be found on some page or other of this imaginary historian." It runs thus: "It was under this reign that the 'Spectator' published those little diurnal essays which are still extant. We know very little of the name or person of this author, except only that he was a man of a very short face, extremely addicted to silence, and so great a lover of knowledge, that he made a voyage to Grand Cairo for no other reason but to take the measure of a pyramid. His chief friend was one Sir Roger de Coverley, a whimsical country knight, and a Templar, whose name has not been transmitted to us. He lived as a lodger at the house of a widow-woman, and was a great humourist in all parts of his life. This is all we can affirm with any certainty of his person and character. As for his speculations, notwithstanding the several obsolete words and obscure phrases of the age in which he lived, we still understand enough of them to see the diversions and characters of the English nation in his time."* It was a bold effort of imagination to believe that any historian would turn from Marlborough and the Pretender, from Mrs. Masham and Dr. Sacheverel, to "little diurnal essays;" or bestow any attention upon "the diversions and characters of the English nation." Tindal wholly leaves such frivolous matters to their own perishableness. Smollett merely notices the expulsion of Mr. Steele from the House of Commons, and only mentions Mr. Addison as Secretary of State. Our readers will pardon us in going farther than the "imaginary histo-

* "Spectator," No. 101.