the hands of the Dutch garrisons. This peace marked the end of the conspiracy between Louis and the Stuarts to turn England into a Roman Catholic country dependent on France. When William went in solemn state to return thanks for the conclusion of the war, it was to the new cathedral of St. Paul's, which Wren had nearly completed, and which was then first used for public worship.

552. The National Debt; the Bank of England. — William had now gained, at least temporarily, the object that he had in view when he accepted the English crown; which was to draw that nation into a close defensive alliance against Louis XIV.,[1] who, as we have seen, was bent on destroying both the political and the religious liberty of the Dutch as a Protestant people. The constant wars which followed William's accession had compelled the king to borrow large sums from the London merchants. Out of these loans sprang, first the National Debt, which was destined to grow, eventually by leaps and bounds, from less than a million of pounds up to so many hundred millions, that all thought of ever paying it is now given up. The second result was the organization of a company for the management of this colossal debt; together the two were destined to become more widely known than any of William's victories.

The building erected by that company stands on Threadneedle Street, in the very heart of London. In one of its courts is a statue of the king set up in 1734, bearing this inscription: "To the memory of the best of princes, William of Orange, founder of the Bank of England" — by far the largest and most important financial institution in the world.

553. William's Death. — William had a brave soul in a feeble body. All his life he was an invalid, but he learned to conquer disease, or at least to hold it in check, as he conquered his enemies. He was never popular in England, and at one time was only kept from returning to his native country through the

[1] See Guizot, History of Civilization, chap. XIII.

earnest protestation of his chancellor, Lord Somers, who refused to stamp the king's resignation with the Great Seal. Those who pretended to sustain him were in many cases treacherous, and only wanted a good opportunity to go over to the side of James; others were eager to hear of his death, and when it occurred, through the stumbling of his horse over a mole-hill, drank to "the little gentleman in black velvet," whose underground work caused the accident.

554. Summary. — William's reign was a prolonged battle for Protestantism and for the maintenance of political liberty in both England and Holland. Invalid as he was, he was yet a man of indomitable resolution as well as indomitable courage; and though a foreigner by birth, and caring more for Holland than for any country in the world, yet through his Irish and continental wars with James and Louis, he helped more than any man of the seventeenth century, Cromwell alone excepted, to make England free.

ANNE. — 1702–1714.

555. Accession and Character of Anne. — As William left no children, the Princess Anne, younger sister of the late Queen Mary now came to the throne. She was a negative character, with kindly impulses and little intelligence. "When in good humor she was meekly stupid, and when in ill humor, sulkily stupid;"[1] but if there was any person duller than her majesty, that person was her majesty's husband, Prince George of Denmark. Charles II., who knew him well, said, "I have tried Prince George sober, and I have tried him drunk, and drunk or sober there is nothing in him."

Along with the amiable qualities which gained for the new ruler the title of "Good Queen Anne" her majesty inherited the obstinacy, the prejudices, and the superstitions of the Stuarts. Though a most zealous Protestant and an ardent upholder of

[1] Macaulay's England; and compare Stanhope's Reign of Anne.

the Church of England, she declared her faith in the Divine Right of Kings, which had cost her grandfather Charles his head, and she was the last English sovereign who believed that the royal hand could dispel disease. The first theory she never openly proclaimed in any offensive way, but the harmless delusion that she could relieve the sick was a favorite notion with her, and we find in the *London Gazette* of March 12, 1712, an official announcement, stating that on certain days the queen would "touch" for the cure of "king's evil," or scrofula. Among the multitudes who went to test her power was a poor Lichfield bookseller. He carried to her his little half-blind sickly boy, who by virtue either of her majesty's beneficent fingers, or from some other and better reason, grew up to be known as the famous author and lexicographer, Dr. Samuel Johnson.[1]

556. Whig and Tory; High Church and Low. — Politically, the government of the country was divided between the two great parties of the Whigs and the Tories,[2] since succeeded by the Liberals and Conservatives. Though mutually hostile, each believing that its rival's success meant national ruin, yet both were sincerely opposed to despotism on the one hand, and to anarchy on the other. The Whigs, setting Parliament above the throne, were pledged to maintain the Act of Settlement[3] and the Protestant succession; while the Tories, insisting on hereditary sovereignty, were anxious to set aside that act and restore the excluded Stuarts.

The Church of England was likewise divided into two parties, known as High Church and Low Church. The first, who were generally Tories, wished to exalt the power of the bishops and were opposed to the toleration of Dissenters; the second, who were Whigs as a rule, believed it best to curtail the authority of the

1 Johnson told Boswell, his biographer, that he remembered the incident, and that "he had a confused, but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds and a long black hood." — BOSWELL'S *Johnson*.

2 See Paragraph No. 531.

3 See Paragraph No. 549.

bishops, and to secure to all Trinitarian Protestants entire liberty of worship and all civil and political rights and privileges. Thus to the bitterness of heated political controversy there was added the still more acrid bitterness of theological dispute. Addison tells an amusing story of a boy who was called a "Popish cur" by a Whig, because, having lost his way, he ventured to inquire for Saint Anne's Lane, while he was cuffed for irreverence by a Tory when, correcting himself, he asked bluntly for Anne's Lane.

The queen, although she owed her crown mainly to the Whigs, sympathized with the Tories and the High Church, and did all in her power to strengthen both. As for the leaders of the two parties, they seem to have looked out first for themselves, and afterward — often a long way afterward — for their country. During the whole reign they were plotting and counterplotting, mining and undermining, until their subtle schemes to secure office and destroy each other become as incomprehensible and as fathomless as those of the fallen angels in Milton's vision of the Bottomless Pit.

557. The War of the Spanish Succession. — Anne had no sooner come to the throne than war broke out with France. It had its origin in the previous reign. William III. cared little for England compared with his native Holland, whose interests always had the first place in his heart. He had spent his life battling to preserve the independence of the Dutch Republic against the dangers which threatened it, and especially against Louis XIV. of France, who was determined, if possible, to annex the Netherlands, including Holland, to his own dominion. During the latter part of William's reign the French king seemed likely to be able to accomplish his purpose. The king of Spain, who had no children, was in feeble health, and at his death it was probable that Louis XIV.'s grandson, Philip of Anjou, would receive the crown. Louis XIV. was then the most powerful prince in Europe, and should his grandson become king of Spain, it meant that the French monarch would eventually add the Spanish dominions to his own. These dominions comprised not only Spain proper, but a large part of the

Netherlands adjoining Holland,[1] portions of Italy, and immense provinces in both North and South America, including the West Indies. Such an empire, if it came under the control of Louis, would make him irresistible on the continent of Europe, and the little, free Protestant states of Holland could not hope to stand before him. William endeavored to prevent Louis from carrying out his designs respecting Spain, by two secret treaties, and also by an alliance formed between Germany, Holland, and England, all of whom were threatened by the prospective preponderating power of France. Louis had signed these treaties, but had no intention of abiding by them. When, not long after, the king of Spain died and left the crown to Philip of Anjou, the French sovereign openly declared his intention of placing him on the Spanish throne, saying significantly as his grandson left Paris for Madrid, "The Pyrenees no longer exist."[2] Furthermore, Louis now put French garrisons in the border towns of the Spanish Netherlands, showing that he regarded them as practically his own, and he thus had a force ready at any moment to march across the frontier into Holland. Finally, on the death of James II., which occurred shortly before William's, Louis publicly acknowledged the exiled monarch's son, James Edward, the "Old Pretender,"[3] as rightful sovereign of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This, and this only, effectually roused the English people; they were preparing for hostilities when William's sudden death occurred. Immediately after Anne's succession, war was declared, which, since it had grown out of Louis's designs on the crown of Spain, was called the War of the Spanish Succession.

But although the contest was undertaken by England mainly

[1] The whole of the Netherlands at one time belonged to Spain, but the northern part, or Holland, had succeeded in establishing its independence, and was protected on the southern frontier by a line of fortified towns.

[2] When Philip went to Spain, Louis XIV., by letters patent, reserved the succession to the Spanish throne to France, thus virtually uniting the two countries, so that the Pyrenees Mountains would no longer have any political meaning as a boundary.

[3] See Paragraphs Nos. 542 and 543.

to prevent the French king from carrying out his threat of placing the "Pretender" on the English throne, — thus restoring the country to the Roman Catholic Stuarts, — yet as it went on it came to have two other important objects. The first of these was the defence of Holland, now a most valuable ally; the second was the protection of the Virginia and New England colonies against the power of France, which threatened through its own American colonies, and through the extensive Spanish possessions it expected to acquire, to get control of the whole of the New World.[1] Thus England had three objects at stake: 1. The maintenance of Protestant government at home; 2. The maintenance of the Protestant power of Holland; 3. The possession of the American continent. For this reason the War of the Spanish Succession may in one sense be regarded as the beginning of a second Hundred Years' War between England and France,[2] destined to decide which was to build up the great empire of the future in the Western Hemisphere.[3]

558. Marlborough; Blenheim and Other Victories. — John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, commanded the English and Dutch forces, and had for his ally Prince Eugene of Savoy, who led the German armies. The duke, who was known in the enemy's camps by the flattering name of "the handsome Englishman," had risen from obscurity. He owed the beginning of his success to his good looks and a court intrigue. In politics he sympathized chiefly with the Tories, but his interests in the war led him to support the Whigs. He was avaricious, unscrupulous, perfidious. James II. trusted him, and he deceived him and went over to William; William trusted him, and he deceived him and opened a treasonable correspondence with the dethroned

[1] At this time England had only the colonies of Virginia and New England, with part of Newfoundland. France and Spain claimed nearly all the rest.

[2] During the next eighty years fighting was going on between England and France, directly or indirectly, for a great part of the time.

[3] See Seeley's Expansion of England.

James; Anne trusted him, and he would undoubtedly have betrayed her if the "Pretender" had only possessed means to bid high enough, or in any way show that his cause was likely to be successful. In his greed for money he hesitated at nothing; he took bribes from army contractors, and robbed his soldiers of their pay; though in this he was perhaps no worse than many other generals of his, and even of later times.[1] As a soldier, Marlborough had no equal. Voltaire says of him with truth that "he never besieged a fortress which he did not take, nor fight a battle which he did not win." This man at once so able and so false, to whom war was a private speculation rather than a contest for right or principle, now opened the campaign by capturing those fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, which Louis XIV. had garrisoned with French troops to menace Holland; but he could not induce the enemy to risk a battle in the open field. At length, in the summer of 1704, Marlborough, by a brilliant movement, changed the scene of the war from the Netherlands to Bavaria. There, at the little village of Blenheim, he, with Prince Eugene, gained a victory over the French which saved Germany from the power of Louis XIV., and England, out of gratitude for the humiliation of her powerful enemy, presented the duke with the ancient royal Park of Woodstock, and built for him, at the nation's cost, that Palace of Blenheim still occupied by descendants of the duke's family.[2] Gibraltar had been taken a few days before Blenheim by an attack by sea, so that England now had, as she continues still to have, the command of the great inland sea of the Mediterranean.

In the Netherlands, two years later, Marlborough won the battle of Ramillies,[3] by which the whole of that country was recovered from the French. Two years from that time Louis's forces marched back into the Netherlands, and were beaten at Oudenarde, where

[1] See Thackeray's Henry Esmond.

[2] Blenheim: a short distance from Oxford. The palace grounds are about twelve miles in circumference.

[3] Ramillies (Ram'e-lēz).

they were trying to recover the territory they had lost. A year afterward, Marlborough carried the war into Northern France, fought his last great fight, and gained his last great victory at Malplaquet,[1] by which the power of Louis was so far broken that both England and Europe could breathe freely, and the English colonies in America felt that for the present there was no danger of their being driven into the Atlantic by either the French or the Spaniards.

559. The Powers behind the Throne; Jennings versus Masham. — While the war was going on, the real power, so far as the crown was concerned, though in Anne's name, was practically in the hands of Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, who held the office of Mistress of the Robes. She and the queen had long been inseparable, and it was her influence that caused Anne to desert her father and espouse the cause of William of Orange. The imperious temper of the duchess carried all before it, and in her department she won victories which might be compared with those the duke, her husband, gained on the field of battle. In time, indeed, her sway over her royal companion became so absolute that she decided everything, from questions of state to the cut of a gown or the color of a ribbon, so that it finally grew to be a common saying that "Queen Anne reigns, but Queen Sarah governs."[2] While she continued in power, she used her influence to urge forward the war with France undertaken by England to check the designs of Louis XIV. on Spain and Holland, and also to punish him for his recognition of the claim of the Pretender to the English crown. Her object was to advance her husband, who, as commander-in-chief of the English and Dutch forces on the continent, had won fame and fortune — the first by his splendid ability, the second by his unscrupulous greed.

[1] Malplaquet (Măl'plă'kā').

[2] For years the queen and the duchess carried on an almost daily correspondence under the names of "Mrs. Morley" (the queen) and "Mrs. Freeman" (the duchess), the latter taking that name because, as she boasted, it suited the frank and bold character of her letters.

After a number of years, the queen and the duchess quarrelled, and the latter was superseded by a Mrs. Masham, who soon got as complete control of Anne as the former favorite had possessed. Mrs. Masham was as sly and supple as the duchess had been dictatorial and violent. She was cousin to Robert Harley, a prominent Tory politician. Through her influence Harley now became prime minister in everything but name. The Whig war policy was abandoned, negotiations for peace were secretly opened, and Marlborough was ordered home in disgrace on a charge of having robbed the government. Mr. Masham, much to his wife's satisfaction, was created a peer of the realm, and finally a treaty was drafted for an inglorious peace. Thus it was, as Hallam remarks, that "the fortunes of Europe were changed by the insolence of one waiting-woman and the cunning of another." [1]

560. Dr. Sacheverell. — An incident occurred at this time which greatly helped the Tories in their schemes. Now that the danger was over, England was growing weary of the continuance of a war which involved a constant drain of both men and money. Dr. Sacheverell, a violent Tory and High Churchman, began preaching a series of sermons in London condemning the war, and the Whigs who were carrying it on. He also endeavored to revive the exploded theory of the Divine Right of kings, and declared that no tyranny on the part of a sovereign could by any possibility justify a subject in resisting the royal will, with much more foolish talk of the same kind, all of which he published. The Whig leaders unwisely brought the preacher to trial for alleged treasonable utterances. He was suspended from his office for three years, and his book of sermons was publicly burned by the common hangman.

This created intense popular excitement; Sacheverell was regarded as a political martyr by all who wished the war ended. A reaction against the government set in; the Whigs were driven from power, the Duchess of Marlborough had to leave her apartments in the palace of St. James, and in her spite broke down marble mantels and tore off the locks from doors; Mrs. Masham's friends, the Tories, or peace party, now triumphed, and prepared to put an end to the fighting.

[1] Hallam's Constitutional History of England.

561. The Peace of Utrecht. [1] — Not long after this change a messenger was privately despatched to Louis XIV. to ask if he wished for peace. "It was," says the French minister, "like asking a dying man whether he would wish to be cured." [2] Later, terms were agreed upon between the Tories and the French, though without the knowledge of the English people or their allies; but finally, in 1713, in the quaint Dutch city of Utrecht, the allies, together with France and Spain, signed the treaty bearing that name. By it Louis XIV. bound himself: 1. To acknowledge the Protestant succession in England; 2. To compel the Pretender to quit France; 3. To renounce the union of the crowns of France and Spain; [3] 4. To cede to England all claims to Newfoundland, Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and that vast region known as the Hudson Bay Company's Possessions. Next, Spain was to give up: 1. The Spanish Netherlands to Austria, an ally of Holland, and grant to the Dutch a line of forts to defend their frontier against France; 2. England was to have the exclusive right for thirty-three years of supplying the Spanish-American colonists with negro slaves. [4] This trade had long been coveted by the English, and had been carried on to some extent by them ever since Sir John Hawkins grew so rich through it in Queen Elizabeth's time, that he set up a coat of arms emblazoned with a slave in fetters, that all might see how he had won wealth and distinction.

[1] Utrecht (U'trĕkt).

[2] Morris, The Age of Anne.

[3] But Philip was to retain the throne of Spain.

[4] This right had formerly belonged to France. By its transfer England got the privilege of furnishing 4800 "sound, merchantable negroes" annually; "two thirds to be males" between ten and forty years of age.

562. Union of England and Scotland. — Since the accession of James I., England and Scotland had been ruled by one sovereign, but each country retained its own Parliament and its own forms of worship. In 1707 the two countries were united under the name of Great Britain. The independent Parliament of Scotland was given up, and the Scotch were henceforth represented in the English Parliament by sixteen peers chosen by the House of Lords at the summoning of every Parliament; and by forty-five (now sixty) members returned by Scotland to the House of Commons.

With the consummation of the union Great Britain adopted a new flag, the Union Jack, which was formed by the junction of the red cross of St. George and the white cross of St. Andrew.[1]

563. Literature of the Period; the First Daily Paper. — The reign of Anne has been characterized as one of corruption in high places and of brutality in low, but in literature it takes rank next to that of Elizabeth. There was indeed no great central luminary like Shakespeare, but a constellation of lesser ones — such as Addison, De Foe, and Pope — that shone with a mild splendor peculiarly their own: the lurid brilliancy of the half-mad satirist Dean Swift, who moved in an orbit apart, was also beginning to command attention; while the calm, clear light of John Locke was near its setting. Aside from these great names in letters, it was an age generally of contented dulness, well represented in the good-natured mediocrity of Queen Anne herself. During her reign the first daily newspaper appeared in England — the *Daily Courant;* it was a dingy, badly printed little sheet not much bigger than a man's hand. The publisher said he made it so small "to save the Publick at least one-half the Impertinences of Ordinary News-Papers."

[1] St. George: the patron saint of England; St. Andrew: the patron saint of Scotland. In 1801, when Ireland was united to Great Britain, the red cross of St. Patrick was added to the flag. Jack: from *Jacques* (French for James), James I.'s usual signature. The first union flag was his work.

Perhaps it was well this journal made no greater pretensions; for, since it had to compete with swarms of abusive political pamphlets, such as Swift wrote for the Tories and De Foe for the Whigs; since it had also to compete with the gossip and scandal of the coffee-houses and the clubs, the proprietor found it no easy matter to either fill or sell it.

A few years later a new journal appeared of a very different kind, called the *Spectator*, which Addison, its chief contributor, soon made famous. Each number consisted of an essay hitting off the follies and foibles of the age, and was regularly served at the breakfast-tables of people of fashion along with their tea and toast. One of it greatest merits was its happy way of showing that wit and virtue are after all better friends than wit and vice. These two dissimilar sheets, neither of which dared to publish a single line of Parliamentary debate, mark the humble beginning of that vast organized power, represented by the daily press of London, which discusses everything of note or interest throughout the world.

564. Death of the Queen. — With Anne's death in 1714 the Stuart power came to an end. All of her children had died in infancy, except one unfortunate sickly son who lived just long enough to awaken hopes which were buried with him. According to the terms of the Act of Settlement[1] the crown now passed to George, Elector of Hanover, a Protestant descendant of James I. of England; though James Edward, son of James II., believed to the last that his half-sister, the queen, would name him her successor;[2] instead of that it was she who first dubbed him the "Pretender."

565. Summary. — The whole reign of Anne was taken up with the strife of political parties at home, and the War of the Succession abroad. The Whigs were always intriguing through the Duchess of Marlborough and other leaders to keep up the war and to keep out the "Pretender"; the Tories, on the other hand,

[1] See Paragraph No. 549.

[2] Anne and the "Pretender" were children of James II. by different mothers.

were just as busy through Mrs. Masham and her coadjutors in endeavoring to establish peace, and with it the Divine Right of Kings, while the extremists among them hoped for the restoration of the Roman Catholic Stuarts in the person of James Edward. The result of the War of the Succession was the defeat of Louis XIV. and the confirmation of that Act of Settlement which secured the English crown to a Protestant prince.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE STUART PERIOD.

1603–1649 (Commonwealth, 1649–1660); 1660–1714.

I. GOVERNMENT. — II. RELIGION. — III. MILITARY AFFAIRS. — IV. LITERATURE, LEARNING, AND ART. — V. GENERAL INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. — VI. MODE OF LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS.

GOVERNMENT.

566. Divine Right of Kings; the Civil War; the Revolution of 1688. — The period began with the attempt of James I. to carry out his theory that the king derives his right to rule directly from God, and in no wise from the people. Charles I. adopted this disastrous theory, and was supported in it by Mainwaring and other clergymen, who declared that the king represents God on earth, and that the subject who resists his will, or refuses a tax or loan to him, does so at the everlasting peril of his soul. Charles's arbitrary methods of government, and levies of illegal taxes, with the imprisonment of those who refused to pay them, led to the meeting of the Long Parliament and the enactment of the statute of the Petition of Right, or second great charter of English liberties.

The same Parliament abolished the despotic court of Star-Chamber and High Commission, which had been used by Strafford and Laud to carry out their tyrannical scheme called "Thorough."

Charles's renewed acts of oppression and open violation of the laws, with his levies of Ship-money, led to the Grand Remonstrance, an appeal to the nation to support Parliament in its struggle with the king. The attempt of the king to arrest five members who had taken a prominent part in drawing up the Remonstrance, brought on the Civil War,

and the establishment of a republic which declared, in opposition to the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, that "the people are, under God, the origin of all just power." Eventually, Cromwell became Protector of the nation, and ruled by means of a strong military power.

On the restoration of the Stuarts, Charles II. endeavored to rule without Parliament by selling his influence to Louis XIV., by the secret treaty of Dover. During his reign, the Habeas Corpus Act was passed, and feudalism practically abolished.

James II. endeavored to restore the Roman Catholic religion. His treatment of the University of Oxford, and imprisonment of the Seven Bishops, with the birth of a son who would be educated as a Roman Catholic, caused the Revolution of 1688, and placed William and Mary on the throne.

Parliament now passed the Bill of Rights, the third great charter for the protection of the English people, and later confirmed it by the Act of Settlement, which secured the crown to a line of Protestant sovereigns. The Mutiny Bill, passed at the beginning of William III.'s reign, made the army dependent on Parliament. These measures practically put the government in the hands of the House of Commons, where it has ever since remained. William's war caused the beginning of the national debt and the establishment of the Bank of England.

In the reign of Anne, 1707, Scotland and England were united under the name of Great Britain. During her sovereignty the Whig and Tory parties, which came into existence in the time of Charles II., became especially prominent, and they have since (though lately under the name of Liberals and Conservatives) continued to divide the Parliamentary government between them, — the Whigs seeking to extend the power of the people; the Tories, that of the crown and the church.

RELIGION.

567. Religious Parties and Religious Legislation. — At the beginning of this period we find four religious parties in England: 1. The Roman Catholics; 2. The Episcopalians, or supporters of the National Church of England; 3. The Puritans, who were seeking to "purify" the church from certain Roman Catholic customs and modes of worship; 4. The Independents, who were endeavoring to establish independent congregational societies. In Scotland the Puritans established their religion in a church governed by elders, or presbyters, instead of bishops, and on that account got the name of Presbyterians.