

the leading nobility and gentry, representing both political parties, seconded by the city of London, sent a secret invitation to William, Prince of Orange, urging him to come over with an army to defend his wife Mary's claim to the English throne and to protect the liberty of the English people.

William, after due consideration, decided to accept the invitation, which was probably not unexpected on his part. He was confirmed in his decision not only by the cordial approval of the leading Catholic princes of Europe,\* but also by the Pope himself, who had more than once expressed his emphatic disgust at the foolish rashness of King James.<sup>1</sup>

**543. The Coming of William, and Flight of James.** — William landed with 14,000 troops. It was the fifth and last great landing in the history of England.<sup>2</sup> He declared that he came in Mary's interest and that of the English nation, to secure a free and legal Parliament which should decide the question of the succession. James endeavored to rally a force to resist him, but Lord John Churchill, afterward Duke of Marlborough, and the king's son-in-law, Prince George, both secretly went over to William's side. His troops likewise deserted, and finally even his daughter Anne went over to the enemy. "Now God help me!" exclaimed James, in despair, "for my own children forsake me!" The queen had already fled to France, taking with her her infant son, the unfortunate James Edward, whose birth had caused the revolution, and who, instead of a kingdom, inherited nothing but the nickname of "Pretender," which he in turn transmitted to his son.<sup>3</sup> King James soon followed his wife.

As he crossed the Thames in a boat by night, James threw the great seal of state into the river, in the vain hope that without it a

<sup>1</sup> Guizot, *Histoire de Charles I.* (Discours sur l'Histoire de la Révolution).

<sup>2</sup> The first being that of the Romans, the next that of the Saxons, the third that of St. Augustine, the fourth that of William the Conqueror, the fifth that of the Prince of Orange.

<sup>3</sup> Prince James Edward Stuart, the "Old Pretender," and his son Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the "Young Pretender." \* Except, of course, Louis XIV.

Parliament could not be legally summoned to decide the question which his adversary had raised. The king got as far as the coast, but was discovered by some fishermen and brought back. William reluctantly received him, and purposely allowed him to escape a second time. He now reached France, and found generous welcome and support from Louis XIV., at the court of Versailles.<sup>1</sup> There could be now no reasonable doubt that James's daughter Mary would receive the English crown.

**544. Character of the Revolution of 1688.** — Never was a revolution of such magnitude and meaning accomplished so peacefully. Not a drop of blood had been shed. There was hardly any excitement or uproar. Even the bronze statue of the runaway king was permitted to stand undisturbed in the rear of the palace of Whitehall, where it remains to this day.

The great change had taken place thus quietly because men's minds were ripe for it. England had entered upon another period of history, in which old institutions, laws and customs were passing away and all was becoming new.

Feudalism had vanished under Charles II.,<sup>2</sup> but political and religious persecution had continued. In future, however, we shall hear no more of the revocation of city charters or of other punishments inflicted because of political opinion,<sup>3</sup> and rarely of any punishment for religious dissent. Courts of justice will undergo reform, and will no longer be "little better than caverns of murderers,"<sup>4</sup> where judges like Scroggs and Jeffreys browbeat the prisoners, took their guilt for granted, insulted and silenced witnesses for their defence, and even cast juries into prison under penalties of heavy fines, for venturing to bring in verdicts contrary to their wishes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the king's life at Versailles, see Doran's *Monarchs retired from Business*.

<sup>2</sup> See Paragraph No. 534.

<sup>3</sup> See Paragraph No. 531 and No. 539, the Cornish case.

<sup>4</sup> Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*.

<sup>5</sup> See Hallam, and also introduction to Professor Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature*. For a graphic picture of the times, read, in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Christian's trial before Lord Hategood.



The day, too, had gone by when an English sovereign could cast his subjects into fetid dungeons in the Tower and leave them to die there of lingering disease, in darkness, solitude, and despair; or, like James, sit in the court-room at Edinburgh, and watch with curious delight the agony of the application of the Scotch instruments of torture, the "boot," and the thumbscrew.

For the future, thought and discussion in England were to be in great measure free, as in time they would be wholly so, and perhaps the coward king's heaviest retribution in his secure retreat beyond the sea was the knowledge that all his efforts to prevent the coming of this liberty had absolutely failed.

**545. Summary.**—The reign of James must be regarded as mainly taken up with the attempt of the king to rule independently of Parliament and law, and to restore the Roman Catholic religion. Monmouth's rebellion, though without real justification, since he could not legitimately claim the crown, was a forerunner of that revolution which invited William of Orange to support Parliament in placing a Protestant sovereign on the throne.

WILLIAM AND MARY (House of Orange-Stuart).—1689-1702.

**546. The Convention; the Declaration of Right.**—After the flight of James II., a Convention which was practically a Parliament<sup>1</sup> met, and declared that James having broken "the original contract between king and people," the throne was therefore vacant. During the interregnum,<sup>2</sup> which lasted but a few weeks, the Convention issued a formal statement of principles under the name of the Declaration of Right (1689). That document recited the illegal and arbitrary acts of the late king, proclaimed him no longer sovereign, and resolved that the crown should be tendered to William and Mary.<sup>3</sup> The Declaration having been read to

<sup>1</sup> See Paragraph No. 517, and also "Great Seal," Paragraph No. 543.

<sup>2</sup> Interregnum (*inter*, between, and *regnum*, a king or reign). The Convention met Jan. 22, 1689; William and Mary accepted the crown Feb. 13.

<sup>3</sup> William of Orange stood next in order of succession to Mary and Anne (providing the claim of the newly born Prince James, the Pretender, was set aside). See Table, Paragraph No. 581.

them and having received their assent, they were formally invited to accept the joint sovereignty of the realm, with the understanding that the actual administration should be vested in William alone.

**547. Jacobites and Non-jurors.**—At the accession of the new sovereigns the extreme Tories,<sup>1</sup> who believed the action of the Convention unconstitutional, continued to adhere to James II. as their lawful king. Henceforth this class became known as Jacobites, from *Jacobus*, the Latin name for James. They were especially numerous and determined in the Highlands of Scotland and the South of Ireland. Though they made no open resistance at this time, yet they kept up a secret correspondence with the refugee monarch and were constantly plotting for his restoration. About four hundred of the clergy of the Church of England, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and four more of the famous "Seven Bishops,"<sup>2</sup> with some members of the universities and also some Scotch Presbyterians, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. They became known on this account as the Non-jurors,<sup>3</sup> and although they were never harshly treated, they were compelled to resign their positions.

**548. The Mutiny and Toleration Acts.**—We have seen that one of the chief means of despotism on which James II. relied was the organization of a powerful standing army such as was unknown in England until Cromwell was compelled to rule by military force, but which Charles II. had perpetuated, though in such greatly diminished numbers that the body was no longer formidable. But it was now evident that owing to the abolition of the feudal levies<sup>4</sup> such an army must be maintained at the king's command, especially as war was impending with Louis XIV., who threatened by force of arms and with the help of the Jacobites to restore James to the English throne. To prevent the

<sup>1</sup> Tories: see Paragraph No. 531.

<sup>2</sup> See Paragraph No. 541.

<sup>3</sup> Non-juror from *non*, not, and *jurare*, to make oath.

<sup>4</sup> See Paragraphs Nos. 534 and 200.



sovereign from making bad use of such a power, Parliament now passed a law called the Mutiny Act, which practically put the army under the control of the nation,<sup>1</sup> as it has since remained. Thus all danger from that source was taken away.

James's next method for bringing the country under the control of Rome had been to issue spurious measures of toleration granting freedom to all religious beliefs, in order that he might thereby place Catholics in power. As an offset to this measure, Parliament now enacted a statute of toleration which secured freedom of worship to all religious believers except "Papists and such as deny the Trinity." This measure, though one-sided and utterly inconsistent with the broader and juster ideas of toleration which have since prevailed, was nevertheless a most important reform, and put an end at once and forever to the persecution which had disgraced the reigns of the Stuarts, though unfortunately it still left the Catholics and the Unitarians subject to the heavy hand of tyrannical oppression.<sup>2</sup>

#### 549. The Bill of Rights (1689) and Act of Settlement (1701).

— Not many months later, Parliament embodied the Declaration of Right, with some slight changes, in the Bill of Rights, which received the signature of the king and became a law. It constitutes the third and last great step which England has taken in constitution-making—the first being the Great Charter of 1215, and the second the Petition of Right of 1628.<sup>3</sup> As the Habeas Corpus Act was contained, in germ at least, in Magna Carta,<sup>4</sup> these three measures sum up the written safeguards of the nation, and constitute, as Lord Chatham, said, "*the Bible of English Liberty.*"

<sup>1</sup> The Mutiny Act provides: 1. That the standing army shall be at the king's command—subject to certain rules—for one year only; 2. That no pay shall be issued to troops except by special act of Parliament; 3. That no act of mutiny can be punished except by the annual re-enactment of the Mutiny Bill.

<sup>2</sup> In 1663 Charles II. granted a charter to Rhode Island which secured religious liberty to that colony. It was the first royal charter recognizing the principle of toleration.

<sup>3</sup> See Paragraph No. 484.

<sup>4</sup> See Paragraph No. 313 (3).

With the passage of the Bill of Rights,<sup>1</sup> the doctrine of the Divine Right of kings to govern without being accountable to their subjects, which James I. and his descendants had tried so hard to reduce to practice, came to an end forever. The chief provisions of the bill were: 1. That the king should not maintain a standing army in time of peace, except by consent of Parliament; 2. That no money should be taken from the people save by the consent of Parliament; 3. That every subject has the right to petition the crown for the redress of any grievance; 4. That the election of members of Parliament ought to be free from interference; 5. That Parliament should frequently assemble and enjoy entire freedom of debate; 6. That the king be debarred from interfering in any way with the proper execution of the laws; 7. That a Roman Catholic or a person marrying a Roman Catholic be henceforth incapable of receiving the crown of England. Late in the reign (1701) Parliament reaffirmed and still further extended the provisions of the Bill of Rights by the Act of Settlement, which established a new royal line of Protestant sovereigns.<sup>2</sup> This law practically abolished the principle of hereditary succession and re-established in the clearest and most decided manner the right of the nation to choose its own rulers. According to that measure, "an English sovereign is now as much the creature of an act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm;"<sup>3</sup> and he is dependent for his office and power on the will of the people as really, though of course not as directly, as the President of the United States.

<sup>1</sup> For full text of the bill, see Taswell-Langmead's Constitutional History of England.

<sup>2</sup> The Act of Settlement provided that after Princess Anne (in default of issue by William or Anne) the crown should descend to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, Germany, and her Protestant descendants. The Electress Sophia was the granddaughter of James I. She married Ernest Augustus, Elector (or ruler) of Hanover. As Hallam says, she was "very far removed from any hereditary title," as aside from James II.'s son, whose legitimacy no one now doubted, there were several who stood nearer in right of succession.

<sup>3</sup> Green, History of the English People.



**550. Benefits of the Revolution.**—Foremost in the list of benefits which England gained by the Revolution should be placed: 1. That Toleration Act already mentioned, which gave to a very large number the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience. 2. Parliament now established the salutary rule that no money should be voted to the king except for specific purposes, and they also limited the royal revenue to a few years' supply instead of granting it for life, as had been done in the case of Charles II. and James.<sup>1</sup> As the Mutiny Act made the army dependent for its existence on the annual meeting and action of the House of Commons, these two measures practically gave the people full control of the two great powers—the purse and the sword,—which they have ever since retained. 3. Parliament next enacted that judges should hold office not as heretofore, at his Majesty's pleasure, but during good behavior, thus taking away that dangerous authority of the king over the courts of justice, which had caused so much oppression and cruelty. 4. But, as Macaulay remarks, of all the reforms produced by the change of government, perhaps none proved more extensively useful than the establishment of the liberty of the press. Up to this time no book or newspaper could be published in England without a license. During the Commonwealth Milton had earnestly labored to get this severe law repealed, declaring that “while he who kills a man kills a reasonable creature . . . he who destroys a good book [by refusing to let it appear] kills reason itself.”<sup>2</sup> But under James II. Chief Justice Scroggs had declared it a crime to publish anything whatever concerning the government, whether true or false, without a license, and during that reign there were only four places in England—viz., London, Oxford, Cambridge, and York—where any book, pamphlet, or newspaper could be legally issued, and then only with the sanction of a rigid inspector. Under William and Mary this restriction was removed, and henceforth men were free not only to think, but to print and

<sup>1</sup> Later, limited to a single year's supply.

<sup>2</sup> Milton's *Areopagitica*, or speech in behalf of unlicensed printing.

circulate their thought, and thus to bring the government more directly before that bar of public opinion which judges all men and all institutions.

**551. Arrival of James; Act of Attainder; Siege of Londonderry and Battle of the Boyne; Glencoe.**—But though William was king of England, and had been accepted as king of Scotland, yet the Irish, like the Scotch Highlanders, refused to recognize him as their lawful sovereign. The great body of Irish population was then, as now, Roman Catholic; but they had been gradually dispossessed of their hold on the land, and by far the larger part of the most desirable portion of the island was owned by a few hundred thousand Protestant colonists. On the other hand James II. had, during his reign, put the civil government and the military power in the hands of the Catholics. Tyrconnel<sup>1</sup> now raised the standard of rebellion in the interest of the Catholics, and invited James to come and regain his throne. The Protestants of the north stood by William, and thus got that name of Orangemen which they have ever since retained. James landed in Ireland in the spring of 1689 with a small French force lent him by Louis XIV.

He established his headquarters at Dublin, and not long after issued that great Act of Attainder which summoned all who were in rebellion against his authority to appear for trial on a given day, or be declared traitors, hanged, drawn and quartered, and their property confiscated.<sup>2</sup> Next, the siege of the Protestant city of Londonderry was begun. For more than three months it held out against shot and shell, famine and fever. The starving inhabitants, exceeding 30,000 in number, were finally reduced to the last extremities. Nothing was left to eat but a few miserable horses and some salted hides. As they looked into each other's

<sup>1</sup> See Paragraph No. 540.

<sup>2</sup> Attainder (from the Old French *attaindre*, to accuse, to stain). This act contained between two and three thousand names. It embraced all classes, from half the peerage of Ireland to tradesmen, women, and children. If they failed to appear, they were to be put to death without trial.



hollow eyes, the question came, Must we surrender? Then it was that an aged clergyman, the venerable George Walker, one of the governors of the city, pleaded with them, Bible in hand, to remain firm. That appeal carried the day. They declared that rather than open the gates to the enemy, they would perish of hunger, or, as some voice whispered, that they would fall "first on the horses and the hides,—then on the prisoners,—then—on each other!" But at this moment, when all hope seemed lost, a shout of triumph was heard. An English force had sailed up the river, broken through all obstructions, and the valiant city was saved. A year later (1690) occurred the decisive battle of the Boyne,<sup>1</sup> at which William commanded in person on the one side, while James was present on the opposite side. William had a somewhat larger force and by far the greater number of well-armed, veteran troops. The contest ended with the utter defeat of James. He stood on a hill at a safe distance, and when he saw that the battle was going against him, turned and fled for France. William, on the other hand, though suffering from a wound, led his own men. The cowardly behavior of James excited the disgust and scorn of both the French and Irish. "Change kings with us," shouted an Irish officer to one of William's men, "change kings with us, and we'll fight you over again." The war was brought to an end by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, when about 10,000 Irish soldiers who had fought for James, and who no longer cared to remain in their own country after their defeat, were permitted to go to France. "When the wild cry of the women, who stood watching their departure, was hushed, the silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace, but the peace was that of despair."<sup>2</sup> In violation of the treaty, the Catholics were hunted like wild beasts, and terrible vengeance was now taken for that Act of Attainder which James had foolishly been persuaded to issue. Fighting against William

<sup>1</sup> Fought in the East of Ireland, on the banks of the river of that name

<sup>2</sup> Green's English People.

and Mary had also been going on in Scotland, but the Jacobites had been conquered, and a proclamation was sent out commanding all the Highland clans to take the oath of allegiance before Jan. 1, 1692. A chief of the clan of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, through no fault of his own, failed to make submission within the appointed time. Scotch enemies of the clan gave the king to understand that the chief had declined taking the oath, and urged William "to extirpate that set of thieves." The king signed an order to that effect, probably without reading it, or, at any rate, without understanding what was intended. The Scotch authorities managed the rest in their own way. They sent a body of soldiers to Glencoe who were hospitably received by the Macdonalds. After stopping with them a number of days, they rose before light one winter morning, and, suddenly attacking their friendly hosts, murdered all the men who did not escape, and drove the women and children out into the snowdrifts to perish of cold and hunger. They finished their work of destruction by burning the cabins and driving away the cattle. By this act, Glencoe, or the "Glen of Weeping," was changed into the very Valley of the Shadow of Death. The blame which attaches to William is that he did nothing toward punishing those who planned and carried out the horrible massacre.

The English commander, Admiral Russell, like many of William's pretended friends and supporters, had been engaged in treasonable correspondence with James, so that in case the latter succeeded in recovering his crown, he might make sure of the sunshine of royal favor. But at the last he changed his mind and fought so bravely that the French were utterly beaten. The continental wars of William continued, however, for the next five years, until by the Peace of Ryswick,<sup>1</sup> 1697, Louis XIV. bound himself to recognize William as king of England, the Princess Anne as his successor, to withdraw all support from James, and to place the chief fortresses of the Low Countries in

<sup>1</sup> Ryswick: a village of Holland, near the Hague.



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.,<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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;"<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

**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,<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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*.

<sup>2</sup> See Paragraph No. 531.

<sup>3</sup> See Paragraph No. 519.

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,<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup> 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,"<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> destined to decide which was to build up the great empire of the future in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>3</sup>

**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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

<sup>3</sup> See Seeley's *Expansion of England*.



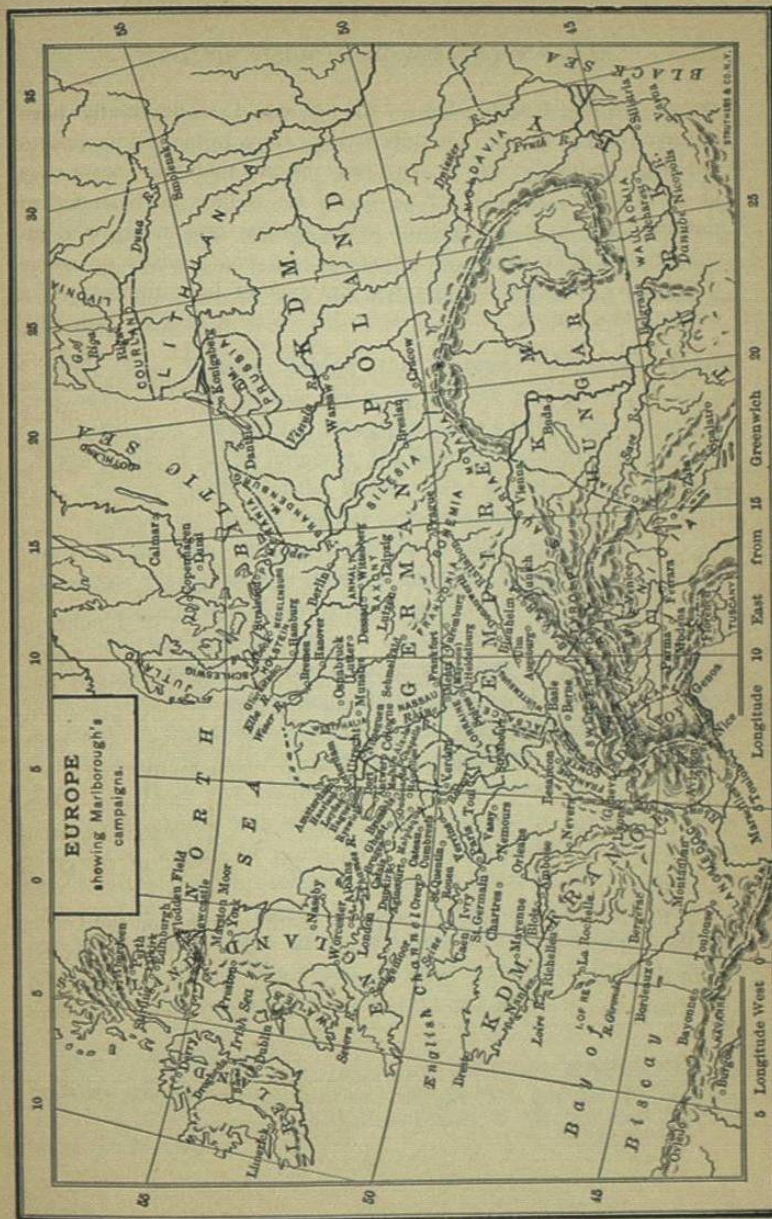
James; Anne trusted him, and he would undoubtedly have betrayed her if the "Pretender" had only possessed means to bid high enough, or in any way show that his cause was likely to be successful. In his greed for money he hesitated at nothing; he took bribes from army contractors, and robbed his soldiers of their pay; though in this he was perhaps no worse than many other generals of his, and even of later times.<sup>1</sup> 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 fought 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.<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> See Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*.

<sup>2</sup> Blenheim: a short distance from Oxford. The palace grounds are about twelve miles in circumference.

<sup>3</sup> Ramillies (Ram e-léz).





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,<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Malplaquet (Mäl'plä'kää').

<sup>2</sup> 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.