having been read to 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 (1689). — At the accession of the new sovereigns the extreme Tories (§ 531), 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" (§ 541), 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,"[1] and although they were never harshly treated, they were compelled to resign their positions.

548. The Mutiny and the Toleration Acts, 1689. — We have seen that one of the chief means of despotism on which James II relied was the organization of a powerful standing army (§ 540), such as was unknown in England until Cromwell was compelled to rule by military force (§ 509). Charles II had perpetuated such an army (§ 519), but 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 (§§ 200, 534) 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 sovereign from making bad use of such a power, Parliament passed a law called the "Mutiny Act," 1689, which

[1] Non-Juror: from *non*, not, and *jurare*, to make oath.

practically put the army under the control of the nation,[1] as it has since remained. Thus all danger from that source was taken away.

James' next method for bringing the country under the control of Rome had been to issue Declarations of Indulgence (§ 540). It was generally believed that his object in granting these measures of toleration, which promised freedom to all religious beliefs, was that he might place Catholics in power. As an offset to these Declarations, Parliament now passed the Toleration Act, 1689, 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. It 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.[2]

549. The Bill of Rights, 1689, and Act of Settlement, 1701. — Not many months later, Parliament embodied the Declaration of Right (§ 546), with some slight changes, in the Bill of Rights, 1689,[3] which received the signature of the King and became law. It constitutes the third and last great step which England has taken in constitution-making, — the first being the Great Charter of 1215 (§ 251), and the second the Petition of Right of 1628 (§ 484). As the Habeas Corpus Act (§ 534) was contained, in germ at least, in Magna Carta (§ 313 [3]), these three measures sum up the written safeguards of the nation, and constitute, as Lord Chatham said, "*the Bible of English Liberty*."

[1] 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 reënactment of the Mutiny Bill.

[2] 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.

[3] See Summary of Constitutional History in the Appendix, page xxii, § 25, and page xxxi.

With the passage of the Bill of Rights,[1] the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings to govern without being accountable to their subjects (§§ 471, 481), 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 of Rights 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 sovereigns confined exclusively to Protestants.[2] This law practically abolished the principle of hereditary succession and reëstablished 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";[3] 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.

[1] For summary of the bill, see Constitutional Documents in the Appendix, page xxxi. For the complete text, see Taswell-Langmead's Constitutional History of England or Lee's Source Book of English History.

[2] The Act of Settlement (see page xxxii of Appendix) 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 (§ 542), whose legitimacy no one now doubted, there were several who stood nearer in right of succession.

[3] 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 (§ 548), 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 it 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.[1] As the Mutiny Act (§ 548) 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 (or until the death of the reigning sovereign vacated their commissions). This took 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.[2] 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."[3] 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. During that reign there were only four places in England — namely, London, Oxford, Cambridge, and York — where any book, pamphlet, or

[1] Later, limited to a single year's supply.

[2] See Summary of Constitutional History in the Appendix, page xxiii, § 26.

[3] Milton's Areopagitica, or speech in behalf of unlicensed printing.

newspaper could be legally issued, and then only with the sanction of a rigid inspector.

Under William and Mary this restriction was removed. Henceforth men were free not only to think, but to print and circulate their thought (subject, of course, to the law of libel). They could thus bring the Government more directly before that bar of public opinion which judges all men and all institutions.

551. James II lands in Ireland (1689); Act of Attainder (1689); Siege of Londonderry (1689); Battle of the Boyne (1690); Glencoe (1692); Peace of Ryswick (1697). — 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 (§§ 454, 475, 505), and 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 (§ 540) now raised the standard of rebellion in Ireland 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 (§ 542) which they have ever since retained. James landed in Ireland in the spring (1689) with a small French force lent him by Louis XIV (§ 543).

He established his headquarters at Dublin. Not long afterward he reluctantly issued that great Act of Attainder (1689) 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.[1] Next, the Protestant city of Londonderry (§ 475) was besieged (1689).

[1] 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. James was reluctant to issue the great Act of Attainder of 1689, simply because he thought it contrary to his political interests.

For more than three months it held out against shot and shell, famine and fever.

The starving inhabitants, exceeding thirty thousand 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 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,[1] at which William commanded in person on 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 to 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 later, 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 (1691), when about ten thousand 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

[1] Fought in the east of Ireland, on the banks of the river of that name. See Map No. 18, facing page 346.

a hundred years the country remained at peace, but the peace was that of despair."[1] In violation of that treaty, a severe act was passed against Roman Catholics; they were hunted like wild beasts, and terrible vengeance was now taken for that Act of Attainder which James had foolishly been persuaded to issue. Furthermore, England selfishly closed her own ports and those of her colonies against Irish products; this policy starved the industry of that unfortunate island.

Fighting against William and Mary had also been going on in Scotland; for Claverhouse (§ 524) was an ardent adherent of James II and vowed, "Ere the King's crown shall fall, there are crowns to be broke."[2] But the Jacobites had been conquered, and a proclamation was sent out commanding all the Highland clans to take the oath of allegiance before the beginning of the new year (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 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.

[1] Green's English People. [2] See Scott's Poems, "Bonny Dundee."

The English commander, Admiral Russell, like many of William's pretended friends and supporters, had been engaged in treasonable correspondence with James. If the latter succeeded in recovering his crown, the Admiral hoped to make sure of the sunshine of royal favor. But at the last he changed his mind and fought so bravely in the sea-fight off La Hogue that the French were utterly beaten.

The continental wars of William continued, however, for the next five years, until by the Peace of Ryswick,[1] 1697, Louis XIV bound himself to recognize William as King of England, the Princess Anne[2] as his successor, to withdraw all support from James, and to place the chief fortresses of the Low Countries in the hands of the Dutch garrisons. The Peace of Ryswick marked the end of the conspiracy between Louis and the Stuarts to turn England into a Roman Catholic country dependent on France (§§ 528, 540). 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 (§ 526), and which was then first used for public worship.

552. The Permanent National Debt (1693); the Bank of England (1694). — William had now gained, at least temporarily, the object that he had in view when he accepted the English crown. He had succeeded in drawing the English into a close defensive alliance against Louis XIV,[3] 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 the permanent National Debt. It was destined to grow from less than a million of pounds to so many hundred millions, that all thought of ever paying it is now given up. The second result was the organization of a banking company for the management of this colossal debt; together the

[1] Ryswick: a village of Holland, near The Hague.
[2] The second (Protestant) daughter of James II. See § 542.
[3] See Guizot, History of Civilization, Chapter XIII.

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 (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 banking 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 kept from returning to his native country only through the earnest protestation of his chancellor, Lord Somers, who refused to stamp the King's resignation with the Great Seal.

There were plots to assassinate him, and many who pretended to sustain him were treacherous, and simply 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, they 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.

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. — William left no children, and according to the provisions of the Bill of Rights (§ 549)[1] the Princess Anne, younger sister of the late Queen

[1] See the Bill of Rights (third paragraph) on page xxxi, Appendix.

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 the Church of England, she declared her faith in the Divine Right of Kings (§§ 471, 481), 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* (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.[2]

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 (§ 531), since succeeded by the Liberals and Conservatives. Though mutually hostile, each believing that its rival's success meant national ruin, yet both

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

[2] 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*.

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 (§ 549)[1] 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 (§§ 524, 548); the second, who were Whigs as a rule, believed it best to curtail the authority of the 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 illustrates the feeling that then prevailed by an amusing story of an earlier occurrence. A boy who had lost his way in London was called a "popish cur" by a Whig because 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 (§ 531), sympathized with the Tories (§ 531) 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. 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 (1702). — Anne had no sooner come to the throne than war broke out with France. It had its origin in the previous reign. William III had cared little

[1] See Act of Settlement in the Appendix, page xxxii.

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 and fighting Louis XIV of France, who was determined, if possible, to annex the Netherlands, including Holland, to his own dominions (§ 551).

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 had endeavored to prevent Louis from carrying out his designs respecting Spain by two secret treaties, and also by a triple alliance formed by England, Holland, and Germany, to defend themselves against the prospective preponderating power of France. Louis XIV had signed these treaties, but had no intention of abiding by them. When, not long afterward, 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]

[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, conditionally 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.

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 so-called "Old Pretender" (§§ 542, 543), as rightful sovereign of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

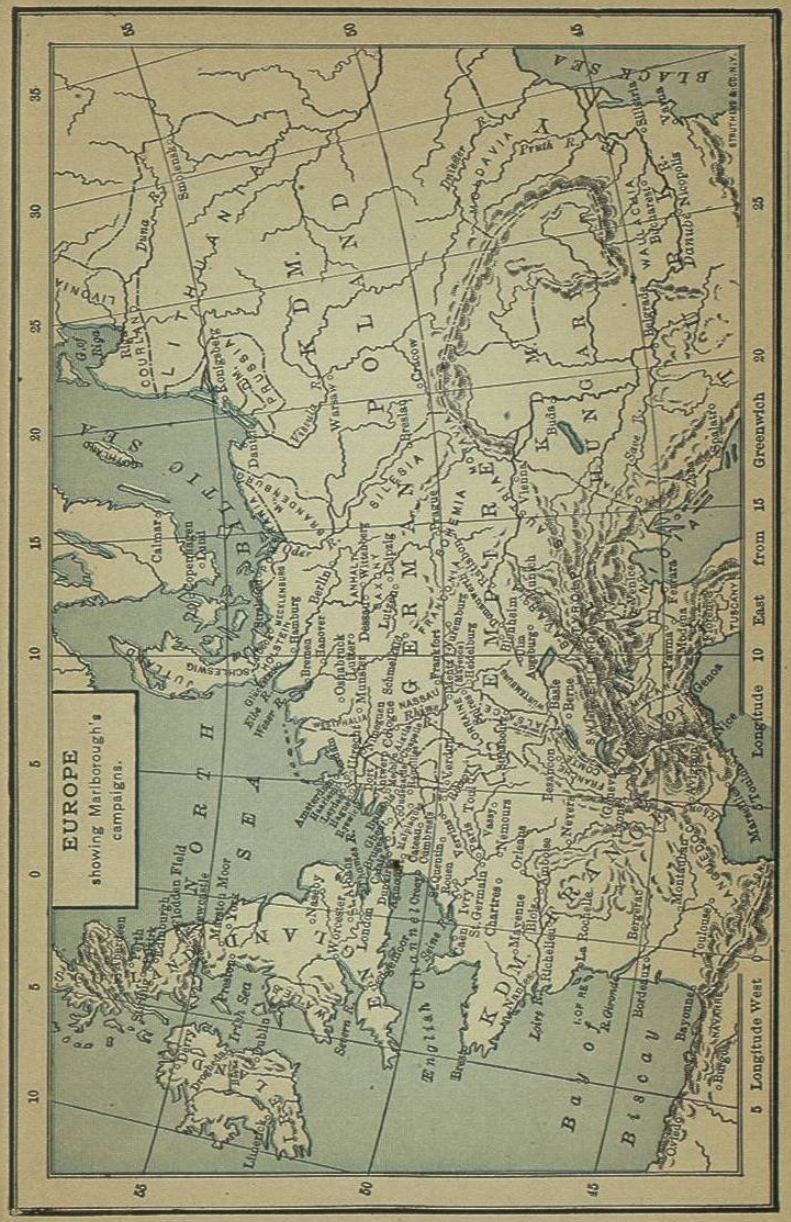
This, and this only, effectually roused the English people; they were preparing for hostilities when William's sudden death occurred. Immediately after Anne came to the throne (1702) war was declared, which, since it had grown out of Louis' designs on the crown of Spain, was called the "War of the Spanish Succession."

The contest was begun by England, mainly to prevent the French King from carrying out his threat of placing the so-called "Pretender" on the English throne and overturning the Bill of Rights (§ 549) and the Act of Settlement (§ 549), thus restoring the country to the Roman Catholic Stuarts. Later, the war 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 a large part of the American continent. For this reason the War of the Spanish Succession may be regarded as the beginning of a second Hundred Years' War between England and France (§ 289),[2]

[1] At this time England had twelve American colonies extending from New England to South Carolina, inclusive, with part of Newfoundland. France and Spain claimed all the rest of the continent.

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



destined to decide which was to build up the great empire of the future in the western hemisphere.[1]

558. **Marlborough; Blenheim and Other Victories (1702–1709).** — John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough (§ 543), 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 (§ 531), but his interests in the war led him to support the Whigs (§ 531).

He was avaricious, unscrupulous, perfidious. James II trusted him, and he deceived him and went over to William (§ 543); William trusted him, and he deceived him and opened a treasonable correspondence with the dethroned James; Anne trusted him, and he would undoubtedly have betrayed her if the so-called "Pretender" (§§ 542, 543) 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.[2]

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. He captured 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, Marlborough, by a brilliant movement (1704), changed the scene of the war from the Netherlands to Bavaria.

[1] See Seeley's Expansion of England.
[2] See Thackeray's Henry Esmond.

There, at the little village of Blenheim,[1] he, with Prince Eugene, gained a victory over the French which saved Germany from the power of Louis XIV. 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] A few days before the battle of Blenheim, a powerful English fleet had attacked and taken Gibraltar (1704). England thus gained and still holds 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' forces marched back into the Netherlands, and were beaten at Oudenarde (1708), where 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[4] (1709). The power of Louis was now 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 (§ 543) 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

[1] See Map No. 16, facing page 298.

[2] Blenheim: a short distance from Oxford. The palace grounds are about twelve miles in circumference. The Marlborough family hold Blenheim on condition that they present a flag every year (August 2) to the English sovereign at Windsor Castle.

[3] Ramillies (Ram'ee-leez, English pronunciation; or Rä-mē'yē').

[4] Malplaquet (Mäl'plä-kā').

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."[1]

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 (§ 557). 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 (§ 558).

After a number of years, the Queen and the duchess quarrelled, and the latter was superseded by her cousin, a Mrs. Masham (1711), 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 (§ 531). 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."[2]

560. Dr. Sacheverell (1710). — An incident occurred about this time which greatly helped the Tories (§ 531) in their schemes.

[1] 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.

[2] Hallam's Constitutional History of England.

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 (§ 556), 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 (§§ 471, 481), 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 (1710). 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 (§ 531) were driven from power, and the Tories passed two very harsh laws[1] against Dissenters (§ 524), though they were repealed a few years later. The Duchess of Marlborough now 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 (§ 531), or peace party, who had now triumphed, prepared to put an end to the fighting.

561. The Peace of Utrecht[2] (1713). — 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."[3] Later, terms were agreed upon between the Tories (§ 531) 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 so-called

[1] These were the Occasional Conformity Act (1711) and the Schism Act (1714). See page 308, § 567. [2] Utrecht (U'trĕkt). [3] Morris, The Age of Anne.

"Pretender" (§§ 543, 557) to quit France. 3. To renounce the union of the crowns of France and Spain; but Philip was to retain the Spanish throne (§ 557). 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.[1]

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.

562. Union of England and Scotland, 1707. — 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 Established (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland and the Scottish laws were to be preserved. The independent Parliament of Scotland was given up, and the Scotch were henceforth represented in the English Parliament by sixteen peers chosen by members of the Scottish peerage 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.[2]

[1] This right (called the "Assiento," or Contract) 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.

[2] St. George: the patron saint of England. St. Andrew: the patron saint of Scotland. After Ireland was united to Great Britain (1800), the red cross of St. Patrick was added to the flag (1801). Jack: from *Jacques* (French for James), James I's usual signature. The first union flag was his work.

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, Defoe, and Pope. They shone with a mild splendor peculiarly their own. The lurid brilliancy of the half-mad satirist Dean Swift was beginning to command attention; he was the greatest political writer of the times; on the other hand, the calm, clear light of the philosopher 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 (§§ 474, 495) appeared in England, — the *Daily Courant* (1703); 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."

Perhaps it was well this journal made no greater pretensions; for it had to compete with swarms of abusive political pamphlets, such as Swift wrote for the Tories and Defoe for the Whigs (§ 531). It had also to compete with the gossip and scandal of the coffee-houses and the clubs; for this reason the proprietor found it no easy matter either to fill it or to sell it.

A few years later (1711) 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 it was regularly served at the breakfast-tables of people of fashion along with their tea and toast.

One of its 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. — The ingratitude of public men and the furious quarrels of politicians so teased and vexed the Queen that she at last fell into a fatal illness. But she was not prayed for even in her own private chapel at St. James' Palace, and the report that she had breathed her last sent up the price of stocks at the Exchange. Her physician wrote to Swift, "I believe sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller than death was to her." When she laid down the sceptre (1714) the power of the Stuarts (§ 467) came to an end. She left no heir to the throne, for 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 (§ 549) the crown now passed to George, Elector of Hanover, a Protestant descendant of James I of England. James Edward, son of James II, believed to the last that his half-sister, the Queen, would name him her successor;[1] instead of that it was she who first dubbed him the "Pretender" (§§ 542, 543, 557).

565. Summary. — The whole reign of Anne was taken up with the strife of political parties at home, and the War of the Spanish Succession abroad. The Whigs (§ 531) were always intriguing through the Duchess of Marlborough and other leaders to keep up the war and to keep out the so-called "Pretender"; the Tories (§ 531), on the other hand, were just as busy through Mrs. Masham and her coadjutors in endeavoring to establish peace, and with it the Divine Right of Kings.

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 Spanish Succession was the defeat of Louis XIV and the confirmation of that Act of Settlement which secured the English crown to a Protestant prince.

[1] Anne and the so-called "Pretender" were children of James II by different mothers.