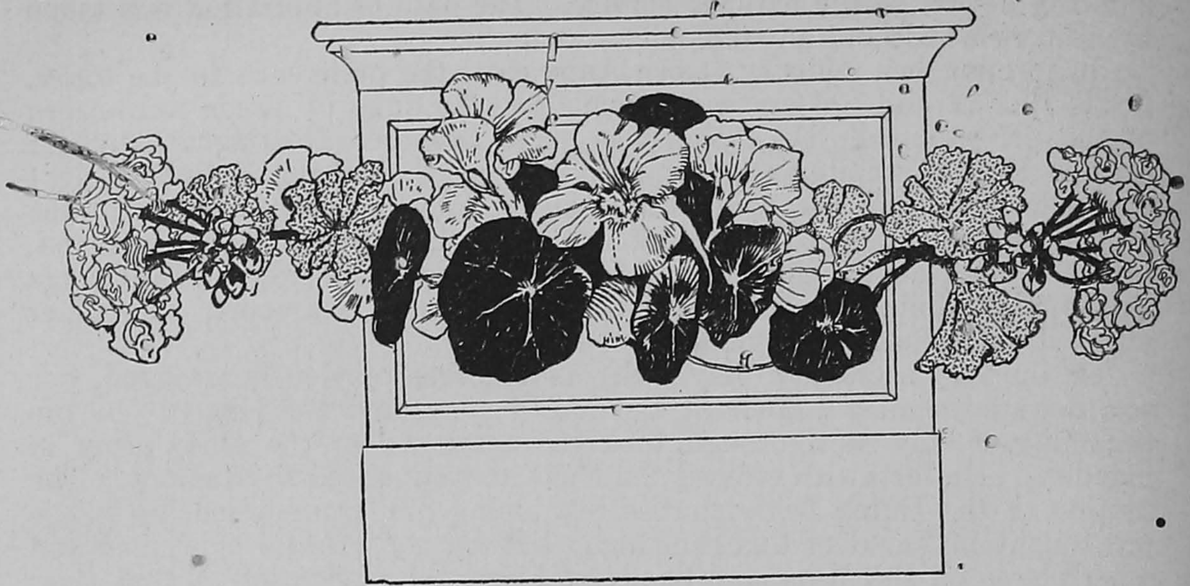

CHAPTER XII

QUEEN ANNE

[1702–1714 A.D.]

THE successor to the throne was in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She had always been remarkably firm in her attachments to the Protestant religion, and her inclination was strong to the tory party. This, however, was much controlled by the great influence exercised over her mind by Lady Marlborough [formerly Sarah Jennings], who was a whig, which led to a hope that the high tory party would not be dominant during her reign. In her familiar intercourse with Lord and Lady Marlborough, the queen called herself and was called by them Mrs. Morley, and they were Mr. and Mrs. Freeman. When waited on by the privy-council the day of William's death, she spoke with great respect of that monarch, and announced her intention of treading in his steps. She renewed this declaration in her speech to the parliament, and her resolution was communicated without loss of time to the states-general, who had been overwhelmed with affliction at the news of the king's demise.

King William, with that noble spirit of patriotism, and of regard for the interests of Europe in general, which distinguished him, though aware of the treachery of Marlborough to himself, had destined him to the command of the English troops in the approaching war, for of his military and diplomatic talents he had the highest opinion. For this reason he had confided to him the task of negotiating the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough's conduct of it had fully justified his anticipations. The queen now declared that nobleman captain-general of the land-forces in England, and appointed him her ambassador at the Hague, whither he repaired without delay (28th) to assure the states of the intentions of his royal mistress, and to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign.

The commons settled on the queen for life the revenue of £700,000 a year enjoyed by the late king, £100,000 of which she assured them she would

annually devote to the national service. The oath of abjuration was taken by all persons without any difficulty.

In forming her ministry Queen Anne gave the preference to the tories. Lords Halifax and Somers were dismissed; the duke of Leeds was sworn of the privy-council; Godolphin was made treasurer, Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges secretaries, Normanby privy-seal, and Sir Nathan Wright chancellor; while of the whigs the duke of Somerset was president of the council, and the duke of Devonshire lord steward. Anne made her husband, Prince George, generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land, and Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England. Seymour, Howe, Harcourt, and other tories also obtained employments.

On the very same day (May 15th), as had been previously arranged, war was declared against France at London, Vienna, and the Hague. In the beginning of July Marlborough took the command of the allied army in Flanders. He forthwith crossed the Maas and advanced to Hamont. The caution of the Dutch field-deputies restraining him from action, no battle was fought in Flanders this campaign; but by the capture of Venloo and other places on the Maas, and finally of Liège, the navigation of that river was completely opened. With this last acquisition the campaign closed.

It had been the plan of King William to send an expedition against Cadiz. The queen's ministry, in pursuance of that design, fitted out a fleet of thirty ships of the line, which, joined with twenty Dutch men-of-war, with frigates and transports, and carrying a body of fourteen thousand men, was destined for that service. The supreme command was given to the duke of Ormonde; Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet under him. On the 23rd of August the expedition arrived off Cadiz; but, instead of landing at once, three days were spent in debates and discussions about the place of landing and other matters which should have been arranged long before. By this delay time was given to the marquis Villadarias, the captain-general of Andalusia, to store the city with provisions and to place a boom across the mouth of the harbour. The English commanders resolved to reduce the forts on the mainland, instead of debarking in the isle of Leon; they therefore landed in the bay of Bulls, and advanced to Rota, which was given up by the governor; they thence moved to Port St. Mary's, a wealthy town; they found it deserted, and they fell at once to the work of plunder and destruction, not even sparing the churches. By this conduct they completely alienated the minds of the Andalusians from themselves and their cause; and seeing but slender hopes of any final success, they resolved to abandon the enterprise. They departed (September 30th), as Stanhope, one of those in command, expressed it, "with a great deal of plunder and of infamy." The naval and military commanders charged each other with the blame of the failure.

Fortune, however, seemed resolved to save them from the popular indignation at home. They learned on the coast of Portugal that the great Cadiz plate-fleet had put into Vigo bay, in Gallicia, and they resolved to attempt its capture. On reaching that bay (October 22nd) they found the entrance defended by a boom and two ruinous old towers; while the convoying ships of war, of which ten were French, lay moored along the shore, and the peasantry were all in arms. Ormonde landed with two thousand men, and reduced the towers; the English ships broke the boom; but while the ships of war gave them occupation, the galleons ran further up the gulf to try to save their cargoes; the English, however, soon overtook them. The crews then began to fling the cargoes into the sea, and to burn the galleons, but six of them and seven ships of war were captured. The total loss of the Spaniards

exceeded eight millions of dollars, of which the captors did not get more than one-half.

Admiral Benbow, a brave and able seaman, but rude and rough in his manners, was at this time in the West Indies with a squadron of ten ships. He fell in (August 19th) with a French squadron of equal force, under M. de Casse. A running fight was maintained for several days; but Benbow found that the greater part of his captains neglected his orders, and would not come into action. His right leg being broken by a chain-shot (24th), and, his captains still continuing refractory, he gave up the chase and bore for Jamaica, where he ordered a court-martial to be held on six of them; and two, Kirby and Wade, were sentenced to be shot, which sentence was executed at Plymouth, when they were sent home. Benbow died of his wounds at Kingston.

QUEEN ANNE
(1665–1714)

During the summer the parliament was dissolved, and a new one summoned. When it met (October 20th) it proved tory and high-church.[1] In its address to the queen it reflected on the memory of the late king, saying, for example, that Marlborough had retrieved the ancient glory and honour of the English nation. It was proposed to substitute the word maintained for that invidious term, but the proposal was rejected by a large majority. They also talked of the church being restored to its due rights and privileges. As the dissenters all belonged to the whig party, the commons now opened a battery on them, which long continued in operation. This was the bill for preventing occasional conformity; for many of the dissenters, viewing the different sects of Protestants as merely different forms of the common Christianity, made no scruple to conform to the Church of England, by taking the test and receiving the sacrament in it, as a qualification for office, but still adhered to their own sect. The pride of the church party had also been wounded by the imprudent vanity and insolence of Sir Humphrey Edwin, the lord mayor of London in 1697, who went to the meeting-house of Pinners' hall with all the insignia of his civic dignity. The bill now brought in enacted penalties against persons in office who should frequent dissenters' meeting-houses. It passed the commons by a large majority, but the lords made sundry amendments in it, which the commons would not admit, and it thus was lost for this session.

At the desire of the queen, an annual income of £100,000 was voted to

[1] The distinction between high and low-churchmen had lately come up. The former were so denominated from their claims to high sacerdotal power both in church and state, the latter from the opposite character.

her consort in case of his surviving her. The earl of Marlborough having been created a duke for his services in the late campaign, the queen informed the house of commons that she had granted him £5,000 a year out of the post-office revenue for his life, and that she wished an act to be passed for continuing it to his heirs; but the commons were indignant at the proposal, asserting, with truth, that he had been abundantly remunerated for his services; and the duke prudently requested the queen to recall her message.

We shall now briefly narrate in continuity the events of the war of the Succession, by land and sea, in which the troops and fleets of the queen of England were engaged. Our narrative will extend over a space of eight years.

The campaign of 1703 was opened by the capture of the city of Bonn, in the electorate of Cologne: the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder were also reduced; but the energy of Marlborough was so cramped by the caution and dilatoriness of the Dutch, that he could venture on no action of importance. In this year the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy joined the confederacy, and the archduke Charles assumed the title of king of Spain. He came to England in the close of the year, and, having partaken of the Christmas festivities of the court, was conveyed by Sir George Rooke, with a powerful squadron, to Lisbon.

BLENHEIM (AUGUST 13TH, 1704)

The year 1704 opened with gloomy prospects for the confederates. The emperor, pressed by the Hungarians, who were in rebellion, on one side, and by the Bavarians and French on the other, and totally unprovided with troops, was expecting every day to be besieged in his capital. Marlborough, who saw that, if the emperor was forced to yield the confederation was at an end, resolved to make a bold effort to relieve him. He secretly arranged his plans with Prince Eugene of Savoy, the imperial general, and then, pretending to his own government and the states that his object was merely to act on the Moselle, he induced the latter to be content with the protection of their own troops, and allow him to open the campaign where he proposed.[b]

It was entirely Marlborough's own idea, and at the same time his greatest one, to undertake that unexpected march from the lower Rhine to the Danube, by means of which he joined his own forces to those of Germany and Austria, and was thus enabled to strike a great blow at the main strength of the French. The tories, who were more than usually excited at a recent change in the ministry, looked upon the undertaking with disfavour, and yet (for they expected it to fail) with secret satisfaction. A saying was reported to have come from some of them, that they would mob the general, if ever he came back, as hounds worry a hare. Marlborough knew all that well enough; he made no secret of the fact that if he were not victorious he was lost.

On the plains of Blenheim was the great European conflict fought out to the defeat of France. It was one of those battles which determine the relation of powers to one another, and the fate of nations dependent thereupon, for many years to come. In the library at Windsor strangers are shown the spacious bay window, where Queen Anne was enjoying in stillness the landscape there spread out to view, when she received the news of her army's victory. It was the great moment of her life. That, after which her predecessors had striven in vain, had been achieved under her auspices, under the leadership of a man who stood nearest to herself among the politicians

of the time; a limit had been set once for all to the supremacy of France on the Continent.

The loss of the French, in killed, drowned, taken, and deserters, was forty thousand men; among the prisoners was Marshal Tallard and twelve hundred of his officers. The allies had forty-five hundred killed and seventy-five hundred wounded. The victory would have been still more complete but for the misconduct of the imperial troops, which enabled the elector to retire in good order and with little loss.

JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH (1650–1722)

Ulm and several other places were reduced; the allied army recrossed the Rhine; and the campaign was terminated with the sieges of Landau, Treves, and Traerbach. In December the duke returned to England; he received the thanks of the queen and the two houses; the royal manor and honour of Woodstock were conferred on him and his heirs, and the queen gave orders for a splendid mansion, to be named Blenheim castle, to be erected on it at the cost of the crown.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1704–1708

Sir George Rooke had sailed from Lisbon, carrying a corps of five thousand troops, under the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, for an attempt on Barcelona; but their strength not proving sufficient, they abandoned the enterprise. On their way back they attacked and captured the strong fortress of Gibraltar, of which Rooke took possession in the name of the queen of England. He then fought an indecisive action with a French fleet off Malaga.

The campaign of 1705 in Flanders produced no great battle, owing to the opposition of the Dutch field-deputies. Its most important event was the forcing of the French lines, extending from Namur to Antwerp, defended by seventy thousand men, and strong by nature as well as art. This exploit was performed in a masterly manner, and without any loss. Marlborough came up with the French army on the banks of the river Dyle, but, when he would attack it, the Dutch deputies interposed and prevented him. Toward winter he visited the new emperor, Joseph, at Vienna, by whom he was created a prince of the empire, and the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred on him. He there arranged the terms of a new alliance between the emperor and the maritime powers.

On the 3rd of June Lord Peterborough sailed from Portsmouth with a land force of about five thousand men. His instructions were to aid the

duke of Savoy, or to attack one of the Spanish ports and make a vigorous push in Spain. At Lisbon he was joined by the archduke Charles, and at Gibraltar by the prince of Darmstadt. They touched at Altea, in Valencia, where they found the people zealous in their favour. Peterborough then formed the daring project of making a dash for Madrid, which was only fifty leagues distant, but the archduke and Darmstadt insisted on proceeding to Barcelona. The want of money was another obstacle, and Peterborough gave way. When they came to Barcelona (August 16th) they found the fortifications of that town strong and in good repair, and the garrison as numerous as their own force. Peterborough and most of the officers were against making any attempt, but the archduke and Darmstadt were as obstinate as ever. To gratify them, the troops were landed, and lay for three weeks in inactivity before the town. Dissension prevailed among the commanders, and there seemed no course but to re-embark the troops, when Peterborough (September 13th), by a fortunate and well-conducted piece of temerity, made himself master of the strong fort of Montjuich, which commands the city. Numbers of the Miquelets, or armed peasantry, now flocked to the standard of Charles, and the siege was carried on with vigour. At length a breach was effected; but ere the assault was given, the soldiers of the garrison forced the brave old viceroy, Velasco, to propose terms. An honourable treaty was concluded (October 9th); but several of the Miquelets had stolen into the town, and they and the discontented townsmen appeared in arms early next morning, with the resolution of massacring the viceroy and his friends. Peterborough, on hearing the tumult, rode to one of the gates of the city and demanded admittance. The gate was opened to him, and his first act was to save a noble lady from the pursuit of the Miquelets. He suppressed the riot, enabled the viceroy to escape to Alicant, and then withdrew from the town till the term of the treaty should have expired. The viceroy, however, had left orders for an immediate surrender. All Catalonia now rose in favour of Charles, and its example was followed by Valencia.

Wearied by the opposition of the Dutch generals and field-deputies, and disgusted with the slowness and indecision of the imperialists, Marlborough planned for the campaign of 1706 the leading of an army in person into Italy to co-operate with Prince Eugene of Savoy, while a British army should land on the coast of Saintonge to endeavour to raise the Huguenots of the south of France. But the French having been successful on the Upper Rhine, the states became alarmed, and they implored Marlborough to retain the command in the Netherlands, offering to free him from the control of the deputies. He complied with their wishes and prepared to open the campaign by the siege of Namur. The French court sent positive orders to Marshal Villeroy to risk a battle in defence of that town. He therefore advanced to the village of Ramillies beyond Tirlemont, where, on Whitsunday (May 23rd), he was attacked by the allied army of sixty thousand men, his own force being about sixty-two thousand. The action commenced after one o'clock and lasted till the evening; the French sustained a total defeat, losing thirteen thousand men in killed, wounded, and taken, beside two thousand who afterwards deserted, eighty stand of colours, and nearly all their artillery and baggage; the loss of the allies was one thousand killed and twenty-five hundred wounded. The immediate consequence of this glorious victory was the submission of the states of Brabant to King Charles, and the surrender of Brussels, Ghent, Oudenarde, Antwerp, and the other towns of that province. Dendermond, Ostend, and Aeth stood each a siege, and the campaign closed with the capture of this last.

In Spain this year Barcelona was invested by land and sea by the French and Spaniards under Philip in person, while its small garrison of not more than two thousand men was animated by the presence of Charles. The enthusiasm almost peculiar to the Spaniards was manifested in the defence; monks and women appeared in arms, and Peterborough advancing from Valencia carried on a guerilla-warfare (for which no man was better adapted) in the enemy's rear. The city however would have been reduced but for the arrival of an English fleet with troops, at the sight of which the blockading squadron retired to Toulon, and the garrison being now reinforced, the besieging army marched off with all speed to Roussillon. In the mean time the Anglo-Portuguese army under the earl of Galway and the marquis Das Minas had entered Spain, and, on hearing of the relief of Barcelona, they advanced and occupied Madrid. But instead of pressing at once on Philip, who was at Burgos, they loitered for a month in the capital. Charles in like manner stayed at Barcelona, and then went to Zaragoza instead of Madrid. The national antipathy between Castilians and Aragonese revived; the former showed themselves enthusiastic for Philip; and Galway and Das Minas, unable to get back into Portugal, had to retire into Valencia, pursued by the duke of Berwick. Philip then returned to Madrid.

After the misfortunes of the last campaign Louis had made proposals for a treaty, first to the states alone and then to them and Marlborough, offering to cede to Charles either Spain and the Indies or the Italian dominions, with a barrier to the Dutch and compensation to the duke of Savoy. His offers, however, were rejected, and Marlborough again took the field (1707). But the campaign proved utterly inactive, as the duke of Vendome, the French general, would give no opportunity for fighting. In Spain the allied forces under Galway and Das Minas (contrary to the opinion of Peterborough, who advised a defensive system) advanced into the kingdom of Murcia to engage the duke of Berwick. They found him (April 25th) encamped on the vega or plain of Almanza; his army, which had been reinforced from France, amounted to about twenty-five thousand men, while that of the allies did not exceed seventeen thousand. His superiority in cavalry was very great; his troops were fresh, while theirs were fatigued with a morning's march. The battle commenced at three in the afternoon; the contest was for some time most obstinate; but Galway and Das Minas both being wounded and obliged to leave the field, the allies were finally routed. They left four thousand men dead on the spot; nearly all the remaining infantry were obliged to surrender; the generals fled to Catalonia with about three thousand five hundred cavalry. Valencia and Aragon were speedily reduced to the obedience of Philip, and the campaign closed with the siege and capture of Lerida.

In the month of July the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene had entered Provence with an army of thirty thousand men and laid siege to Toulon, while a British fleet under Sir Charles Cloudesley Shovel attacked it from the sea. The defence of the garrison, however, was gallant; and as a large army was said to be hastening to its relief, the duke raised the siege and retired. As Admiral Shovel was returning to England his fleet ran on the rocks westward of Scilly. His own ship, the *Association*, foundered, and himself and all his crew perished; the same was the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*.

In the spring of 1708, Louis, encouraged by intelligence of the discontent which prevailed in England and still more in Scotland, fitted out a fleet at Dunkirk, in which the son of James II, now called the Chevalier de St. George,

and in England the Pretender, embarked and sailed for Scotland. But Sir George Byng was at the Firth of Forth with an English squadron, and they found it impossible to effect a landing. After being beaten about by storms for a month, they got back in a shattered condition to Dunkirk.

The French army in the Netherlands was commanded by the king's grandson, the duke of Burgundy, aided by the duke of Vendome. They surprised Ghent and Bruges and laid siege to Oudenarde. At the approach of Marlborough to its relief they retired; but he brought them to action at no great distance from that town (July 11th). The battle did not commence till evening, and the coming on of night saved the French from a rout which might have ended the war. They lost three thousand men killed and seven thousand taken; the loss of the allies was about two thousand men. After this victory Marlborough invested (August 13th) Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, a city of remarkable strength and largely garrisoned. Every possible effort for its relief was made by the French generals; but at length the town (October 25th) and finally the citadel (December 10th) were forced to surrender. Ghent was then besieged and recovered, and the campaign, regarded as one of the ablest during the war, terminated. The taking of the islands of Sardinia and Minorca gave some lustre to the cause of the allies in the south.

EXACTIONS OF THE ALLIES CAUSE A RENEWAL OF WAR

The losses which France had sustained now (1709) made Louis sincerely anxious for peace, and he was willing to surrender all the Spanish dominions except Naples, to give the Dutch a sufficient barrier, etc. The allies, however, insisted on the cession of the Spanish dominions without exception, and even on Louis aiding to drive his grandson out of Spain. These terms he rejected as an insult; he addressed a manifesto to his subjects; and, exhausted as they were by famine and taxation, the eminent loyalty of the people enabled him to renew the war with augmented vigour.

The fortune of war was, however, still adverse to France. The first act of the renewed drama was the investment of Tournay by the allies and its surrender after a gallant defence (September 3rd). Prince Eugene and Marlborough then prepared to invest Mons. Marshal Villars hastened to its relief; he posted his army between two woods near Malplaquet, and fortified his camp with redoubts and intrenchments. Here, however, he was attacked (September 11th) by the allies. The armies were nearly equal in number, each being about ninety thousand men: the action was the most desperately contested during the war; the honour of the day remained to the allies with a list of twenty thousand killed and wounded, while the French retired with the loss of fourteen thousand. The siege and capture of Mons terminated the campaign. In Spain fortune was adverse to the allies; they lost the town of Alicant, and they were defeated on the plain of Gudiña.

Negotiations for peace were resumed in 1710, and a congress sat at the little town of Gertruydenburg. Louis seemed to be most moderate; but his sincerity was doubted and the conference was broken off. The taking of Douay and some other towns alone signalised the campaign in the Netherlands; but events of greater importance took place in Spain.

The army of Charles was commanded by the English general Stanhope and the Austrian marshal Staremburg; that of Philip by the marquis of Villadarias. The former entered Aragon, while the latter invaded Catalonia: as it was on its return, the allies wished to cut it off from Lerida, and on the

evening of the 27th of July, their cavalry, led by Stanhope in person, engaged and routed, near the village of Almenara, a superior body of the Spanish cavalry. Night saved the Spanish army from a total rout. They retired to Lerida and thence to Zaragoza, whither they were followed by the allies, who passed the Ebro unopposed. The rival monarchs were present with their armies; that of Philip counted twenty-five thousand, that of Charles twenty-three thousand men. A battle was fought under the walls of that ancient city (August 20th), which ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards, who lost five thousand slain and wounded, four thousand prisoners, and all their colours and artillery. The loss of the victors was only fifteen hundred men. Philip fled to Madrid and thence to Valladolid, and Charles soon after entered the capital, but he found it nearly deserted. The fidelity of the Castilians to his rival was invincible, and their efforts soon placed him at the head of another army, of which the duke of Vendome took the command.

As Catalonia was menaced by the French, the allies resolved to return thither; on account of the difficulty of procuring supplies they were obliged to march in separate divisions, and Vendome, having with his entire army surrounded Stanhope, who had about five thousand English troops, in the town of Brihuega, forced him to surrender (December 9th) after a most gallant defence. Next day Vendome gave battle on the plain of Villa Viciosa. to Staremburg, who was advancing to the relief of Stanhope. The honour of the day remained with the German; but he was so harassed by the partisans in his retreat that he did not bring more than seven thousand men back to Barcelona. The war in Spain was now virtually at an end; it was plain that the Castilian spirit was not to be subdued; and the succession of Charles to the imperial throne soon altered the relations of Europe.

AGITATION REGARDING THE SEPARATION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

We now return to the domestic affairs of England during the time of the war. Since the accession of James I, the necessity of a closer union between the two British kingdoms had been apparent to judicious statesmen. The Act of Security passed by the Scottish parliament in 1704 proved the danger of delaying that measure any longer; for by this it was enacted that, on the death of the queen without issue, the estates should appoint a successor of the royal line and a Protestant; but that it should not be the same person who would succeed to the throne of England, unless the independence of the Scottish nation and parliament, and the religion, trade, and liberty of the people had previously been secured against English influence. The queen gave her assent to this act by the advice of Godolphin, whose object is said to have been to frighten the English into a union of the kingdoms by the terror of a separation of the two British crowns. If such was his plan, it was eminently successful. The act was regarded in England as almost a declaration of war. A bill rapidly passed both houses, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners for a union of the kingdoms; declaring the Scots aliens if they did not accede to a treaty or adopt the Hanoverian succession within a year; prohibiting the importation of their cattle and linens; and appointing cruisers to prevent their trade with France. An address was made to the queen to put the towns of Carlisle, Berwick, Newcastle, and Hull in a state of defence; troops were marched to the borders; and the six northern counties were called on to arm for their defence.

In the Scottish parliament there were three parties; the court party,

headed by the duke of Queensberry; the jacobites, whose chief was the duke of Hamilton; and the country party, who, though zealous for the independence of the kingdom, were attached to the Protestant succession. In this party there were various shades of opinion; it contained royalists and republicans, of which last class Fletcher of Saltoun was by far the most eminent. This man was the perfect model of those who with pure motives seek to convert a monarchy into a republic. He was, as it was expressed, "brave as the sword he wore," of unstained honour, of strict probity, of ardent patriotism, of simple and nervous eloquence, of extensive reading and knowledge of mankind; but he was stern and obstinate, impatient of contradiction, chimerical in his projects, and enthusiastic in his spirit; in a word, a man who would dictate, not concede; and meliorate on his own principles, or not at all. A portion of the country party, comprising the marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Belhaven, and other late ministers of the crown, formed what was termed the *Squadrone Volante*, and sought to trim the balance between the two parties of court and opposition.[b]

Apart from all other considerations, looking to the position of affairs in the world at that time, there lay in the conflict of the great powers a most pressing call for the union. At any moment the French could invite the very numerous adherents of the pretender in Scotland to rise; what then would become of the security of their religion or of the liberty of the people? The party which conducted the administration could maintain itself only by means of a union with England. And for England it was of the utmost importance to anticipate a change of affairs in Scotland. The union was one of the wishes of the whigs in accordance with their previous policy; but the tories also declared themselves in favour of it: they would otherwise have been regarded as opponents of the Protestant succession.

But if the English were so inclined, they had a price moreover to offer which Scotland could not withstand. We have noticed the sudden awakening of the commercial spirit of Scotland; the animosity then felt was founded chiefly on the opposition which the English had showed to the first risings of this spirit. They now determined to offer their hand to the Scots in this particular. They guaranteed them a share in their colonies and in their foreign trade; in return for which the Scots adopted the English imposts and a part of their system of taxation, especially the excise duties. This of course involved also a share in paying the interest of the English national debt: but a compensation to the Scots [known as the Equivalent] was voted. The essence of the agreement lies in a union of imposts and trade which for the more wealthy country could be neither agreeable nor advantageous; but all special interests had now to be given up once for all. It was hard for the Scots to let go their legislative and administrative autonomy, for this too had been hitherto secured to them by the maintenance of a special privy council of their own. When they on the other hand stipulated for the integrity of their church constitution, the Anglicans on their side consented with the greatest reluctance. But the sense of danger to both parties if the separation continued overruled all difficulties. In the meetings of the commissioners of both countries to deliberate about conditions, which Lord Somers, though not holding any public office at the time, conducted with that legal and political superiority which is always so decisive, no ill feeling or discord for this once arose.[c]

The Scottish parliament met on the 13th of October: the duke of Queensberry, a man of the highest rank and most conciliating manners, prudent and resolute, sat as the royal commissioner. The treaty was read, and then

printed and published. Forthwith a storm of indignation burst forth over the whole kingdom; each class saw danger to its own peculiar interests; all fired at the thought of the loss of national independence. Addresses against it were poured in from all parts; tumults arose in Edinburgh; the Cameronians of the west were preparing to take up arms and dissolve the parliament by force. Two-thirds of the nation, in fact, were decidedly opposed to the union.

THE ACT OF UNION (1707 A.D.)

However, the force of reason, the force of argument, but, above all, the force of the Equivalent, finally prevailed against all the efforts of mistaken patriotism. The *Squadrone Volante* was gained to the court; Hamilton proved false to his party; and the act of ratification was passed by the large majority of one hundred and ten. By a separate act the Presbyterian form of church government was secured. To gratify the poor nobility so numerous in Scotland, the privilege of freedom from personal arrest was accorded to the Scottish peerage. The Act of Union, when transmitted to England, after encountering some opposition from the high tories in the house of peers, received the approbation of the English legislature, and (May 1st, 1707) the two kingdoms were incorporated into one, to be called Great Britain.

PARTY FACTION

During this time the struggle of parties went on in the English parliament and cabinet. The tories twice renewed their efforts to carry their bill against occasional conformity, even attempting to tack it to the bill for the land-tax. In the cabinet, Marlborough and Godolphin were thwarted by them in their views respecting the mode of conducting the war. These ministers contrived, however, to get rid of Rochester in 1703; and in the following year they were equally successful with respect to Nottingham, Jersey, and Sir Edward Seymour. The duchess was most anxious to effect a union between Marlborough and the whigs, but, great as her influence was over him, she did not succeed. Harley became secretary in place of Nottingham; and Henry St. John, a young man of great promise, was made secretary of war. The attempts of the tories to depreciate his glorious victory at Blenheim tended however greatly to alienate Marlborough from them; and the result of the elections for a new parliament in 1705, which gave a clear majority to the whigs in the commons, led him and Godolphin to contemplate a union with that party. Even previous to the meeting of parliament, the whig influence had been sufficient to cause the dismissal of the duke of Buckingham (late marquis of Normanby) from the privy seal, and the appointment of the duke of Newcastle; and the transfer of the great seal from Sir Nathan Wright to Mr. William Cowper. The contest for the office of speaker was between Mr. Smith of the whig and Mr. Bromly of the tory party: the former was supported by the court, and carried it by a majority of forty-three. The speech from the throne accorded with the views of the whigs, and the addresses of the two houses re-echoed it.

The first attack of the tories on their rivals was a motion in the lords (November 15th) to address the queen to invite the presumptive heiress of the crown to reside in England. By this they hoped to reduce the whigs to a disagreeable dilemma; for, if they supported it, they would offend the queen; if they opposed it, they would injure themselves both with the house of Han-

over and with the nation. They, however, manfully opposed it, and brought in a bill for the appointment of a regency to act in case of the queen's demise, and another for naturalising the whole of the electoral family. These bills were carried, after much opposition to the former from the tories; and the dislike of the queen to the whigs was now evidently diminished. As much had been said during the debate of the church being in danger, Lord Halifax moved to appoint a day for inquiry into that danger. When the day came, an angry debate took place; but both houses concurred, by large majorities, in a resolution that the church was in a most safe and flourishing condition.

The strength of the tory party was weakened by division, while the whigs acted in one compact body, under the direction of the junto, as it was named, which was composed of the lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland; this last the son of James' minister, and son-in-law of Marlborough, but the devoted admirer of Somers. The bias of the queen, the general, and the treasurer was to the tories; but the first had been offended by their late conduct, and the last two saw that it was only from the whigs that they could expect support in their foreign policy. The junto felt their power, and insisted on a larger share for their party on the profits and influence of office. They required that Sir Charles Hedges should be dismissed, and Sunderland be made secretary in his place; but it was the policy of the queen to give sway to neither party; and she had, moreover, a personal dislike to Sunderland. The policy of her two great ministers had been the same as hers, but they saw the necessity of giving way; yet it cost them a year's labour and the threat of resignation to overcome the reluctance of the queen (1708).

Harley's Treachery

They had, however, been secretly thwarted in the whole affair by their colleague Harley, and a bed-chamber influence of which they were not aware. The duchess of Marlborough had a cousin who was married to a Mr. Hill, an eminent Turkey merchant, who became a bankrupt; his family in consequence fell into great poverty, and the duchess kindly provided for his children. She placed Abigail, one of the daughters, about the person of the queen as bed-chamber woman, reckoning, of course, that she would always adhere to the interests of her patroness. But Miss Hill soon found that she might aspire higher. The queen, weak and yielding as she was, gradually became weary of the domineering temper of the duchess, and she poured her complaints into the ear of her obsequious attendant, who, it was soon observed, was fast rising in favour and influence. It happened that Miss Hill was related to Harley on the father's, as to the duchess on the mother's side; and, as her politics were tory, that wily statesman entered into a close alliance with her, and by her means influenced the queen. The duchess' friends warned her in vain of the way in which her power was being undermined. At length the private marriage of Miss Hill with Mr. Masham, an officer in the royal houshold, celebrated in the presence of only the queen and Doctor Arbuthnot the court physician, opened her eyes. Godolphin about the same time obtained convincing proofs of Harley's secret machinations.

The policy of Marlborough and Godolphin in joining neither party had the usual fate; both were alienated from them. The ill success of the war in 1707 afforded topics of attack to the discontented. The two ministers saw more strongly than ever the necessity of conciliating the whigs; and they received further proofs of Harley's treachery. The whigs having given them

the strongest assurances of their support, they waited on the queen and told her that they could serve her no longer unless Harley were dismissed. She remained firm.

On the next meeting of the cabinet-council the two ministers were absent. Harley was proceeding to business, when the duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate without the general and treasurer. The looks of the others expressed their assent; Harley was disconcerted; the queen broke up the council in anger and alarm. The commons and the city gave signs of their discontent. Still the queen was unmoved; but Harley himself saw the difficulties of his situation, and resigned. St. John and the attorney-general, Sir Simon Harcourt, followed his example, and their places were given to Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and Sir James Montague, brother of Lord Halifax. This last appointment was long resisted by the queen; and all the influence of Marlborough and Godolphin failed to procure a seat in the cabinet, though without office, for Somers. The queen, in fact, disliked the whigs more than ever, and was still secretly actuated by Harley; and they showed themselves as factious as the tories had been; for, bent on coming into office, they had resolved to annoy both the queen and Marlborough by an attack on the admiralty, that is, on her husband and on his brother, Admiral Churchill, by whom the prince was guided. Marlborough had consented to give up his brother, when the opportune death of the prince (October 28th) removed all difficulties. Lord Pembroke was made lord high-admiral, and was succeeded by Somers as president of the council; and Wharton became lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

THE WHIG MINISTRY; THE TRIAL OF SACHEVERELL (1710 A.D.)

Nothing, however, would content the whigs short of the possession of all offices of emolument and influence; and the condition of the general and treasurer, between them and the queen, was far from enviable. To add to their embarrassments, the desire of peace was becoming general. The apparent willingness of Louis to concede weighed with many; the pressure of taxation with others; the want of French wines and other foreign luxuries rendered numbers pacific; and Marlborough was charged with desiring to prolong the war from selfish motives. "All the bottle-companions," says Cunningham, "many physicians, and great numbers of the lawyers and inferior clergy, and in fine the loose women too, were united together in the faction against the duke of Marlborough." "It was strange," says he, "to see how much the desire of French wine and the dearness of it alienated many men from his friendship."

Orford having replaced Pembroke at the admiralty, the ministry may be regarded as whig from the close of the year 1708, when a new parliament met, and Sir Richard Onslow, a whig, was chosen speaker. In its second session (1709) the violence of party zeal hurried it into a measure which eventually overthrew the ministry.

There was a clergyman, named Sacheverell, a preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, a man of little talent and less learning, but of a restless and ambitious temper. This man took on him to be a champion of high-church doctrines; and, in a sermon preached before the lord-mayor and aldermen on the 5th of November, he asserted the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience, in the most unqualified terms; attacked the dissenters and the toleration; styled the moderate bishops "perfidious prelates and false sons of the church"; and called on the people to stand up in its defence. He also

assailed the administration, particularly Godolphin, whom he styled Volpone. This wretched farrago was published at the desire of the lord-mayor; the tories extolled it as almost inspired, and they circulated forty thousand copies of it. The ministers held several consultations. Somers and Marlborough were, it is said by Coxe,[d] for leaving the matter to the ordinary tribunals; but Godolphin, whose feelings were wounded, and the others resolved on an impeachment. Articles were therefore exhibited against Sacheverell, and the 27th of February, 1710, was the day fixed for the trial in Westminster Hall. In the interval the tories and the clergy in general made every effort to inflame the minds of the populace and excite their zeal for the church.

The trial lasted for three weeks. The managers were Sir Joseph Jekyl, General Stanhope, Walpole, King, and others. The Doctor, as he was called, was defended by Harcourt and Phipps, and assisted by doctors Atterbury, Smallridge, and Friend. He was brought each day from the Temple, where he had been placed, to the hall in a coach, round which the people pressed, eager to kiss his hand. The queen came daily to hear the trial; and the populace used to crowd round her sedan, crying, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Doctor Sacheverell."

The managers had a delicate part to act; for, as Sacheverell had asserted that the Revolution was not a case of resistance (he did not impugn it), they had to show that it was, and thence to assert the lawfulness of taking arms against the law, and that in the presence of the queen. They, however, did not shrink from their duty. Sacheverell's counsel freely acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance, but they maintained that he was justified in his doctrine of non-resistance by the homilies and the writings of eminent Anglican divines. He was voted guilty by a majority of sixty-nine to fifty-two, of which last thirty-four signed a protest. He was sentenced to be suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermon to be publicly burned; and the Oxford decree of 1683 was condemned to share its fate. This gentle sentence was regarded by the tory party as a triumph, and such in fact it was. Bonfires and illuminations, in London and all over the kingdom, testified their joy; and addresses in favour of non-resistance poured in from all quarters.

The Triumph of the Tories

Harley and the favourite, now sure of the temper of the nation, resolved to hesitate no longer. They had already sought to mortify Marlborough, by getting the queen, on the death of Lord Essex, to give his regiment to Major Hill, Mrs. Masham's brother. Marlborough, highly indignant, insisted on the favourite being dismissed, or else he would resign; but the efforts of Godolphin and other friends accommodated the matter, and he was contented with the disposal of the regiment being left with him. To prove, as it were, the influence of the favourite, the queen soon after gave Hill a pension of £1,000 a year; and she made the duke consent to raise him to the rank of brigadier.

It was Harley's plan to overthrow the ministry by degrees. He began by causing the queen to take the office of lord-chamberlain from the marquis of Kent, and confer it on the duke of Shrewsbury; for this amiable but versatile nobleman, who had returned from Italy, where he had resided for some years, was now alienated in some degree from the whigs on public and even on private grounds, as they did not, he thought, pay due attention to

his lady, an Italian countess who had been originally his mistress, and who now governed him. He was therefore easily gained over by Harley. The queen made the appointment (April 13th) while Godolphin was at Newmarket, and announced it to him by a dry letter. The treasurer acted with his usual indecision: the whigs fearing a dissolution suffered themselves to be cajoled by Shrewsbury; and Harley, now reckoning the victory sure, made his next attack on Sunderland, a man whose overbearing temper had raised him many enemies, and to whom the queen had a peculiar antipathy. The treasurer was as usual without spirit, his whig colleagues clung to their places with the pertinacity distinctive of their party, and abandoned Sunderland; and the queen had the gratification (June 14th) of dismissing him and giving the seals to Lord Dartmouth, a zealous high-church man. Jacobites and high tories now flocked to court and congratulated the queen on her emancipation, as they affected to regard it; the duke of Beaufort, for instance, said to her, "Your majesty is now queen indeed."

The next stroke stunned the whigs. On the 7th of August, Godolphin, who saw that the queen was annoyed at some things he had said in council, had an audience of her. He concluded his discourse by asking, "Is it the will of your majesty that I should go on?" "Yes," said she, without hesitation. That very evening he received a letter from her, desiring him to break his white staff of office! The treasury was put into commission, Harley taking the chancellorship of the exchequer.

The temper of the nation had now been ascertained in various ways, and the prevalence of the high-church and tory spirit was beyond question. That wretched tool Sacheverell having been presented by a Mr. Lloyd with a living in North Wales, his party took advantage of his going to take possession of it to make a demonstration. His progress thither, as it was termed, resembled those of the monarchs in former times. The nobility entertained him sumptuously at their houses; the University of Oxford showed him equal honour; the magistrates of corporate towns met him with their insignia of office. The hedges were for miles decked with garlands and lined with spectators, streamers waved from the steeples of the churches, the air resounded with the cry of, "The church and Doctor Sacheverell!" At Bridgenorth, a Mr. Cresswell met him at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold and leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. It is a pity that so much really good and honest feeling should have been wasted on so unworthy an object.

Emboldened by these signs of the popular sentiment, the cabal thought they might now safely venture on a dissolution and a total change of ministry. The queen therefore came to the council (September 21st), and ordered a proclamation to be issued for dissolving the parliament. The chancellor rose to speak, but she said she would admit of no debate, for that such was her pleasure. A general change of administration immediately followed; Lord Somers, the duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Boyle resigned, and their places were taken by Lord Rochester, the duke of Buckingham, and Mr. St. John. Wharton and Orford having also resigned, the lieutenancy of Ireland was given to the duke of Ormonde, and the admiralty was put into commission. All the efforts of Harley and the queen having failed to induce Lord Cowper to retain the great seal, it was put into commission, but was soon given to Sir Simon Harcourt. Of all the whigs, the dukes of Somerset and Newcastle alone remained in high offices.

Thus fell the most glorious, the most able, and we may add perhaps the most virtuous and patriotic administration that England had possessed since

the days of Elizabeth. It fell by disunion in itself, by the imprudent impeachment of a contemptible divine, and by the intrigues of the bed-chamber, where a weak woman, whom the constitution had invested with power, was domineered over by one waiting-maid and wheedled and flattered by another. When the parliament met on the 25th of November, it proved almost entirely tory, and Bromley was chosen speaker with little or no opposition.

Marlborough on his return was subjected to every kind of indignity. The queen herself desired him not to allow a vote of thanks to him to be moved in parliament, and he had the mortification to see the thanks of the houses bestowed on Peterborough for his Quixotic exploits in Spain. In spite of his most urgent solicitations, his duchess was deprived of her places at court, which were divided between the duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham, and an attempt was even made to convict her of peculation. Swift and the other libellers in the service of the ministry poured out all their venom on him. "He was ridiculed," says Smollet,[e] "in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were everywhere repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; of his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct. Even his courage was called in question, and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind." Among his other annoyances, he had to listen to lectures on his military conduct from Harley and St. John. Yet he did not resign; for Godolphin and the whigs, the emperor, and all the allies implored him to retain the command of the army, as otherwise all their hopes would be gone.

Harley, in the midst of his triumph, found that he was not to lie on a bed of roses. The more violent tories, headed by Rochester, regarding him and his friend as lukewarm, formed to control him a combination of not less than one hundred and thirty members of the house of commons, under the name of the October Club, and the whigs on their part had a powerful auxiliary in the duchess of Somerset, a lady of high character, and loved and respected by the queen. Harley and St. John immediately began to make overtures to the duke of Marlborough, and it is probable that they must have come to terms with the whigs, or have succumbed to the October Club, had not a fortunate event arisen to extricate them (1711).

There was a French refugee, called the marquis Guiscard, who had had the command of a regiment, which being broken after the battle of Almanza, he obtained a pension of £500 a year. Harley reduced this pension to £400, and Guiscard in his rage proposed to the French cabinet to acquaint them with sundry secrets of state which he possessed. His letters were intercepted, and he was arrested on a charge of high treason. He was brought before the council at the Cockpit (March 8th), and an order was made to convey him to Newgate. He resisted the messenger, and rushing forward struck Harley in the bosom with a penknife which he had concealed; the blade broke against the bone; he struck again with the stump, but St. John and the others drawing their swords fell on and gave him several wounds. He was then taken to Newgate, where he died of the injuries which he had received. The general sympathy was thus awakened for Harley, and he was regarded as a victim to his zeal for the public service. The death of Lord Rochester (May 2nd) was also of advantage to him, and he was forthwith (24th) raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and (29th) made lord high-treasurer. The duke of Buckingham succeeded Rochester on the 12th of June, and several other promotions took place in the course of the year.

THE FALL OF MARLBOROUGH

The military events of this year, the last of Marlborough's glorious career of victory, were few; but no campaign better displayed his consummate military skill. Villars had drawn strongly fortified lines from Bouchain on the Schelt to Arras, and he proudly styled them Marlborough's *ne plus ultra.* Yet the duke, by a skilful manœuvre, passed them without the loss of a single man, and then invested and took Bouchain (September 14th), though situated in a morass strongly fortified, and defended by a large garrison, with an army more numerous than that of the allies at hand to relieve it.

But it was needless for Marlborough to gain victories and capture towns; the ministry were so bent on peace that they were actually in secret negotiation with the court of France. In the beginning of the year (January 11th) their agent Gaultier, a French priest, waited on the marquis de Torcy, the French secretary of state, and abruptly asked him if he wished for peace, which was, says Torcy, "like asking a sick man whether he wishes to recover." Louis however saw his advantage, and affected not to be in any great need of it; he endeavoured to draw the English cabinet into a separate negotiation. Matthew Prior, the poet, was sent secretly to Paris, and M. Mesnager to London, and preliminary articles were agreed on(October 8th), which were then communicated to the Dutch and imperial ministers at the court of London, the latter of whom caused them to be inserted in the paper called the *Postboy*, and their appearance excited the indignation of all who had a feeling of national dignity and honour.

The ministers of the allies made strong representations against the peace, and the whig party was now strengthened by the accession of Lord Nottingham, who was offended with the ministers. The queen tried to no purpose the effect of closeting on Marlborough, Somers, Cowper, and others: an amendment to the address, declaring that no peace could be safe or honourable if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon, was proposed by Nottingham and carried against the ministry, who however had influence enough to have a similar clause rejected in the commons by a large majority. But the queen herself now gave symptoms of wavering, and the timid and self-interested in both houses began to look about them. Oxford saw that he must act with decision or be lost. As he ascribed the power of the opposition chiefly to the influence of Marlborough, he resolved to strike him down; charges of fraud and peculation were therefore made against him, and the queen, over whom the bed-chamber party had recovered their influence, wrote him a letter on New Year's Day, 1712, dismissing him from all his employments. To follow up their victory, the ministers had recourse the very next day to a most unconstitutional act of prerogative, by calling no less than twelve new peers to the upper house, among whom was the husband of the favourite. The queen then sent a message, desiring the house to adjourn to the 14th: as this was an unusual measure, a debate arose, and the resolution was carried only by the votes of the new peers. When the question was about to be put to them, Wharton, alluding to their number, asked one of them if they voted individually or by their foreman.

Secure of majorities in both houses, the ministry proceeded in the charges against Marlborough. These were two: the one, the having received an annual sum from the contractor of bread for the army; the other, a deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the pay of the foreign auxiliaries; and the whole was

made to amount to the sum of £282,366. These charges had been made before the return of the duke, and he had sent home a refutation of them. With respect to the first, he said that it had been a perquisite of the general commanding-in-chief in the Low Countries even before the Revolution; and this was proved by Sir John Germain, who had been aide-de-camp to Prince Waldeck in 1689. The percentage, he said, was the voluntary gift of the allied princes, to be employed for secret service. It had been originally granted for that purpose to King William by the members of the Grand Alliance, and had been continued to the duke, with the approbation of the queen, whose warrant, countersigned by Sir Charles Hedges, was produced. It amounted only to £30,000 a year; and the duke was always better served than King William had been, who spent £50,000 a year in this way. But it was useless to refute, the ministers were sure of their majority; and it was voted, by two hundred and seventy to one hundred and sixty-five, that the former was illegal, and that the latter was public money, and ought to be accounted for. An address was made to the queen, and she ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke; but there the matter ended. The ministers did not dare to impeach him, or to reply to a vindication of him which was published, or to prosecute it as a libel. An attempt to fix on him the stigma of trafficking in commissions served only to show the malignity of his enemies.

During these disgraceful proceedings Prince Eugene arrived in London (January 5th) with proposals from the emperor for carrying on the war with vigour. He was received, of course, with all due marks of attention, both public and private, and the queen presented him with a sword worth £4,500; but the ministers were too much bent on a dishonourable peace to attend to his proposals, and he quitted England in disgust (March 17th). Some of the ministers had even countenanced a profligate Jesuit named Plunket in his pretended discovery of a plot of Eugene, Marlborough, and the leading whigs to seize the queen, murder Oxford and his friends, and place the elector of Hanover on the throne.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713 A.D.)

The negotiations for peace were now going on at Utrecht, whither all the allies had sent ministers; but the courts of Paris and London were still treating in secret. In the midst of the negotiations an event occurred which threatened to put an end to them. The dauphin had died in the preceding year, and death now swept away his son the duke of Burgundy, with his wife and their eldest son; and there only remained the youngest son, a sickly infant in the cradle, between Philip and the throne of France. As his retention of the crown of Spain had been all along a condition of the peace, Louis offered that he should make a formal renunciation of his right to that of France; at the same time candidly owning that such an act would be, by the laws of France, utterly invalid. Yet even this feeble security contented the English cabinet, and they agreed to desert their allies if they refused to consent to it.

The English troops in the Netherlands were now commanded by the duke of Ormonde; the whole confederate army of 122,000 men was directed by Prince Eugene. The French army under Villars amounted only to 100,000 men, ill-equipped and dispirited. To force their camp, pour the allied troops over the plains of Picardy and Champagne, and dictate peace under the walls of Paris, were now not only possible but probable events. But no glory

awaited Ormonde. When the queen had informed parliament of the preliminaries having been agreed on, orders were sent to him to cease from all operations, and march with his troops to Dunkirk, which Louis had engaged to give to the English. The foreign troops in British pay spurned the orders to separate from the confederates. "The Hessians," said their gallant prince, "will gladly march, if it be to fight the French." "We do not serve for pay, but for fame," said another commander. A general hiss ran through the English camp when the cessation of arms was proclaimed; the soldiers tore their hair with rage, and reviled their general; the officers shut themselves up in their tents: tears flowed from their eyes when they thought of Marlborough and his glories. Ormonde's troops were refused admittance into the fortified towns, and he had to seize Ghent and Bruges. Louis hesitated to give up Dunkirk till admonished of the danger of refusal.

Eugene captured Quesnoy; but the desertion of England had struck a damp to the hearts of the allies; and Villars restored the ascendancy of France. The Peace of Utrecht was signed on the 14th of April, 1713, by all the powers except the emperor and the empire. By this peace Philip was to retain Spain and the Indies, giving the Netherlands and Italian dominions to the emperor, and Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The title of the queen of England and the Protestant succession were acknowledged; Gibraltar and Minorca and some parts of America were ceded to England; and an *asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes for thirty years, was granted to the English merchants.

There can be no doubt that by this peace all the ends of the Grand Alliance were frustrated, and the splendid victories of Blenheim and Ramillies rendered useless; and had not heaven preserved the life of the puny heir in France, another general war must have ensued, or Philip have been tamely suffered to unite the two crowns. On the other hand, it seemed manifestly unjust to impose a sovereign on the Spanish nation; yet it was hardly less so to dismember the monarchy. But loss of honour was the great loss of England in this opprobrious treaty. She basely deserted and betrayed her allies; and the infamy would be indelible, were the fact not certain that it was the deed of an unprincipled minister, the secret foe of the Protestant succession, and supported by the jacobites and high tories, and not the act of the nation.

THE DEATH OF GODOLPHIN (1713 A.D.)

While the treaty which was to blight all the glorious promises of his administration was pending, Lord Godolphin died. This upright and disinterested statesman, who had enjoyed so many opportunities of amassing wealth, left only £12,000 behind him. Yet the present ministry had made a base attempt to fix a charge of peculation on him also; they had, however, signally failed.

The character of Lord Godolphin ranks high for probity and disinterestedness. Burnet says that "he was the silentest and modestest man who was perhaps ever bred in a court. His notions," he adds, "were for the court, but his incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the treasury created in all people a very high esteem for him. He had true principles of religion and virtue, and never heaped up wealth. So that all things being laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men who were employed in that age." The prelate elsewhere speaks of Godolphin in similar terms, and others express themselves to the same effect.[b]

"The administration of Marlborough and Godolphin," says Stanhope, "shines forth with peculiar lustre in our annals. No preceding one, perhaps, had ever comprised so many great men or achieved so many great actions. Besides its two eminent chiefs, it could boast of the mild yet lofty wisdom of Somers, the matured intellect of Halifax, and the rising abilities of Walpole. At another time, also, the most subtle statesman and the most accomplished speaker of their age, Harley and St. John, were numbered in its ranks. It had struck down the overgrown power of France. It had saved Germany, and conquered Flanders. 'But at length,' says Bishop Fleetwood, with admirable eloquence, 'God for our sins permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and, by troubling sore the camp, the city, and the country (and oh that it had altogether spared the place sacred to his worship!) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead—I know not what. Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure.'

"To our enemies, indeed, I would willingly leave the task of recording the disgraceful transactions of that period. Let them relate the bed-chamber influence of Mrs. Masham with her sovereign, and the treacherous cabals of Harley against his colleagues—by what unworthy means the great administration of Godolphin was sapped and overthrown—how his successors surrendered the public interests to serve their own—how subserviency to France became our leading principle of policy—how the Dutch were forsaken and the Catalans betrayed—until at length this career of wickedness and weakness received its consummation in the shameful Peace of Utrecht. It used to be observed, several centuries ago, that as the English always had the better of the French in battles, so the French always had the better of the English in treaties. But here it was a sin against light; not the ignorance which is deluded, but the falsehood which deludes. We may, perhaps, admit that it might be expedient to depart from the strict letter of the Grand Alliance—to consent to some dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy—to purchase the resignation of Philip, or allow an equivalent for the elector of Bavaria by the cession of Sicily and Sardinia, or, perhaps, of Naples. So many hands had grasped at the royal mantle of Spain that it could scarcely be otherwise than rent in the struggle. But how can the friends of Bolingbroke and Oxford possibly explain or excuse the fact that they offered far better terms at Utrecht in 1712, than the French had been willing to accept at Gertruydenberg in 1709? Or if the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough raised the spirits of England's enemies and impaired the chances of the war, how is that dismissal itself to be defended?"

WHIMSICAL AND JACOBITE TORIES

An attempt to dissolve the union at this time offers a curious instance of the change of party tactics. It was moved in the house of lords by one of the Scottish peers, was supported by the whigs and opposed by the tories, and lost by a majority only of four.

Oxford and St. John (lately created Viscount Bolingbroke), though they had united to overthrow the Godolphin ministry, had never been cordial friends. The former had the superiority in principle and in knowledge of business; but he was procrastinating, dissembling, cautious, mysterious, and intriguing, and therefore unable to gain the confidence of any party. He was of that class of statesmen who deal in expedients, and are always manœuvring; whose minds are too little to conceive anything grand and vast. The character of Bolingbroke was the very opposite; his talents were

splendid, his eloquence commanding, his manners and person graceful and elegant; but he was dissolute and unprincipled — an English Alcibiades. While Oxford leaned to the whigs and favoured the Protestant succession, Bolingbroke sought for support among the high tories, brought many of them into office, and formed a close alliance with the lady Masham. Devoid of religion, he affected to be a champion of the church; and, with a thorough contempt of the Stuarts and their maxims of government, he engaged in projects for their restoration. In these projects the dukes of Ormonde and Buckingham, the chancellor Harcourt, Sir William Wyndham, and other members of the cabinet shared; but the duke of Shrewsbury, the lords Dartmouth, Trevor, and Paulet, and Robinson bishop of London were firm to the Protestant succession. Lady Masham was a zealous jacobite. The queen hated the electoral family, and had no love for her brother, though she had some scruples about his right, which, however, were balanced by her attachment to the church. She veered about as the influence of Lady Somerset or Lady Masham prevailed.

A Beau of the Time of Queen Anne

The parliament having been dissolved, a new one met (February 16th, 1714). Its composition was much the same as before; but the tory portion was less powerful, being divided into Hanoverian tories, nicknamed Whimsicals, and jacobite tories, i.e., friends of the electoral family, or of the pretender. The danger was now in fact thought to be very imminent. The queen during the winter had a severe attack of gout, and it was manifest that she was fast drawing to her end; Oxford's influence was on the decline; the adherents of the house of Stuart were, through the influence of Bolingbroke, put into civil and military posts; and the jacobites gave open demonstrations of their designs. It was the general opinion that whichever of the competitors had the start would get the crown; and Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, therefore, by the advice of the whig leaders, demanded a writ of summons for the electoral prince, as duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England. The writ could not be refused, but the queen was highly indignant: she forbade Schutz the court, and wrote in strong terms to the electoral family. The sudden death, by apoplexy, of the princess Sophia (June 7th) was by some ascribed to the effect on her of the queen's letters.[b]

At any rate, she had been much affected by reading them, and on the day after their receipt, the 28th of May, whilst walking in the gardens of Herrenhausen, she fell dead into the arms of the electoral princess, afterwards Queen Caroline. She was a woman of most amiable temper and no mean acquirements, being perfect mistress of the Dutch, German, English, French, and Italian languages, and during her long life she had never belied the character that becomes an English and a royal birth. She used to say that she should die happy if she could only live to have "Here lies Sophia, queen of England," engraved upon her coffin; and it is remarkable within how very few weeks her wish would have been fulfilled.

[1714 A.D.]

The death of the princess enabled the elector, now become immediate heir to the English crown, to steer his course without disobliging either the sovereign or his friends. After pausing for nearly three weeks, he answered the queen's letter in most civil and submissive, but very vague, terms; and despatched orders to Baron Bothmar, his envoy at the Hague, to proceed to London, and to consult with the whig leaders, whether, after all the unavoidable delay that had occurred, any idea of sending over the electoral prince had not better be postponed till next session.

THE SCHISM ACT (1714 A.D.)

Meanwhile the English ministers were not inactive. Oxford, who had constantly endeavoured to keep well with the court of Hanover — who perhaps really intended its interests — who had early in the year sent thither his cousin Mr. Harley with warm expressions of duty and attachment, saw, with despair, that the late events had confirmed the distrust and aversion in that quarter, whilst he had failed to push his negotiations with the other. His influence with the queen was also daily declining, or, rather, had already ceased. In spite of all his whispers and manœuvres, Bolingbroke, in conjunction with Atterbury, perceiving how necessary it was to their ultimate designs still further to discourage, nay, even to crush the dissenters, drew up in council and brought into parliament, as a government measure, the celebrated Schism Act. This act enjoins that no person in Great Britain shall keep any public or private school, or act as tutor, that has not first subscribed the declaration to conform to the Church of England and obtained a licence from the diocesan, and that upon failure of so doing the party may be committed to prison without bail; and that no such licence shall be granted before the party produces a certificate of his having received the sacrament, according to the communion of the Church of England, within the last year, and also subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

This tyrannical act, introduced in the commons on the 12th of May by Sir William Wyndham, was of course vehemently opposed by the whigs. We know that Sir Peter King, Mr. Hampden, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Robert Walpole spoke against it, although nothing beyond their names has been preserved on this occasion. But some observations of General Stanhope, which appear in the scanty reports of those debates, and which seem to have excited much attention, may perhaps be said, without undue praise, to be far in advance of the time at which they were delivered, and to show a large and enlightened toleration, which it was reserved for a much later generation to feel, acknowledge, and establish. We are told that he "showed, in particular, the ill consequences of this law, as it would of course occasion foreign education, which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, which was still worse, would fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own country. He illustrated and strengthened his argument by the example of the English popish seminaries abroad, which, he said, were so pernicious to Great Britain, that, instead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wish those already in force against papists were mitigated, and that they should be allowed a certain number of schools." It is singular that some of the most plain and simple notions, such as that of religious toleration, should be the slowest and most difficult to be impressed upon the human mind.

The Schism Act passed the commons by a majority of 237 against 126. In the lords, the second reading was moved by Bolingbroke and ably opposed

by lords Cowper and Wharton. "It is somewhat strange," said the latter, "that they should call schism in England what is the established religion in Scotland; and therefore if the lords, who represent the nobility of that part of Great Britain, are for this bill, I hope that, in order to be even with us and consistent with themselves, they will move for the bringing in another bill to prevent the growth of schism in their own country." Lord Halifax drew an animated contrast between the oppression now meditated on our own Protestant dissenters and the protection and encouragement of the reformed Walloons by Queen Elizabeth, and of the French Huguenots by William III, when both fled hither from domestic persecution. Lord Townshend said that he had lived a long time in Holland, and had observed that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful commonwealth lay in the number of its inhabitants; and, at the same time, he was persuaded that, if the states should cause the schools of any one sect tolerated in the United Provinces to be shut up, they would soon be as thin of people as Sweden or Spain. The earl of Nottingham concluded an eloquent speech on the same side with a bitter and impressive allusion to Swift, whose favour with the ministers was now firmly established and generally known. "My lords," he said, "I have many children, and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish they had. Therefore, my lords, I own I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is hardly suspected of being a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licences to those who shall be entrusted with the education of youth!"

All parties looked with great interest to the conduct of the lord treasurer on this occasion. It was, as usual, in the highest degree irresolute and ambiguous. In the cabinet he proposed to soften the most rigorous clauses; in the house he declared that he "had not yet considered of it"; and having induced the opposition to allow the second reading to pass without dividing, took care to absent himself on the day when it finally came to the vote. Such vacillating weakness sealed his political ruin.

THE DIVISION OF THE MINISTRY; THE FALL OF OXFORD

The passing of this bill appears to have flushed the jacobites with the most eager hopes, insomuch as to draw them from their usual fenced and guarded caution in debate. One of them, Sir William Whitlocke, member for the University of Oxford, speaking in the house of commons of the elector, said: "If he comes to the crown, which I hope he never will—" Here there was a loud cry and confusion, the whigs all calling out that Sir William should be brought to the bar to answer for his words. But he, with great adroitness, eluded their attack, and repaired his own imprudence. He said he would retract nothing; he only meant that, as the queen was younger than her heir presumptive, he hoped she would outlive him!

Meanwhile, the division amongst the ministers and the murmurs of their partisans had been daily rising higher. Bolingbroke himself was loud in his complaints. "If my grooms," he says, "did not live a happier life than I have done this great while, I am sure they would quit my service." His breach with the lord treasurer, which had long been widening, was now open and avowed. Their common friend, Swift, made indeed another effort for their reconciliation, and induced them to meet at Lady Masham's, when he preached union to them warmly, but in vain. Finding his remonstrances fruitless, and unwilling to take part against either of his patrons, he declared that he would leave town, and cease his counsels. Bolingbroke whispered

him, "You are in the right," whilst the lord treasurer said, as usual, "All will do well." Swift adhered to his intention, and retired into Berkshire, and with him departed the last hopes of Oxford.

Another former friend of the lord treasurer had become not less active in striving for his downfall than she had been in promoting his power. Lady Masham, still the ruling favourite of the queen, was now the close confederate of Bolingbroke and the jacobites. In July she was so far impelled by her resentment as to tell Oxford to his face, "You never did the queen any service, nor are you capable of doing her any"; and what is more surprising, Oxford bore this taunt with silence and submission, and made no reply, and went to sup with her at her house the same evening! Such meanness never yet averted a fall.

What had Oxford to oppose to these bed-chamber intrigues? Nothing. His own artifices had become too refined for success, and too frequent for concealment. His character was understood. His popularity was gone. His support, or, at least, connivance, of the Schism Act, had alienated his remaining friends amongst the Puritans. Nay, even the public favour and high expectations with which he entered office, had, from their reaction, turned against him. The multitude seldom fails to expect impossibilities from a favourite statesman; such, for instance, as that he should increase the revenue by repealing taxes; and, therefore, no test of popularity is half so severe as power.

We also find it positively asserted by Marshal Berwick, in his *Memoirs*, that the court of St. Germain had intimated to the queen, through the channel of the duke of Ormonde and of Lady Masham, its wish to see the lord treasurer removed. It is the more likely that Ormonde was employed in this communication, since it appears that, in the preceding April, he had offered to receive a letter from the Pretender to the queen, and to put it into the hands of her majesty, which Oxford had always declined to do. Thus, then, all the pillars which had hitherto upheld his tottering authority were sapped and subverted, and on the 27th of July came the long-expected crisis of his fall. Her majesty had that afternoon detailed to the other members of the council some of the grounds of her displeasure with Oxford; and it is remarkable that even his confidant and creature Erasmus Lewis appears to admit their just foundation. After a personal altercation, carried on in the queen's presence, and continued till two in the morning, Anne resumed the White Staff; and the whole power of the state with the choice of the new administration were left in the hands of Bolingbroke.

BOLINGBROKE; THE REAPPEARANCE OF MARLBOROUGH

The first step of the new prime minister was an attempt to cajole his political opponents. On the very day after Oxford's dismissal, he entertained at dinner, at his house in Golden square, Stanhope, Walpole, Pulteney, Craggs, and the other most eminent whig members of the house of commons; but he altogether failed either to conciliate or delude them. The whigs positively required, as a security for the Protestant succession, that the pretender should be removed from Lorraine; whilst Bolingbroke confessed that such a banishment of her brother would never be sanctioned by the queen. It is difficult to conceive how Bolingbroke could possibly have anticipated any other issue to these overtures than disappointment; and they are the more surprising, since, on the same day, he had an interview with the chief agent of France and the Pretender, whom he assured of his undiminished

regard, and since he was, in fact, steadily proceeding to the formation of a purely jacobite administration. His projected arrangements were as follows: The seals of secretary, and the sole management of foreign affairs were to remain with himself; whilst to prevent his being overshadowed by any new lord treasurer, that department was to be put into commission, with Sir William Wyndham at its head. The privy seal was to be transferred to Atterbury; Bromley was to continue the other secretary of state; and the earl of Mar, the third for Scotland; the duke of Ormonde, commander-in-chief; the duke of Buckingham, lord president; and Lord Harcourt, chancellor. To fill up the other inferior appointments was considered a matter of great difficulty, there being very few whom Bolingbroke thought sufficiently able to be useful, or sufficiently zealous to be trusted. But the cabinet he intended (for it was never nominated), consisting as it did of scarcely any but jacobites, and comprising not a few who afterwards openly attached themselves to the pretender, and were attainted of high treason, can leave no doubt as to his ultimate design, and must convince us that, had the queen lived only three months longer, English religion and liberties would have been exposed to most imminent peril.

In the midst of his triumph, the new prime minister found his exultation dashed with alarms at the approaching reappearance of Marlborough on the political scene. That illustrious man had early in the spring determined to return to England so soon as the session should be closed, and was already at Ostend, awaiting a favourable wind. His motives for coming over at this period have been often canvassed, but never very clearly explained On the one hand, we find, from the despatches of the Hanoverian agents, that his journey had not been undertaken in concert with them. On the other hand, the common rumour of his secret cabals and intended junction with Bolingbroke is utterly disproved by the evidence of Bolingbroke himself, who, in his most private correspondence, expresses his apprehensions at this journey, and hints that it proceeded from some intrigues of Lord Oxford. How far may we believe this latter suspicion to be truly founded? It is certain that, at the close of 1713, Oxford had written to the duke in most flattering terms, and obtained a grant of £10,000 to carry on the works at Blenheim. It is no less certain, however, that the confidential letters of the duchess, during June and July, 1714, speak of Oxford with undiminished aversion. On the whole, it seems probable that Marlborough had some private communication with the lord treasurer, but had not committed himself in even the slightest degree; that he was returning to England to see and judge for himself of the prospect of affairs; and that he did not feel himself so far pledged to his former colleagues as to be entirely debarred from any new political connection.

THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE (1714 A.D.)

But a mightier arm that that of Marlborough was now stretched forth to arrest the evil designs of Bolingbroke. The days, nay, even the hours, of Queen Anne were numbered. Her Majesty's spirits had been so much agitated by the altercation in her presence, on the night of the 27th, as greatly to affect her health; and she herself said to one of her physicians, with that instinct of approaching dissolution so often and so strangely found before any danger is apparent, that she should not outlive it. The imposthume in her leg being checked, her gouty humour flew to her brain; she was seized with an apoplectic fit early in the morning of Friday, the 30th, and imme-

diately sank into a state of stupefaction. It may easily be supposed what various emotions such an event at such a crisis would occasion; yet it is a very remarkable proof of the bad opinion commonly entertained of her majesty's counsels, and of the revolutionary result anticipated from them, that the funds rose considerably on the first tidings of her danger, and fell again on a report of her recovery.

Bolingbroke and the jacobites, stunned and bewildered by this sudden crisis, were unable to mature their plans so rapidly as it required. The whigs, on their part, were found much better prepared — having already, under the guidance of Stanhope, entered amongst themselves into an organised association, collected arms and ammunition, and nominated officers. They had in readiness several thousand figures of a small fusee in brass, and some few in silver and gold, to be distributed amongst the most zealous followers and the most active chiefs, as signals in the expected day of trial. Stanhope was now taking every measure for acting with vigour, if necessary, on the demise of the queen — to sieze the Tower, to secure in it the persons of the leading jacobites, to obtain possession of the outports, and to proclaim the new king. Most anxious eyes were also cast upon the coasts of Dover, where the hero of the age and the idol of the army was daily expected from Ostend.

The genius of the duke of Marlborough would no doubt have rendered any such struggle successful, but it was reserved for the duke of Shrewsbury to avert its necessity. That eminent man — the only individual who mainly assisted in both the great changes of dynasty of 1688 and 1714 — cast aside, at this crisis, his usual tergiversation and timidity, and evinced an honest zeal on behalf of " the good old cause." His means, it is true, were still strongly marked with his characteristic duplicity. Whilst Bolingbroke appears to have fully confided in this attachment, he secretly concerted measures with two of the great whig peers, the dukes of Argyll and Somerset.

The result appeared on Friday the 30th. That morning the council met at Kensington, it being then, as now, composed only of such councillors as had received a special summons, and the high officers alone were present. The news of the queen's desperate condition had just been received. The jacobites sat dispirited, but not hopeless, nor without resources. Suddenly the doors were thrown open, and Argyll and Somerset announced. They said that, understanding the danger of the queen, they had hastened, though not specially summoned, to offer their assistance. In the pause of surprise which ensued, Shrewsbury rose and thanked them for their offer. They, immediately taking their seats, proposed an examination of the physicians; and on their report suggested that the post of lord treasurer should be filled without delay, and that the duke of Shrewsbury should be recommended to her majesty. What a scene for a painter — Shrewsbury, with his usual lofty air and impenetrable smoothness; the courtly smile, under which the fiery soul of St. John sought to veil its anguish and its rage; the slow, indecisive look of Ormonde; and the haughty triumph of Argyll.

The jacobite ministers, thus taken completely by surprise, did not venture to offer any opposition to the recommendation of Shrewsbury; and accordingly a deputation, comprising Shrewsbury himself, waited upon her majesty the same morning, to lay before her what seemed the unanimous opinion of the council. The queen, who by this time had been roused to some degree of consciousness, faintly acquiesced, delivered the treasurer's staff to Shrewsbury, and bade him use it for the good of her people. The duke would have returned his staff as chamberlain, but she desired him to keep them both;

and thus, by a remarkable, and I believe unparalleled, combination, he was invested for some days with three of the highest offices of court and state, being at once lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. How strange to find all these dignities heaped upon a man who had so often professed his disinclination to public business—who had, during many years, harassed King William with applications to resign, and repeatedly entreated his friends to allow him to be "an insignificant cipher, instead of a bad figure!" "Had I a son," he said on one occasion, "I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman!"

Another proposal of the dukes of Somerset and Argyll, which had passed at the morning meeting, was to send immediately a special summons to all privy councillors in or near London. Many of the whigs accordingly attended the same afternoon, and, amongst them, the illustrious Somers, who, in spite of his growing infirmities, would not be absent — for the first time in his life — from the post of duty. His great name was in itself a tower of strength to his party; and the council, with this new infusion of healthy blood in its veins, forthwith took vigorous measures to secure the legal order of succession. Four regiments were ordered to London, seven battalions recalled from Ostend, an embargo was laid on all the ports, and directions sent that a fleet should put out to sea.

The next day the queen had sunk back into a lethargy, and the physicians gave no hopes of her life. The council hereupon sent orders to the heralds-at-arms, and to a troop of the life-guards, to be in readiness to proclaim the successor. They sent express to Hanover Mr. Craggs, with a despatch to the elector, earnestly requesting him to hasten to Holland, where a British squadron should attend him, and be ready to bring him over, in case of the queen's demise. They also wrote to the states of Holland, reminding them of their guarantee to the Protestant succession. They appointed Lord Berkeley to command the fleet. They ordered a reinforcement to proceed to Portsmouth, and an able general officer to Scotland — great importance being attached to the former, and much disaffection apprehended in the latter; and, in short, no precaution was neglected to ensure tranquillity, or to check disturbances in any quarter where they might arise.

At seven the next morning, the 1st of August, the queen expired. She had not recovered sufficient consciousness either to take the sacrament or to sign her will. "The earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday — the queen died on Sunday! What a world is this," says Bolingbroke,[g] "and how does fortune banter us."

The character of the queen [says Stanhope, having chiefly in mind the political influence of Anne], need not detain us long. She was a very weak woman, full of prejudices, fond of flattery, always governed blindly by some female favourite, and, as Swift bitterly observes, "had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time." Can it be necessary to waste many words upon the mind of a woman who could give as a reason — a lady's reason! — for dismissing a cabinet minister that he had appeared before her in a tie-wig instead of a full-bottom? Is it not evident that in such a case we must study the advisers and not the character of a sovereign — that we must look to the setting rather than to the stone?[f]

POLITICAL GROWTH IN REIGN OF ANNE

With Anne ended the dynasty of the Stuarts. She was [says Keightley[b]] a woman of narrow intellect, but of good intentions; a model of conjugal

[1714 A.D.]

and maternal duty. The title of "Good Queen Anne," given to her, proves the public sense of her virtues. She possessed, however, a portion of the obstinacy of her family, and had some of their notions of prerogative. In person the queen was comely, and her voice was so melodious that it acted like a charm on the auditors when she spoke from the throne.[1] All through her reign she was highly and deservedly popular.

During the reigns of William and Anne the constitution, as was to be expected, received many improvements. By the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement the limits of the prerogative were ascertained; the Toleration Act, imperfect as it was, put an end to the persecution of the nonconformists; the law of treason was improved and made certain; the liberty of the press was completely established. The judges now for the first time became really independent, as they were to retain their places during good behaviour, and be removable only in case of the commission of some great offence or by an address of both houses of parliament.

It was at this period that a national bank was first established in England, and paper-money, that most valuable aid to commerce, if judiciously managed, was introduced. The system of funding and the consequent formation of a national debt were now first brought into action by the inventive genius of Mr. Montague (Lord Halifax) when chancellor of the exchequer. It originated in the issue of exchequer-bills (some for as low a sum as £10 or £5) to the amount of £2,700,000 bearing interest and transferable. The advantage to government of this happy temerity, as it was termed, was speedily discerned, and the practice of mortgaging future revenue, which has since been carried to such an enormous extent, was soon commenced.

To this period may also be referred the permanent establishment of a standing army in England. The efforts of the last two princes of the house of Stuart to obtain this implement of despotism, as they held it to be, had proved abortive; but the two great wars which had succeeded the Revolution, and the close connection in which England was thereby engaged with the continental powers, had formed the army into a profession, and also made apparent that she must at all times have in readiness for domestic defence or external operation a force more efficient than trained bands, which in skill and discipline might be on a footing with those of the continental powers. Much jealousy was entertained for a long time at this new description of force, and it formed a fruitful subject of declamation for pretended patriots, though the annual mutiny bill, on which it depended for its existence, made it be completely under the control of parliament. It has ever since proved the most efficient instrument, not merely in protecting the country from foreign enemies but in preserving internal tranquillity, and has never been employed in encroachments on the liberty of the subject. It is worthy of remark that from the very commencement commissions in the British army have been matters of purchase, and that at a very high rate.

The despatches of foreign ambassadors, which furnish so many materials for the history of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, now become comparatively of little importance. Foreign envoys were no longer on the same footing of familiar intercourse with the British sovereigns or their ministers; and as the struggles in parliament henceforth were more for place than for principles, they had less occasion to take any share in the parliamentary contests. They transacted their business with the secretaries of state, and the accounts of

[[1] Of Anne in her later years, however, W. H. S. Aubrey[h] says: "She was a victim of gluttony and obesity. Her embonpoint was colossal. A popular sobriquet applied to her was Brandy Nan because of her potations."]

events which they used to write to inform their courts of were now generally to be found in the columns of the newspapers which appeared daily.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ADVANCEMENT

It may finally be observed that this period and the early part of the succeeding one were the golden age of literary men if not of literature in England. Though the sovereigns themselves were indifferent to them, the ministers loved and encouraged literature and science. Thus Sir Isaac Newton was master of the mint, and John Locke a commissioner of trade; Matthew Prior an envoy at the court of France, and Joseph Addison, a secretary of state; not to mention Swift and others, who were promoted in their professions.[b] Foremost among this distinguished company was Sir Isaac Newton. This preeminent light of the modern world in mathematical and astronomical science was born at Closterworth, in the county of Lincoln, on Christmas Day, 1642 (old style). Even his boyhood was devoted to science, and his sports were scientific experiments; for his time was chiefly spent in constructing models of clocks, windmills, and other articles of nice and accurate calculation in mechanics, so that, while at school at Grantham, his lodging-room was a workshop that resounded with continual hammering. He even improved the kites of his school fellows by contriving their shape and proportions, and adjusting the string, upon mathematical principles.

All this was accompanied with such superiority of intellectual power in other departments that when he pleased he could outstrip his companions at their daily tasks, and was soon at the head of the school. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he quickly arrested the attention not only of his fellow students but of Dr. Isaac Barrow, by his rapid proficiency in the science of mathematics. His regular study of Euclid, it has been said, was at first animated by a desire to explore the wonders of judicial astrology; but on having tested it by severe calculation, and discovered its emptiness, he threw both it and Euclid aside, and advanced to higher pursuits. The first result of these studies was his *New Method of Infinite Series and Fluxions*, which was published in Latin. In 1664, he turned his attention to the improvement of telescopes, and having procured a prism he detected, by careful observation, the fallacy of Descartes' doctrine of colours, upon which he published his *New Theory of Light and Colours*. The plague having broke out at Cambridge in 1665, Newton retired to his own house in the country, where he prosecuted his studies in solitude; and while thus occupied, his great theory of gravitation [which found ultimate expression in his *Principia*] first suggested itself to his mind. Thus, the foundation of all his stupendous discoveries was laid when he was only twenty-four years of age.

The career of Sir Isaac Newton after this period, and the works which he published illustrative of his discoveries in the laws of nature and the science of astronomy, would of themselves require a lengthened chapter; it is enough to state that, being revolutions, they met with their full share of envy and opposition. But they established themselves at last as immutable, inexpugnable truths, and the reflective world, upon which they dawned like a sunshine, was lost in delight and wonder. "Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or sleep like other men?" exclaimed the marquis de l'Hospital, himself a very eminent mathematician: "I represent him to myself as a great celestial genius entirely disengaged from matter." The amiable and accomplished Queen Caroline, (wife of George II), who took great delight in the philosopher's society, declared herself happy in having come into the world at a time which

put it into her power to converse with him. Honours, both literary and political, were conferred upon Newton; he was appointed professor of mathematics at Cambridge, sent to parliament as one of its representatives, made warden of the mint, and invested with knighthood; But these distinctions which he did not need, and which are now seldom remembered, were themselves honoured by his accepting them. His life, which was extended to his eighty-fifth year, was employed in the same philosophical researches, until its termination on March 20th, 1727, when he died, leaving behind him a renown which can only perish with that universe of whose laws of action he was the inspired expounder. His amiable moral qualities, and his devotedness to revealed religion, that were in contrast with the selfish and irreligious spirit of the age, are too universally known to require description.

A fit contemporary for Sir Isaac Newton was John Locke, one of the greatest philosophers and most powerful writers which England, rich in such minds, has produced. He was born at Wrington, Somersetshire, on the 29th of August, 1632. He was educated first at Westminster School, and afterwards at Christ Church College, Oxford, where, having thoroughly studied the philosophy of the schools which still predominated at the university, and acquired all the benefit which its training was fitted to impart, he attained the higher knowledge of perceiving its inefficiency as a guide to truth, and the necessity of better lights than the peripatetics. This perception was greatly aided by his study of the writings of Descartes; and thus both Locke and Newton, though in different ways, owed much to the influence of that bold and original thinker.

In consequence of a feeble constitution, Locke combined the study of medicine with that of ethics and metaphysics; but though he never took the degree of doctor, or practised the healing art professionally, his knowledge of it was so respectable that he was generally addressed by the title of doctor of medicine. After the Restoration he had tempting offers to become a diplomatist; but he preferred the study of philosophy to political honours, although he became the friend and counsellor of the earl of Shaftesbury. After a life chiefly spent in study, Locke, in 1675, repaired to the south of France for the benefit of his health; and his journal of a four years' residence there shows how closely he watched and how sagaciously he investigated the great events that passed before his notice. His connection with Shaftesbury involved him in the earl's disgrace; and when the latter was obliged to retire to Holland, Locke followed at the close of 1683, and remained in that country until the Revolution, when he returned home in the same fleet that conveyed the princess Mary to England. But during the interval his exile had not been unmolested; for through a groundless charge of treason preferred against him in his absence, he was formally ejected from his student's place in Christ Church College; and in consequence of the Monmouth insurrection, in which he was causelessly suspected to have had a share, an application was made by the English envoy to the Dutch government, to have Locke sent home a prisoner. On the settlement of William and Mary, Locke had high offers to go abroad in a public capacity, but contented himself with the office of commissioner of appeals, which brought him a small revenue of £200 per annum.

Matters of greater importance, indeed, and more congenial to his character than embassies and state negotiations, were at present absorbing his attention; for in the following year (1690) he completed and published his renowned masterpiece, the *Essay on Human Understanding*, a work which he had begun to plan so early as 1670. Its appearance was startling: it was a revolution

in the intellectual world for which men were not prepared, much as they had been lately accustomed to changes; and the schoolmen, especially, were little inclined to unread their learning, abandon their old authorities, and adopt rules of thought and reasoning more accordant with every-day language and commonplace reality. In this recusancy the University of Oxford went so far that at a meeting of the heads of the institution it was agreed, that each should prevent Locke's book from being read by the students of his college. But in spite of this and similar opposition, the principles of the essay forced their way with the resistlessness of truth, and the work was recognised as "one of the noblest, most useful, and most original books the world ever saw." It is not too much, indeed, to say that it constituted a new era in the history of human thought, from the importance of its innovations, and the influence they have more or less exercised upon all the succeeding systems of philosophy. But much though the world has been indebted to Locke as a philosopher, it scarcely owes him less as a political writer; and his productions on toleration, on civil government, on money and the raising of its value, on education, etc., were as bold and original, and as persuasive as his *Essay on Human Understanding*. These, with his religious works in defence and illustration of the doctrines of Christianity, though so numerous as to fill ten octavo volumes, have been frequently republished, not only in portions, but collectively. Having thus, during a sickly but extended life, done so much for intellectual renown, and won the love of all who knew him by his uprightness, meekness, and Christian charity, the close of his life, in 1704, was in consistency with its whole tenor, being spent in the study of the Bible, and a calm, hopeful preparation for eternity. To a young gentleman's inquiry as to the shortest and surest way to attain a true knowledge of the Christian religion, Locke's memorable answer was, "Let him study the Holy Scripture, especially the New Testament; it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter." Till his last hour its perusal was his chief occupation; and when the dimness of approaching death was gathering upon his eyesight, its consolatory pages were read to him by his own desire, until the moment of his departure had arrived.

Such were Newton and Locke, the ornaments of the age, who divided between them the empire of human thought, and who taught the world not only by their wisdom, but by their example and high moral worth. It was such men whom the age especially needed to give philosophy its right direction, and inquiring spirits their best example. The change, indeed, for the present was imperceptible, and years were to elapse before it could be realized. But its coming was as certain as that of the buried harvest, and the present generation is living in its abundance.

ARCHITECTURE

In turning our attention to the progress of literature, science, and the fine arts, as manifested in the productions of that period, the department of architecture also solicits our notice. This at once is evident from the fact that the metropolis of the empire, which in a few days was swept away, was replaced by another, richer, statelier, and larger, than the former, and that so great a work was accomplished in a very few years. No other nation could have achieved such a stupendous feat; and London restored was a triumph of English wealth, resources, and enterprise, that gave full promise of the ascendency which the country was afterwards to attain. On this occa-

sion, too, it may emphatically be said that the emergency called forth the man, so that when a new metropolis worthy of the national grandeur was to be created, a great architect was at hand to direct the undertaking. The vast, varied and creative mind of Sir Christopher Wren, extending over a long life, sufficed not only to commence but complete the work, so that upon the gates of the capital itself, as well as upon his tomb in St. Paul's, the motto might have been engraved: *Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.*

This great architect, who at the commencement of his career seems to have been ignorant of his proper vocation, as well as the great work which he was destined to accomplish, was originally a student at Oxford, where mathematics and astronomy occupied his chief attention; and such was his proficiency in these sciences that at the early age of eighteen he was one of the most distinguished of those illustrious philosophers who afterwards, in 1660, constituted the Royal Society. England, however, was to be sufficiently enriched by her Newton; and therefore Wren, after obtaining a high reputation in the mathematical and astronomical sciences, turned his attention to their practical application by the study of architecture, so that, in 1661, he was appointed coadjutor to Sir John Denham, the poet, who, on the death of Inigo Jones, had been raised by royal favour to the post of surveyor-general.

Of course, the duties of such a partnership would fall upon Sir Christopher, and one of the first was to survey and plan the restoration of St. Paul's cathedral, now gradually falling into ruin. Sir Christopher soon found that such a restoration would at best be but a patchwork; and while the question was pending whether the building should be repaired or wholly rebuilt, the great conflagration stepped in to decide the controversy. Both capital and cathedral were now a heap of rubbish, and all must be made anew. It would be unfair to ask how much the exultation of Wren at being thus emancipated from the tinkering-up of an old worn-out city may have qualified his regret at the demolition and sympathy for the sufferers; it is enough to know that he set to work to repair the evil, and soon created a better London than the former. Never upon any one architect, perhaps, had such a task been devolved since the days of the building upon Shinar. As the legislature had now a full opportunity for passing such enactments as might secure comfortable healthy houses and commodious streets, it was decreed that in future all buildings in London should be of brick or stone; that party walls, of sufficient strength and thickness, should separate one house from another; and that rain-water pipes should be substituted for the spouts that had been wont to pour their torrents from the house-tops upon the heads of those who walked below; while builders were exhorted to devise improvements for their structures by making mouldings, and projections of rubbed brick.

In the meantime, Wren had surveyed the ruins, and presented his plan for laying out the new town. Need it be added that this plan, though grand, regular, and comprehensive, was crossed, altered, and curtailed, through the caprice, the jealousy, or poverty of those at whose expense it was to be realised, and who therefore claimed a principal voice in its details? Still, much was accomplished, although it fell far short of the original. Such was also the fate of St. Paul's, the crowning work and masterpiece of the great architect, the plan of which the duke of York altered to suit the popish ceremonial, when Romanism should be restored in Britain, although Wren with tears remonstrated against the interference. Such, too, in a still greater degree was the fate of the London monument, the original plan of which, as presented by Sir Christopher, was highly graceful and appropriate; but which had the fate to

fall into the hands of the civic authorities for realisation. Let us forget, if we can, what they made of it:

> London's column, pointing to the skies,
> Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies.

The amenities of modern society have prevailed at last. The lie is expunged, and the "tall bully," as if he had just escaped the infliction of the pump, stands shivering and crestfallen in a corner.

Besides St. Paul's, which Sir Christopher had the singular good fortune to complete as well as plan, he superintended the erection of fifty-one churches in London, which still constitute the chief architectural ornaments of the now greatly changed and improved metropolis. To these might be added public buildings both in London and elsewhere, of which a mere list would exceed our limits. After having done so much for his country, and raised the character of its architecture to so high an eminence, his fate was that which usually awaits the greatest of benefactors: society united to persecute that excellence which it could not equal, and return injuries for those benefits which it could not repay. Deprived of his office of surveyor-general, which he had held for forty-nine years, he calmly exclaimed, "*Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philosophare*"; and retired to the country at the age of eighty-six, where he spent the remaining five years of his life in contemplation and reading, and chiefly in the study of the Holy Scriptures. There, also, he closed his career; "cheerful in solitude," says his son, "and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light." His final resting-place, as well as fittest monument, was the vault of St. Paul's, in which his remains were deposited.

JOHN DRYDEN

The greatest poet of the age next to Milton, and the most influential in forming the spirit and developing the maturity of English literature, was John Dryden, the Chaucer of the seventeenth century. He was born at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, in 1632, and educated first at Westminster School under the celebrated Dr. Busby, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge. His first poetical attempt, which he gave to the world in 1649, was an elegy on the death of Lord Hastings, a young nobleman of high character and promise; but a subject so well fitted to call forth affectionate enthusiasm at least, if not poetical inspiration, from a young poet of seventeen, was such a tissue of cold conceits and overstrained artificial figures, as to give no promise whatsoever of the excellence he was afterwards to attain. The young lord had died of the small-pox, and Dryden, directing his admiration to the pustules, converts them into ornaments on the soil of Venus — into jewels — into rosebuds — and finally into pimples, each having a tear in it to bewail the pain it was occasioning! This was enough; and he remained in silence for nine years afterwards — not idly, however, as was manifested not only by his general scholarship, but the superior taste of his next production, in which he had the resolution to abandon his models of Donne and Cowley, and become a genuine follower of nature. This poem, entitled "*Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell*," was a proper theme for Dryden, who had been educated among Puritans, and patronised at the court of the Protector. With the Restoration, however, he was ready with a palinode under the title of "*Astræa Redux*," welcoming the return of Charles II, and predicting from the event a millennium of political happiness; and in 1666 appeared his "*Annus Mirabilis*,"

the subjects of which were the Dutch War and the fire of London. It was only now, indeed, that his mind broke forth in full vigour after so thorough a maturing, and established him in the highest rank of poetry. Long before this, however, his republican and Puritan sympathies had expired; the new king and court were more to his taste; and as his small patrimonial estate yielded only about £60 a year, while his wants equalled a tenfold amount, his chief dependence was royal favour, which he was ready to purchase at any price. And seldom, indeed, has such an amount of genius been so mercilessly exacted, or so poorly repaid. It was Samson in the prison-house grinding for his daily subsistence.

During a literary life, continued to such a period, and urged to such constant exertion by the claims of necessity, the productions of Dryden were both numerous and diversified. Besides many smaller poems, which of themselves would fill several volumes, he wrote eight of considerable length, of which *The Hind and the Panther*, and *Absalom and Achitophel*, are the most distinguished. As a dramatic writer he wrote twenty-eight plays. Besides a poetical version of Vergil, he gave translations from Ovid, Theocritus, Lucretius, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. He also wrote adaptations, under the name of *Fables*, from Chaucer and Boccacio, which, though produced in his old age, constitute the most popular and pleasing of his writings. Indeed, it is perceptible throughout the course of his writings, that although his mind was slow in maturing, it continued in active operation to the close, and that, too, with growing improvement, so that his latest productions were also his best.[i]

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The manners of the English gentry, in this age, were, in a great measure, purely national; and, except at court, had received from foreign nations neither polish nor corruption. To travel had not yet grown to be a very common practice. It was not yet thought that a visit to more genial climes or more lovely landscapes was the best preparation for afterward living happily and contented in one's own. In fact, according to the old English maxims, no one could go abroad without special permission from the sovereign. Thus, in the reign of Elizabeth, Sir William Evers was severely punished because he had presumed to make a private journey to Scotland. In the first part of the eighteenth century, the same authority seems to still have existed, at least with respect to the great nobility. The duke of Shrewsbury, for example, could not go abroad, in 1700, until he had obtained leave from King William. Thus, also, the duke of Marlborough's application for a passport, in 1712, was opposed by several members of the cabinet. The fees for a passport at the foreign office amounted to upwards of £6, a sum far from inconsiderable in those days, and serving as a check upon the lower class of travellers. To travel with passports from the foreign ministers resident in England is a later innovation.

Thus, amongst the gentry and middle classes of Queen Anne's time the French language was much undervalued, and seldom studied. At court, however, the case was very different; and, though few could speak French very accurately, it is remarkable how much the style of many eminent men at this period, in their private correspondence, teems with gallicisms. The letters of Marlborough, especially, appear written by a Frenchman. Thus, for example, he uses the word "opiniatrety" for obstinacy, and "to defend" instead of to forbid.

At the Peace of Utrecht the population of England was not much above

five millions. It may be doubted whether that of Scotland exceeded one million, or that of Ireland, two. It is certain, however, that the rural inhabitants of England then very far outnumbered those in the towns; but the latter having since increased in a much greater proportion, more especially in the manufacturing districts, the two classes have come nearly to an equality; a change which has involved within it the germ of other changes.

The national debt, at the accession of Anne, had been only £16,000,000, with an interest of £1,300,000. In 1714, it had grown to £52,000,000, with an interest of £3,300,000. By the accounts presented to parliament in that year, it appeared that the expense of the late war during twelve years amounted to nearly £69,000,000, making a yearly average of above five millions and a half. The debts, during this period, seem to have been contracted on very moderate terms. Lord-Treasurer Godolphin observes, in one of his letters, in 1706: "Though the land and trade both of England and Holland have excessive burdens upon them, yet the credit continues good, both with us and with them; and we can, either of us, borrow money at four or five per cent.; whereas, the finances of France are so much more exhausted that they are forced to give 20 and 25 per cent. for every penny of money they send out of the kingdom, unless they send it in specie." In 1709, the supplies voted exceeded seven millions, a sum that was unparalleled, and seemed enormous. In fact, though these sums at present may appear light in our eyes, they struck the subjects of Anne with the utmost astonishment and horror. "Fifty millions of debt, and six millions of taxes!" exclaimed Swift; "the high allies have been the ruin of us!" Bolingbroke points out, with dismay, that the public revenue, in neat money, amounted, at the Revolution, to no more than two millions annually; and the public debts, that of the bankers included, to little more than £300,000. Speaking of a later period, and of a debt of thirty millions, he calls it "a sum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is so almost to the present!" How much juster and more correct on this point were the views of Secretary Stanhope. In the minutes of a conference which he held in 1716, with Abbé Dubois, the following remark is recorded of him: "However large our national debt may be thought, it will undoubtedly increase much more, and believe me it will not hereafter cause greater difficulty to the government, or uneasiness to the people, than it does at present."

But, though we might astonish our great-grandfathers at the high amount of our public income, they may astonish us at the high amount of their public salaries. The service of the country was then a service of vast emolument. In the first place, the holder of almost every great office was entitled to plate; secondly, the rate of salaries, even when nominally no larger than at present, was, in fact, two or three times more considerable from the intermediate depreciation of money. But even nominally, many offices were then of higher value, and when two or more were conferred upon the same person he, contrary to the present practice, received the profits of all. As the most remarkable instance of this fact, I may mention the duke and duchess of Marlborough. Exclusive of Blenheim, of parliamentary grants, of gifts, of marriage portions from the queen to their daughters, it appears that the fixed yearly income of the duke, at the height of his favour, was no less than £54,825, and the duchess had, in offices and pensions, an additional sum of £9,500 — a sum infinitely greater than could now be awarded to the highest favour of the most eminent achievements.

There can be no doubt that the former scale was unduly high: but it may be questioned whether we are not at present running into another as dangerous extreme; whether by diminishing so much the emoluments of public service

we are not deterring men with genius, but without fortune, from entering the career of politics, and forcing them rather to betake themselves to some lucrative profession; whether the greatest abilities may not thereby be diverted from the public service; whether we are not tending to the principle that no man, without a large private property, is fit to be a minister of state; whether we may not, therefore, subject ourselves to the worst of all aristocracies, an aristocracy of money; whether we may not practically lose one of the proudest boasts of the British constitution under which great talent, however penniless, or lowborn, not only may raise but frequently has raised itself above the loftiest of our Montagus or Howards.

In Queen Anne's time the diplomatic salaries were regulated according to a scale established in 1669. Ambassadors-ordinary in France, Spain, and the emperor's court had £100 a day, and £1,500 for equipage; in Portugal, Holland, Sweden, and the other courts, £10 a day and £1,000 for equipage. Ambassadors-extraordinary had everywhere the same allowances as the ambassadors-ordinary, and differed only in the equipage money, which was to be determined by the sovereign according to the occasion. Considering the difference in the value of money, such posts also were undoubtedly more lucrative and advantageous than at present. But, on the other hand, these salaries — and sometimes even those of the civil government at home — were very irregularly paid, and often in arrear. "I neither have received nor expect to receive," says Bolingbroke,*i* in one of his letters, "anything on account of the journey which I took last year by her majesty's order (into France); and as to my regular appointments, I do assure your lordship I have heard nothing of them these two years."

Ministerial or parliamentary corruption — at least so far as foreign powers were concerned — did not in this generation, as in the last, sully the annals of England. Thus, for example, shamefully as the English interests were betrayed at the Peace of Utrecht by the English ministers, there is yet no reason whatever to suspect that they, like the patriots of Charles II's reign, had received presents or "gratifications" from Louis XIV. Should we ascribe this change to the difference of the periods or of the persons? Was the era of the Peace of Utrecht really preferable to that of 1679, hailed by Blackstone as the zenith of British constitutional excellence? Or were Bolingbroke and Oxford more honest statesmen than Littleton and Algernon Sidney? *f*